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THE SPARK



A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION
(Registered at the G. P. O. as a newspaper)

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2d.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1964

THE ENEMIES HAVE STRUCK — Kwame Lives



AN unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of the President yesterday afternoon whilst he was leaving Flagstaff House. Five shots were fired at close range. The assailant was arrested immediately and is in custody. The incident happened whilst the President was walking towards his car.

Salifu Dagarti, one of the President's Security Officers, was seriously wounded. He later died at the Military Hospital. The President was unhurt.

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

Who is

It was Nkrumah's political genius which won independence for Ghana and which sparked the torch of freedom that now burns all over Africa. It is Nkrumah's political genius which

What do men say of Nkrumah? To the aspiring masses of Ghana and the suffering millions of Africa, he is Osagyefo, the Con-

chure on the African Summit Conference describes him as "The Giant of Africa, a man of remarkable qualities (who) has won the respect and admiration of the world by his meteoric ascent and unwavering strength". The writers describe him further as "the mouth-piece of Mother Africa and a devoted Pan-Africanist," and also as "the symbol of a sincere and dedicated African".

described by them as a self-imposed Redeemer, a black dictator; and his consuming passion for African Unity is seen as a bid to rule the continent.

A COLOSSUS
But the malignity of these

KWAME NKRUMAH

sees through the arts and crafts of the imperialists and puts them in discomfiture. He is at once the envy of his contemporaries and the despair of imperialists and their agents.

quering Redeemer. He is the Man of Destiny ordained to put an end to the reign of enslavement and exploitation on the continent of Africa. The bro-

To his enemies, Nkrumah is a dilemma and a dangerous man. The Commonwealth on May 23, 1963 said he is "as dangerous as an adder." He is

detractors and the violence and virulence of their acerbity only demonstrate how much of a colossus he is.

(Continued on page 4)

COUNTER-REVOLUTION DECLARES WAR

by
Julius Sago

In essence, a state of war now exists in Ghana society. The forces of counter-revolution have again given proof of their determination to halt by violence and unconstitutional action the peoples advance to socialism.

Yesterday at about 1.15 p.m. an agent of reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces fired a total of five rounds from his service rifle at the President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as the latter was walking from his office at Flagstaff House to a waiting car. A senior officer of the Security Forces, ex-Chief Superintendent of Police Salifu Dagarti, was shot in the head and died later at the military hospital, Accra. Dr. Nkrumah escaped safe and unhurt thanks to Salifu's devotion to duty and thanks to Osagyefo's personal bravery and presence of mind.

Thus the second attempt in seventeen months on President Nkrumah's life has proved abortive.

What forces are behind this wicked act which has claimed the life of a distinguished citizen and loyal servant of Ghana? Why have these forces become so cold-blooded and frantic? What is their principal objective? And why have they chosen this moment to strike?

Yesterday's incident at Flagstaff House can be understood only against the background of the unfolding counter-revolution in Ghana. It is part of a carefully laid, and ruthless plot based on elements of the exploiting classes inside Ghana, supported by international finance capital and aimed at arresting, and if possible disrupting, the march of the African Revolution in Ghana and hence in Africa.

KULUNGUGU BOMB INCIDENT

Writing in these columns on the first anniversary of the Kulungugu bomb incident I posed the question: "Are counter-revolutionary intrigues in Ghana over?" The implied answer was that these intrigues were not over for my article which went on to state that "the steps taken to weather the storm in the past show the line along which the Revolution will be secured and consolidated." Barely four months after the enemy has struck again in melodramatic confirmation of the view that these intrigues against Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, against socialism in Ghana, against the anti-imperialist revolution in Africa are still with us.

It will be useful here to recapitulate the principal dates in the story of counter-revolution in Ghana. These are:

1. The 'Dawn' Broadcast April 8, 1961. Counter-revolution hit back in the September 1961 strikes in which some misguided Railway workers in Sekondi-Takoradi were used as the cat's paw.
2. The C.P.P. National Congress (Kumasi July 27-29, 1962) at which the socialist road for Ghana was overwhelmingly endorsed by the people. The reaction came three days after with the Kulungugu bomb incident August 1, 1962.

3. The Broadcast of December 31, 1963 which announced a referendum to give more powers to the people and create in Ghana a one Party system irrevocably committed to socialism. The reaction came two days after with a shooting incident involving a second class constable of the Ghana Police Forces.

A close study of these correlated events and incidents reveals both the source and the direction of the counter-revolution.

The Dawn Broadcast for the first time took the spot light off the openly reactionary intellectual, traditional and middle class elements that opposed the Ghana revolution and instead focused it on a class of 'new rich' within the folds of the C.P.P. It also served to underline the fact that Dr. Nkrumah's declaration for socialism was not a mere slogan meant to catch votes but a driving philosophy of life to which the leader had wholly and passionately dedicated himself. He meant to achieve socialism, not just to talk about it. He had thrown in his lot with the people and refused to use the people through promises never meant to be fulfilled as a mere ladder for climbing into power.

DAWN BROADCAST

The Dawn Broadcast exposed the 'new rich' within the C.P.P. — those who had grown wealthy thanks to their position in the state machinery — as a big, if not the biggest, obstacle in the nation's drive to an abundant life for all.

These men had to fight back. For them the revolution that brought political independence was enough. The second revolution meant to destroy capitalism and put socialism in its place left them cold and bitter. Although they were enemies of imperialism during the first revolution, these men suddenly became the conscious and unconscious allies of imperialism during the second revolution. For with imperialism they share a common dread for socialism and a common desire to see capitalism thrive.

Little wonder then that these men cashed in on the respect the workers had for them because of their part in the struggle for in-

dependence and at the same time drew on assistance from imperialist sources. The railway workers of Sekondi-Takoradi were cajoled into strike action which was sustained by £5,000 supplied through a U.S. bank in Lagos. British newspapers including influential 'Times' (June 1961) openly pinned their hopes on Gbedemah and the officer corp in the Ghana Army.

THE DIVISION

The failure of this effort did not mean the end of counter-revolutionary intrigues. It however brought a division among the 'new rich' within the C.P.P. on questions of strategy. While the Gbedemah group decided to join the U.P. elements in open rebellion to constitute authority in Ghana others in this class of the 'new rich' decided to conduct the struggle from the inside. There was disagreement over strategy. But on ultimate objective — reinstatement of capitalism — there was complete unanimity.

The failure of the capitalist inspired and foreign-financed workers strike in September 1961, brought one lesson home to the plotters. The people—the masses—are solidly behind Kwame Nkrumah. This being the case, these men must have come to the conclusion that the physical removal of the man was a condition precedent to the attainment of the goal of making Ghana a capitalist state based on a business partnership between local reaction and foreign finance capital.

The new approach—violence—was first used at Kulungugu, August 1, 1962. This followed quickly on the unanimous adoption of the programme for Work and Happiness at the C.P.P. National Congress held at Kumasi July 27-29, 1962. The historical significance of the Kumasi Congress lies in the fact that the ruling Convention People's Party had enthusiastically adopted a dynamic programme for socialism. The nation had ceased to talk about socialism. It had chosen to act socialism.

OSAGYEFO'S ESCAPE

This brought little comfort to the protagonists of capitalism. It quickly set the plotters in motion. By a hair's breadth Dr. Nkrumah escaped at Kulungugu. The torch of Africa's freedom and of the emancipation of the people was still alight.

The reaction of the people was firm, overwhelming and unmistakable. They stood four square on socialism. They breathed defiance at the forces of reaction.

The treason trials gave the forces of counter-revolution the opportunity to hit back. On December 9, 1963, the Accra Special

Court, headed by Chief Justice Arku Korsah, now dismissed, returned the curious verdict that stunned the entire nation. The Western press, particularly British and U.S. papers, opened up a violent attack on Ghana and Dr. Nkrumah. However, they all seemed a bit non-plused by the fact that what they thought would spark off a major crisis in Ghana fizzled out a damp squib. In addition, the people took advantage of the position to consolidate their power. This the referendum later this month will confirm.

The President's broadcast on December 31, 1963, showed clearly and unmistakably how the process of consolidation is to be carried out. The people were being called upon in a popular referendum to amend the constitution in a way to leave full power with the people. Judges are to be

removed by taking into account the will of the people. And Ghana is to become a one party state whose constitution upholds nothing other than socialism.

TREACHEROUS ATTACK

The enemies of socialism know that the people will vote massively for the constitutional amendments. Therefore, another attempt must be made to extinguish the light that guides the path of the socialist revolution in Ghana and beyond. Hence, the treacherous attack by a second class constable at Flagstaff House yesterday.

Who knows when and where next these agents of counter-revolution will strike? The only answer to the situation is a ruthless counter-offensive against these forces of reaction.

Eternal vigilance by the people, methodical weeding out of hostile, unrealistic or vacillating elements from the state apparatus—these are the two weapons which historical necessity has thrust into our hands. We have to use them.

We are now in the position to see more clearly how these forces of counter-revolution are made up and how they operate. There is no doubt that these elements are the capitalist-minded elements of the United Party reinforced by the 'new rich' within the C.P.P. In some cases, the unholy alliance is conscious. In other cases, it is not. In both cases these two forces pull in the same direction—resistance to socialism and the setting up of a capitalist regime sustained by foreign finance capital.

AID

The second element in this counter-revolutionary outfit is imperialism. Financial and monopoly circles in Western Europe and U.S.A. constantly come to

the aid of the capitalist elements in Ghana with money, diplomatic and political support. These interests hope to re-establish in full glory and without restrictions in Ghana ruled by the Busia-Gbedemah clique with their supporters inside Ghana.

The third element in the conspiracy is the 'Ghana state machinery'. While the majority of civil servants, police and army officers are transparently loyal to the Ghana revolution, some men in key positions in the civil service, the judiciary, the police and the army are doing their utmost in an attempt to obstruct Ghana's drive to socialism. Though not always directly involved in the plot, these men hope to provide a loyal administrative machinery for the reactionary forces in return for enhanced service conditions and a free hand to build-up themselves as a wealthy propertied class at the expense of the people. A few intellectuals in and out the universities

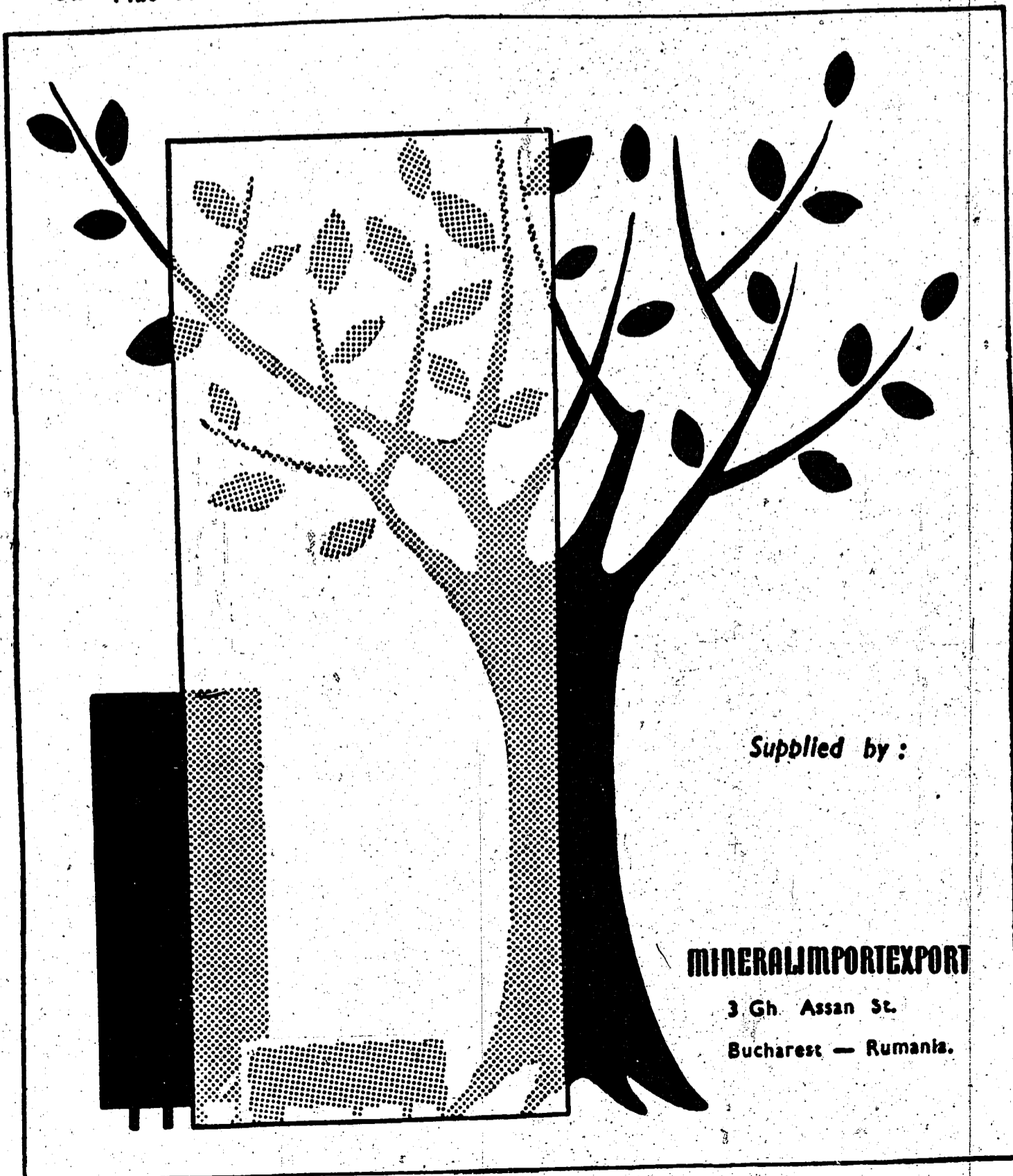
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We shall win yet Greater Victories

says
**KWAME
NKRUMAH**

I HAVE come to the microphone this evening, on the eve of the New Year, to share a few thoughts with you and to wish each and everyone of you a Happy and Prosperous New Year.

Much has been accomplished in the year that is about to pass away. By any standards, we have every reason to be thankful for all the great changes that have taken place in our country.

In all, our policy can be summed up in a single sentence: To achieve a higher living standard by improving the living conditions of our people, and providing increased opportunities for employment, and to assist in the total freedom and unity of Africa within the framework of a continental Union Government.

Nearly seven years ago, when Ghana became independent, there were only seven other independent African States. Today, that number has risen to thirty-four. In 1964, when Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland become independent, there will, in all, be thirty-six independent states in Africa.

FREE AFRICA

Practically, the whole of Northern and Central Africa will thus have emerged from colonialism. The unfreed part of our continent is fighting relentlessly to be free, and it will not be long, with the passing of 1963 and the coming of 1964, when all Africa will be free and united.

Indeed, as I speak to you now, in a few hours the imperialist-imposed Central African Federation would have come to an end. This is surely a great victory for the liberation movement so courageously sustained by our freedom fighters. We salute the freedom fighters of the African liberation movement.

In the international field, all we ask for is that every effort will be made to bring about a relaxation of tension and the end of the Cold War. In any event, we insist that the Cold War should be kept out of Africa.

VICTORY

Surely, the expectation which we held for Africa on the eve of our own independence, namely, that the independence of Ghana will have no meaning, except in the context of the total liberation of Africa, is now almost realised. But the final victory will lie in the political unification of Africa, free from foreign control, manipulation, and domination.

It is not enough to acclaim unity. We must work conscientiously and tirelessly for its attainment.

All the evils that beset us in Africa: economic exploitation, boundary disputes, the existence of foreign bases on African soil, the intrigues, bribery, subversion, and cajolement of neo-colonialism, poverty and want amidst plenty—all these evils, that are the legacy of colonialism and imperialism, can only be effectively removed if we unite under one Union Government of Africa.

I hope that 1964 will see a positive advance towards our goal of African unity.

At home, we continue to spend a greater proportion of our revenue on education

than perhaps any other country in the world. This, in itself, is a great investment for the future.

Our system of education must therefore be such as to equip our youth for the Socialist reconstruction of Ghana.

FACTORIES

We are building factories and providing employment for our people. We are going through an industrial and agricultural revolution. We are moving irresistibly out of the one-crop economy and approaching the portals of a diversified agricultural economy. Above all, the Volta River Project is edging its way into our future with its limitless promise for industrialisation and prosperity.

I could go on enlarging on the benefits which have come to us in the way of better housing and the rising standards of living during the past year; but that is not my intention at this moment. I wish rather to lay stress on what we could achieve and have not accomplished, and where we could advance, and have not progressed.

A revolutionary people, with a revolutionary Party, working at a revolutionary tempo, and with faith in its revolution, can move mountains. Our human and natural resources in Ghana are sufficient to transform our country speedily into an industrialised and prosperous state.

RESOURCES

So far, we have not mobilised or utilised our resources to the limits of our power.

We are united, but we are not yet working as hard as we should. That is not because there is no dedication or vision in us as a people, but because we do not make enough calls on ourselves.

In a few weeks from now I shall launch our Seven-Year Development Plan. The plan will demand from Party members, from our administrators, from our civil servants, from our workers and farmers, from our managers of State enterprises, from our organisations and institutions, from our magistrates and judges, from our university professors and students, from our doctors, and all other professional men and women, teachers and scientists—indeed, from each and everyone of you, the greatest sacrifice and dedication.

If we prove to be old wine in new bottles we shall fail to arouse the enthu-

siasm and spirit of our people. If we become self-satisfied, and allow ourselves to be bound by tradition, precedent and habit, or if we allow the apathy of a few people in key positions to slow down our progress, we shall be under-

wanton misuse of State property.

DELAY

In quarters where Government decisions are delayed and frustrated, we must find out who are responsible, and caution or discipline them.

We should examine ourselves critically in relation to the community in which we live and see how we can help to arrest the evils and

judgment of the Special Court. As you already know, I have in exercise of the powers conferred upon me by Parliament, declared that judgment null and void.

May I, however, make one point clear: The President appoints the Chief Justice, the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Judges of the High Court. In the performance of their duties Judges are not interfered with by the Chief Executive, and, to this

Special Court, showed a serious disregard for the office of the President.

His failure also to recognise the effect that the judgment, whatever it was, would have on the peace, stability and order throughout the country, for which the Government would be responsible, was a clear indication of his lack of political responsibility.

The Judges of the Special Court, by their failure to take me into their confidence, meant to create discontent and terror throughout the country. You the people of Ghana have made me the conscience of the nation.

DUTY

My duty is not only to govern but to ease the conscience of the people by giving them peace of mind and tranquility. The nation cannot tolerate a dishonest and corrupt judiciary. I want to assure you all that there is a possibility of a re-trial of the persons involved in this particular case, depending upon the results of certain investigations now in progress.

In the circumstances, the Government, in the interests of the people, wishes to take advantage of the situation created by the judgment in the treason trial to make certain amendments to our Constitution.

REFERENDUM

I and the Government have therefore decided that a referendum should be held between the 24th of January and 31st of January next year (1964) to seek the approval of the people for the amendment of the Constitution in the following respects:

1. To invest the President with power in his discretion to remove a Judge of the Supreme Court or a Judge of the High Court at any time for reasons which appear to him sufficient. The powers of Parliament to remove a Judge of the Supreme Court or a Judge of the High Court from office by resolution on grounds of stated misbehaviour or infirmity of body or mind will remain unchanged.

2. To provide that in conformity with the interests, welfare and aspirations of the people, and in order to develop the organisational initiative and political activity of the people there shall be one National Party in Ghana, which shall be the vanguard of our people in their struggle to build a Socialist society and which shall be the leading core of all organisations of the people.

3. That the one National Party shall be the Convention People's Party.

The details of the Referendum will be announced soon.

The Government and I have also decided to make legislation to provide for a new national flag, the colours of which shall be the same as those of the Convention People's Party, red, white and green—with the black star in the middle.



mining the spirit of our revolution.

It is never easy to determine in a State like ours, freed recently from colonial rule and domination, and burdened with the remnants of colonialist indoctrination and contradictions, how many secret enemies and hidden agents departing colonialists have left behind in our midst.

We are better off if we can trust one another rather than engender an atmosphere of mutual suspicion. Yet, unless we exercise the utmost vigilance and meet out the heaviest punishments for treachery and subversion, our revolution is always in danger of being undermined.

Let us, then, follow a few simple rules of vigilance, justice and fair play in the coming year. Let us not be taken in by those who pay lip-service to our cause. Let us watch out carefully for anti-socialist behaviour, whether it takes the form of outright deception or sabotage. We must be quick to expose and to punish bribery and corruption, and

shortcomings that exist in our society.

Your behaviour must inspire others and not breed cynicism and apathy with practices completely at variance with our Socialist endeavours and aspirations.

If we do this, we have no reason to look forward to anything but greater economic and cultural victories and the enhancement of spiritual and moral values in the coming year.

For certain historic reasons, the eyes of Africa are turned upon us in hope and confidence, whilst the eyes of the imperialists and neo-colonialists glare at us with hostility.

IMPETUS

Every victory for our advance will be a new impetus for Africa; every failure will be a cause of rejoicing in the imperialist camp. In this struggle, we can neither spare ourselves nor the opponents and enemies of our revolution.

Men and women of Ghana, I now wish to turn to the recent treason trial and the situation created by the

extent, they exercise the judicial powers of the State independently of the Executive.

CONSTITUTION

But, under our Constitution the office of the Chief Justice is not solely judicial. It is also quasi-political. It involves active co-operation and understanding with the President in securing justice, law and order, peace and stability. In other words, the position of the Chief Justice of Ghana is such that the holder of the post must be conscious of his political responsibility.

A treason trial, by its very nature, is political and can lead to unrest, disturbances and even violence. For this reason, our Government was bound to be interested in the treason trial by virtue of the fact that it is the responsibility of the Government to maintain law and order and to ensure the security of the State.

The failure of the Chief Justice to take the President into his confidence in regard to the judgment of the

“Friends and countrymen, we are a young and vigorous nation, dedicated to the building of a socialist society. With socialism, we shall be able to promote rapidly the economic growth of our country and raise the living standards of our people.

“All we mean here is that the ownership of the major means of production and distribution should be vested in the State, that is, in the people.

“This demands that we must all work to achieve production that can satisfy the growing material, cultural and spiritual needs and requirements of our people.

VANGUARD

“The Convention Peoples’ Party has been the vanguard of our struggle all along. Nearly fifteen years ago we put our trust in our great Party and gave it the mandate to fight for independence. Under its banner we fought against the seemingly impregnable forces of colonialism and imperialism and won.

“Let us resolve in the New Year to continue the struggle against the enemies of our independence—against indolence, against dishonesty, against greed, against bribery, against corruption, against subversion, and against all those evils which militate against the interest and welfare of our people.

“I know, and I am confident, that in the spirit of dedication and resolve we shall win yet greater victories in the years ahead.

“And now, before I leave the microphone, may I wish each and everyone of you health, happiness and success in the New Year.”

Look
out for
Two
Special
Issues of
THE
SPARK
on the
Referendum

Kwame Nkrumah

(Continued from page 1)

The French Foreign Office organ, *Le Monde*, describes him as a man "of tremendous stature".

Truly, Kwame has found

his niche in the sun and filled it. But who would have thought on that Saturday in September 1909 when a male child was born to Madam Nyaniba that Nkrumah would one day be a shrine and that the

whole world would echo with the name of the little baby?

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

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

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

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

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

MAN OF DESTINY

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

The Gold Coast was to be only a starting point in the struggle to overthrow colonialism from the entire continent of Africa. Here we see from the start his practical political sagacity. He says of his colleagues of the U.G.C.C. in "Ghana," his autobiography: "The sponsors of the movement (U.G.C.C.) were men whose political philosophy was contrary to the political aspiration of the people of the Gold Coast. This assessment of the situation forced me to the conclusion that it was quite useless to associate myself with a movement backed almost entirely by reactionaries, middle-class lawyers and merchants, for my revolutionary background and ideas would make it impossible

for me to work with them".

The breach between these leaders and him was inevitable. Here was a body of men steeped in legality and conventionalism, vainly imitating the sophistry of the British aristocracy, an intelligentsia in love with the nebulous idea of British parliamentaryism and regarding itself as the rightful heir to the British colonial administration; and there was the inspired youth schooled in Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary organisation. The association was incongruous, but it was a chance which should not be missed. Lesser men might have let it slip, but Kwame Nkrumah took it and won.

INCONGRUOUS ASSOCIATION

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

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

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

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

The events of history have proved him right.

IMPORTANCE TO AFRICA

The importance of Kwame Nkrumah to Ghana and to Africa cannot be over-estimated. Far from being an exaggeration, a dispassionate examination of current history will convince the most reserved cynic of this truth. A

reviewer of his autobiography criticised him for titling it "Ghana", stating that without him the Gold Coast would have won her independence any way. It might. But how long would it have taken and what sort of independence? What sort of independence would we have won if the aristocratic intelligentsia, utterly alienated from the proletariat whom they contemptuously described as "verandah boys" had been in power? Neo-colonialism would have been at its worst. And the tragedy would have been that we would not have known that it was neo-colonialism! Africa would have been doomed to, a condition infinitely worse than that of Latin America. Such is the worth of Nkrumah to Africa.

He alone among contemporary statesmen sees the incalculable danger that neo-colonialism constitutes to Africa. He alone realizes the irreparable harm we will suffer from economic dependence upon Europe or America. He alone fully appreciates the great risk we run by political alignment with the imperial powers. In "Africa Must Unite", he has warned that "neo-colonialism is a phenomenon against which all African freedom fighters must be on their guard and resist to the utmost."

SEER AND ACTIVIST

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

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

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

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

Until 1958, Pan-Africanism was a grand idea

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

AFRICAN UNITY

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

1. total liberation of Africa from colonial rule;
2. fighting neo-colonialism in the independent African states;
3. creating world conditions favourable to African prosperity and independence and the happiness of mankind."

Nkrumah's concept of African unity comprises "overall economic planning, unified military and defence strategy and unified foreign policy and diplomacy". These call for a

unified continental government; for only such a centralised executive body will ensure the total attainment of the three principal objectives of the African people.

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

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

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

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

Continued on page 6

SOCIALIST VIGILANCE

Colonialism has suffered major defeats in Africa since 1957 when Ghana became independent and immediately set herself the related targets of socialist reconstruction, total African liberation and continental political unity. Within the short span of five years the number of African states that have attained political independence rose from eight to thirty-four. And everywhere on the African continent colonialism has been shaken to its very foundations.

DESPERATE ATTEMPTS

In its desperate attempts at saving some of its interest, imperialism has resorted to various stratagems. It props up puppet African regimes in an attempt to deceive and divide the African liberation movement. It reinforces its own forces by seeking a "modus vivendi" with U.S. imperialist interests. It uses diplomatic action to undermine moves toward African unity. It plots assassinations of radical African patriots—Patrice Lumumba, Felix Moumie, and a host of others.

BUNCH OF AGENTS

Now it is the turn of Kwame Nkrumah. Use is being made of Kwame Nkrumah's political foes as well as some of his one-time close associates. British and French grenades are being pressed into service. The assassins' network includes Busia of the Hague, of London, of Lome and of U.S. Senate sub-committee on internal security; Gbedemah of Switzerland, Britain and Togo; Kow Richardson of Lome and of Lagos; couriers flying Western Europe-Accra-Lome and a tidy bunch of agents.

THREEFOLD OBJECTIVE

These attacks have a threefold objective. They aim at Kwame's life. They are designed to frighten Kwame into dropping his plans for socialism. They are calculated to detach the masses from active support

of Kwame's programme in Ghana and in all Africa.

STATE SECURITY

This is the case (and has to be the case) because West European and U.S. finance capital fear a socialist Ghana as the seasoned and victorious contingent in a vast and growing African Liberation army ceaselessly attacking the bastions of colonialism and neo-colonialism throughout Africa and persistently paving the way for a new Africa totally free and politically united.

In the light of all this, the people of Ghana and more especially the workers, peasants and youths must be in a state of constant alert and non-stop vigilance. Party branches in offices, shops, farms, factories, wards and villages must play a more active role in state security. They must raise the socialist understanding of members and sympathisers. They must watch the moves and conduct both of the unscrupulous employer and the money-minded worker.

BOMB THROWING THUGS

This ceaseless vigilance by the entire socialist rank and file must become even stricter at public rallies and demonstrations. All taking part from an establishment, a factory, an office, a farm, or a ward must form "one solid phalanx" at the rally and must immediately hand over to the police any strange face in their midst. This must be the rule whether in a stadium or lining a given route. We must march as a body from our places of work and wards to our positions in the parade, and back. And we must attend our party rallies in even larger numbers.

This is the way to isolate and crush the bomb throwing thugs who serve collective imperialism in Africa. It is the effort we must make to secure our ranks, to rally the masses to our cause, and to quicken the tempo of our advance towards socialism and unity on our continent.

* * *

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Counter-Revolution Declares War

Continued from page 2

work for this group by providing the intellectual atmosphere (questioning socialism, inventing new socialisms, attacking the one party state) congenial for the recrudescence of capitalism.

In summary then, counter-revolution in Ghana is directed by the propertied class made up of U.P. leaders and the 'new rich' inside the C.P.P., supported and financed by monopoly and financial circles in Western Europe and USA, and aided by some well-placed elements in the state apparatus.

Before analysing further the latest manifestation of counter-revolution in Ghana, it will be useful to draw attention to just two points. The first is the problem which has caused and still causes the general public much concern. This is the role of the police in the treason cases. The public feel that all is not well with the Ghana Police. No doubt some of its slips or errors in the past year or so may well turn out to be due to circumstances beyond its control. Nevertheless, there is a general feeling that the police errors have been too frequent and have occurred at points which have proved too vital. Attention could be drawn to four incidents:—

1. a person caught with Ghana Government secret papers at the Ghana-Togo border escaped;
2. Warrant officer Edward Tetteh, through whose fingers some grenades slipped, dived to his death while in the hands of the police;
3. Obetsebi Lamptey, Chairman of U.P. and director of bomb throw-

ing in Accra, died in the hands of the police; and

4. a second class police constable on duty at Flagstaff House fires five rounds from his service rifle at the President from point blank range.

IMPERIALIST PRESS

The second point worthy of very close scrutiny is the way the imperialist press seem to have forecast events here in Ghana. Nearly three weeks before the treason judgement, the British weekly "The Economist" forecast a discharge of Adamafo, Ako Adjei and Cofie Crabbe because the judiciary which is made up of the "most conservative judges in Africa" will assert its "independence".

The "Manchester Guardian Weekly" (Dec. 19, 1963) carried an article upholding the treason judgement. The paper claims that the measures taken by the Ghana Government after the treason trial show that changes in policy through public debate "must seem far more doubtful". The article openly incites Ghanaian civil servants when it writes: "As the Chief Justice went, so can go the Speaker and others. Soldiers and civil servants with non-conformist view may also find the new situation less tolerable". The incitement becomes even more overt when the paper, in its concluding paragraph comments on Dr. Nkrumah's efforts to combat opposition to socialism and writes: "His move, however, seems likelier to precipitate that opposition against which he may have thought he was guarding."

All sorts of theories will, no doubt, be put on to explain the Flagstaff House

incident of yesterday. The Western press, at least its lunatic fringe, will quite likely come out with one of pet psychological theories. It may argue that the police constable merely went berserk because of the "hardships" and "frustrations" of Ghanaian society today. This tendentious theory of course will conveniently forget that this police constable is better housed, receives a better pay, his children are better cared for than was the case when Britain ruled these shores and the Union Jack flew over Christiansborg Castle. This bogus view must be thrown over lock, stock and barrel.

THE TWO POINTS

Two points must be given the closest possible scrutiny. The first point is that the assassins working for the counter-revolution

are operating all the time in our midst. They only strike when they think a situation that favours them has arisen. My point here is that a strike force is not set up after a 'situation' arises. Rather the strike force is masquerading in our midst all the time waiting for a favourable situation to strike.

The 1961 strikes came five months after the Dawn Broadcast which provided the stimulus. Well could it be said that the enemies made by the 'Dawn Broadcast' began to plan after and not before the broadcast.

But Kulungugu came three days after the Kumasi Congress. And the Flagstaff House incident came only two days after the New Year Eve broadcast. This means that the assassins are here and are

lying in wait all the time. Their calculation at the moment is that the killing of the President would be linked with an invented "situation" which arose after the treason judgement and actions taken in that connection by the Government.

By this view, it follows that only a ruthless purge of the state machinery can give the nation the opportunity of destroying these enemies of the socialist revolution who seem to be lying in wait all around the clock.

PLOTTERS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE

The second point of importance is that yesterday's method of eliminating the Head of Government cannot be undertaken by persons far away, though these may be connected with the whole plot. A police constable, who is on guard duties at the President's Office, cannot be effectively operated from afar, even though it is known that only a few days ago Gbedemah arrived in Lome. The directive must be given him by someone or some group close at hand. Alternatively he must have been posted when he

was by an emperious who knew what was in the offing.

Another fact which supports this view is that the death of the President can only bring into office some persons close to the Office of the President. A person from afar will not therefore use the method of yesterday except he is sure that even if a group of Ministers takes office it will be temporary and he can topple them in a short time. Perhaps the plotters felt that an uneasy coalition will arise should the President be removed, and some serious unrest somewhere will provide the political condition for the broadening of the cabinet to include the plotters from outside. It is here that Gbedemah comes in. If the demise of the President is followed by unrest and violence in the Volta Region with the international complications this could engender, then a political condition would be created to permit the new rulers inside Ghana to negotiate with Gbedemah and the U.P. leaders in voluntary exile. If this view is accepted, then some persons close to the office of the President must be

aware of all the under-world manoeuvres and diabolical deals.

The answer to all this is a swift and thorough clean-up of the state apparatus. It will be morally wrong and ethically indefensible for the President to practice patience and fatherly tolerance towards a group of men who will not recoil from using any weapon however lethal and objectionable in their attempt to put back the hands of the clock.

Furthermore, it would be politically injudicious. The aroused people must pursue their socialist objectives with resolved and speed. To put them in harness may well render the masses apathetic to any future situations and thus endanger the revolution.

The reactionary forces in Ghana have proved that they are no different from reactionary forces in other parts of the world. They will seek to maintain their interests by any means however foul. The lesson is again being driven home. Socialism cannot be built except by socialists. It is impossible to build against socialists.

Who is the Killer?

by Ekow Eshun

IN the heat of the mid-day sun yesterday the awful news of the unsuccessful attempt on the life of the President was announced. Once again the assassin had aimed his gun at him! Just before the dastardly incident occurred, a great wind blew over the capital, briefly transforming the afternoon brightness into an eerie darkness. Immediately after came the rain, just as the eclipse came before Kulungugu. Then the news.

In Ghana today we are living in a revolutionary epoch. In this revolution we expect many obsolete facets of our social life to be changed. We want to establish a new system which will create new social relations based on equality of opportunity. This is what the Convention People's Party stands for, and this is what the Leader of the Party, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, has consistently advocated.

Every revolution produces its leaders and strategists. True, down the years, we have had movements with nationalist objectives whose leaders did most valuable yeoman's work in their prime-organisations like the Aborigines Rights Protection Society and men like Casely-Hayford and Mensah Sarbah. But these earlier movements were never national in scope. And their programmes were largely limited to specific issues. In fact, they left the status quo unquestioned.

ARRIVAL OF DR. NKURUMAH

With the arrival of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah on the political scene, Ghanaian politics immediately assumed a new perspective. And he has become the undisputed leader of our revolution.

He has always been the target of the most tendentious propaganda of the reactionary forces.

Having failed through the ballot box, these forces think that armed rebellion could bring them political power. The infamous training of armed units in the Volta Region a few years back; the callous insanity

of the Awhaitye episode; the foolhardiness of the "Tokyo Joes" and "Zenith Seven" easily demonstrate their ambition.

These surely are distasteful records.

A new element in the whole affair seems to have developed. And this development calls for the greatest caution and care.

INTERNAL ENEMIES

At Kulungugu, for the first time, high-ranking Party members were involved in the unsuccessful attempt on the life of the President. In yesterday's crime, at least one member of the very security corps detailed to guard the person of the President and the sanctity of his office, was involved.

That the enemy is now desperately working from within our ranks is a matter which calls for great concern and careful probing.

Since Kulungugu, a number of events have occurred which tend to unsettle many: A man was arrested at the Ghana-Togo border. In his possession was a pack of most secret Government papers. But this important catch managed to escape from the police custody. Next the man believed to have supplied the grenades to the terrorists mysteriously jumped to his death.

Then came Obetsebi Lamptey's episode. To cap it all came the abominable treason trial judgement.

All these are essential links that should hold taut the case against any accused in the assassination outrages. Yet they are all lost. There is no suggesting foul play. But our sudden

awareness that certain of the very persons detailed to guard our President, following closely on the exposure of traitors in the high echelons of the Party, shakes us very much indeed.

And with each development in this intricate web of intrigue re-echoes the question people have asked many times over: Who is the killer?

Could he be Mama Tula or Teiko Tagoe? If these two are the hands, who is the brain? Common sense

Four students of Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute rushed to the offices of the SPARK on the announcement of the futile attempt on the life of Kwame Nkrumah. Within an hour they submitted four articles to us for publication. Due to difficulties of securing space we have decided to publish one unedited.

—Editor.

Surely an attempt would have been made by somebody to assume power.

That is why the wicked attempts to annihilate Dr. Nkrumah should not be regarded as the work of some disparate or disillusioned fanatics merely anxious to attract publicity.

Till now, thanks to the untiring efforts of saboteurs, the real brains have eluded the law. Every evidence shows that even though they are now securely held, the Tawia Adamafo triumvirate are involved in the plot to the neck. Nor can one easily forget the machinations of Gbedemah, Busia and the rest of their sort now in voluntary exile outside Ghana. Even then, are there no other leaders and accomplices within the country?

It is most unfortunate Ghanaians are still unable to furnish concrete answers to these burning questions. But still, we can draw the characteristics of the killer.

CHANT TUNES

Everybody knows the great array of enemies Dr. Nkrumah has made in the western world because of his outspoken stand against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. For years the imperialists had imposed a heinous psychological tyranny on political thought. You had to sing to their tunes and chant their prefabricated clichés about rights of man whilst, in deed, human freedom and dignity were the last things they valued.

But through this steaming cloud broke Kwame Nkrumah. He agitated. And assailing, he condemned where he disagreed. So since 1957, with the achievement of our independence, even before then, he has been the veritable object of incessant vilification of the worst kind, a campaign in which the vast resources of publicity at the disposal of the western world have been unreservedly employed.

But what has been to the chagrin of the imperialists, most of all, has been Nkrumah's dogged determination to build socialism in Ghana.

It is known how greatly apprehensive the high priests of Wall Street are about this policy. Simply because when we succeed in Ghana, we would have become an eye-opener to the rest of Africa. Especially so when a socialist Africa will not by any chance sing the way the West wants it to. So Kwame Nkrumah must be destroyed.

CAUSES

Almost akin to this cause for contempt is our determined persuance of African Unity. What with the development of a strong African personality with a loud challenging voice; and of the creation of institutions like an African High Command and Common Market that are bound to follow in the wake of that Unity. Certainly Unity will be a strong bastion against European extortionist privileges in Africa. So they must hate the man who is relentlessly advocating the concept.

But, unfortunately, from inside the country are emerging some most reprehensible traitors prepared to surrender their country for a mess of pottage. These are the men obsessed with an unbridled ambition for power. These are the men whom the Dawn Broadcast has done an irreparable damage, men devoid of any ethic and moral, who assiduously worship wealth for the simple love of it.

These are the pronged facets of the killer. It seems, though, that to find him out will be very difficult. Because the killer has chosen the highly deceptive tactic of hiding within sheep's clothes. To be successful, then, a more vigilant effort should be made. For we cannot compromise this revolution. Our happiness and our children's happiness depend on it.

B. A. A.'s MESSAGE

THE nation is bound together in anguish, shock and anger about the outrageous attempt by a police constable to assassinate the President. We thank God for having spared the life of our President to continue to lead this nation to the socialist ideal and to steer Africa to freedom and unity.

The whole nation feels

revulsion at the supporters and proponents of the foul extremes of the reactionaries and rededicate herself to the spirit and ideals of the Ghanaian Revolution and of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

May God bring sanity to plotters of dastardly assassinations in the country.

—A. K. Barden, Director

K. N. I. I.'s MESSAGE

THE Director, Staff and Students of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute salute Thee and congratulate you upon your miraculous survival after five shots yesterday. Long live the people's revolution and long may you live. We have implicit and explicit

confidence in you personally, in the Party and in your government. We shall fight on and we shall win. Nkrumahism shall triumph in Ghana and all Africa. Down with corrupt and dishonest judges and all other subversive elements.

—Kodwo Addison, Director

EDITORIAL

THE PEOPLE SHALL HIT BACK

THE enemies of the people's revolution have struck again. They struck three days after the people decided at the Kumasi Congress that Ghana should be irrevocably committed to socialism. They have struck again, two days after the people have decided to consolidate their power. That the third one should not happen, the people shall hit back.

The question is often asked:

Who are the people?

At the present stage of the Ghana Revolution the people are the workers, agricultural workers, the small farmers, the progressive sections of farmers and the petty bourgeoisie, grouped together with the democratic forces of students and intellectuals and some traditional elements who though as an economic force they are opposed to the people, but for patriotic reasons are aligned with the people.

Who are the enemies of the people?

They are the forces opposing the people. They are the middle class colonial orientated professionals and intellectuals, agents of neo-colonialist interests, big businessmen including the big farmers, some traditional elements and the budding bourgeoisie. They can be found inside and outside the Party of the people.

Some of them are intricately attached to many effective areas of the power of the people, they are obstructing the path of progress, they are using the people's resources to foster sinister plans against the people and they are spearheading domestic reaction. They struck at Kulungugu and they have struck again.

The concrete historical condition of Ghana points to a second phase of the Ghana Revolution. Kulungugu and what happened at Flagstaff House yesterday have equipped the people with vast experience which can help them to move from the people's popular democratic phase of the revolution to the concrete consolidation of the people's power.

What does the present situation present? The situation demands certain actions and it asks for the fulfilment of certain conditions. If they are not fulfilled the revolution will fail, the people will suffer and the country will be reconquered by the forces of reaction.

The situation demands that the struggle should be carried right into the camp of all the forces opposed to the revolution. There must be a thorough clean-up of all the organs representing the people's power.

There must be no room for people who stand between the people and the enemy. They must either stand with us or stand against us.

Socialism is primarily the ideology of the masses. Hence those who work for socialism must be drawn mainly, though not exclusively from among the principal driving forces of socialism. It is unrealistic—in fact, it is dangerous—to recruit workers of socialism from those social classes which are hostile to or only conditionally in support of socialism.

The people must now set out to utilise their political power and the single content of the ideology of socialism to accelerate, at the fastest possible pace, the triumph of the revolution.

The people have been placed in a situation to hit back once and for all. They have been asked to accept the challenge. They must accept it if we must score and consolidate our numerous victories.

Surely the people will hit back.

KWAME NKRUMAH

— Founder of the State of Ghana

(Continued from page 4)

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

columnist in the *New Africa* confessed recently that the outrage at Kulungugu was planned and financed by America. That was coming from the horse's own mouth!

Yet Kwame Nkrumah still stands, impregnable and unassailable as ever. In fact he is even more secure now than ever before and even more dedicated to socialism than ever before. Despite these attempts on his life, the brave Leader could declare in an interview with *Pravda* that "Ghana" has chosen the path of scientific socialism."

Tema Harbour and Volta River Project.

Having the welfare of the people at heart and knowing that education is the key to progress and development, Kwame Nkrumah from the very beginning launched a programme for educating the Ghanaian people. Today Ghana is the African country with the highest rate of schooled children of school-going age and the only country in Africa where university education is free. Most of us who are now enjoying this great opportunity would never have seen the

they would feign spare.

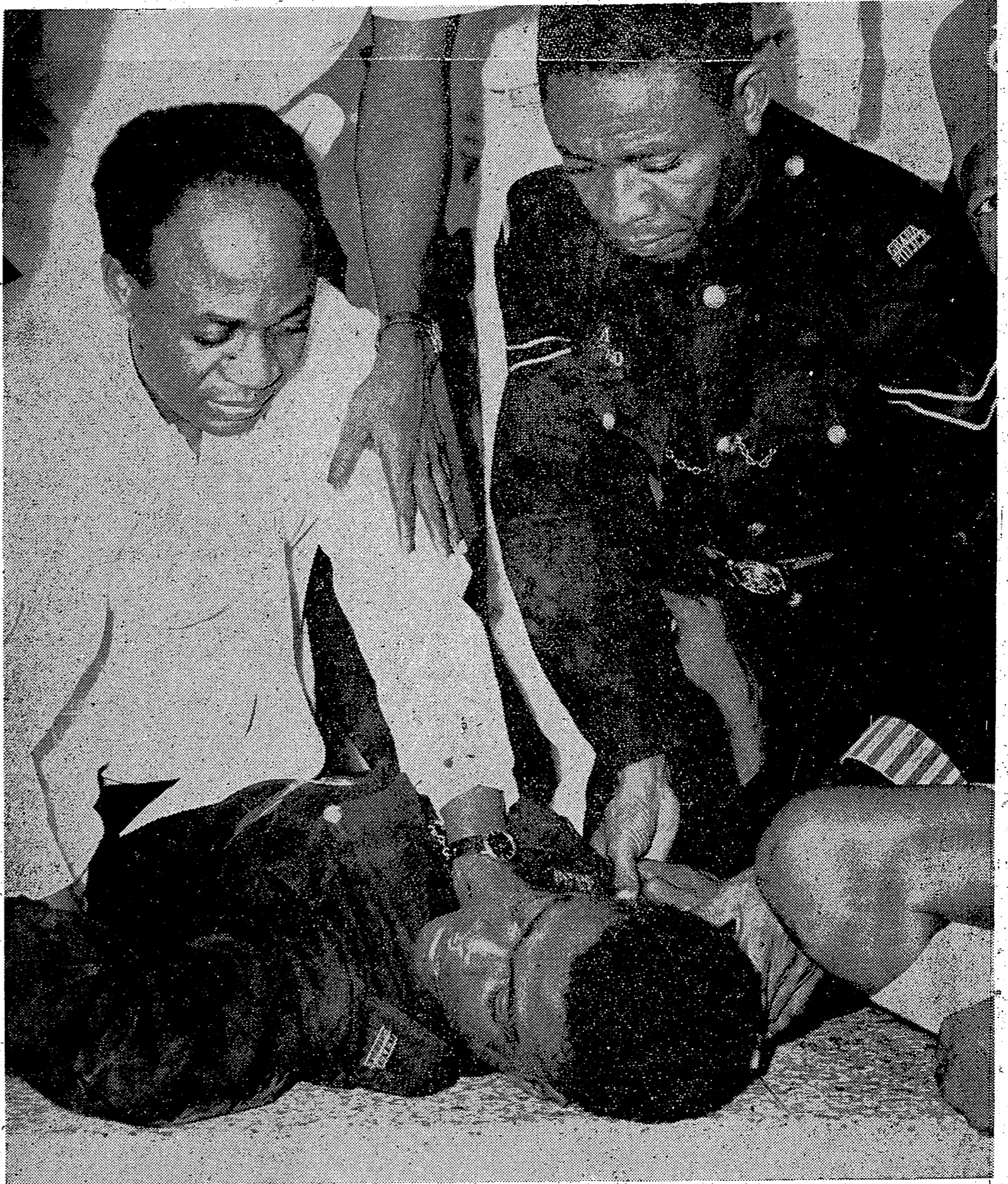
Kwame Nkrumah bestrides Ghana and Africa like a colossus, but he is a colossus who has the attentive eye and loving hand for the poor creature beneath. Ghana's social reconstruction is progressing at a terrific pace mainly because Kwame has the welfare of the people at heart. In fact Ghana's expenditure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

warmth.

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

But it seems I have let myself be carried too far.

Kwame
lays
hands
on
the
assassin



this battle will always be justly recognised."

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

KULUNGUGU

But imperialists have used every means to fells this "Giant of Africa". A

There is no question, therefore of misinterpreting this Son of Africa.

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

inside of a university. He does not want us to suffer what he suffered.

THE MAN

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

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

occasioned by a genuine desire to help them.

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

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

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