

Africa's Revolutionary Tide Cannot Be Stemmed

"The imperialists and reactionaries have tried, are trying and will continue to try their utmost to obstruct and undermine the cause of independence and progress of the African peoples. Facts have proved and will continue to prove that the frantic struggles of the imperialists and reactionaries will only stimulate the peoples of African countries to sharper vigilance and stronger determination in the fight against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for the defence of national independence and the prosperity and the progress of their countries."

— MAO TSE-TUNG

*Message to President Kwame Nkrumah
of the Republic of Ghana, January 9, 1964*

A MILITARY coup d'etat took place in Accra, capital of Ghana, on February 24, the day Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, arrived in Peking on a visit.

Radio Ghana reported early that morning: "It is announced by Colonel E.K. Kotoka of the Second Infantry Brigade of the Ghana Army that the Ghana military in co-operation with the Ghana police have with effect from today taken over the government of Ghana."

Kotoka also announced that the Parliament was dissolved, that all government ministers were dismissed from office and that the Convention People's Party was disbanded.

On the evening of February 24, reported Radio Ghana, a seven-man "National Liberation Council" was formed to handle state affairs. J.A. Ankrah, former deputy chief of staff of defence who had been dismissed by President Nkrumah last year, was chairman of the council and commander of the armed forces, and Kotoka, a member of the council, was appointed commander of the army.

Calling on Ghanaian People to Stand Firm

The next day, in a statement issued in Peking, President Nkrumah said, "I know that the Ghanaian people are always loyal to me, the party and the government, and all I expect of everyone at this hour of trial is to remain calm, but firm in determination and resistance."

Stressing that he was the constitutional head of the Republic of Ghana and the supreme commander of the armed forces, the Ghanaian leader declared, "I am returning to Ghana soon."

Just before leaving Peking on February 28, President Nkrumah made another statement to the press. He pointed out that the military coup d'etat was a rebellion against the Government of the Republic of Ghana. "This rebellion does not deserve the support of any government. I am determined to stamp out the rebellion without delay, and in this I count on the support of the Ghanaian people and friends of Ghana all over the world."

"On leaving Peking, the capital of the People's Republic of China," he added, "I express my profound and sincere thanks to the Chinese people and their leaders for their support and generous hospitality."

Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council, and Lin Feng, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, who were in the welcoming party when the Ghanaian leader arrived four days earlier, saw him off at the airport.

President Nkrumah arrived on March 2 in Conakry, capital of Guinea, where President Toure and 70,000 people gave him a rousing welcome and pledged firm support. President Toure roundly condemned the imperialists and their lackeys for their crime of subversion. He declared, "We tell our brother Nkrumah that here is his home and that beginning today he assumes the highest responsibility of the state and the party of Guinea."

Meanwhile, in Accra on February 27, the coup forces brutally beat up a Chinese expert and three other Chinese personnel who were helping Ghana build a textile mill. The following day the "National Liberation Council" unilaterally tore up the economic and technical

co-operation agreement between China and Ghana and unjustifiably asked that all Chinese experts working in Ghana be withdrawn from Ghana immediately, and that the Chinese Embassy staff be reduced. The Chinese Embassy in Accra lodged two strong protests (see p. 7).

Imperialist Intrigue Exposed

The Accra coup immediately touched off an angry barrage of condemnation from many African nations and world public opinion. The accusing fingers pointed one way — at Anglo-American imperialism. The coup was not simply regarded as subversion against President Nkrumah and Ghana alone, but as an imperialist attack on the entire African revolution.

President Toure of Guinea openly denounced Britain for organizing the coup d'etat. At a rally of the Guinean Democratic Party on February 27 he warned, "The British are badly mistaken if they think they have succeeded. . . . We state solemnly, and with more vigour than the London radio: the criminals who have caused the coup d'etat in Ghana will pay for it, and they will pay for it dearly."

A statement issued by the National Political Bureau of the Sudanese Union Party of Mali on February 25 pointed out that the Accra coup is "part of the general offensive unleashed by imperialism to try to compromise the independence and sovereignty of our young states." In Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere also denounced the military coup and expressed support for President Nkrumah. He reiterated that "Africa must get rid of colonialism, exploitation and oppression." The Arab Socialist Union of the United Arab Republic described the coup as an imperialist conspiracy against Africa's independence and said that it was designed to keep the continent under foreign influence. The Cairo paper *Al Massa* stated that the coup was engineered by the United States and Britain, and *Al Goumhouria* stressed in a February 27 commentary that a plot against Nkrumah was "a plot against Ghana itself and the entire African revolution."

Condemning imperialist master-minding of military coups in African countries, the political bureau of the National Revolutionary Movement of the Congo (Brazzaville) noted that reactionary pressure supported by imperialism had been increasing in African states with a view to overthrowing the existing regimes by military coups before putting docile new teams into power. "These coups," said a communique issued by the political bureau, "constitute a mortal threat to the Organization of African Unity and the liberation movement of the peoples still under colonial rule and compromise the national independence of our young states and their economic and social progress."

In Mogadishu, the Somali Foreign Ministry issued a statement expressing regret over the coup and paying respect to President Nkrumah. In Algiers, Algerian Foreign Minister Bouteflika hit at the imperialists for seeking every conceivable means to jeopardize the independence of the African states.

African response to the imperialist-engineered coup in Ghana was expressed in concrete forms. The Malian, Guinean, Tanzanian, Kenyan and the U.A.R. delegations walked out of the meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa in protest against the participation of the representatives of the Ghana coupists. President Modibo Keita withdrew the Malian Embassy and the Zambian Government recalled its High Commissioner in Accra. Mass demonstrations against imperialism and colonialism took place in Guinea, Mali, Senegal and other places.

Revelations in Washington and London

While tempers ran high in Africa and the rest of the world, Washington and London did not hide their delight. In fact, the U.S. and British attitude towards the military coup in Accra revealed a good deal of their fingers in the pie. Both countries lost no time in recognizing the military regime in Ghana. U.S. State Department spokesman McCloskey declared that a State Department note handed to the charge d'affaires of the Ghanaian Embassy on March 4 "constituted U.S. recognition of the Ghanaian government of the National Liberation Committee." McCloskey also said that the State Department had expressed the hope in the note for continuing "friendly and mutually beneficial relations" between the two governments.

Earlier, on March 2, even before U.S. recognition was officially announced, U.S.I.S. praised the statements of the coupists as "encouraging." An AP dispatch of March 3 quoted Washington officials as saying that if the "new Ghana regime" asked for technicians and teachers, "the Administration will consider such a request. Meanwhile, it was made clear the proper U.S. government agencies are making preparations in case a request is received."

U.S. press reports likewise shed light on the U.S. link to the events in Ghana. The *Christian Science Monitor* of February 28 quoted a "report from London" that "Washington may have been involved in the anti-Nkrumah coup." In an article entitled "No Tears Shed for Nkrumah," the *New York Herald Tribune* (February 25) said: "Administration officials yesterday were openly delighted by the coup that ousted Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah." It quoted a State Department official as saying that "there'll certainly be no unhappiness here."

In London, the British Labour government announced recognition of the Ghanaian coup clique on March 4. Ghana had severed diplomatic relations with Britain last December in protest against British connivance at the white colonialists' declaration of "independence" of South Rhodesia. London did not bother to conceal its pleasure at the coup and its hope for a quick come-back of British colonialism in Ghana.

British General Henry Alexander, former chief of the Ghanaian defence staff who was kicked out in 1961 by President Nkrumah, declared on the day of the coup that it was "an excellent day." He called Kotoka "a good soldier."

The London *Times* gloated that "the militant African left has suffered a heavy blow," and that "Ghana would be worth salvaging again." The paper also expressed the hope that the event could be a "turning-point" for African countries to give up their struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

A Spur to Africans' Anti-Imperialist Fight

The imperialists can never learn their lessons. Again, they have laughed too soon. The reactionary coup d'etat in Ghana instead of being a gain for them has already made the African people more vigilant than ever against imperialism and colonialism, and it will spur them to fight back more resolutely than before. President Toure was correct when he said that the only way to achieve victory was to wage struggle every day, and that the freedom of Africa would be

the result of the struggle of the peoples of Africa. He pointed out that if imperialism thought that its time had come, "the progressives of Africa would say to imperialism: Thanks! Because the offensive of imperialism is going to accelerate the march of history in Africa."

Also, President Nyerere of Tanzania declared: "Africa is ripe for revolution. We must carry on the revolution of Africa. Our attention must continue to be directed at those forces which humiliate, exploit, oppress Africa. We must not stop."

These declarations voice the general sentiment of the African people today. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: The reactionary counter-current is trying to swamp the main current of national independence and people's democracy, but it can never become the main current.

Facts on File

Record of Imperialist Subversion Against Ghana

GHANA, a land of more than 238,000 square kilometres with a population of 7.5 million, had had much success in ridding itself of colonial influences and consolidating national independence since it cast aside the shackles of British colonialism and announced its independence on March 6, 1957. This, however, earned Ghana the deep hatred of U.S. and British imperialism which, over the years, have directly or indirectly engaged in sabotage and subversion against the Ghanaian Government.

The imperialist crimes against this country which leads the world in the production and export of cocoa, and which is rich in gold, diamond, bauxite and valuable timber can be seen from a glance at Ghana's history since independence.

In 1958, Ghana's security organs uncovered an imperialist-backed plot to assassinate Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, then Prime Minister of Ghana.

On June 24, 1959, the Government of Ghana issued a White Paper exposing an imperialist-supported conspiracy to overthrow the government.

On October 3, 1961, the Government of Ghana again unearthed a plot to murder President Nkrumah and other government leaders and to overthrow the government by armed force. Among those arrested were J. Appiah, son-in-law of the former British Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps. The White Paper issued by the Ghanaian Government on December 11 concerning this plot pointed out that British General Henry Alexander, former chief of the Ghanaian defence staff, was involved in this conspiracy which had financial support from foreign companies.

From August 1, to September 20, 1962, bombs were used in three attempts on President Nkrumah's

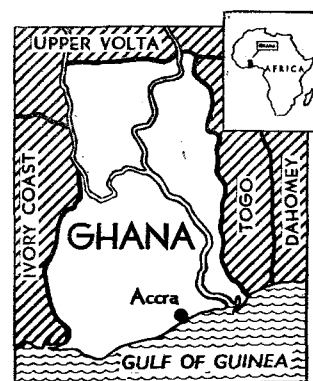
life. The August 1 attempt was made when a bomb was thrown at President Nkrumah's car as he passed through Kulungulu Village. An article in the *Ghanaian Times* exposed this attempt on the President's life as being connected with the U.S. State Department.

On January 8, 1963, there was a big explosion in the Accra sports stadium soon after President Nkrumah addressed a meeting.

On January 2, 1964, when President Nkrumah left his office, an assassin fired five shots at him at close range, fatally wounding a security guard. The Ghanaian weekly *Spark* exposed this act as being part of a plot by foreign interests.

On February 8 of that year, the Ghanaian Government expelled six imperialist agents (five Americans and one Englishman) who were engaged in subversion in Ghana.

These crimes against Ghana show clearly that U.S. and British imperialism are not reconciled to their defeats in Africa and that they are leaving no stone unturned in trying to make a come-back and halt the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle that is growing in Africa.



Sketch map by Wei Ning