

# THE SPARK



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## Who Killed Malcolm X?

### EDITORIAL

### WE ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE

OUR 100th issue published on November 13th was launched with the statement from Kwame Nkrumah that:

*"It has therefore become imperative to open a new phase of the African Revolution. Neo-colonialism now has to be unmasked and defeated. And neo-colonialism is a much more dangerous enemy than colonialism. For under a neo-colonialist regime imperialism sheds the odium of direct alien rule but retains all the advantages of economic and military control."*

For the past two weeks Ghana has been at the receiving end of one of the most scurrilous and vindictive Press campaigns ever launched against it. The person of the President, the aims and policy of the Convention People's Party, the ability of the people of Ghana to reconstruct their own society on a new just basis, have all been attacked with utterly unscrupulous lies and threats.

The enemies of our people, those exiles who plot and scheme, sheltered by Nigeria, Britain and The United States and other imperialist countries have emerged like rats from their holes to supply the lies, the half truths and the slanders to an eager capitalist press. Within our country the timid and the cowards take refuge behind anonymity to circulate leaflets, rumours and lies about members of the C.P.P. especially those who stand out most firmly against the attempts of the United States to corrupt our society and its aims.

### DESPERATION OF IMPERIALISM

The reason for this is not far to seek. We do not think our readers are childish enough to believe that the U.S. and British Press and the traitors who act as their stooges are in any way concerned with human rights or democracy and we will not insult their intelligence by even dealing with such pretensions.

The real reason for this attack on Ghana is the desperation of imperialism. The influence of our country in its policy of national reconstruction and the laying of the foundations of a socialist society is now seen as a serious threat to neo-colonialism. They see Ghana on the verge of a new qualitative break through in this direction.

It is not only the internal developments in Ghana which worry the United States and other imperialist countries, they are frantic too at the prospect of the next Summit Meeting of the Organisation of African Unity due to be held in September.

The traditional methods of lying propaganda about Ghana and other progressive African states, the shelter and support given to exiles, the political rejects of the African people, and the supplying of propaganda lies and material to decadent, disaffected elements inside these countries are part of the traditional techniques of imperialism.

Developments in Africa worry the United States even more as the prospect of defeat and withdrawal

Continued on page 6

SO MALCOLM X is dead, murdered. And three officials of the Congo-Brazzaville Government are dead, murdered. And a Prime Minister of Burundi is dead, murdered. Just as Patrice Lumumba is dead, murdered. And Uganda is bombed. And North Vietnam is bombed. And the Government of the Sudan topples. And there is a plot to overthrow the revolution in Tanzania. And South African Nazis slaughter the Congolese people. The death lashes of the imperialist monster, in its long drawn-out agony, are sometimes terrible. The ship of world politics rocks dizzily on crazy waters; our epoch is unkind to people prone to sea-sickness.

### WORLD'S REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE

Yes, yes, we know. "Lumumba was not killed by the imperialists; he was killed by traitorous Africans." We know. "The Brazzaville officials were not killed by the imperialists; they were killed by left-wing opponents." And: "The Prime Minister of Burundi was not killed by the imperialists; he was killed by the Chinese Communists." And: "Malcolm X was not killed by the imperialists; he was killed by Afro-Americans from the Black Muslim movement." Yes, yes, we know. Just as: "John Kennedy was not killed by fascist imperialists (his friends) who thought he was dangerously soft on certain questions; he was killed by a crypto-communist, maniac named Lee Harvey Oswald."

The world's revolutionary people have a disarming simplicity. When political murders occur, they ask the devastating question: Who profits from their deaths? Once they can reply, they know the real murderers. Malcolm, like the others, was a victim of the mafia of imperialism in decline.

The assassinations of Lumumba and the Brazzaville officials, and even the murder of John Kennedy, are relatively easy to understand. But Malcolm X? An American in Accra scoffed the other day when a group of Ghanaians asserted that U.S. imperialism really killed Malcolm. "Why on earth would they bother to kill him?" he said with a mocking laugh. "He had only a tiny following, he was not a threat to anyone."

Nice, fuzzy-cheeked American! The leaders of fascist imperialism who control the invisible government of the United States are much more clever than he. With terrible

by  
W. G. Smith  
lucidity, they saw Malcolm X for what he was—the most dangerous man, from their standpoint, in the whole of the United States.

They did not look at Malcolm from a purely racist point of view. That is, they are not stupid racists like the Southern American "red-necks" or the South African Boers. Racism interests them only as an instrument to be manipulated in the interests of power and profits.

What they saw in Malcolm X, through all the carefully staged-managed complexities and confusion of American politics, was the man who was going to make a contribution to the anti-capitalist revolution in the United States. The twenty-two million Afro-Americans hold the key to America's domestic future. They are America's catalyst. They are the instruments of her change. The overwhelming majority of Americans are relatively satisfied with the U.S. the way it is. They make money, they have television, they have cars, they can go on Sundays to the beach. Quiet, quiet, let things just go on the way they are now, these Americans think. With air conditioning and chewing gum. Suburbia and ping-pong. Swaggering males and frustrated females. But it's all right. Don't rock the boat.

But who rocks the boat? Who does not like American as it is now? Who tortures whatever conscience the Americans have left? Who breaks constantly into the delicious reverie with an insistent: "Things have got to change, man, things have got to change"? Above all, who moves? Who organizes, marches, strikes, riots, demonstrates, goes to jail, dies? The Afro-American.

This agitation, and the subsequent unfavourable "publicity", would be bad enough. But the effect of all this is more than simply unpleasant "noise". This movement threatens what Afro-Americans call the U.S. "power structure"—that is, American capitalism.

### INTERNAL COLONY

Afro-Americans form an "internal colony" in the U.S. They constitute a vast reserve of cheap labour. The overwhelming majority in their ghettos and segregated residential areas, are isolated from the white population almost as surely as if they lived in another land. They are the shock troops of America's recurrent economic crises: they are first fired when times are bad, the last hired when times are good. They cushion the white working class. They

provide a huge market for the products of the white society. And, psychologically, they are marvellous scapegoats. Unbalanced white Americans can hate them with good conscience, and mediocre white Americans can feel deliciously superior to them. They are handy instruments for dividing the U.S. working class movement.

Things, from the imperialist point of view, had been relatively good until the African Revolution began. True, there had been revolts, riots, demonstrations and the like in the past, but these had been crushed with bloody gusto and life rolled merrily along. But the African Revolution complicated things. It became hard to massacre black Americans and still remain on good terms with vital Africa. It became embarrassing to preach "freedom" abroad with this blatant example of un-freedom at home.

Meanwhile, the African Revolution, and specifically the shining example of Ghana, had an electrifying effect on Afro-Americans. Black men were on the march in Africa. Black men were ruling themselves, defying the imperialists, building industries and walking proudly with heads held high! Black Americans identified themselves with all this. They gathered their strength and their pride and launched what is now known in the United States as "The Negro Revolt."

### THE NEGRO AND EQUALITY

The aim of the Afro-American in launching this revolt was to obtain full "equality" within American society. He wanted equal job, housing, social and educational opportunities; he wanted the vote; he wanted to be a "full American."

But what most Afro-Americans did not realize, and what they still do not realize, is that this goal cannot possibly be attained without a complete top-to-bottom social revolution in the United States, a revolution which if carried to its ultimate conclusion would mean the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of socialism in the U.S. The Black Revolt is the harbinger of the coming American Revolution. For U.S. imperialism, strange as this may sound now, will ultimately be defeated from within.

Che Guevara touched briefly on this when he spoke at the Press Club here in Accra. He said that once Africa, Asia and Latin America had achieved their total emancipation, and once the U.S. imperialists could no longer savagely exploit these peoples to obtain the super-profits they use to bribe their own working class, then for the first time the American capi-

talists will be left face to face with their own working class. Economic necessity will compel them, to survive, to increase the exploitation of their own working class. And

when they do so, they will launch the final battle which will seal their doom. The rapid progress of the Revolution in Africa, Asia

Continued on Page 2



THE LATE MALCOM X

### RAKE'S PROGRESS?

JUST OVER a year ago, six lecturers of the University of Ghana were deported. The occasion was accompanied by protests from some sections of the world Press and members of the University in the name of Academic Freedom. We believe the following quotations from the journal "West Africa" are an eloquent testimony to the correctness of the Government's decision to deport Greco. It is clear that he has played a sinister role in African politics and now he feels strong enough to come out openly as the representative of Africa's most despicable politician and racketeer. It is clear from the apologies that Dr. Greco has a very elevated idea of his own importance and we hope the significance of the claims and their emptiness is not lost upon those who were so anxious to offer sympathy to him a year ago. Perhaps Tshombe thought he was hiring a high powered executive too, he has clearly made a blunder, and his new representative may turn out to be a liability and an embarrassment. EDITOR

### WEST AFRICA, JANUARY 30TH 1965.

It took Tshombe 18 months to make his comeback. It should perhaps be noted here that Mr. Tshombe has recruited a persuasive new recruit to help his image-polishing in the intriguing person of Dr. Gaston Greco (a bilingual Antillais (from Guadeloupe) who has been on the African scene for some time. Students of the pages of West Africa will recall that last February he was one of those deported from Ghana, where he was head of the department of French studies at Legon.

Prior to this he was in charge of the organisation of the external services of Radio Ghana. During his period in Ghana he was reportedly close to President Nkrumah. And now he is adviser at the Congo's London Embassy (full title of his department is Press, Information and Cultural Affairs).

### WEST AFRICA FEBRUARY 13TH 1965

"Dr. Gaston Greco pictured here in the Congo Embassy. Dr. Greco has now been

(Continued on page 2)



# PLOT AGAINST AFRICA

THE past two weeks were vital ones for the African Revolution. The Western Powers through various means tried and failed to intimidate five separate African states: Uganda, the Congo-Brazzaville, the United Arab Republic, Tanzania and Ghana.

government plot was discovered and two American diplomats were expelled. In addition, West Germany announced that it would cut off all aid to Tanzania because that country had agreed to permit the German Democratic Re-



Col. A. Nasser  
President U.A.R.

in the press of the Western Powers and by neo-colonialist leaders in Africa itself. The Western Press charged that the recent Treason Trial had been "rigged," and that Tawia Adamafio and the other condemned men were innocent. And at the Nouakchott Conference, thirteen French-speaking African states not only tried to sabotage African Unity but also accused Ghana of practicing "subversion" in other African countries.

march forward with the African Revolution.

In face of aggression, Uganda fought back. Her troops chased out the invading Tshombe mercenaries. Uganda mobilised her armed forces and, together with Kenya and

Tanzania, issued a strong warning to the United States and the Congo-Leopoldville regime. The Kenya Government also published a separate statement warning the U.S. of the consequences of her Congo policy.

The Congo-Brazzaville Government has arrested some of the leaders of the anti-government plot, including a Portuguese national and the Director of Brazzaville's Information Department. The Government has rallied the people to its defence.



Walter Ulbricht  
President G.D.R.

### THESE ATTACKS

All of these attacks are related and their aims are the same—to break the back of the African Revolution and force the militant countries of Africa to bow to the will of the great imperialist powers, in both their foreign and domestic policies.

But, to the great surprise of the imperialists, all of these attacks failed. In fact, the attacks backfired in the faces of the Western Powers. Far from frightening the militant African countries, these attempts at intimidation merely strengthened their resolve to

### WESTERN DISPLEASURE

Tanzania has pursued her policy towards the GDR regardless of the West German threats (since carried out). She has also recalled her Ambassador to the United States—a move that shocked the State Department. Meanwhile, despite Western displeasure, President Nyerere went on a state visit to the Peoples' Republic of China where he signed a final communique hailing the Afro-Asian liberation struggle and announcing that President Liu Shao-Chi and Premier Chou en Lai will visit Tanzania.

The U.A.R. has received Herr Ulbricht and given him the reception of a Head of State. Turning the tables, President Nasser announced that he might officially recognise the GDR if West Germany went through with its threat to cut off loans. This has caused panic in the West German Government, for it fears that if the U.A.R. recognises the GDR, other Arab (and Afro-Asian) countries might follow suit.

And, here in Ghana, the people showed on the occasion of the anniversary of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's release from prison that they have rallied even closer around him in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism and for African unity under a Continental Union Government. The imperialist press attacks against the verdicts of the Treason Trial collapsed when Dr. Busia and other counter-revolutionaries abroad refused a challenge made by Ghana's High Commissioner to London, Mr. Armah, to return to Accra under U.N. protection and stand trial before a court of international jurists.

The Nouakchott Conference has caused temporary damage to African Unity. But already the Congo-Brazzaville which took part in the conference, has announced that it opposes the conference's charges against Ghana. And this week the Federation of African Students in France, composed mainly of students from the very French-speaking states who participated in the conference, condemned the conference for trying to sabotage African unity and the African Revolution.

It has therefore, despite some outward appearances, been on the whole a good fortnight for the African Revolution. Militant African states were put to the test, and passed it well. Let us hope that our firm reaction will serve as a lesson to the imperialists, and persuade them that efforts to intimidate us are vain. In these days when some African leaders are letting themselves be maneuvered by imperialism, the events of the past week shine forth as signs of the new Africa, the real Africa, the Africa that cannot be intimidated and which will never bow its head.

liberation movement in revolutionary Africa.

He knew that the forces of fascist imperialism in the United States had organized and armed a secret army to combat any threat to imperialism. The Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the Minutemen—these are all merely visible parts of this vast army of intimidation, the army that strikes at night, burns and tortures and kills. The Central Intelligence Agency is a "legal" wing of this army. And so are certain other "law enforcement" agencies.

Malcolm dedicated himself to the terribly dangerous task of organizing a parallel army among black men. His ultimate aim, roughly speaking, was to form an Afro-American equivalent of the Algerian National Liberation Front that won the fight against the French army and the fascists organized into the Secret Army Organization (OAS). America's invisible rulers knew this, because their agents had penetrated his organization. So they condemned him to death.

Kafka wrote: "The fox does not realize that it is already dead as the hounds bark in their kennels." Malcolm was a willier fox than that. He heard the hounds. He knew he was dead. He said so to friends. But he had measured his death, weighed it carefully. He decided to die. His blood has fertilized the soil of the Afro-American revolution and the American revolution as a whole, and will bear fruit.

cause. The Roy Wilkins and the Martin Luther Kings do not really frighten the capitalist rulers of America.

But Malcolm X. Malcolm was something else again. Malcolm did not believe in privileges for a chosen minority of the black population. He fought for all his people. Malcolm had no confidence in phoney reforms or "the vote". He denounced these with brilliant lucidity on the street corners of America's myriad Harlems. Malcolm X did not believe in non-violence, the turning of the other cheek. He told Afro-Americans: an eye for an eye. Get guns. Fabricate Malotow cocktails. Get ready to fight and die.

And, as his political sense matured, Malcolm did something else—the thing that signed his death warrant. He discovered and proclaimed the great dangerous truth. He cried: you cannot win if you fight according to their rules, you cannot win under capitalism; you must join the world revolution against imperialism! Thunder and lightning! The banking houses of America shuddered. This dangerous black man was trumpeting the beginning of the end!

"Practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty." Malcolm X acted on the basis of the great truth he had discovered. He took steps to link up the Afro-American struggle with the

Niger, Upper-Volta, Ivory Coast and Togo—to inspect French Gendarmes personnel serving in those countries and discuss with their authorities the development of African Gendarmes Forces.

RHODESIA: Several thousands of Africans with placards, greeted Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Britain's Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and Lord Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, when the two arrived at Salisbury's Airport yesterday from London for talks on the Rhodesian Independence issue.

Some of the placards read "Visit Gonakudibwe" (where nationalist leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo is under restriction), "Visit Wba Wba and you will be shocked", (Wba who is against the restriction camp) and "One man one Vote". SOUTH AFRICA: South Africa's regime has purchased large

### IMPERIALIST AGENTS

In the Congo-Brazzaville, imperialist agents murdered three high officials: Mr. Matsokota, the Attorney General; Mr. Massouane, the Director of the National News Agency, and Mr. Pauabou, President of the Supreme Court. Simultaneously, the Brazzaville Radio, announced the discovery of a plot to overthrow the revolutionary government and assassinate President Masmaba Debat.

In Tanzania another anti-

public to set up a Consulate-General in Dar-es-Salaam.

In the United Arab Republic, West Germany also threatened to cut off all aid because of the official visit to Cairo which GDR Head of State Walter Ulbricht is now making. Some United States Congressmen also recommended cutting off all "aid" to the U.A.R. because of allegations that the U.A.R. is aiding the Congolese Revolutionaries.

As for Ghana, she was subjected to a vicious, co-ordinated two-pronged attack both

## Who Killed Malcolm X?

Continued from page 1

and Latin America means that U.S. capitalism must increase, not decrease, its exploitation of its working class back home. So how can capitalism halt the exploitation of its most vulnerable victim, the Afro-American? How can the Afro-American achieve "equality" in a society which is destined to become more and more "unequal." How can capitalism guarantee the Afro-American a job when the U.S. has five million fully unemployed (this does not count persons who can find only part-time jobs), and will have even more unemployed once the balance of payments crisis ripens? How can capitalism cease using the Afro-Americans as a vast pool of cheap labour without fatally antagonising its "own" white working class, which would inevitably have to provide the replacements? The Afro-Americans constitute the vital, rock-bottom, savagely exploited base of the American economic pyramid. To say that they can "achieve equality" within that society is as absurd as to say that workers can achieve equality with the factory owners under the capitalist system.

The invisible rulers of the United States see all this very clearly. They know that the Afro-Americans as a group cannot be "freed," any more

than the workers can be freed. But this is the most dangerous truth in the capitalist world: It must be cancelled from the people at all costs. To mask it, while at the same time meeting the challenge of the Afro-American revolt, U.S. capitalism adopted a strategy of illusion and reform. It began to hire some Afro-Americans in high-paying jobs they had never held before. It sets out consciously to create a corrupt black middle and upper-middle class. At the same time, it deflected the Afro-American revolt into ineffectual channels.

### SPURIOUS PROTECTION

Black Americans spent their energies fighting to get the right to eat in restaurants most Afro-Americans could not afford anyway. Troops were sent to protect two or three Afro-Americans who entered formerly all-white universities which, from the point of view of academic standards, are among the worst in the world. Thousands of Afro-Americans have been jailed or worse fighting for a right to vote which, once obtained, will be empty since the two major U.S. political parties are basically the same (they are run by the same people and in the interests of the same class).

All of this makes headlines, but does not fundamentally advance the Afro-American's

tending the celebrations of the Gambia Independence Day.

\* Jean Marie, a Congo Brazzaville student at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, died in a car crash yesterday on the Accra-Winneba Road. Two other students in the car were seriously injured and have been admitted to Korlebu Hospital.

LOME: A French General, Louis Allal, Commander of French Gendarmes Forces, arrived in Lome at the week-end from Dahomey to discuss French-African Gendarmes Forces. The general said he was touring the Entete council states-



22nd FEBRUARY, MONDAY

GHANA: The youth of Ghana have renewed their implicit faith in the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and pledge their unflinching support and loyalty to his person and grand Office.

In a four-point resolution adopted in Accra yesterday on the third anniversary of the Ghana Youth Day, the youth re-affirmed their faith in the cause of the Party.

\* Mr P. J. Ngei Kenya Minister of Co-operation made a brief stop at the Ghana airport on his way home after at-

### Left Poems

## "Patria O Muetre"

So we have heard, Messrs Imperialists  
That Cuba is a threat to you  
That Havana Radio  
Is a nuclear weapon  
That Fidel's  
Are offensive missiles  
That the beads of our Cuban soldiers  
Are impinging upon your foreshores  
That our campaign against illiteracy  
Is poisoning your crops.  
Well let us put it this way,  
Messrs imperialists:  
We will sugar your coffee  
And buy your machinery  
Show you round Santiago  
If you come as a tourist  
But if you'd impose on us  
Plan your Jim Crows on us  
Our message is different  
We'll put it instead:  
We don't want to know you—

Drop Dead;  
"FAILURE"  
I can well remember the schoolmaster saying "Soviet Russia is not a success; The Communist regime is a gigantic failure It won't last." I think the schoolmaster made his pronouncement  
In the autumn of '38  
And never since then I've been puzzled—  
How long must we wait?  
Last year, the "Times" expressed a touching solicitude About the "luck" of the Rumanian communists. And I asked: "Will they succeed Where others, including Russia, have failed?"

## Pyrrhus, King of Epirus

A Greek bloke they used to tell me—  
That schoolmaster, I think, to his cost—  
Viewing his mangled artillery, mumbled—  
"Another turn up for the book, like this one—  
And we're bloody lost."  
So I'm going to look up that schoolmaster's number  
And ask him for his considered opinion, at length,

On why, when they go from Failure to Failure—  
They go from strength to strength?

### "COCKAIGNE"

If they ask me: why do I hate the bourgeoisie with a hate all-consuming and malevolent  
I have to tell them  
I have to confess that it is not the hunger of the peon or the neuterdom of the apathetic or the intellectual of suburban lazarhouses it is not for my brother with beri-beri or the Doomsday

Machine.  
I hate the bourgeoisie because they deny me Alpha Centauri and have stolen my Venus my vision of Mars and my liquid helium bubbling in the vast of Uranus.  
I hate the bourgeoisie coldly and malignly because their mental and economic sewage denies me in my lifetime the knowledge that Man is a god un-afraid  
I hate the bourgeoisie because their stinking dollars weigh down the spaceships and castrate spacemen and foul the planets by implication.  
And so, now I come to think of it—  
I hate the bourgeoisie because of beri-beri because of suburbia and for their Doomsday Machine and because, wherever I point my telescope,  
I register only the bourgeoisie;

## To Malcolm X

When we get down  
To fight the fundamental fight,  
We are alone.  
When we strip away the fatty slogans  
And dig deep down into the marrow  
Of our purpose,  
We are exiled.

When we challenge the stupor of tradition  
And bare the real earth  
With our weed-stained fists,  
We are assassinated  
In flesh,  
But not in meaning.  
—Julia Wright

## RAKE'S PROGRESS ?

appointed Counsellor in the Congo Embassy in London (not adviser as was mentioned in 'Griot' in our issue of January 30th. He is also Congo Prime Minister Tshombe's special representative in Europe."

WEST AFRICA, FEBRUARY 20TH.

"In an item in 'Roundabout' on January 30, Gaston Greco now at the Congo Embassy in London was described as having been, while in Ghana, Head of the De-

partment of French Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon, and in charge of the organisation of the External Services of Radio Ghana. In fact we are now informed by those in institutions that he was a lecturer in the Department of French Studies at Legon, and prior to that a Producer/Announcer/Translator in the French section of the External Services of Radio Ghana, and was never in charge of any organisation of the services. Our apologies for any embarrassment these inaccuracies may have caused to those concerned."

### NEXT ISSUE

## What does it mean to belong to the RIGHT?

The Spark answers

(Continued on page 5)



# The Role of Education in Ghana

It is universally acknowledged that education is important as a determinant of the present and future social order. But this belief in education as an essential part in the process of procuring adequate adjustments to changing circumstances and the social and economic needs has been emphasised in recent educational writings to an extreme which ignores the fact that education is not the architectonic science but is subordinate to that of politics.

The fact of the matter is that the aims and purposes of educational policy and practice are determined by the political authority. The colonialists realised this and pressed education into the services of the colonial exercise of domination. For until the attainment of independence, educational policy in Africa was formulated and administered by an alien, colonial power which was anxious to extend its dominant ideas and culture to its colonial "subjects".

The cultural function of colonial education was conceived as the Europeanization of the African. To justify the imperialist domination of Africa it was insinuated that Africans were a people who had no past history, a people who had no cultural heritage worthy of respect and study and had made no contribution to world civilization. In effect, Africans had remained at the childhood stage of the human race whose maturity was represented by the Western nations and therefore Africans would have to be taught from the beginning to discard whatever they had of their own and to acquire instead the trappings of European Civilization.

To that end the African was taught that everything African was heathen and barbarous. Our dances were tabooed, our customs and beliefs discarded, and all that was best in our cultural heritage was despised.

Indeed so great was the depreciating impact of colonial policy of Europeanisation, pursued mainly through education, that the products of colonial education were men who inevitably had been torn up from their social and cultural roots, indoctrinated with new thought processes and beliefs, with a new code of ethics and religion and encouraged to disregard their past.

The various educational systems which were devised for colonial territories were nothing more than transplantations of the metropolitan systems which had been developed in entirely different conditions and cultures and were imposed upon the colonial territories without reference to the environment, immediate needs and cultural heritage of the peoples concerned.

The translation of institutions from Europe to Africa inevitably created distortions and anomalies and resulted in an education which tended to be "bookish" and revolved around the memorisation of meaningless data for the purpose of passing examination."

Furthermore, the kind of educated person required by the colonial administration also helped to shape the education offered. The major need was for catechists required for the propagation of the gospel, teachers for mission work, clerks and interpreters for administrative duties, and clerical assistants for commercial and trading ventures.

## BIAS FOR THE WHITE COLAR JOBS

Such demands placed great emphasis on humanistic and literary studies and consequently little or no attention was given to technical training. As a result educated Africans acquired a bias for "white collar jobs" and contempt for manual labour.

The humanistic and literary emphasis in colonial education further resulted in a denial to the colonial territories of technicians and a skilled labour force. On the whole, the metropolitan powers did not sufficiently appreciate the role of education in promoting the economic development of society. In this connection Lord Hailey makes a relevant comment on British educational policy in

both India and Africa:

*"The error lay in a policy which for long allowed the Arts courses to absorb an attention which should have been devoted to producing the men whose professional services were required for improving the economic resources and the standards of living of its people"*.

This weakness which derives from the colonial system of education is still with us and extends right through all the levels of education, as the report of the UNESCO Conference at Addis Ababa in 1961, attended by representatives of 39 African States, pointed out:

## NATURAL SCIENCES

*"One of the principal deficiencies of most educational systems is their tendency to give too little weight to studies based on the natural sciences. At the university, there are usually proportionately too many students of arts, law and social science and too few students of science, engineering, agriculture and medicine. At the secondary level, there is a deficiency of technical institutes, and many schools, in the same way the primary schools, tend to neglect mechanical and biological studies"*.

Another feature of the colonial education picture of Africa is segregation. In some colonial territories separate schools were established for the education of the different racial groups and in some instances this policy of segregation resulted in separate education systems as in Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa. The policy of segregated schools is a further illustration of the subordinate place of education to politics.

The attainment of political independence has, however, resulted, in most countries, in the adoption of a policy of integration which emphasises national African aspirations. But in South Africa "apartheid" education has been extended and bolstered up by a series of legislations. Verwoerd, when Minister of Bantu Affairs, explained his government's policy on African education in these terms: "There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour"

Hence the passage of the Bantu Education Act which legislates a separate, special education for non-white South Africans as a means of preparing them for a menial role in society.

Finally, the enthusiasm for education among Africans received little encouragement from the colonial administration. Educational facilities were few and far between and not adequate to meet demands, with the result that in the majority of countries in Africa more than 65 per cent of the children still do not go to Primary school. In some areas as Niger (formerly British Somaliland), Ethiopia, Upper Volta, Mauritania, Northern Nigeria and Mali over 90 per cent of the children are not enrolled in school.

The enrolment ratios for secondary schools show an even greater neglect. In the

Niger, Mauritania and the Northern Region of Nigeria, there are so few children enrolled in secondary schools that the ratios work out to almost zero; in all except very few areas 90 per cent of the secondary school-age population of Africa is not enrolled in any secondary school. The median of enrolment for the whole of Africa is about 2 per cent.

Here in Ghana in 1927, when Achimota school was founded, there were 2 other secondary schools, namely Mfantshipim School and St. Nicholas Grammar School, now known as Adisadel College. The total enrolment in these two schools was 293 boys. By 1957, the year of our independence, the number of secondary schools had increased from 3 to 38 with a total enrolment of 10,000. This considerable increase was due to the urgent action taken in terms of the Accelerated Development Plan of Education in 1951 by Kwame's government, even though it was then only a token government under British colonial administration.

The position in respect of higher education is much more unsatisfactory. In only 19 out of the 50 states or territories in Africa is there local provision of higher education. The total enrolment in higher education in Africa is about 120,000 of which North Africa (Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and U.A.R.) account for approximately 105,000 and the rest of Africa account for 15,000.

In British West Africa, the foundations of University education were laid late and they were laid reluctantly. Late, because as far back as 1920 at the first Conference of Africans in British West Africa held from 11th to 29th March, West Africans petitioned the Secretary of State for a West African University. The relevant section of the resolution is worth quoting in full:

## A WEST AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

*"That in the opinion of this Conference the time has come to found a British West African University on such lines as would preserve in the students a sense of African nationality and therefore recommends that all existing secondary schools throughout West Africa, or those about to be formed, should promote a course of training that shall best attain the end in view"*.

But no action was taken by the British Secretary of State until after the Asquith Elliot Commissions had reported in June 1945—nearly 25 years later.

Reluctantly, because the then Secretary of State for the Colonies disapproved the optimistic majority view of the Elliot report (which recommended the establishment of University Colleges in the three major territories of West Africa) and accepted the short-sighted and timorous minority report which recommended that, since the number of students in West Africa adequately equipped for university education would not be sufficient for a considerable time to come to justify the establishment of more than one institution of university status, one University College situated in Nigeria would be enough for the whole of West Africa.

This decision was fortunately over-ruled by a vigorous protest from the Gold Coast, on condition that the Gold Coast Government would accept full financial responsibility for her own national University College.

To sum up then, the colonial regime provided an under-financed educational systems which was based on the practice and educational philosophy of the metropolitan powers and provided inadequate facilities at all levels. The entire colonial educational systems was geared to preparing the colonial peoples for a subservient role to Europe and things European, and was deliberately directed at estranging from our own culture in order that we might the more effectively serve an alien and colonial interest.

## EDUCATION—COLONISATION

*In the words of Prof. Ki-Zerbo of Upper Volta: "education was colonisation pursued by methods other than those of economic exploitation and political domination; a false linear conception of civilisation that the European countries had reached, a situation through which all other nations had to go"*.

Such an educational system as I have described above is anachronistic and unsuited to the demands of independence and national and economic reconstruction. We need therefore to devise an educational system that will eradicate every vestige of colonial mentality and made for the complete emancipation of the mind from all forms of domination, control and enslavement, an educational system that is geared to our national aims, purpose and aspirations to build a new society in which the best educational opportunities shall be the right of every citizen, and the education of the individual shall be an opportunity for service.

Our new educational policy and practice must take cognisance of the conditions of our environment and the needs of the nation and must seek to help our students to rediscover their African personality and to revitalise our spiritual and cultural heritage.

Such an educational reform received high priority in the deliberations of the Addis Ababa Education Conference referred to earlier. The report called for:

*"a general re-direction of the curriculum at all levels to make it more responsive to the needs of a changing society and more appropriate to the need for structural changes of the existing economies... the curriculum duration of school and hours of work to be reformed and developed according to African culture and social conditions"*.

Here in Ghana the state has rightly put education, including higher education, at the head of the nation investment programme and spends more on education, in relation to our national income than any other country in the world. Since independence there has been a desirable progress in the expansion of educational facilities and opportunities at all levels. Primary education in Ghana is free and compulsory. Already the enrolment in our free primary schools is well over one million. And by the end of the Plan period in 1970 over one million more—that is a total of two million children—will have been enrolled in our primary schools.

Our secondary school and technical education continues to expand at an equally fast rate. Ghana can now boast of 86 secondary schools. And this year over 8,000 new students were accepted for entry into our secondary and technical institutions. The supply of text books is free in both primary and secondary schools. University education in Ghana has been free since 1948 and will continue to be free and available to all who are capable of higher learn-

by I.K. Chinebuah

ing. This academic year, enrolment in our three universities increased from 2,500 in 1964 to 3,480. The plan target is to increase enrolment in our university institutions to about 25,000 regular students by 1970.

## FREE EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS

The only sector, then of our educational system which is not yet free in an otherwise completely free educational system is the secondary school. The Party and Government are, however, determined to lay a firm foundation for universal free secondary and technical education and with effect from September, 1965 secondary and technical education in Ghana will be completely free.

The egalitarian aim of our policy of the democratisation and socialisation of education is to afford all children equality of opportunity, which means the opportunity to develop any abilities a child may have, even if these did not lie solely in the intellectual field. For the needs of our economic reconstruction will be for a wide range of skills drawn from people of all degrees of ability.

In a very real sense then, the educational programme under the Plan is essential to the success of the whole Plan. And the success of the educational programme itself will depend on an adequate supply of teachers with a sound basic education and good training. The *sine qua non* of a first-class system of education is a high class teaching profession.

## SUPPLY OF QUALITY TEACHERS

We can build new universities and technical institutes; we can design modern schools and equipment; we can organise an entirely new concept of secondary education; but without an adequate supply of teachers of quality, the whole educational edifice will fall to the ground. It is in realization of this that our Seven Year Development provides for the inauguration of a new crash programme aimed at the increased provision of trained teachers adequate to the demands imposed by considerable expansion of educational facilities.

The new programme envisages the development of nearly 50 Teacher-Training Colleges into three-stream institutions each with a student population of about 500 and the provision of 10 new Teacher-Training Colleges and for the training of specialist teachers. Suitable inducement is offered by teacher-training education continuing free since 1951.

Our Party and Government realize that Education is the most important investment our country can make for the future. And if our investment in education is adequate to fulfill the purposes of education we shall get a long-term return on our education investment that is second to no other investment. For we are investing in the lives of men and women. We are investing in their productive capacity and service to the state. We are investing in the happy homes and families that they will build. We are investing in the contribution that they will make to the culture of the nation. We are investing in the ideas and beliefs of our society.

With particular reference to the education investment in the ideas and beliefs of any society Aristotle in Book VIII of his "Politics" writes: "No one will doubt that the

legislator should direct his attention above all to the education of the youth; for the neglect of education does harm to the constitution. The Citizen should be moulded to suit the for of government under which he lives. For each government has a peculiar character which originally formed and which continues to preserve it". Earlier in Book V Aristotle explains that "to have been educated in the spirit of the constitution is not perform the actions in which oligarchs or democrats delight, but those by which the existence of an oligarchy or a democracy is made possible. Aristotle in his limited experience distinguishes two types of government an oligarchy or a democracy—as the constitutional expression of a national ideology. But the point which Aristotle seeks to make is one of universal significance and acceptance that is, educational institutions are powerful and influential agencies and perform functions which are of high public importance so that in no country can the supreme political authority be completely uninterested in the affairs of its educational institutions.

In every country the political authority should, and in fact does, exercise a large measure of supervision over them in order to ensure the continuance of the ideas and beliefs essential to the continued existence of the society. In a sense, therefore, every educational system involves indoctrination. I therefore deny the hypocrisy and distortion of western educationists who affirm that the process of indoctrination is the monopoly of the communist approach to education.

Almost all western countries teach religion in their schools, thereby indoctrinating their children with a particular world outlook and a code of ethics. National traditions and patriotic attitudes are taught openly or covertly. And no political authority in any country allows the propagation, through its educational system, of ideas and beliefs that are antagonistic to the national interest and ideals.

Here in Ghana the nation has unanimously and irrevocably chosen the goal of socialism based on the philosophy of Nkrumaism, which has been succinctly defined by the Director of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute as the "ideology for the new African independent and absolutely free from imperialism, organised on a continental scale, founded up on the conception of a one and united Africa, drawing its strength from modern science and technology and from the traditional African belief that the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

## SOCIALIST ORIENTATION

Education in Ghana, then, must have a new socialist orientation and purpose. To arrive at our national goal of socialism we must start right now educating the man of the future. As Kwame Nkrumah has said: "We cannot build socialism without socialists and we must take positive steps to ensure that the Party and the country produce the men and women handle a socialist programme".

Our educational system, freed from its colonial trappings, must function according to the needs and aspirations of our society and since ours is by popular adoption, a socialist society, a society which needs trained citizens who will all be able and willing to con-

tinue with the national task of socialist transformation and reconstruction, the aim of education in our society must be to assist in the building of a socialist society, in shaping the materialist world outlook of the students, equipping them with a good grounding in the different fields of knowledge and preparing them for socially useful work.

To that end of Nkrumaism must be put over at every stage of schooling and reinforced by the other media of communication outside the schools, such as the theatre, films, radio, television and the Press, while our national youth organization must aid the work of the inculcation of the Nkrumaist view point. Particularly in higher education, all students, whatever they are studying and whatever kind of institute they attend, must attend classes in the philosophy of Nkrumaism, the history of the Party and the history of the African revolution. They must also pass examinations in these subjects. Thus it will be ensured that all graduates would emerge from their courses not only as specialists but also briefed in Nkrumaist theories and ideas.

Moral education at every level of our educational system must be presented on the basis of Nkrumaist morality which would include boundless loyalty to the group, respect for knowledge and for work, an understanding of the duties and responsibilities of the citizen of a socialist society and the spirit of Pan-Africanism.

## AFRICA'S NEW MAN

Our moral education must seek to produce Africa's new man. "Africa needs a new type of Man", Kwame Nkrumah once remarked a dedicated, modest, honest and devoted man. A man who abhors greed and detests vanity. A new type of man whose meekness in his strength and whose integrity is his greatness. Africa's new man must be a man indeed."

I believe our education for citizenship programme has these ends in view and must be pursued systematically and, with a revolutionary zeal.

But in order to achieve our general aim, education for citizenship must not be considered a separate school subject, but rather its spirit must inform the presentation of the other school subjects. There must be an ideologically "correct" approach to the teaching of every subject. For example our history needs to be taught as the history of our society in its own right, not as the story of European adventures. As Kwame Nkrumah writes in "Conscientism": "African society must be treated as enjoying its own integrity, its history must be a mirror of that society and the European contact must find its place in this history only as an African experience even if as a crucial one. In this way African history, can thus become a pointer at the ideology which should guide and direct African reconstruction".

Even in sport and physical education the approach should be based on the viewpoint that physical fitness is a duty of the present worker and future builder of socialism, to enable him to work better for the good of the community.

To ensure that all school subjects are presented for this particular point of view all teachers in the field will need to undergo orientation and refresher courses and the school text-books currently in use will have to be examined and those which are clearly antagonistic to our aims must be removed from our schools and public libraries. As you are aware the Government has recently appointed a Com-

Continued on page 4



# Social Policy in a Revolutionary State

EVERY Society is a process in time. The idea of a stable society completely functioning in equilibrium devoid of change is the social scientist's heuristic device for the analysis of society. Every society therefore contains within itself the seeds of change. But there is a wider sense in which the notion of social change is used.

Social change implies broadly two basic things:—

(i) Change in response to outside forces  
(ii) Change arising from the internal nature of society itself. An example of the notion of change implied in the first is the change effected by the forces of colonialism and imperialism.

The ardent desire for a conscious effort to change the structure of society in Africa has been succinctly described as the wind of change. This desire to change is largely confined to the politico-economic structure of contemporary African Societies.

The question to ask at this point is that: what has led to this tendency towards Social Change? What is the propelling force behind this mechanism of change? Let us examine very briefly two factors contributing to this phenomenon:—

(i) The experience of the colonial era.  
(ii) The experience of the post-colonial era.

These two forces inherent in the dynamics of contemporary social change are closely related, though one preceded the other. Chronologically, the experience of Colonialism, the effect of imperialism over the peoples of Africa is now a popular knowledge which should not detain us here. However, I feel bound to say that almost in every State in Africa but with varying degrees, the politico-social situation on the very eve of independence was far from conducting to a smooth social life politically and economically.

## SOCIAL RE-ORGANISATION

On the morrow of independence therefore Independent States in Africa are faced with a problem of social re-organisation and re-construction. Thus the experience of the colonial era together with the social situation immediately following the granting of independence contained within themselves the inevitable factors of change. The second level of social change is the experience of the post-colonialist present situation. Let us call this the neo-colonialist phase of imperialist experience.

Let me quote a passage from *Consciencism* to distinguish between the two levels of the colonialist experience... "A colonialist country can in fact offer independence to a people, not with the intention which such an act might be thought to imply, but in the hope that the positive and progressive forces thus appeased and quietened, the people might be exploited with greater severity and comfort. Neo-colonialism is a greater danger to independent countries than is colonialism. Colonialism is crude, essentially overt, and apt to be overcome by a purposeful concert of national effort. In neo-colonialism, however, the people are divided from their leaders and, instead of providing true leadership and guidance, which is informed at every level by the ideal of the general welfare, leaders come to neglect the very people who put them in power and incautiously become instruments of suppression on behalf of the neo-colonialists" (page 102). There are thus two very closely related levels of social change in Contemporary States. There are problems of change re-

volving round the task of political and economic consolidation and nation-building. There are also acute problems of a wider continental political unity and the fight against neo-colonialism which is a factor in this whole process of change.

Social policy or policy-making in African States in the throes of the wider revolutionary changes has of necessity to be revolutionary and militant. It has also to be eclectic without necessarily sacrificing the cultural content of the African heritage.

It is in the nature of this period of reconstruction that social policy should at once be eclectic and radical. A small policy which savours too much of foreign neo-colonialist flavour is a sham and belongs to the colonialist past—the very opposite of the social intentions of a revolutionary social policy in the circumstances in which African States find themselves today. In fact it will not be a social policy in the sense that it derives its inspiration and strength, its cultural and sociological premise from outside the society for which that policy is intended. The point involved here is that policy-making should be inspired by the mass society and made on account of it and not be an agent of other forces.

## SOCIAL POLICY

Social policy in Africa in this present revolutionary period should be geared towards satisfying the needs and demands of the masses as opposed to the interests of a minority or a clique. Social policy should be colerminous with the aspirations of the people. To fail in this implies:

(i) That the interest of the broadmasses has been alienated and that this interest which should be the goal of such social planning has been misplaced.

(ii) That forces other than the welfare of the masses are operative.

(iii) That the State and Society are not functioning harmoniously and this gives cause for concern.

Where societal interests and other interests conflict the former should be upheld. (In fact the two should not be allowed to co-exist at all). The only interest that should be a factor in policy-making should be the interest of the broad masses.

Social policy in contemporary revolutionary Africa ought to be above all a function of two forces:—

(1) Social conditions with a particular field of operation, namely the society itself

(2) politico-socio conditions outside the society and yet impinging however obliquely on the social system.

What do I mean by a revolution in this sense.

Every revolution implies a social change. The obverse of this statement, namely that every social change implies a revolution is not necessarily true. There is therefore something about social revolution which is not necessarily conceived in the generic term of social change of which social revolution is a specific instance. Let me say here at once that I am concerned here only with the kind of political and socio-economic changes sweeping across Africa. I am not so much concerned with for instance religion, aesthetics, ethics, etc. though they have strong affinity with the political and economic structure in the strict Marxian terminology of being categories of the 'superstructure'.

Social Revolution may be defined and conceived in many categories of thought; Definitions however sometimes mislead. It will indeed be more useful within the narrow limits of the term as here

used, to examine some of the implications of a politico-social revolution of the kind African States have found themselves immersed in. The strands which I delineate here have meaning for the analysis and appraisal of policy making in a state characterized by these very strands.

First, every revolution is a response to a societal demand for change. It ultimately has its roots in the social fabric. It is a crystallization in divers ways of the trend of social attitude and feeling at a particular point in time. A social revolution implies an effort to change an existing social situation the status quo.

Two, social revolutions are propelled by ideas, call it ideology.

"Every true revolution is a programme... the first thing necessary is to accept that principle". MAZZINI.

The role of ideology in a revolutionary situation or for that matter in any programme for social action of the nature we find in Africa is aptly expressed in this assertion:—

"Practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty"—(Consciencism page 78).

Marx clearly saw this when he warned that the final slaughter, among other things, of bourgeois capitalism depended on the political consciousness of the proletariat.

How true is this for Africa, for if the people of a state are strongly rallied round an ideology and understand and believe in it what other weapons do they need for the fight against neo-colonialism.

Three, it is a corollary of (two) that ideological principles and ideas which are the guiding lights for a revolutionary programme should not be compromised, for the compromise on a principle, a conviction or even any conviction is to abandon it. The basis and content of an ideology might change according to trends in social life but to compromise the essence of it, is to abandon it.

## COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

Four, Revolutions imply a tendency towards a counter-revolution though it does not always occur. Analytically and strictly speaking if there is any meaning to Marxian dialectics here is one.

What is the nature and content of this category of counter-revolution in contemporary politics in Africa or for that matter in Ghana? (only as an example of such a revolutionary state). The counter-revolutionary activities in the contemporary state in Africa can be dichotomized into:—

(i) Counter Revolutionary forces within the society itself

(ii) Counter-revolutionary forces outside the society but using agents within the society.

This dichotomization is not absolute for there is a meaningful sense in which these forces overlap.

There are:—  
(1) those who because of the economic interests and self-gain they enjoyed in the colonial times feel nostalgic about a past that is gone but is struggling to assert itself through neo-colonialism. This category see any revolutionary change as a stumbling block to their self-centred interests and therefore if they had their own way would stop at nothing to retard or even subvert this revolution.

(2) those who quite frankly are not in the position to appreciate the forces at work and thus fall easy prey to neo-colonialist blandishments. This is the category which lack in greater or smaller degree an effective political education. (Let me digress here. It is for this reason that an effective, pervasive and unending programme for

by  
E. K. Addo

political education should be drawn as it has already been done. The point however is that conscious effort should be made towards a most efficient drive for political education. This, as has already been realized in Ghana, is very important towards closing the gaps and making sure that there is no loophole for neo-colonialist adventures).

(3) external forces of neo-colonialist intrigues towards dividing one party against the other, dividing tribal groups against one another, raising false alarms where there is no need to, and playing on the continental plane as they used to do (and they still do it) on such notions as the radicals, the he-fists, Moderates, the Casablanca and the Monrovia groups etc. All these political strategies are calculated to divert national or continental interest on a particular programme at hand.

Such is the nature in broad features of the revolutionary and re-actionary forces at work in Africa. What is the answer the Revolutionary State has to offer?

## SACRIFICE FOR THE FUTURE

It is in the nature of the situation here discussed that above all the successful implementation of any revolutionary programme in Africa implies a sacrifice of present needs for future enjoyment. It also implies having to take measures—political or otherwise which are in themselves revolutionary and seemingly extraordinary. This is logical for there seems to be no logical consistency and political expediency in taking measures which in fact run counter to a revolutionary programme. Social revolution of the kind I refer to has a concomitant aspect of revolutionary and progressive policy making.

The nature, content of such a policy is or should almost always be a

(1) function of internal state of social affairs.

(2) external state of social affairs vis-a-vis the society. I mean here explicitly anti-social forces like political intrigues, inspired and engineered from outside by forces—neo-colonialist whose only interest are to instal puppet stepping regimes as a stone towards their own economic gains.

Now what is the relationship of policy making in my model revolutionary state and the dynamics of the revolution itself? In other words, what form should policy making take in the contemporary revolutionary state? Such a state is Ghana. Let us therefore for a moment narrow this analysis to empirical phenomenon in Ghana. The transition from one state of society to another i.e. from Capitalism to Socialism is not a sharp one, and it does not create the kind of psycho-social hiatus that would be expected elsewhere because of the essentially communalistic nature of African Society.

Ghana is now comfortably espoused to one party Socialist ideology. What does it mean? Let me quote from the *SPARK*. (Accra 29th December, 1962):

"The political parties that have unfurled the banner of socialism must quickly and decisively convert themselves from nationalist mass movements into armies of dedicated militants of socialism. Only such far-reaching changes within the political parties will facilitate the transmission socialist ideas to the masses more

especially the peasants and youths

It is no mere coincidence in this connection that the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute was instituted. (Since its institution this pan-African centre for the examination and dissemination of the ideas guiding the tempo of the revolution in Africa, has justified its *raison d'être*. Into its gates go young men and women, seeking knowledge and political guidance, from its gates come youths fired with the thoughts of the revolution to play their quota in the struggle for the emancipation of their race!

It is a growing tribute to the work done here that it should be converted into a University—a much needed venture).

I need not go into the basic elementary tenets of socialist thought which is already a common knowledge.

What I am concerned with here is an examination of certain polemics which have been precipitated and are often a source of unending discussion and sometimes acrimonious and unwarranted criticism.

I refer to the kind of polemics revolving around social policies which centre on the concept of "democracy" law, justice, "freedom", etc.

In the first instance, we in Africa or for that matter in Ghana, should not forget that:—

(1) the socio-political efferescence in Africa has not subsided

(2) that "neo-colonialism is a greater danger to independent countries than is colonialism" (Consciencism in p. 102)

Granted that we are espoused to scientific socialist ideology within the framework of a one party state, nevertheless the content of our social policy is eclectic without necessarily sacrificing the content of our own traditional social heritage or "satisfying" blindly and slavishly a particular trend of social value-system. With all its Catholic nature, residually, the content of our social policy ought to be African. Let me quote you a passage from the magazine *Voice of Africa* (October 1961—Accra).

"Our emphasis upon Africa bespeaks neither chauvinism nor isolationism... We welcome men of goodwill everywhere to join us irrespective of race, religion or nationality... The concept 'Africa for the Africans' does not mean that other races are excluded from it. It only means that Africans who are naturally... shall and must govern themselves in their own countries. The fight is for the future of humanity..." Kwame Nkrumah.

## DEMOCRATIC POLICIES

What matters in the whole process of policy-making in a revolutionary state such as Ghana is not whether a particular policy satisfies a clique, an external interest group or system, but whether the people for whom it is intended do accept it and in fact support it, no matter whether it might be a 'violation' or some mystical conception of "democracy" enunciated by some outside interest group which masquerade behind empty concepts like 'democracy' social justice to strike a vicious blow. It can be said quite simply that the masses of the people in fact accept the policies of the state which are in fact their own demonstrated choice. Any false alarm is a signal for neo-colonialist forces.

Ghana and for that matter African States are all too often targets of much political commentary and uninformed criticism. Let me but quote a passage from a recent article. In his article—"DEMOCRACY TO THE SLAUGHTERER" published in *Men Only* December, 1964 (page 25) Willie Frischauer writes:—

"Nowhere on the other hand has democracy suffered graver setbacks and disappointed higher (italics mine) hopes than in Africa where it should have been possible to give the emergent newly independent nations the benefit of Western democratic experience (italics mine) instead the picture is dismay. We know that a political system which suits one people does not necessarily meet the requirements of another nation, but what can one make of say Ghana where conditions could not be further removed from conventional democracy (italics mine).

I quote only this to expose its absurdity. In the first place without going into much polemics with the notion of democracy one is forced to ask what the writer means by higher hopes. In any case whose higher hopes have been disappointed. Is it the higher hopes of neo-colonialist-cum-imperialist forces. The lessons of the Congo, South Africa and Angola are too fresh in our minds. Is Congo, Angola, South Africa, the "benefit of Western democratic experience" the writer refers to. If by a conscious and concerted effort to curb neo-colonialist agents saboteurs of the national revolutionary cause, we have disappointed higher hopes, if by fighting against neo-colonialist forces we have disappointed higher hopes we should rather be content in this, for this, more than anything else, has been our aim—to deal a mortal blow to the enemy.

When these winters of the mentality of Willie Frischauer started talking about abrogation of *Conventional Democracy etc.* we are not surprised for they criticize because they don't see what they expect to see and therefore everything is all wrong, undemocratic etc. More often we come to realize that these frantic effusions are mere political ruse.

Social policy in such a revolutionary state as Ghana will have of necessity to be firm without necessarily being inhuman. The kind of law existing in a society at a point in time (I mean a revolutionary state) will have to be a function of the external pressure on the society. I mean

## The Role of Education in Ghana

Continued from page 3

mittee with powers to organise a system of inspection in all public bookshops and libraries to ensure that publications in them which do not reflect the ideology of the Party or are antagonistic to the ideals of the Party should be removed.

Finally, in a developing country with vast potentialities and enormous resources like Ghana it is vital that our educational programme should place emphasis on the study of science and technology. Our educational system must show an appreciation of the important role of science and technology in our socialist development. For today, more than at any other time in the history of our nation, Ghana needs trained scientists of all kinds as well as men and women with technological skill to carry out the socialist reconstruction of our country particularly in industry and agriculture as outlined in our seven-year development plan.

As Kwame Nkrumah has said: "Only the mastery and unremitting application of science and technology can guarantee human welfare and human happiness. Socialism without science is empty. To achieve socialism, the emphasis in our educational system must be shifted from purely literary concern to science and technology." All talents, particularly those which lie in the field of science and technology, will have to be

here forces and pressures such as are engendered by neo-colonialism. In any case, law and the notion of legality should not be rigidly dissociated from social needs, social morality, custom and the tempo of social development, for after all law and all the paraphernalia of the legal structure is but or should be largely the projections of the customs, needs of the society. It is in the nature of the revolutionary era and the forces that militate against the progressive development of social policy that sometimes it becomes necessary on account of the security of the state and the supreme welfare of the people to take EXTRA-LEGAL measures.

I am not advocating any extremist notion of the relativity of society. State and all its appurtenances. All that I am saying is that inane and absolute notions of legality justice etc should in the nature of things be stood in that correct sociological or social milieu.

## EIGHT YEARS OF DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

Considering the revolutionary phase of political and social developments in Africa, considering the re-actionary forces of neo-colonialism and the attendant fear of insecurity of many a state in Africa, but considering the ardent desire to reconstruct and build for the broadmasses—a task which so many years (about us in Ghana) of colonialism could not do to the same extent as is being done within the short span of eight years in Ghana, and also within a framework of external neo-colonialist intrigues, what else could such a state have done? It is a living tribute to the practical leadership and direction of Nkrumah and the C.P.P. that in the face of all the political intrigues and harassment, in the face of political endeavours on the continental plane the people of Ghana have been welded together under a forwarding-looking and revolutionary programme of social development. In the long run it is a tribute to the people themselves. The architect has drawn the plan, the foundation has been laid the building is left to you, and posterity.

discovered and educated if, Ghana, and indeed Africa, is to be strong with industries and agriculture, taking her place in a scientific and technological civilization.

There is some danger, however, that the urge to give a new scientific orientation to our educational system in order to better the material and social conditions of our people will obscure an important aspect of African education. That is the positive contribution that Africa can make to the general enrichment of the world in ethical as well as in cultural terms. African art and culture as demonstrated in music and dance, sculpture and literature has already contributed significantly to world taste.

As an educationist, it is my conviction that the full flowering of the genius of the peoples of this continent cannot come about until our educational policy and practice has taken full cognisance in its policy and practice, at all levels of the needs of our society and of our African revolutionary aspirations in terms of the rehabilitation of our African values, culture and personality, thereby creating the conditions in which our scholars, philosophers, scientists and artists can grow and flourish and be able to impart the results of their genius to men and women everywhere in the world.



# Who is Africa's Enemy?

THE imperialists' cant for their wanton interference in the internal affairs of African states is a self-imposed duty to fight against communist infiltration into Africa. They tell us that they have to do this in the interest of the African people; that they have a duty to safeguard the independence of these states and to retain them within the "free world" where "democracy" is the code of political practice.

As if taking Africans for fools, they seek to identify African interests with theirs.

It is true that the greatest enemy of capitalism is communism because communism tries to educate the exploited workers and make them aware of their right, their power and their historical mission in the development of human society. It teaches them to refuse to allow themselves to be exploited by the few capitalists who wield power in the capitalist countries.

and even that the imperialists are trying hard to inject with some bitterness.

If anything, Africans should be grateful for the existence of powerful communist countries in the world today, for to them, they partly owe their continued existence as independent countries. If a pointer is needed to what might have happened in the absence of a powerful communist world, one only has to recall the Suez crisis, Cuba, the Stanleyville invasion and the attacks against North Vietnam. Perhaps we might even have never attained independence at all in a world without communist countries. It is also common knowledge that the little aid that the imperialist countries have grudgingly agreed to give us is being offered because of the fear that if they refuse we may turn to communist countries for help.

All this considered it is most ridiculous to hear some African leaders also complaining of a communist menace in Africa. To whom is communism a menace in Africa? Is it the suffering African masses who have no stake in capitalism or to the people who are supposed to be their leaders? Any African leader who cries about imaginary communist menace is certainly a neo-colonialist agent, and he must

forfeit his right to leadership accordingly.

On the contrary, the greatest enemy of the people of Africa has been, and continues to be, capitalism. This is amply borne out by history. For the greatest evils that Africa has suffered are the slave trade, colonialism and racial discrimination. Each of these was practised to satisfy the demands of Western capitalism.

The slave trade, in its most debased form, started with the discovery of new lands in America. These lands offered great opportunities for the large scale cultivation of cotton, tobacco, rice and sugarcane which could be sold at a large profit in Europe. But labour was scarce. The capitalists themselves were unwilling to work and the native Indian population had largely been wiped out in the process of acquiring the lands.

But the needs of capitalism must be satisfied at all costs; and so it became necessary to use slaves—African slaves. And thus began one of the most degrading experiences in the history of the African people. And for over three hundred years this ignoble trade in human beings which was to denude Africa of her manpower, continued. It is estimated that between 30 and 50 million able-bodied men and women were carried away from Africa during the slave trade.

Closely in the heels of the slave trade followed colonialism.

This is what Kwame Nkrumah has to say on colonialism in his book "Toward Colonial Freedom": "The colonies are a source of raw materials and cheap labour, and a dumping ground for surplus goods to be sold at exhorbi-

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tant prices. Therefore these colonies become avenues for capital investments, not for the benefit and development of the colonial peoples, but for the benefits of the investors, whose agents are the governments concerned."

In slavery only labour was callously exacted from the slaves, but in colonialism both the natural and human resources of the people were ruthlessly exploited. Finance capital is exported to the colonies for investments in operations solely concerned with procuring raw materials to feed the capitalist industries in the colonising countries.

The human resources of the colonial people were cruelly exploited to provide cheap labour for these enterprises. Such was the pattern of operation of the mining industries, the farms and the plantations owned by the imperialists in their colonies of Africa.

In the slave trade it was a craving for cheap labour; in colonialism it was a search for cheap raw materials, to obtain which cheap labour was also sought. In both cases the driving force was the same—the profit-motive of the capitalist.

Racial discrimination is also closely linked up with capitalism. This evil started with the attempts by slave owners and dealers to find justification for engaging in such an inhuman business. To lull the conscience of those who were beginning to question the propriety of trading in human beings and using them as farm animals, these capitalists had to explain that

Negroes were not the ordinary type of human beings; that they belonged to a sub-human species which dwelt on trees. This was incorporated in text books and taught to their children. On the other hand, the white race was presented as a superior race, and Darwin's theory of natural selection or the survival of the fittest was invoked to support their inhuman acts.

These same arguments were used to justify the colonialization of Africa, with the difference that some humanitarian intentions were this time professed, namely, to prepare the African in the art of government and leave him to manage his own affairs.

Racial feelings in America, Britain and some other coun-

tries of Western Europe today are the legacy of this deliberate misrepresentation of the African by the capitalists who had vested interest in the slave trade and colonialism.

It is no sheer coincidence that racial discrimination is unknown in those countries which did not participate in the slave trade nor shared in the colonization of Africa.

In South Africa where racial discrimination has become the code of official policy, the picture is a bit different but the objective is the same, namely, the provision of cheap African labour. In that country Africans are deliberately reduced to a state of penury and helplessness by official legislation so as to compel them to work as indentured labourers

in mines and farms owned by European capitalists. The doctrine of apartheid is designed basically to ensure the continued supply of cheap African labour for the mines and European farms and the retention of the rich mineral resources of the land in the hands of capitalists.

Thus the slave trade, colonialism and racial discrimination—representing the three most painful historical experiences of the African peoples—are all attributable to capitalism, which must therefore, be regarded as the number one enemy of Africa. And if communism is the number one enemy of capitalism, it follows by simple logic that, at the least, Africa must regard communism as an ally.

## DREADFUL EXPERIENCE

The millionaires, the business magnates and aristocrats of America, Britain, France or West Germany have every reason to regard communism as their number one enemy.

But what cause has any African to complain about communism unless he is an agent of foreign capitalism? Even the pretext of fighting to preserve democracy or to defend the "free world" is not applicable in an African context. For Africans as a people have never enjoyed democracy, nor do they belong to any "free world". Since their first contact with the white man some four hundred years ago their life has been one long dreadful experience of slavery, subjugation and exploitation. They have just had their first taste of freedom for which they have had to pay dearly.

## BOOK REVIEW:

### GHANA RESURGENT

By M. DEI-ANNANG

Waterville Publishing House 30s.

It is only the die-hard colonialists and the imperialists of the deepest dye who have been in doubt as to the capacity of the African to rule himself. The African has never conceded that he is inferior to any race in any phases, of human endeavour. In fact he has an envisable glorious past and a civilisation that has dated several centuries. His present relatively backward economy is due to his colonial past when he was subjected to various forms of exploitation of both his human and economic resources.

worthy link between the past and the present.

Ghana's uncompromising stand against colonialism is very well known. It will not be surprising therefore if a book about this revolutionary people were to be highly critical of colonialism.

But "Ghana Resurgent" is not a wholesale condemnation of the activities of colonialists and their hangers, the missionaries. For although they receive some scathing observations yet the author has not denied them a pathing at the back where he considers this necessary. For instance three former colonial governors Maclean, Gordon Guggisberg and Alan Burns are specifically mentioned for their liberal policies and the interests they took in the affairs of their colonial subjects. The missionaries are also praised for their educational activities which produced many of the educated leaders, of the struggle against colonialism.

Modern Ghana claims a deep historical link with the powerful kingdom of Ghana of the early medieval age. The author gives a brilliant historical survey to buttress this claim; but he strangely developed cold feet if not apologetic in his conclusion about the definiteness of the affinity of modern Ghana with Ancient Ghana.

This is to be regretted; for although the doors may still be opened for historians and archaeologists to find out more about ancient Ghana there is no historical data to cast any doubt on the definiteness of the link of Ancient Ghana with modern Ghana.

No account of the political evolution of Ghana could be complete if at all it would be worth while without the role of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party. It is an obvious appreciation of this fact that has made the author devote a whole chapter covering over twenty pages to this great visionary and the emergence of the dynamic Convention People's Party. There are enough facts about Kwame Nkrumah's background, industry, political acumen and organisational ability. Above all he is a believer in mass support. Although a former secretary of Dr. Danquah's U.G.C.C. the author tells us what separated Kwame Nkrumah on one hand and Dr. Danquah and *ipso facto* the U.G.C.C. on the other hand. Kwame Nkrumah he says "was a visionary, full of revolutionary ideas and determined to speed up the steps to self-government."

He describes Dr. Danquah as a patient, orthodox, painstaking politician. He then posed the question:—"Without Nkrumah's revolutionary approach and a certain degree of opportunism would the

Gold Coast have received her independence in 1957?" This is a very vital question which should have warranted a very illuminating answer from the author. But unfortunately he did not venture any personal opinion. He instead adopted a line of least resistance which apparently was non-committal by making it a debatable point between Kwame Nkrumah and Dr. Danquah.

The author's attitude in this regard appears puzzling if not timid for he says enough in the book to make even a biased reader resolve the question in favour of Kwame Nkrumah. Moreover by refraining from giving a positive answer on this vital question, he has denied his readers the valued judgement of an eye witness who at the material time could be regarded an impartial observer.

This brings one to other intriguing questions that were never asked in the book, much more answered, (1) what type of self-government could Ghana have won, had another party led by another personality emerged victorious after the 1956 General Elections? (2) Could the same progress made under the C.P.P. regime led by Kwame Nkrumah have been made? (3) Could there have been a drive towards a socialist society as we are making today?

The author's treatment of the above questions would definitely have helped his readers to appreciate better the good fortune of Ghana in having the C.P.P. Government after the departure of the colonialists.

In contrast to the above however, the author leaves you in no doubt about his belief in a one party system. His arguments for a continental union government for Africa are cogent and show a lot of personal conviction.

After explaining what he means by the African Personality, he feeds his readers on facts to show the belief of Kwame Nkrumah in a Union Government of Africa. He was certainly at his best in the way he marshalled out points to dismiss the allegation of the colonialists that Kwame Nkrumah's interest in a Union Government for Africa was motivated by his desire to create an African Empire controlled and manipulated from Accra.

"Ghana Resurgent" is certainly a book which would prove very useful to those who have not been following the progress of Ghana since independence; in addition it would help non-Africans who have known very little about Africa to see an emergent African State from an African eye. There is much in this 248 paged book to interest all students of contemporary African Politics.

# U.S. Imperialism

HOW often have the developing countries been reproached for not being grateful for American aid? Being grateful means toeing the line and acting as a willing vassal of American imperialism. As so many states become restive under these strictures and increasingly refuse to toe the line, the Americans are beginning to overhaul their 'aid' programme.

In case any of our readers think that 'aid' is given from purely lofty and humane motives, it will be as well to remind them that an average of 25 per cent of the surplus of developing countries goes in interest repayments on foreign loans. The Americans give loans and 'aid' because they think it will keep part of the world safe for U.S. capital. If our readers

are still incredulous we give a transcription of a statement made by Mr. Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs before a Committee of the House of Representatives in April 1964. It shows the careful calculation that goes on and the desire to control the internal affairs of other sovereign states.

—Editor

On the other hand, I think that in the long run there are favourable factors that we think—at least we hope—will prevail. This is an area where the British developed a very soundly based civil service, a well-trained military. Their schools and universities were pretty highly developed and have had a good degree of independence. The middle class is a sizable one, and the amount of free enterprise is considerable.

Their most important export crop is cocoa. These are all middle class, independent farmers. I think, when you put the thing in the balance, that over the long run we could hope for a government which would be at least non-aligned.

I think for the moment there have been unfortunate tendencies which seem to look eastward. However, I think that on the Volta Dam project, which has been mentioned earlier, the progress has been very good indeed. As a matter of fact, Senator Ellender saw that and remarked favorably on the fact that this was a soundly based financial operation. The Ghanaians have put up half the money for it. The thing is well ahead of schedule and is going to turn out engineeringwise to be a very good investment.

So I think that is about the picture at the moment. We are going to continue to have our ups and downs. But we have been able to talk and get some redress of specific grievances as they arise.

G. M. Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Hearing before Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 8th Congress, 2nd session on H.R. 10502 on Foreign Assistance Act, Parts I-VII.

Mr. Williams: The present situation in Ghana is a difficult one, as Governor Harriman just reported on his return from there. There is no ques-

tion but what the Soviets are making a determined effort either directly or through Communist-oriented people to increase their influence there.

And there was a period of time when the attacks in the newspaper against the United States, against the American Negro, were very bitter indeed.

## AFRICAN DIARY

(Continued from page 2)

peace. Socialism is a component part of our revolutionary struggle."

TANZANIA: The aggressive plans of the United States cover not only the Congo but all of Africa; this is confirmed by the recent brutal raid of American planes handed over to Tshombe's Government on the territory of Uganda. It is not only Uganda that is in danger, but all of Africa, the peace, independence of the Continent.

This is pointed out in the telegram sent by representatives of the liberation movement of Mozambique, the South African Republic, South-West Africa and Southern Rhodesia who are now in the capital of Tanzania, to the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.)

MOSHI, Northeast-Tanzania: Delegates for the nine-member Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) were meeting here today.

A spokesman of the O.A.U. said the conference will deal with reports of fact-finding missions on Portuguese Guinea and French Somaliland; draw up a report for submission to the O.A.U. Council of Ministers Conference at Nairobi later this week.

23rd FEBRUARY, TUESDAY:

GHANA: The Ghana-Togo border will be opened shortly following the settlement of all outstanding issues between the two countries, the President Office announced in Accra yesterday.

\* Two members of the staff of the Local and Municipal Coun-

cils Secretariat, Mr. K. A. Tamakloe, and Mr. B. W. Benyarko leave Accra for London today to day a four-month course in local government administration.

The course is being organised by the Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham and sponsored by the Ministry of Overseas Development.

UGANDA: The U.S. Embassy in Kampala, Uganda will be asked to leave its offices now in a newly completed eight-storey block as soon as possible. Mr. Semei Nyanzi, chairman of the Uganda Development Corporation (UDC) has said.

Answering reporters questions, he said Uganda resented American policy towards the Congo.

MALI: The Mali Army has celebrated its annual national day at Bamako.

The celebration was marked by a speech by President Mo-

Continued on page 6



## Editorial

Continued from page 1

from its sphere of influence in South East Asia becomes more likely, and serious problems develop at home, in growing unemployment, the fight for civil rights and the mounting balance of payments deficit. They have always hoped to make Africa their reserve and the possibilities of success are beginning to elude them.

This is why they are getting desperate. With their millions of dollars they are trying to split the O.A.U. The Nouakchott Union represents the result of lavish bribery; the almighty dollar is buying up corrupt politicians who are afraid of the pressure of the peoples for social advance and African Unity. Within those countries whose Governments are true to Pan African principles they try to bribe and corrupt individuals to do their sabotage for them.

They are conducting a powerful ideological campaign. This takes a variety of forms. They launch wholesale attacks on the philosophy of scientific socialism, they attack Consciencism, they slander and misrepresent the socialist world. Where they cannot conquer and drive out socialist ideas and theories they aim to confuse and promote the phoney concepts of 'African Socialism' or any kind of socialism except that kind which has been proved in practice, actually works, namely scientific socialism.

All these methods are familiar to us. Now a technique is being more widely operated which is an old familiar way to conducting U.S. politics. Embarrassed by the decision of nine African states to raise the question of race discrimination in the U.S.A. as an issue of Human Rights within the meaning of the United Nations Charter, the American ruling class has now replied by the assassination of Malcolm X whose visits to Africa influenced this importation decisions. Even a member of their own class, like the millionaire Kennedy is rubbed out because he evinced the slightest desire for changing the tactics of American foreign and military strategy.

### POLITICAL ASSASSINATIONS

The Americans are carrying their techniques further afield. The murder of Patrice Lumumba will live in the hearts of the African peoples for ever, the same pattern of political assassination is reflected in the attempts to kill President Nkrumah; now the technique is spreading further. This week we mourn the brutal murder of Malcolm X who joins the honoured roll call of those martyred for the rights of their peoples.

In addition we call the attention of our leaders to the murder of the Prime Minister of Burundi, to that of three leading officials of the Congo Brazzaville Government, Mr. Matskofa, the Attorney General, Mr. Massourem, the Director of the Congo-Brazzaville National News Agency and the President of the Supreme Court. In Kenya, an outstanding fighter for the Kenyan people Pio Da Gama Pinto, M.P. and Member of the Central Legislative Assembly of East Africa has been shot by a gunman. These events are not mere chance; they arise from the application of a definite policy, to strike fear into the hearts and minds of those who are bold enough to stand up to imperialism and especially to American imperialism.

The growing desperation of imperialism to try and stop the advances of the Negro Rights Movement, and the advances of African to unity and full development will not be stopped, even though the greatest, most determined and far-sighted leaders may be wiped out. They pay the penalty of being the most determined anti-imperialist fighters, the outstanding representatives of all that is noble and fearless in the struggle against the viciousness of a dying and decadent capitalist system.

One thing the American ruling class always underestimates is the people. Because they go around trying to impose their system on other unwilling peoples they seem to assume that this is how progressive and socialist governments are established. They fail to realise that all these governments they oppose and try to undermine still keep on surviving because their roots are deep among the people and that they are the inexhaustible reservoir of social change and advance and opposition to oppression.

Julius Fuck, a hero of the Czech peoples, murdered by the Nazis for his resistance to oppression and evil gave out the clarion call to us when he said 'New Heroes will Arise'. New heroes and heroines arise every hour that passes to take their place in the ranks of the fighters for freedom.

Our country, Ghana, now facing one of the most highly organised and brutal attempts to prevent her advance will also make the call, to her people to hurl defiance at the last representatives of a system which threatens their independence and their socialist future. Our people and millions like them will take their stand heroically against threats, bribery, terrorism, anything they choose to resort to. We know we are right, we know history is on our side, we know imperialism is doomed and we know we shall build a socialist Ghana and a united Africa.

WE ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE

# MERCHANTS OF HATRED



About a year ago, we exposed a link between Busia and Mr. Simms' public relations firm, Industrial Aid Ltd. We told our readers that Busia had engaged the services of this organisation to attack and discredit Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana and to boost up his prestige. The current spate attacks mounted by the press and radio of Britain and some other countries is the type of business Mr. Simms' organisation transacts. In view of the interest which these attacks have aroused and the developments that have flowed from them we reproduce below our article of March 9, 1964. —EDITOR.

**OPERATING** from an unluxurious but tidy office in Westminster Buildings in London, is a swaggering adventurer—an exquisitely devoted and grotesque propagandist—who runs a public relations firm, Industrial Aids Ltd. He is called Ronald Simms; He is leading one of the many anti-imperialisation campaigns in Britain and organises publicity for Popular Television Association; he is running the propaganda campaign of the Conservative Party for the Greater London Council elections; and he is also engaged in raising funds from American sources for the Conservative Party.

Mr. Simms works in close cahoots with the Iranian Embassy. For years he has handled the public relations work of the Shah of Persia. He works for Ronald Ngala's Kenya African Democratic Union. He is a very useful agent of the British Manufacturers Association.

### AGENT FOR SUBVERSIONISTS

With the instruments of modern power propaganda—the popular press, the radio, the film, the television and all the complex machinery that lie behind his organisation—Ronald Simms is running a fabulous public relations work for Dr. K. A. Busia. He is supposed to be involved in activities connected with interpreting and improving relationships all over the world for Busia. His immediate task is to make Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana the butt of sensational accusations and ridicule. Simms has got the British press and television to work against Ghana.

In the normal running of public relations companies, the basic purposes are the establishment and maintenance of goodwill. But in the present-day setting, public relations companies advise their clients on how they can run down governments. They start off by preventing journalists and British Members of Parliament with free travel and lavish entertainment. All these are made at the expense of the client.

### EVIL GENIUS

The political setting within which these organisations are placed is what makes some of their operations sinister. They can be converted into very slippery operations of hate and murder.

The line-up of the major clients of Ronald Simms clearly shows the sinister political racket in which his public relations organisation is involved. Recently, when he was asked whether he would accept an East German account, he said: "You've got to take ones that fit with your own political point of view." Simms' political point of view is therefore clear. He is a Tory bitterly opposed to nationalisation in Britain and elsewhere, he stands for corrupt and rotten monarchs like the Shah of Persia, and he is fostering neo-colonialism by working "to build up" and put life into dead woods like Ronald Ngala and K. A. Busia. In short, he is an evil genius dedicated to the cause of imperialism.

One is prompted to ask: who foots the bills for the running of these public relations on behalf of Busia and

Ngala? Big "hidden persuaders" cost big money. Industrial Aids Ltd. is a fabulous organisation with its ramifications and tentacles extending to all corners of the world. The story is told of a small subsidiary company of Simms' outfit. It is called Voice and Vision Ltd. It is run by the ex-journalist and broadcaster, Sidney Wynne. During the hectic days of the Central African Federation crisis, he was approached by Sir Roy Welensky. Welensky told him, "we've got nothing to hide here and you bring out anyone you like to look." Wynne sent 40 British M.P.s to Salisbury at the fantastic cost of £25,000.

Within the past three years, Simms himself has raised money for churches and claims to the tune of £7 million. A conservative figure puts his operations at not less than £10 million per annum. If Busia hires the services of no less a man than Simms, how does he meet the cost of retainer?

There are two possible ways by which he can get funds: Either Simms is running the show on the promptings of the Tories for Busia or the neo-colonialists have made a heavy sum of money available to Busia.

### NEO-COLONIALISM BEHIND BUSIA

The first alternative may be considered from the point of view that Simms himself is involved in Busia's politics and the fact that before 1961, he was the head of Publicity in the Central Office of the Conservative Party.

The second view is strengthened by Hella Pick's revelation in the "Guardian" of 1st February 1962 that "Busia has an agent enlisting money and other support in the United States...."

What is most important now is the evidence which has come to light to prove our allegation that neo-colonialism and international finance capital have been lined up

behind Busia to overthrow the DEMOCRATICALLY elected Government of Ghana.

We must understand why whenever the Ghana Government have taken steps to remove threats to the democratic verdict of the people of Ghana, the capitalist press of Britain have howled themselves hoarse in fits of tantrums.

By now the international alignment against Ghana must be clear to all the people of Ghana. At the Conference of African Freedom Fighters, Kwame Nkrumah asked: "Who is the enemy?" He provided the answer: "The enemy is imperialism, which uses as its weapons colonialism and neo-colonialism." Modern finance capital has found K. A. Busia a useful tool.

We must emphasise once again that the present situation in Ghana calls for ceaseless vigilance by the entire people. Resolutely, we must attack the very foundations of all the political myths of neo-colonialism.

## AFRICAN DIARY

Continued from Page 5

dibo, Keita on the role of the popular and socialist army and on national and international politics.

**NIGERIA:** The Federal Nigerian Supreme Court yesterday ordered Counsel for Chief Anthony Enahoro deputy leader of the Action Group to provide the court with full particulars and relative evidence of witnesses he wishes to recall.

**EGYPT:** Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba who is now visiting Cairo, has reaffirmed Tunisian support for the United Arab Republic in its dispute with West Germany, and expressed pleasure at the Arab "Victory" in securing a halt to West German arms deliveries to Israel.

**TANZANIA:** Mr. Saidi Maswana, Tanzania Minister of Agriculture has called on the Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee to do all it could to bring the Angolan

struggle to a successful conclusion.

**MAURITANIA:** United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. G. Mennen Williams, arrived in Nouakchott for talks with President Moktar Ould Daddah and senior Mauritania officials.

Nouakchott was the scene of the 13-nation French African speaking conference on "economic co-operation" last week.

**ALGERIA:** An Afro-Asian seminar in Algiers being attended by delegates from about 40 countries to discuss economic problems in Africa and Asia, was opened yesterday by President Ben Bella.

24th February Wednesday  
**GHANA:** The Congo (Brazzaville) Government has declared that unproved allegations made against Ghana at the recent Nouakchott meeting of the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation may only do damage to the Organisation of African Unity.

In a statement broadcast over

the "Voice of the Revolution", (Brazzaville Radio), President Alphonse Massamba-Debat of the Congo (Brazzaville) dissociated himself from the unfounded allegations made against Ghana by the 12 French speaking States at Nouakchott, Mauritania.

\*The members of the Association of Ghana Journalists and Writers will hold a memorial service for the late Malcolm X, who was shot and killed at a rally in New York, U.S.A. on Monday, at the Press Club today in Accra.

\***NIGERIA:** The Togolese Foreign Minister, Mr. Apedo Armah, declared in Lagos yesterday, that, "The people of Ghana and Togo are one and wish to settle any differences between them as brothers."  
"Togo," he stressed, "feels no animosity towards Ghana and hopes for peaceful settlement of differences arising from recent border incidents."  
Mr. Apedo was speaking to newsmen at Lagos Airport on his way to Kenya, to attend the Ministerial Council meeting of the Organisation of African Unity opening in Nairobi on Friday.