

# THE SPARK

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

No. 65

2d.

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

MONDAY, MARCH 9, 1964

## EDITORIAL

# MERCHANTS OF MURDER

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-nationalisation 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.

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 the President of Ghana and Ghana the butt of sensational accusations and ridicule. Simms has got the British Press and Television to work for

Busia 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 perverting journalists and British Members of Parliament with free travel and lavish entertainment. All these are made at the expense of the client.

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 rela-

tions 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



"And here, Doctor Busia, are some of our Public relations experts who will help you 'liberate' Ghana"

Continued on page 4



# Ghana and the British

OF late a section of the British press has sunk to a new low level in their scurrilous attacks on Ghana and its great leader Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. They have not merely been content to use the foulest language and invective against the innocent person of President Nkrumah, but have openly incited Ghanaians to become traitors, murderers and conspirators to their fatherland. That is all the more reprehensible when it is remembered that wherever and whenever British interests are at stake, whether in Britain or elsewhere in the world, the British press becomes the most jingoistic in the world.

For them, it is Britain right or wrong. Every Briton is exhorted to be ready to fight and die for Britain, whether the place concerned is say for example Aden where the Adenis are fighting for their freedom and self-determination, in Southern Rhodesia where the African majority is fighting to win national independence based upon majority rule as opposed to the white minority rule imposed upon the African majority by British bayonets.

It is a well-known fact that the majority of the British press is owned by some millionaire press lords whose only interest is to make millions of pounds in profits every year. This is of course consistent with the capitalist system which still prevails in Britain.

## NATIONALISATION MEASURES

In spite of the limited nationalisation measure introduced by the first post-war Labour Government (these include the coal mines and British railways) the most important sectors of the British economy are still controlled by the small capitalist tycoons of the City of London, where the coupon-clippers of the stock-exchange manipulate stocks and shares on behalf of a decadent landed aristocracy and the new wealthy so-called self-made hard-faced provincial industrialists. It is these small class

of robber barons who continue to exploit the British working-class and middle-class intellectuals (some of whom delude themselves into thinking that they are free in a capitalist society) who own the biggest section of the British press.

Hence this section of the British press exist to serve the interests of their millionaire owners. First and foremost they must make huge profits, before printing any truthful information for its readers. They therefore cater to the worst instincts in the human being—avarice, greed, selfishness, dishonesty, and falsehood.

In his opening address to the Second Conference of the Pan-African Union of Journalists held in Accra on 11th November, 1963, Osagyefo the President explained this phenomenon in these words:—

*"in a capitalist environment, profit from circulation and advertising is the major consideration,*

*the journalist working within it is caught by its mechanics. No matter how great his personal integrity as long as he remains, he must mould his thinking to its dictates. Consciously or unconsciously, he is forced into, arranging news and information to fit the outlook of his journal. He finds himself rejecting or distorting facts that do not coincide with the outlook and interest of his employer or the medium's advertisers. Willy-nilly he adjusts his ideas to that of the class which his journal represents, the class for which it caters, the interests and objectives which it serves to advance.*

*Under the pressure of competition for advertising revenue, trivialities are blown up, the vulgar emphasised, ethics forgotten, the important trimmed to the class outlook. Enmities are fanned and peace is perverted. The search for sensation and the justification of an unjust system in which truth or the journalist must become the casualty."*

It is no wonder, then, that for every decent or well-informed journal in a capitalist country, you have many more of the kind that

concentrates on sensationalism and scandal; that cover up facts or deny them; that manufacture news in order to mislead and corrupt.

## SPECIAL TECHNIQUES

There are journals that employ special techniques of presentation in order to ensnare the minds not just of thousands, but of the millions that read them.

Every means, both subtle and raw are used to maintain sway over the minds of men, and thus secure and hold their support in the continued exploitation and suppression of the oppressed. Oft-times they are led to concur in their own exploitation. They are enjoined against peace, they are manoeuvred against freedom and right.

Such then is the capitalist press as it exists in Britain, the U.S.A. and other capitalist countries of Western Europe.

Their loud protestations about freedom of speech is a hollow and dishonest cover for their crimes against the exploited workers of their countries, yearning for the real freedom that comes with Socialism.

In a letter to the *Guardian* (published simultaneously in Manchester and London) dated August 10, 1962, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, stated inter alia;

*"It is my duty to admonish you and your colleagues of the Anglo-Saxon press generally, that you are so fundamentally ignorant and on which you are least qualified to pontificate.*

*It is the height of arrogance if not folly for an editor of your standing to encourage regular tendentious references to African political leaders. This is becoming one fashionable feature of Anglo-Saxon journalism in both sides of the Atlantic and the simple reason is their congenital racial snobbery. I stand to be corrected when I say that neither PRAVDA nor IZVESTIA nor other sections of the press in the U.S.S.R. had been insolent or had encouraged their correspondents and editors to be boorish in writing about African political leaders as the Anglo-Saxon press has been doing from time immemorial.*

*If you should make a check on the morgues of "The Times" the "Economist", "Daily Mail", "Daily Telegraph" and "Morning Post", "Time Magazine", "Newsweek", to name a few, you would see how insolently Anglo-Saxon journalists have been writing about Nasser, Tubman, Houphouet-Boigny, Bourguiba, Azikiwe, Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Kaunda, Banda, Nkomo*

# Press

by Gemini

and other African nationalist leaders.

*Do you think that our journalists are so unacquainted with the facts of European and American history that they cannot viciously attack your Head of State and leaders as the British press has been doing to us all these years?*

*President Tubman of Liberia visited your Queen recently and while he was still a guest of your country some of your 'reputable' journalists had the impudence to make derogatory remarks about his person.*

*Is that the Anglo-Saxon idea of the freedom of the press? Freedom to carry on an irresponsible smear campaign against African leaders who will not kowtow to Anglo-American imperialism...*

*"certain ill-bred Anglo-Saxon journalists and authors expect us to be supine when we citizens of a free sovereign and independent states, are wantonly attacked and they foolishly assume that we shall continue to respect their Heads of State and political leaders. Indeed, these patronising Anglo-Saxons are living in a fool's paradise—in spite of the cold war, even in this nuclear and space age"*

## EMINENT AFRICAN JOURNALIST

Yes, these are indeed fighting words from the pen of a veteran African journalist, scholar and political leader, and they express further the true state of these corrupt and politically myopic Anglo-Saxon journalists.

As for the *Guardian* the supposedly liberal daily, C. P. Scott, the greatest editor that newspaper (when it was the *Manchester Guardian*) has ever had, would turn in his grave, were he to read the filth and thrash, that this once respected newspaper writes about Ghana and its great and dedicated leader Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. It has even surpassed those yellow and gutter sheets the ultra-conservative "Daily Telegraph" and "Daily Express" in its venom and calumny against Africa's most illustrious son Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

The stand of the "Daily Telegraph" and "Daily Express" on Africa and Africans has always been clear. These two newspapers hate Africans and Africa, the thoughts of their millionaire proprietors and servile editors are still imbued with the imperialist race-hatred and Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy of Rudyard Kipling and Joseph Chamberlain. Therefore their pathological hatred of Africa and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is not surprising. That is their normal way of life and philosophy. But what of the

"Guardian" and some other British newspapers that profess to be liberal or socialist? How account for this constant exhibition of ignorance, bigotry and downright stupidity?

In his life-time of C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* his slogan for that paper was "facts are sacred, comment is free". Today however, the *Guardian's* stock in trade is to distort facts or invent them where none exist and then proceed to vent their spleen on the torch-bearer of African freedom and unity, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Their jaundiced stomachs cannot bear the existence of a really independent and progressive African nation like Ghana under the inspired leadership of a man committed to the construction of a socialist society in Ghana.

However, there's nothing that the blind editors of the *Guardian* and other hack writers of the yellow

and gutter-sheets can do to stop the mighty forward march of the Ghanaian people to socialism under the able and steady hand of the master architect Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

The homo-sexuals of both sexes of Fleet Street, the purveyors of pornography, filth and depravity, you can do nothing to our beloved leader Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

Well, did Dr. Kwame Nkrumah declare on the 6th March, 1957 on the attainment of independence that "Ghana is for ever free!" Yes, Ghana is indeed for ever free; neither your ignorant rantings nor your bloodstained pens can halt nor deter the leader of the African Revolution from completing his sacred mission for Africa i.e. the total liberation of Africa from all forms of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the early formation of a Continental African Union Government.

## POET'S CORNER

# 'BLACK ROCK'

by Robert Rozhestvensky

Black Rock,  
Black Rock,  
Why are you silent  
Black Rock!

Surely this is what you wanted,  
What more glory could you crave  
Than, one day, to be the tombstone  
On the unknown warrior's grave!

Black Rock,  
Why are you silent,  
Black rock!

We climbed high into the mountains,  
Split the massive heavy houlders,  
Trains sped screaming through the darkness,  
Workmen laboured, tired and sleepless  
So that skillful hands could fashion  
Out of common rock a tombstone—  
Tombstone to a nameless soldier,  
Tombstone to an unknown soldier.

Surely rocks must not bear the blame  
For the soldier's too long sleep,  
In the ground to rest they came,  
Soldiers, soldiers without fame,  
Soldiers, soldiers without name.

Over them the grasses wither,  
Over them the stars now glitter,  
Over them the eagles hover.  
Swaying in the wind, the sunflowers,  
Standing over them, the pine trees.

And, in time, the snow will settle,  
And the sun, a disc of orange  
Spreads its glow across the heavens,  
Time itself flows by above them.  
Ah, but someone, once, could claim,  
Someone in the world of men  
To know the unknown soldier's name.

Till the very hour of death  
He would still have many friends,  
There will still be somewhere living  
In the world an aging mother and a girl he  
left behind him,  
A girl he loved, and now, where is she!  
Known to many, dying—  
Dead—he is unknown.



## Invest in absolute security!

We pay you 5% on your savings.  
Choose any of these targets

£G1 savings per month becomes	£G88	in 5 years
£G2	£G138	
£G5	£G240 10 0	
£G10	£G481	
£G20	£G1002	

ONLY THE FIRST GHANA BUILDING SOCIETY offers you such attractive terms, so open a savings account now. Ask for the RED Passbook

# FIRST GHANA BUILDING SOCIETY

Assets exceed £1,000,000.

Accra: Boundary Road, P.O. Box 2958. Tel. 62329, 65813.  
Kumasi: Maxwell Road, P.O. Box 827.  
Somanya: Adzekpo Road, P.O. Box 30.  
Tema: Market Centre, Community No. 1, P.O. Box 431  
And Mobile Offices, visiting many other towns.



# WOLVES IN SHEEP'S

# SKIN

YOU'LL never see a wolf eating cabbage or an imperialist newspaper praising freedom fighters. Both would be an incredible phenomenon. But here in Africa you may rather often come across a special sort of imperialist wolves snooping about everywhere, putting their dirty snouts into everything—and always pretending to be your friends. They pur to win your confidence, but if they fail to cheat you they snarl and howl and show their fangs.

The West German imperialist wolves are no exception. Let it be illustrated by the contents of an article which appeared in the West German newspaper "Der Spiegel" only a few days ago with an obvious aim to "inform" the West German public about the state of affairs in contemporary Africa. The readers must have wrong their heads over the stuff presented to them as a "true picture of Africa" with these self-explanatory highlights:

"Life and property are still safe in the few remaining colonies of Portuguese Angola, Guinea and Mozambique. Right and law are still prevailing in the white settlers' territories of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. But along with freedom, murder and terror drew in to all other

Africa". To add some flavour of savagery compatible with this "picture of Africa", and to make the readers wring their hands over it still more spontaneously, "Der Spiegel" describes a "tribe-war in Rwanda in which 8,000 men, women and children of the Watussis

tribe fell victims to the revenge of the Bahutu tribe". And the paper dumbly founds its readers with the explanation that the war started because the Watussis are taller than the Bahutus, and therefore, "the hundreds of the Watussis corpses flowing since weeks in the Ruizi River have their legs cut off so as not to be taller than Bahutus". No wonder if the readers digested this stuff with a decision to join and support any West German or NATO crusade which might be put together to "civilize" this horrible Africa.

The article is supplemented with a map showing "more than 20 hotbeds of

unrest in Africa". Ghana is included. The map doesn't look like a military one but shows the places which attract the special attention of NATO crusaders and Bonn allies of Verwoerd, Salazar and Field.

### MAP OF HOT BEDS

Well, we know a different map of hotbeds of unrest in Africa which we want to be eliminated, and our contribution to this end will meet its aim. This is the map of NATO bases in Africa, the map of the remaining colonies, the map of the white settlers' regimes, and the map of the neo-colonial "spheres of interest" in Africa, the last one bearing the labellings

of the European Common Market. We know perfectly well that the main shareholders of this neo-colonialist organisation are fattening in West Germany.

There are so many West Germans roaming in all places in Africa, some of them equipped with diplomatic passports and protected by diplomatic immunities. It would be interesting to know if they are the people sending such a sort of news about Africa to the West German papers. If so, they must be the most stubborn and unintelligent adversaries of truth and facts. Otherwise they would have added a small information for the readers of "Der Spiegel" that "life and property in Angola,

Guinea and Mozambique are still safe" for only a handful of Portuguese colonialists—well equipped with NATO arms, many of which bear the mark "Made in West Germany". Life and property are certainly not safe for people whom the Portuguese colonialists reduced to rightless slaves. The same applies to the assertion of "Der Spiegel" that "right and law are still prevailing in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa".

### GRUESOME FACTS

It would be hopeless to repeat to the editors of "Der Spiegel" all the gruesome facts proving the hyenous crimes committed on Africans especially in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique etc. Because they refuse to do away with the legacy of Hitler's doctrine on racial superiority of the so-called "nordic race with blue eyes

and fair hair" according to which people with different colour of eyes and hair are "racially inferior" while those with a different colour of skin are "complete sub-humans".

It would be interesting to know, too, if the officials of the West German Embassy here in Accra have read the article in "Der Spiegel", and, if so, how did they react to a part of it devoted to "the self-ruling black dictator Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana". Did they inform the editors of "Der Spiegel" at least about the result of the recent referendum in which all Ghanaians said their wholehearted YES to the leadership of Osagyefo the President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah? They should have done it with an additional explanation that the big YES to progress in Ghana has the meaning of big NO to reaction, imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.

# A PHOSPHATE GET-TOGETHER

WHEN officials in North Africa talk about Maghreb unity, they nowadays talk mainly about economic unity. The influence of the Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market has been strong. Oil is sometimes spoken of as a possible basis for unity; but Algeria's superiority here is too overwhelming. Phosphates are thus generally discussed as the most likely candidate for some kind of get-together.

The present rupture between Algeria and Tunisia bodes ill for any Maghreb unity; but the main problem for any phosphates link-up is the dominant position of Morocco.

They ordered these things better when North Africa was in France. Then the Comptoir des Phosphates used to handle the sales of all three Maghreb countries, fixing prices and production quotas. The Comptoir broke up in 1960; however, be-

cause the *Compagnie des Phosphates de Constantine*, the big French-controlled firm in Algeria, wanted to bring in Senegal and Togo, two newcomers to the business in which it had a stake. Morocco has been the main beneficiary of the break-up,

and has been able to expand her production more rapidly than her rivals would have allowed her, keeping prices remarkably steady in a tricky world market, at least for the richer grades.

It seems likely that Algerian and Tunisian phosphates will, like the Moroccan, end up by all being State-controlled. When this happens it will be for the three governments to decide whether to revive the Comptoir. But the Senegal and Togo phosphates are likely to remain in private French hands for some time to come, so it is doubtful whether the Comptoir will be widened to a pan-African basis in the foreseeable future.

### THE MAGHREB BASIS

If the Comptoir were revived on a Maghreb basis, it could usefully take under its wing and co-ordinate the various chemical and fertiliser projects now taking shape in the three countries. These have given rise to technical, financial and even political difficulties, particularly in the case of Morocco's notorious Safi project.

The situation in each of the five African phosphate countries is as follows:

**Morocco.** The State monopoly, *Office Cherifien des Phosphates*, produced a record 8 million tons in 1962. Morocco produces just under a quarter of the world's phosphates, coming second only to the U.S. and the reserve are practically limitless. (Russian production is probably about the same as Moroccan.) The OCP handles two-fifths of the world trade in phosphates, earning something of the order of £40 million,

which makes it easily the biggest firm in Morocco.

The director-general of the OCP is Mohammed Laghzaoui, a dynamic business genius who was Mohammed V's police chief. Hassan II has just given him wide powers over the economy, making him overlord of BEPI, the State holding company, and BRPM, the State oil and gas concern, as well as the OCP. His main job will be to get some action into the Safi project. This aims to use some of the 70 per cent phosphate from Youssoufia (ex-Louis Gentil), which is not so easy to sell abroad as the 75 per cent from Khouribga.

### THE SAFI PROJECT

The first part of Safi is to cost about £8 million. It will consist of a 200,000 tons a year sulphuric acid and a 75,000 tons of triple superphosphate, half of it to be exported. At a later stage, a second phosphoric acid unit and ammonia from the natural gas at Essaouira will be used to produce 110,000 tons of ammonium phosphate fertiliser, and a second sulphuric acid unit, again with the ammonia, will be used for a 5,000 tons ammonium sulphate plant.

Laghzaoui is now thinking hard about the whole project. He is said to favour majority state control over every part of it, with the OCP handling sales of fertiliser. Foreign firms would be brought into minority partnership. There remains the problem of who is to build the installations. One foreign firm had to withdraw after being exposed to a corruption charge by the opposition press. Lurgi and Krebs, the German and French firms now landed with the contract, have given less than complete satisfaction.

**Algeria.** The Moroccan OCP recently bought an 8 per cent share in *Phosphates de Constantine*, said to be a purely business deal, which might however pre-empt moves towards closer

co-operation in a Comptoir. PDC has been producing about 500,000 tons a year from its workings at *Le Kouif*, near the Tunisian frontier, but its big hope for the future is the vast *Djebel Onk* deposit, also in the Constantinois, which is estimated at 800 m. tons. PDC is the biggest shareholder, with 40 per cent, but the Algerian state is sure to want to take over, and increase the 34 per cent French State holding. *Djebel Onk* has required a lot of infrastructure in the form of water supplies, oil fuel from a nearby deposit, and railway electrification. Its original aim was an output of 800,000 tons a year, but experts say that this may eventually be doubled.

The Algerian development authorities want their superphosphate and fertiliser plants too, particularly as the *Djebel Onk* mineral, at 56-58 per cent, is relatively poor. The original idea was to put them at *Arzew*, together with the industries based on the *Hassir Mel* natural gas; this would mean shipping the phosphate from the port of *Bone* to the port of *Arzew*, at the other end of the country. A new idea is to put them at *Bone*, so that, with the steelworks, they would provide a "growth point" for the eastern part of the country.

### GAS PIPE

This would mean a new pipe to bring the gas across from *Hassir Mel*. *Consh* (Continental Oil and Shell) and *Armour* (Chicago) are believed to be considering a partnership on some such project, but it is still a long way off.

**Tunisia.** Tunisia produces just under 2 million tons a year, divided three companies; *Chemins de Fer de Gafsa*, *Phosphates du Djebel m'Dilla*, and *Societe Tunisienne d'Exploitations Phosphates*. The first two are practically under State control, and the third is likely to be so sooner or later.

The Swedish *Forenade* concern has taken a holding in the company new working on a £4 million ripple superphosphate plant at *Sfax*, with a planned output of 150,000 tons a year. The next stage will be a nitrogenous fertiliser plant, but this project is not so far advanced.

**Senegal.** The State holds less than 5 per cent of

*Compagnie Senegalaise des Phosphate de Taiba*, which has been working on 100 million tons deposit 50 miles from *Dakar* since 1960, with an annual £8.5 million. The French State is the biggest shareholder, with 36 per cent, and two big French chemical firms, *Pierrefitte* and *Pechiney*, have 25 per cent between them. *Phosphates de Constantine* has 6 per cent.

**Togo.** Phosphates de *Constantine* has 45 per cent of *Compagnie Togolaise des Mines du Benin*, which has been operating only 15

miles from the coast since 1961. Production in 1962 was 200,000 tons, but this too is to be raised to 1 m. tons, which would be nearly double the present value of Togo's exports, and transform this tiny and unhappy country's economy. As in Senegal, reserves are estimated at roughly 100 m. tons, and nearly £9 million is to be spent in all.

There are projects for superphosphate and fertiliser plants in both Senegal and Togo, but they evidently depend on markets, transport costs and other factors.

Send for  
**NEW GENERATION**  
now  
A LIVELY - READABLE -  
SOCIALIST PAPER FOR ALL

Subscription Rates From  
**Glenya Phillips,**  
BUS. MANAGER,  
"New Generation",  
16 Penrith Grove, LEEDS. 12.  
Yorkshire, England.

Listen to  
**RADIO BERLIN INTERNATIONAL**  
THE VOICE OF THE GERMAN  
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC



You will hear our Transmissions beamed  
(time GMT)

	12.30 p.m. on 16.83 m
	5.30 p.m. on 31.20 m
	9.30 p.m. on 50.20 m

We bring news and information on life in the GDR, on German problems, on international affairs and a monthly quiz program, in which you can win valuable prizes, including a TRANSISTOR RADIO-SET

For further information, please, write to:  
**RADIO BERLIN INTERNATIONAL**  
BERLIN

broadcasts daily in English  
to Africa  
to Central Africa

	at 4.30 a.m. on 25.43 m.
--	--------------------------

(time in GMT)

	1.30 p.m. on 16.83 m
	4.00 p.m. on 25.43 m
	7.30 p.m. on 31.20 m

to West Africa

	at 6.30 a.m. on 19.67 m
--	-------------------------



# GHANA AT SEVEN

At the moment there can be no better way of measuring the degrees of political change in Ghana than by watching the reactions of the major Powers. These regard Ghana as a barometer on the African continent, not because of its size, geographical position, material resources, or intellectual development, but because it is the farthest advanced in independence.

Having the fewest neo-colonial ties, and being least influenced by remote controls, Ghana can "be itself" to a greater extent than other African states. By watching Ghana, therefore, the great Powers can judge the political speed and direction in which Africa would move if it were allowed "to be itself."

For this test to be effective, allowances must be made for historical developments, political leadership, social forces, material resources and many other factors—but these can never be as significant as the common bonds which sharing one continent and similar historical experiences have given the African people. At this stage, at least, imperialism, national liberation, economic development, individual freedom—all the great political abstractions—have the same concrete connotations for the people of Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanganyika, the Rhodesias and South Africa. It is almost certain that within the same given situation, Africans in Johannesburg would react politically in the same way as the people of Accra or Nairobi.

This means that by and large the alignment of classes, the historical experiences, and educational and cultural influences are similar enough to engender similar social goals or political aims.

George Padmore con-

sidered this the basis for Pan-Africanism, and although the problems of Pan-Africanism and developments in the rest of the world have outmoded many aspects of his thesis, his fundamental assumptions have stood the test of time and change. The Summit Conference at Addis Ababa proved this beyond doubt.

## SOCIAL CHANGES

The reactions of the great Powers in the last six years towards Ghana are indicative of the social changes which have taken place in Ghana during that time. Whilst the Socialist countries have grown more trusting and friendly, the West has become progressively more hostile. If this were due to Ghana's alignment with the Communist bloc in the cold war, or to a political structure resembling the "dictatorship of the proletariat", the explanation would be too obvious to merit even passing comment.

Ghana's policy of non-alignment is too real to be



Founder of Ghana

impugned by either side, however, and Ghana shows no signs of adopting the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as her political structure. No non-alignment for Ghana is not a manoeuvre, and the one-party

state is a far cry from the state ruled by a Marxist elite. The friendship of the Socialist Powers, as well as the hostility of the capitalist Powers must be both based, therefore, not on hopes or fears relating to

by

H. M. Basner

the struggle for political allies, but on a far more fundamental assessment of Ghana's role.

The struggle for socialism has been won in Ghana and she can never return to the capitalist camp. That makes it possible or even inevitable, for Ghana to side with the Communist bloc against imperialist aggression but never with the Capitalist bloc for any capitalist aim.

## A BOLD CLAIM

This is a bold claim—that the struggle for socialism has been won in Ghana. When was it won?

The unceasing, unremitting press and radio campaign in the West against President Nkrumah and Ghana is the best indication. This is no longer a campaign, as in the past, conducted in the hope of changing Ghana's course, but a campaign based on lies and slanders, which the people of Ghana know to be lies and slanders, directed at eliminating Ghana's influence in Africa.

In other words, Nkrumah and Ghana have been given up as lost. It is Africa which must be saved now from following Ghana's course. Whilst articles in the Western press and comments in the Western radio, are manufactured by scribblers and hacks on the basis of superficial observations and gossip and information gathered from every available quarter, the data upon which capitalist Pow-

ers give their orders or consent for a campaign against a political leader in a developing country are carefully and skilfully compiled. Embassies, trade missions, economic and political experts as well as intelligence agents, gather and weigh the evidence on which such decisions are made.

The press and B.B.C. campaign at present raging in Britain against Nkrumah and Ghana is too sustained and concerted to have escaped the notice of Whitehall. In such matters the British Government does not and cannot give orders to the British press. A minister gives a dinner to the press lords in which the political facts of life are explained. It has to be a very large and burning issue on which the press lords ignore or defy the Conservative Party spokesmen.

## GOOD CAMPAIGN

Whether the British Government has failed to intervene or failed in its intervention is not important. What is much more significant is that the campaign goes on.

The present campaign started after the referendum and not after the dismissal of Sir Arku Korsah. The steps against the Chief Justice called out some howls of pain in the British press and radio, but no more than could have been expected under the circumstances. The campaign, as such, started after the referendum.

But could the referendum itself bring all that reaction? The President of Algeria has similar powers to dismiss judges. Tanganyika's constitution provides for a one-party state. Sierra Leone has deported university professors. Sudan has just deported 300 missionaries in one swoop. On all these matters, there have been protests and comments by the democrats who vociferously supported the regime of Tshombe and encourage the supply of arms to Verwoerd, but never anything like the campaign against Ghana.

It is not the referendum, not the dismissal of Korsah, not the deportation of Harvey, not the adoption of the one-party state, which has frightened the Western capitalists. It is the final realisation that there is no semblance of an opposition and no possibility of organising an opposition, which has finally convinced the capitalist world that capitalism is dead in Ghana and that neo-colonialism cannot be introduced.

So Ghana enters the seventh year of independence, having convinced the foes of socialism both within and outside that the verdict is final, and that Ghana will not return to capitalism. All that remains now is to prove that she can achieve socialism, and that socialism is worth achieving. As the capitalists well know, the outcome is not only important for the people of Ghana. The African continent is looking on.

# BANTU EDUCATION AND THE BANTUSTANS (I)

by  
Martin Legassick

EDUCATION is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of a fascist state for the suppression of the people by the imposition upon them of the State ideology. Verwoerd made it quite clear that this was the intention of Bantu Education when he introduced it in 1953: "It is therefore necessary that African education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accordance with the policy of the state".

The education system must thus be seen in the full context of apartheid, an ideology designed to preserve white privilege through the exploitation of African land and labour. The continuation of white supremacy is dependent on the maintenance of the African people in a state of poverty and insecurity. From the economically depressed and overcrowded "reserves", into which they were restricted by the armed force of the white racists, they are compelled through tax-imposition and through poverty to come and toil on the white-owned farms, mines and industries.

Pass laws and other technical legislation serve to control the supply of labour to farms or towns, and to maintain wage levels low. Outside the reserves, the African has almost no rights or security and the Bantu Law Amendment Bill, soon to become law, will remove even these, and restrict the African to a homeless wanderer in the land of his birth. He may remain in the town so long as he "ministers to the need of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister." (Standard Report, 1922).

Bantu Education is tailor-made to produce a class of "hewers of wood and drawers of water". In the speech quoted above, Dr. Verwoerd continued, "There is no place for him

(the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour".

Most African children go to school, but only for two, or at most four years of lower primary education. In 1960, 73 per cent of all African children at school were in Standard Two and under: that is, three out of every four children leave school after four years. (For white children in South Africa the corresponding figure is 39.6 per cent). So when the South African Government boasts to the outside world of increasing numbers of African children at school, it is a cynical statement: the facts are that education is at a lower level for more people. The aim is to give Africans enough education to com-

prehend orders, but not sufficient to articulate grievances.

The emphasis in this education is on manual subjects: more attention is given to tree-planting than to arithmetic. In the rural areas, white farmers may obtain permission from the Ministry to establish "farm schools" for the nearly African children. These are then used as a free labour force: the schooling given is rare and inadequate.

## CYNICAL INDIFFERENCE TO AFRICAN SCHOOLS

To complement this, the fascists show a cynical indifference to the standards of all the African schools. The increase in numbers at the lower levels is achieved largely by introducing "double sessions" and by increasing the size of classes. Each pupil has 2½ hours schooling a day instead of four, whereas the teacher has to cope with an extra hour's teaching, and with more pupils at a time. Coupled with the increasing imposition of the vernacular as a teaching medium against the wishes of the people, and the situation of teachers, this has meant

a drop in primary school standards, accentuated at the secondary schools. Thus the matriculation pass rate for Africans has dropped steadily since the introduction of Bantu Education: 54 per cent in 1953, 47.6 per cent in 1958, 19 per cent in 1960 and only 17.1 per cent in 1961.

The required standards for teachers have been lowered by the Government, and in addition large numbers of unmarried women teachers are employed, as these can be paid the lowest possible salaries. The teachers have no security of tenure, and are dismissed if they question the decisions of the racist Education Ministry. There are local school boards, but their members are nominated by the reactionary chiefs, subject to the approval of the Government Ministry. The intention of the fascist is to establish a monolithic system of indoctrination, in which poorly trained teachers and stooge school boards acquiesce in the training of pupils for their "correct station."

The vernacular as a medium, previously employed only to Standard Two, has gradually been extended upwards. Soon it will be used at Matriculation level, the aim being to cut the African off from all knowledge except that which the Government chooses to give him, and to perpetuate the tribal divisions of Xhosa,

Zulu and Sotho. The language of the South African liberation movement, transcending tribalism, is English, just as it is one of the common languages of the African revolution.

The vernacular languages, not equipped with technical vocabulary, are artificially extended by a committee of whites in Pretoria, who invent new words. The teachers are as

baffled as the pupils by this perversion of their language and to date there has been a lack of vernacular text-books, all contributing to the decline in educational standards.

## Merchants of Murder

Continued from page 1

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.

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 Con-

servative 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 now 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, Osagyefo 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.