

TRADE UNIONS IN CHAINS

How Kwame Nkrumah destroyed free trade union movement in Ghana and attempted to extend this on the African Continent.

True, Documented Narrative with names, dates and places.

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Dedicated to those gallant sons and daughters in the services of our fatherland by whose action freedom was once again restored to the workers and to all the people of Ghana, on February 24, 1966.

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PREFACE

Since our glorious revolution against the regime of Kwame Nkrumah, the flood of shocking facts of his misrule has all but inundated us. Among the most dismaying and instructive of these are those that have come to light to show that Kwame Nkrumah, while constantly talking about African Trade Union Unity, contributed in no small measure to African Trade Union disunity. As a Ghanaian trade unionist, I have been appalled to learn how Nkrumah attempted to exploit trade unionism in order to extend his way over the African continent.

We have documents—from the files of the Ghana Trades Union Congress, from the Headquarters Secretariat of the All-African Trade Union Federation, and most importantly, from Nkrumah's own office—which demonstrate how Nkrumah operated. These facts speak for themselves and we leave it to the reader to judge for himself.

As a Ghanaian worker I have considered it my duty to make these documents public so that our brothers in labour movements throughout Africa may know the objective facts and realise the great divide between word and deed. These documents will show that the self-styled "champion" of African unity was one of the greatest obstacles to real, sincere African Workers' Unity.

We know of course, that many honest people in Africa, who were not adequately informed about Nkrumah's activities at home and abroad, accepted many of his words at face value. For this very reason, it is most important to present the real Kwame Nkrumah as revealed in his own documents, letters and instructions.

We as Ghanaians cannot be proud of the way our country was used to interfere in the internal affairs of other African countries and in their trade unions. We can now hold our heads high with pride in the knowledge that we are mature and sincere enough to admit our past mistakes and with that knowledge, to pledge our wholehearted support to true African unity, the only kind of unity worth having; a unity of free men living together in mutual respect.

Workers of Africa desperately need a unified trade union movement. We need it in order to work more effectively for the economic development of our countries, for better working conditions, for a higher standard of living, and most of all, for positions of dignity in our societies. The workers of Ghana are determined to work for a genuine unity by concrete deeds, and no longer by empty and false pronouncements. Let us put aside the sterile, and futile arguments of the past, which have only divided us and left us vulnerable to our enemies, within and without, and rather fight together for the well-being of all African workers.

This exercise to examine the mistakes of the past and to draw the necessary lessons from them is fervently dedicated to the goal we all cherish—African unity in freedom, equality and peace. Let us make a new beginning upon the basis of those principles and practices which unite rather than disunite us as militant African Democratic and Free Trade Unions.

INTRODUCTION

This is the story of the trade union movement of Ghana, re-born in freedom February 24th 1966, after several years of political party and governmental dictatorship and control under one man, Kwame Nkrumah. It is the story of a trade union movement which began its existence under the best circumstances possible to envisage in a country liberated from colonialism. It was blessed with experienced leadership, brave and devoted workers and a genuine tradition of independence forged in the crucible of the struggle against foreign domination. It was also one of the major forces in the struggle for the achievement of political and national independence of Ghana.

Thus an eminent trade union leader Alhadji H. P. Adebola, president of the United Labour Congress of Nigeria recently declared:*

“Without any fear of contradiction, I say that the Ghana T.U.C. was one of those national trade union centres in Africa which paved the way for free and democratic trade unionism into the continent of Africa.”

Yet within a few years after independence, the free labour movement of Ghana as a vital and independent force became practically non-existent. It had become another political instrument in the hands of a dictator and his cohorts. It is hard to believe that this could happen, but happen it did.

Let the reader be assured that this exercise is neither intended in anyway to engage us in cold war propaganda nor is it designed to compromise our first belief in non-alignment. We must face facts if we are to succeed in forging genuine African trade union unity along democratic lines. The following will demonstrate that Nkrumah opted for an alliance with regimes which are the very opposite of democratic societies in which independent trade unions could thrive.

The Nkrumah regime not only robbed the Ghanaian people of our freedom but reduced us to a state of almost complete economic bankruptcy. This great country of ours with its enormous economic potential was being driven in a direction that could

* Address at the inauguration of the Trades Union Congress of Ghana, June 4, 1966, held following the coup d'etat which ousted Nkrumah.

only reduce the standards of living of the great number of Ghanaians and even threaten us with near starvation. Today, we will have to redouble our efforts in order to make up for the follies of the past, for example, our debts of over £300 million to foreign creditors.

The workers of Ghana have an important message for the African labour world, and the entire Third World which is striving to restore the dignity of its peoples after centuries of colonial enslavement, and neo-colonialism which seeks to perpetuate the suffering and impoverishment of the African workers.

The workers of Ghana, now know in the aftermath of the Nkrumah dictatorship, how our development was blocked because of the profligate and uncontrolled expenditures of a one-man régime. We know of the waste, the utter planlessness of the so-called Seven-Year Development Plan, which instead of development brought about a state of national bankruptcy. We know it because we, and the people of Ghana, are now paying the price of the mistakes of the Nkrumah régime—heavy debts, cuts in imports, high taxes and a clamp on wages.

It is more important for us Ghanaians now to be able to dispel the suspicions and hostilities created in the minds of our African brothers against whom Kwame Nkrumah and his cohorts plotted. With humility and with hope we will try to restore friendly and honourable relations with other African trade unions. We want to create the conditions which will enable Africa to wipe out colonialism and racism which still stain this continent especially in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa and other remaining enclaves of racial despotism and foreign domination.

These are among the reasons why I am publishing this story of the Ghana labour movement, and the rugged journey it passed through so that other young labour movements will learn from our bitter and yet rich experiences and practise eternal vigilance against internal and external enemies of free labour movements.

PART I

NKRUMAH'S TAKE-OVER OF GHANA LABOUR AND ALL ASPECTS OF GHANAIAAN LIFE

CHAPTER I

The first Trades Union Congress was founded in 1945, following the enactment of the first Trade Union Ordinance in 1941 by Britain, which recognised labour unions. For some eight years, the T.U.C. struggled with inter-union conflicts, financial instability, inadequate administration and put up a fierce battle against management and Government control. In 1950 a general strike was called as part of the national campaign of non-violence and civil disobedience in the struggle for independence. The strike failed, and trade union activists were jailed by the colonial rulers.

Ghana achieved its independence on March 6, 1957. Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) took control and thus began the tragic fate of our country and our labour movement. Instead of living up to the pledges of free labour movement made during the struggle against colonialism to the workers Nkrumah imposed a new form of colonialism. He selected as labour spokesman, John K. Tettegah and used all forms of dubious means to force him on the workers. Tettegah carrying out the instructions of his master announced a so-called New Structure to embrace the innumerable small and overlapping unions which had grown up so haphazardly.

What, however, appeared to be a constructive idea—merging a lot of little groups into larger and more effective labour organisations—actually became a vehicle for a totalitarian seizure of the Ghana T.U.C., in the name of "Democratic Centralism", culminating in the enactment of the Industrial Relations Act (1958) which set out the way the Trade Unions should operate, in line to Nkrumah's wishes and took away the most potent force of the working man—the right to withhold labour. Achieving this was not easy. Gallant and experienced trade union leaders such as

Larbi Odam, Anthony Woode, John Ashun, Pobee Biney and others of the T.U.C. of Ghana opposed Nkrumah very strongly.

Nkrumah had therefore first to destroy this larger trade union organisation, the T.U.C. of Ghana, which opposed control of the unions by the Convention People's Party. Nkrumah attacked Larbi Odam and others as "imperialist" agents and their organisation as anti-socialist. The Ghana T.U.C., of Nkrumah's creation headed by John K. Tettegah, was given an all-out support by the C.P.P. Thus, although the T.U.C. of Ghana was larger and more of a trade union in character yet its membership was drained and eventually the government recognized the Tettegah group by law.

By 1959, it was all over. The CPP had captured the trade union movement lock, stock and barrel. All members of the Ghana T.U.C. Executive and union officers were required to become CPP members and subject to party discipline. Enrolment in the CPP became a condition for holding union office. Thus Nkrumah stated:

"There can be no split loyalties. Nobody has the right to call himself a true labour fighter if he is not also an honest and loyal member of the Convention People's Party, because fundamentally, the Convention People's Party is the political expression of the Trade Union Movement."

This is how it was done. The workers were ignored. Their validly elected leaders were threatened with imprisonment under the Preventive Detention Act whereby Nkrumah could throw anyone into jail for five years without trial or reason and then renew the sentence for another five years. Instead of realising labour freedom in the new day of emancipation, the Ghanaian workers heard these words from Kojo Botsio:

"CPP workers must not only join Trade Unions affiliated to the Trades Unions Congress but must also organise themselves in a manner as to ensure that the socialist principles, policies, and programme of our Party find true expression in the various unions and to ensure Party leadership in the Unions . . . It is

* Speech to the Committee on Workers' Organisation, pages 4-5 in the Ghanaian Worker, January 17, 1959.

an ideological heresy for Party members to elect a non-Party worker as a Leader of their organisation." "When the National Executive give directives, those must be carried out to the letter; and when the Central Committee of the Party gives a line, all Party members are obliged to follow that line. We must have a machinery that will destroy any opposition to the democratically arrived-at decisions and directives of the Central Committee of the Party."

Very quickly, the T.U.C. became tied to Nkrumah's apron-strings and purse-strings, the CPP was given the fictitious title "Mother of the Trades Union Congress". The next step was to yoke the labour movement to Nkrumah's ambitions to seize and control all labour organisations in Africa and thus eventually to become head of what, in his dream would be the so-called **Union of Socialist Countries of Africa**. Thus, Nkrumah called upon African labour:

". . . to discard antiquated ideas about the separation of trade union activities from politics and to reconstitute themselves into an active vanguard in our political operation."

It is important to stress here that the erosion of freedom for labour in Ghana was no isolated phenomenon. The erosion of freedom was nationwide. No institution or corporate body was immune from totalitarian control. The Legislature, the Judiciary and the Executive were no exceptions in this connection. In 1962, a distinguished Indian, Justice R. K. Mookerjee of the Calcutta University Law School was barred from Ghana when he came to investigate violations of human rights. The International Commission of Jurists in 1962 declared:

"The ideal expressed in the President's Declaration of Fundamental Principles under the Constitution appear to be empty of meaning. The power of the Executive has increased to a dangerous point, at which it seems that neither the Legislature nor the Judiciary can act as an effective counter-balance. The consequences of this accumulation of power are dire. Political discrimination is widely practised. The Liberty of the subject is disappearing.

* Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists May 1962 No. 13. Pages 21-29.

The independence of the Judiciary is in doubt and . . . sadly compromised . . . True freedom of the press does not exist."

They pointed out that the African Conference on the Rule of Law at Lagos in 1961 under the aegis of the Commission had declared:

"No person of sound mind shall be deprived of his liberty except upon a charge of a specific criminal offence; further, during a public emergency, prevention detention without trial is held to be contrary to the Rule of Law."

Thus we see that in practice, the seizure by Nkrumah of the trade unions was only a first step to wipe out any opposition to his realisation of totalitarianism and a spring-board to capture the African world. We have thus learnt that robbing one sector of the population of freedom leads to the deprivation of freedom of other sectors.

Immediately following the ouster of Nkrumah, the National Liberation Council suspended the so-called Republican Constitution of 1960 by which Nkrumah, as Ghana's first President became Head of State, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the "Fount of Honour". Under provisions of this anti-democratic document, Nkrumah could remove, for any reason, judges of the Supreme Court or High Court. Under another section, Nkrumah could and did set aside any court judgement he didn't like and overrided any decision of a court.

An interesting case in mind was the trial of three of his top party men who were charged with treason. The whole incident was a mockery of justice. Tawiah Adamafo, his Minister of Information, Ako Adjei, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kofi Crabbe, the Party Executive Secretary and three others had been charged with treason as a result of a bomb explosion at Kulungugu, a village in the Upper Region of Ghana in which Nkrumah was injured. The protracted trial was handled by a Special Court instituted by Nkrumah himself. This was done for fear that the normal courts would free them since there was not enough evidence to convict them. The Special Court was composed of Sir Arku Korsah, then Chief Justice as President, Justice Van Lare

and Justice Akuffo Addo, all eminent judges. The eminent judges found the accused not guilty and accordingly acquitted them. As if the courts existed to serve him rather than the State, Nkrumah became highly furious and in an afternoon broadcast nullified the judgement of the court, dismissed the three judges and put them under house arrest. The defence counsel an eminent barrister, Mr. Koi Larbi, was also detained. The next stage was the appointment of a single judge in the person of Mr. Justice Sarkodee Addo, who, as Nkrumah wanted, gave them the death sentence on the basis of the verdict by a jury of young party activists who had been hand-picked from Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba. What did Nkrumah do again? In his usual pseudo-humanitarianism he pretended to be merciful and again, set aside the court judgement and granted them life imprisonment instead.

As for trade union officers they were removed at his will and at his wish non-trade unionists were imposed on the workers. When Tettegah became unpopular with Ghanaian workers, he was given a Ministerial status so as to instill fear in the workers and make them pay obeisance to him. He was given an ambassadorial status so that by his diplomatic rank and privileges he could serve Nkrumah's interests in other parts of Africa with impunity.

As Tettegah became involved in what he himself described as "Osagyefo's Service" in Africa, Mr. Magnus-George, then deputy High Commissioner in Lagos was appointed by Nkrumah as Secretary-General of the TUC. Soon tension began to develop between Magnus-George and Tettegah as Nkrumah proceeded to play one against the other. When these tensions reached their heights Nkrumah replaced Magnus-George by Kwaw Ampah, Nkrumah's tribesman and also district commissioner, who claimed he had come with a "broom" to sweep away corruption but was himself later swept off by his own corruption.

Ghanaians have also learnt that there is no such thing as "temporary" suspension of freedom. Once a people give its assent to its imprisonment, it is difficult to persuade the jailer to unlock the cell-door. It will be recalled that Nkrumah said very clearly:* (1)

* (1) The autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, 1959.

“Even a system based on social justice and democratic constitution may need backing up, during the period following independence, by emergency measures of a **totalitarian kind**. Without discipline true freedom cannot survive. (emphasis supplied).”

In the flush of enthusiasm over the coming of independence; Ghanaian workers regarded this statement as rhetoric. To our bitter sorrow we learned differently, particularly the 2,000 Ghanaians who were thrown into jail under the Preventive Detention Act without a charge being preferred against them.* (2).

This is how Ghana became a prison and how Ghana trade unionism was stifled. In the next chapter, I will show by case history what the CPP dictatorship over labour meant.

CHAPTER II

EFFECTS OF PARTY-STATE CONTROL ON GHANA TUC

What does it mean to a trade union organisation when it loses its independence, when a totalitarian regime takes over the labour movement in the interest of “socialism” or “national unity” or “fascism” or “consciencism”?

It means, first, that the workers have no say or voice whatsoever in the formulation of policies on their wages and their conditions of work.

It means, that they have no right to withhold their labour if they so choose.

It means there is no genuine collective bargaining but rather government imposition of wages and conditions of work.

It means that the workers' subscriptions can be spent in any way their imposed leaders wish and nothing can be done about it.

It means no union official has any tenure if the ruling monopolist party dictates his removal.

In short, it means the disenfranchisement of workers and turning them into serfs.

* (2) GHANA: The First Hundred Days of the National Liberation Council, Legal Refuras, page 2 Mimeographed.

From December 31, 1964, to December 31, 1965, the T.U.C. (Ghana) took in about £G120,000 as its share of dues from check-off; in other words £10,000 a month. The outgo exceeded the income by almost £G5,000. Between 1958 and the change of regime (in February 1966), the T.U.C. accumulated a debt of about £200,000.

The T.U.C. had two bank accounts, No. 1 and No. 2. Ampah, an unelected National Secretary opened two new accounts with £200,000 he got from Nkrumah, called Accounts No. 3 and No. 4. Ampah had sole control over 3 and 4 accounts contrary to the constitution of the T.U.C. Nkrumah gave Ampah £G100,000 in November 1963 and the rest in December. These accounts 3 and 4 required only one signature—Ampah's whereas the T.U.C. constitution demanded that any other of two Finance Board members selected by the Executive Board were to sign cheques to be valid. Out of accounts No. 3 and No. 4 Ampah and his Administrative Secretary bought two Mercedes Benz cars, one a 230S No. WR.9009 and the other a 200, No. 8477 and were licensed in their own names.

Ampah for example, had a salary of £G1,830 a year which without Executive Board approval he increased to £2,500 a year. G. A. Balogun, the Administrative Secretary, who also bought a Mercedes started at £G1,206 and in a few months got it raised to £G1,850. There was neither any paper approving the increase nor records of approval of any kind.

There were anomalies in collecting dues, there was no check-up as to what happened to the dues. The officers of the T.U.C. in the old regime could travel anywhere in their cars and charge it to the T.U.C. account. There was no budgetary control and mileage claims were unchecked. The workers got nothing for their 2/- a month in all the years of the old regime. Trade Union officials and workers who challenged this were booted out of office.

What the workers did get from the old regime T.U.C. leaders were words such as the following from Kwaw Ampah, former unelected National Secretary.

*“Thanks to the correct leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and our Party . . .” or “The quality of our work must continue on the ascendancy and we must always adopt a scientific approach to problems in order to find and adopt scientific solutions. The present stage of our development, coupled with the urgent need to develop quickly in order to achieve our aim of building a socialist society . . .”

This was the kind of nonsense purveyed to our unions and the members. Lots of talk about “scientific socialism” while the “socialists” were lining their pockets with the people’s money.

The biggest spender of them all, however, was Kwame Nkrumah who gave himself all kinds of fanciful titles in his attempt to brainwash the Ghanaian people. Here is a sampling of some of these appellations:

“The First Academician”

“African’s Star of Hope”

“The Lenin of Africa”

“His High Dedication”

“His Messianic Dedication”

“Africa’s Man of Destiny”

During his dictatorship, Young Pioneers were taught to shout: “Nkrumah is always right. Nkrumah never dies ! ! !”

This madness reached a climax on September 28, 1965, at a meeting convened by Nkrumah of CPP Central Committee members, Cabinet Ministers and other officials. The conference voted unanimously—naturally—that “this monolithic foundation of the party’s organisational might and philosophy can best be expressed in the fusion of the party’s ideology with the personality of the founder of the ideology himself.”

This action was explained in an editorial in the CPP-controlled Ghana Evening News as follows:

*“The decision of the Central Committee of the Party to express the ideology of the revolution in the personality of its author is as it should be . . . All Party cadres are agreed on the need to express the ideology of the CPP in the personality cult because all comrades realised that in our situation the people

need a charismatic leadership, a beacon light to look up to in their development. Comrades were also aware of the dangers in untimely attempts to depersonify a Marxist Party because of the fear of the creation of the personality cult. Thus although Comrade Lenin has been dead for decades his memory is kept with almost religious reverence. The Chinese always say the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. This is because in the translation to the highest form of society which we all seek, there is sometimes bound to be confusion and the people need a beacon light to look up to. It is this lack of charismatic leadership and the correct use of nationalistic feeling of the people which has killed many a political organisation which started off a Marxist-Lenin organisation . . . Without this charismatic leadership the people are bound to look for leaders and saviours from many other sources. THE PARTY IS SUPREME.”

This arrant nonsense filled the pages of the government-controlled press while Nkrumah played with state funds and treated the Treasury as if it were his private purse. Money was spent without regard to whether or not the workers would benefit.

For example, it was a common sight in the capital city of Accra to see workers queuing up for transportation to and from their jobs. The queues were enormous morning and night, but Nkrumah’s regime did nothing to alleviate this terrible inconvenience to workers and their families. Instead he ordered the purchase of Soviet Ilyushin planes for the government airline, even though the purchase of these planes was not economical. Large sums of money were expended for planes which were never used while nothing was done to buy buses for everyday transportation of the workers.

Another example of profligacy was the State House in Accra built at a cost of about £G8 million, to house the visiting Heads of State for the single week of the OAU conference held in Accra in 1965. Today the 18-storey building is a white elephant and money which could have been used for erecting flats for workers was wasted on this building. It was still a sad affair to see a

* Speech before T.U.C. Executive Board, January 25, 1966 mimeographed.

worker with a family of ten forced to live in a one room accommodation and spending about 50 per cent of his income on rent.

In addition, he built for his own use a £G1 million country house and spent more than £G1 million on Flagstaff House, his official residence, for renovations. He established a private army of his own, comprising Soviet and Chinese trained personnel at a budget cost of about £G500,000, in flagrant violation of the very Constitution which he had foisted upon the Ghanaian people. Subversion camps were established at enormous cost to train refugees to overthrow those African leaders who disagreed with Nkrumah about his way of Pan-Africanism.

This wasn't all. He spent about £G20,000 on a yacht and remodelled Christiansborg Castle as another home for himself at a cost of some £G6 million. He built an 18-mile, four-lane highway at a cost of over £G7 million, for which there is very little traffic, while the Kumasi-Accra road which carries very heavy traffic and is of great economic value was left to deteriorate. Another £G15 million or more was used for a jet airstrip with a runway longer than any Ghana Airways aircraft needed.

His personal fortune is estimated at about £G17 million with one bank account alone reported to be £341,000. He is proved of collecting 10 per cent commissions on government contracts and stowed the money away in secret bank accounts abroad. And, of course, the personal fortunes of those around him who served his totalitarian schemes increased by similar thefts from the sweat and toil of the workers and farmers of Ghana.

Unemployment was rampant. Underemployment was great. Agriculture stagnated and the farmer grew poorer. The standard of living went down as imports were cut because there was no foreign exchange to pay for them—but the mad whirl of Nkrumah's expenditure in the name of "scientific socialism" never ceased until his overthrow. He employed Adolf Hitler's personal pilot Miss Hannah Reich to establish a gliding school at a fantastic cost while the country was told that there was no money for spare parts to put the public transportation in service.

While these mad economic planning and daylight robbery were going on the big propaganda drums banged away about

how Socialism—"scientific socialism", no less—was growing with leaps and bounds in Africa's paradise, Ghana.

CHAPTER III

MISCONCEPTIONS OF WESTERN "LIBERALS"

One of the most disillusioning experiences of the Ghana trade union movement throughout the Nkrumah dictatorship was the support he received from the so-called liberal spokesmen in Western countries. No one could be surprised at Communist support for Nkrumah. After all he and they were in the same bed together.

But how could so-called liberal spokesmen, particularly in America and Western Europe, ignore the open attack on the liberties of the Ghana people and the Ghana labour movement and utter no words of protest? Was it because the so-called Africanists of many American and British universities look upon "scientific socialism" as the only way of socio-economic life for Africans and, therefore, that a self-described "socialist" dictatorship becomes justifiable?

On June 14, 1966, the Secretary-General of the T.U.C. (Ghana) spoke before the International Labour Conference in Geneva. This was the first time in 8 years that a free trade union spokesman had represented Ghana labour. This is what he said in a challenge to those Western liberals who defended Nkrumah or remained silent even after he decreed the Preventive Detention Act.

"The denial of the elementary rights of the Ghanaian workers and their burdensome sufferings were concealed by the Nkrumah regime and never made known beyond the boundaries of Ghana. But within our country, we know the true story but the brutal dictatorship prevented anyone from speaking the truth. And when in some instances true conditions within my

country were made known during the dictatorship, there were, I regret to say, writers and journalists, priding themselves on their humanity and liberalism, who defended the brutalities of the so-called Redeemer of Ghana."

He continued:

"These liberal intellectuals in America and Great Britain who consumed tons of newsprint defending Nkrumah as essential to the economic development of Ghana should look upon what Nkrumah left us—the 7 million people of Ghana. Let those in the West who defended Nkrumah and acted as his apologists, paid and unpaid, today explain the total failure of Ghana's economy which has been a crushing burden primarily upon the workers and farmers of my country."

A Ghanaian journalist, Edward Agyeman, writing in the Accra Daily Graphic* has denounced the actions and activities of some of those so-called 'white liberals' (who) since the Ghana coup have created doubts as to the real intentions of those self-appointed proponents of African freedom." He wrote:—

"Although they knew in their hearts that freedom as they understand it was non-existent in Ghana, they never raised a finger because it was Ghanaian suppressing Ghanaians so that was perfectly right. They found Ghana heaven because Nkrumah and his communist bed-fellows were all too pleased and willing to echo the ideologies preached by them. However since the overthrow of Nkrumah these very people who sang hosannas to Ghana barely a few months ago have turned round to say Ghana should be crucified. The double-standard nature of whatever school of thought they stand for has definitely unfurled their hidden belief that democracy and real freedom are the exclusive rights of the white man and that African society is such that only dictatorship is suitable."

Let us take up in the next chapter whether "scientific socialism" benefitted the Ghanaian worker or the population as a whole or whether it was a "legal" way to line the pockets of Nkrumah and his stooges while international communism plotted the seizure of our country.

* June 26, 1966, page 5.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF TOTALITARIAN RULE

The position of the new Ghana Labour Movement on economic development was reflected by the I.L.O. address of the Secretary-General referred to earlier.

It reads:

"We in Ghana have learned that dictatorship—whatever it calls itself, consciencism, socialism, communism, falangism, or what is called neo-colonialism—is the most inefficient, most costly method of developing a country. We in Ghana believe, as do most of our Trade Unions that only freedom and the democratic process, however difficult it may be is the surest way of achieving a better life for the workers."

Professor W. Arthur Lewis, the distinguished economist who served Ghana and refused to accept Nkrumah's dictates has written:—

"Much of the case for the single-party system rests on its claim to accelerate development, and to contain its tensions. The first half of this claim is bogus, and the second half is both doubtful and undesirable. The single-party system is largely irrelevant to the current economic problems of West Africa."

Let us begin first by demolishing the myth of Ghana's economic development during the unhappy reign of Kwame Nkrumah "As one travels about Ghana," said E. N. Omaboe, Chairman of the National Economic Committee*, "one will find signs of a relatively high standard of living hardly found in most developing countries."

He continued:

"You may be tempted to conclude that economic development over the past few years has been tremendous and that there is no justification for the accusation of economic mismanagement by the old regime. The comparison which you ought to make should not be between Ghana and other developing countries but rather between what Ghana is now and what it could have been had the large sums of money which the Ghanaian tax

* Press Conference by the National Economic Committee, March 3, 1966. Published by the Ministry of Information under the title, "Rebuilding the National Economy", page 8.

payer provided during the administration of the old regime been utilized well.”

Dr. Martin Kilson of Harvard University analysing the value of “regimes officially committed to African socialism” concluded that “the resort to authoritarian politics has produced no positive long-run results whatsoever in the economic sphere.”

Citing Ghana as an example of a country forcibly committed to socialism, he described what happened to the cocoa farmer thus:—

“It is perfectly clear that the ruling elite in the CPP could hardly govern without achieving some sort of accommodation with the cocoa farmers, who produce nearly 70 per cent of government revenue. But from the economic standpoint there is not much to pay for the use of the UGFC (United Ghana Farmers’ Co-operatives) to effect such accommodation. The Cocoa Marketing Board’s surrender of its role in cocoa marketing to the UGFC in 1961 was hardly in the interest of economic advancement. As a marketing agency, the UGFC is more costly and less efficient than the arrangements that preceded it. Moreover, the UGFC is a dual-purpose agency, concerned with both the political control of cocoa farmers and with the economics of marketing their crops. As shown by the experience of tractor stations and other agricultural agencies in Soviet Russia, such mixing of economic functions with political-control functions bodes ill for the modernization of agriculture. Above all else, the structure is grossly confused under these arrangements—and nothing could be worse than this, especially in view of the age-old propensity of peasant farmers to shun political incentives in favour of economic incentives to produce to diversify production and to employ new methods.”

The single greatest failure of “scientific socialism” in past decades has been in agriculture. Nothing that was done has succeeded in increasing industrial and agricultural production or level of productivity according to announced targets. How much worse was it for a small country like Ghana when for purely ideological reasons, traditional—yet successful—agricultural pro-

ducing methods were discarded in the name of “scientific socialism.”

We must remember that the prosperity of urban workers and those in smaller population areas depends on the prosperity of the farmer. In a country like Ghana, a prosperous marketable agriculture must be even further developed and strengthened if there is to be any genuine capital accumulation for industrial development.

It must never be forgotten that Ghana’s monetary reserves at independence in 1957 were £G195 million. By 1961, the reserves were down to £G20 million. It went down, down, down until today Ghana’s external debt is over £300 million. This in itself would not be so bad, as Mr. Omaboe has said:—

“The amount of the debt in itself is not as important as what the money involved was used for. In our case the money was used for current consumption and development projects which have so far failed to generate sufficient production to enable us meet our obligations under the debts. Herein lies the magnitude of our financial burden.”

Even more distressing was the statement by Mr. Omaboe as to mismanagement of the economy by the old regime in a way that almost beggars description:

“We are not in possession of statistical data about the size and structure of our debts as well as the utilization of the credits without which (negotiations with our creditor countries) cannot take place . . . It is bad enough to be in debt, it is certainly chaotic if one does not know the size and structure of one’s debts.”

Let those admirers of Nkrumah’s “scientific socialism” explain why such maladministration persisted and finally produced a near-disaster. Had Nkrumah lasted, there would have been an economic collapse which could only have led to worse repression. Inflation would have worsened and prices would have risen by another 50 per cent over the 2 years previous when the price level had risen 50 per cent. It will be several years before the national

economy will recover its health. This will mean greater unemployment, underemployment, downward trend in the improvement of the standard of living for our people.

PART II

NKRUMAH'S ATTEMPT TO SEIZE CONTROL OF AFRICAN LABOUR

CHAPTER V

Nkrumah and AATUF

So far, we have dealt primarily with the disastrous effects of Nkrumah's rule in Ghana. Nkrumah was not content, however, to terrorise Ghana alone. For him Ghana was only a stepping stone to mastery of all Africa, and to that end Nkrumah baulked at nothing: false propaganda, bribery, deception, subversion, even assassination found its place in his arsenal. Immense sums of money looted from the people of Ghana were squandered on his vain efforts at personal aggrandisement.

Nkrumah's campaign for mastery over Africa was pressed in every field and on every level, but never more vigorously or incessantly than in the trade unions. Nkrumah saw in African trade unions a backdoor route to political influence. Whenever he was rebuffed by other African leaders in his grandiose, hypocritical schemes for "union government", he always turned with redoubled energy to the labour movement. Like a thief who, seeing the front door under guard, hunts for an unbolted window in order to slip inside and burglarise the house, he hoped to gain control of the African continent by foisting himself on the trade unions, then through them on their governments.

Nkrumah chose for his instrument to infiltrate African labour the All-African Trade Union Federation. Since the ouster of Nkrumah many secret documents have become available from the ex-President's files which show in detail how he tried to sub-

vert African labour. These documents prove what many of us suspected but could not know for a fact until our revolution placed the direct evidence in our hands, namely, that **Nkrumah viewed the ostensibly international, non-government AATUF as nothing more than an underground apparatus to use for his own nefarious ends.**

Some labour leaders who were drawn into AATUF thinking they were participating in a **bona fide** trade union organisation, will be shocked by that assertion. The documents about to be presented, however, prove it beyond a doubt.

Before we turn to the history of AATUF, let us examine an event which finally opened the eyes of the workers of Ghana to the true nature of AATUF.

On March 14, 1966—three weeks after the coup which overturned the Nkrumah dictatorship—the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) issued a statement from Casablanca, Morocco, mobilizing African workers against what AATUF dared to call "the new pro-imperialist puppet regime".

The statement of this alleged African labour federation urged African workers "to give all indispensable support to Ghanaian workers and the people and to the great leader "President Kwame Nkrumah", in their struggle to free Ghana from the grip of reactionaries, neo-colonialism and imperialism."

What a treacherous stand for an organisation supposedly representing African labour's interests to have taken! Instead of cheering the overthrow of a dictator who had made a mockery of free trade unionism and who had exploited the Ghana workers worse than any private employer would have dared, A.A.T.U.F. dared to defend the dictatorship. The All-African Trade Union Federation has thus shown itself to be what it was from the day that Nkrumah organised it as an instrument of subversion of African labour—a collection of anti-democratic anti-free trade unions, living on secret subsidies and from its inception enjoying the fullest support of international Communism.

Despite AATUF's talk that it is non-aligned and that it seeks genuine pro-African labour unity, it had more and more become

a docile instrument in the hands of Nkrumah. Today it has become a discredited, aimless and unprincipled puppet.

The Ghana labour movement will long remember that three weeks after the cause of freedom had triumphed in Ghana, when all the world could see—at last—what a tragedy for the Ghanaian people Nkrumah had been, when the Ghanaian people had taken to the streets cheering the coup d'état, when at last the Ghanaian workers were liberated after eight dark years—at this A.A.T.U.F. dared — without investigation, without study and without consultation of the Ghana T.U.C. denounce our democratic revolution.

AATUF-ism like Nkrumaism, is dead. AATUF is an organisation which has been repudiated by Ghana labour and by free African workers generally who refused to be dictated to in the name of alien ideologies.

But before we dismiss AATUF from our minds, we must take closer look at its history and explain how it came to be used against the very workers it was supposed to defend.

CHAPTER VI

NKRUMAH'S AATUF STRATEGY

In the course of May Day celebrations in Conakry in 1966, Nkrumah, addressing a crowd of 30,000 Parti Democrat de Guine (PDG) militants in 28th September Stadium, had the following to say concerning AATUF's role in Africa:—

“The Unity of African Workers is essential to the achievement of African Unity and for the combat which will make it possible to establish a continental union government in Africa. **It is toward this that AATUF has been set up** with headquarters in Accra in order to serve as the haven of unity and as the spearhead for all the movements of workers in Africa.”

This is a somewhat different version from the one usually given for AATUF's existence. There was, however, good reason

for Nkrumah to support AATUF as an arm of Continental Union. As early as June 22, 1964, just after the AATUF Bamako Conference, Nkrumah was the recipient of a top secret memorandum from the newly elected Secretary General of AATUF, John Tettegah, the man chosen to manipulate AATUF for Nkrumah's ends. This memorandum shows Tettegah's ideas on how he planned to use his newly won office:—

To Osagyefo The President
From: John K. Tettegah

THE STRATEGY OF WORK FOR THE AATUF

1. Although I am circularising the African Affairs Committee with the programme of work of the AATUF, this brief note about strategy is of such vital importance that I am only giving it to Osagyefo the President, except the Osagyefo decides otherwise to let all members of the Central Committee and the African Affairs Committee see it.

2. As Osagyefo the President correctly pointed out during the Luncheon Osagyefo gave for the Bamako delegates, “the struggle is not ended with the launching of the AATUF, but we are just about to start. The imperialists and their agents in Africa are not going to accept our victory without resistance and we must be vigilant.”

3. Although the AATUF on the surface must appear to be an International Organisation subservient to no single Government, my election as Secretary-General enables Ghana to manipulate the whole organisation by subtle means. **I am no independent Secretary-General but a mere instrument of the Convention People's Party and the Osagyefo's African policy.** Methods of work can be devised to achieve Ghana's political manipulation of the AATUF without the other countries discovering our designs.

4. With the headquarters in Accra, **history has placed the destiny of the African working class firmly in Osagyefo's hands and we should exploit this to the maximum.**

Strategy of work: (1) We should formally announce at a convenient time and the most psychological moment that AATUF is a non-governmental International Organisation and

the Government of Ghana in response to AATUF Secretariat's request will grant an International status to the AATUF Headquarters Secretariat as we have done for the F.A.O., UNESCO and other International Agencies now with Regional Offices or Headquarters in Accra. The necessary protocol will be formally signed and our name added to the Diplomatic List.

(2) **Relationship with the Ghana T.U.C.** (Trades Union Congress):— (a) I shall formally be granted a three-year leave of absence to devote my full time and energy to creating an apparatus of an International Organisation which must compare in efficiency and status to the WFTU or the ICFTU. (b) Responsibility for our National Trade Union matters must be firmly put in the hands of J. K. Ampah as National Secretary of the Ghana T.U.C and I must not be bothered with any local problems, (c) This must only be for National Affairs, and the **International relations** must be left in the hands of an underground outfit which must operate in the name of the Ghana T.U.C.

This is of a crucial importance because in my role as an **instrument of Osagyefo's African policy**, I must be supported underground with an efficient apparatus, which must smash and counteract any intrigues of other African States and neo-colonialist agents for us to always have a majority on the elected Bureau and AATUF General Council.

It was with extreme difficulty that we got both the Headquarters and the Secretary-General's position, and national centres like Guinea and other interested parties will be engaged in **independent African activities** to undermine Ghana's position and corrupt some leaders. We must be in a position to counteract these moves.

The National Secretary, who will be too pre-occupied with the prosecution of our 7-Year Development Plan, must forget about International politics of the T.U.C. and leave that in the hands of the **Director of International Department**, who will head my Ghanaian underground outfit.

The Director of the International Department is the one who replaces me during my absence from Ghana on the African Affairs

Committee and other Governmental bodies or Party Committees where Ghana's African policy is formulated and executed. He reports directly to me as the instrument of Osagyefo's African policy. This position must be made very clear although secret to the new leaders of the Ghana T.U.C. to avoid any misunderstanding.

(3) The Constitution of the AATUF has been reduced into an organisational chart. Appendix attached. This is the barest minimum to run a really efficient International Organisation and we shall staff the Departments by phases. Since the budget is going to be subscribed to by all the signatories of our charter this should not be our headache.

(4) I must point out however, that **Ghana's own underground outfit must continue to be financed by the allocation already made to AATUF of £G30,000 per annum** from which we must also pay Ghana's annual subscription to the Central AATUF fund. Recently this was cut down to £G20,000. It is urgent the Osagyefo graciously restores this back to £G30,000 per annum, in view of our increased responsibilities.

The present Headquarters could be enlarged to accommodate our skeleton staff but as our International grows, we must be able to provide permanent Headquarters to make it impossible for any future conference to contemplate the removal of the Headquarters from Accra. **If Osagyefo makes any approach to our Soviet friends, the Soviet Trade Unions will only be too willing to bear the total cost of our Permanent Headquarters.**

(5) Our socialist friends have already agreed to finance a College for the English-speaking States in Africa to be located in Accra. I am not sure whether it is strategically wise to mix up with our own Ideological Institute at Winneba. Osagyefo may wish to indicate his advice.

The opening of a Labour College and the launching of an AATUF journal is of a crucial importance if we must educate and raise the consciousness of the African masses to assume their historic responsibilities in the African Revolution for building a continental Union Government.

(6) These notes have been drawn for Osagyefo the President

to give Osagyefo a thorough appraisal of the AATUF position vis-a-vis our African policy.

(7) I have been hesitant to put this document into the hands of the full Committee because if by negligence or deliberate sabotage this gets into the hands of our enemies it will be used to discredit and forestall our strategy.

(8) Several opportunists have recently infiltrated our Party ranks and this makes it difficult to work in a collective atmosphere as already there are signs of cliquing and discrediting Comrades no matter what the cost is to Osagyefo's image, Ghana or Africa.

(9) Osagyefo's image in Africa and the cause of the African Revolution is too sacred to be dragged into local politics. My only prayer is that we all work in mutual and collective confidence, serving Osagyefo Africa and humanity.

(10) If at any time, it is considered that I have finished serving my time, my only wish is to be left alone in peace to die my normal death. I have been dedicated to Osagyefo personally and to this struggle from its very inception and I shall continue to be the Nkrumaist soldier on sentinel against any counter-revolution until life is no more. If I have no role again to play in Ghana as some of the new-comers now seem to infer by making me look like a social outcast, in my own country, and even amongst the Ghanaian Trade Unions who must be my strong collaborators and faithful supporters in the titanic burden I have accepted to shoulder in the name of Osagyefo and on Africa's behalf, I must be taken into confidence and told so and I shall be the most willing to withdraw.

(11) It is difficult for some of us to see today, that people who but only yesterday were the arch enemies of the C.P.P. and insulted our Osagyefo with audacity both in speeches and in writing are being regarded as the faithful and most loyal of the Nkrumaist socialist revolution.

(12) It is indeed sad for me to hear that instructions have been given that I should not enter the Hall of Trade Unions according to Foevie and even J. K. Ampah, whom I should hand over to, should not see me. How can I carry the burden of AATUF with the Ghana TUC not being by my side? How can

people who embarrassed our Party during the most hectic days of our struggle insult me openly and write that we are loud-mouthed corrupt demagogues? I have never been given a chance at the Winneba Ideological Institute to explain the Trade Union role in the Revolution to the students. The cadres today I am told are being poisoned against some Party Comrades, and we seem to be creating and nurturing our own executioners.

(13) I am writing this in the wake of dawn and I am writing from the very depth of my heart. The oath of loyalty I took when I was appointed Osagyefo's Ambassador-at-Large compels me to draw your attention to this depressing position. In your name and by your prayers we have brought victory to Ghana on the Trade Union front, but it seems as if it is the deliberate policy of some that I should be quickly isolated from all Party Committees locally.

(14) If I could be a true and really efficient instrument of Osagyefo's African Policy, it is only urgent that I should be on all Party and Government Executive bodies where policies are formulated and executed. That is the only way I can have a full comprehension of the Ghanaian situation to give me the correct perspective for any African role.

(15) I wish in conclusion to state that I am no demagogue. My class enemies have only coined this name to discredit me before Osagyefo. **I am only a humble and a most obedient soldier of the Osagyefo's revolution who executes every assignment with fanatical loyalty and I can swear on oath by the shrines of my ancestors that life for me will be meaningless if it cannot be spent in the service of Osagyefo and by his side.**

(16) I am sending these notes in the full conviction that Osagyefo will spare some time to consider my humble thoughts.

22nd June, 1964.

(John K. Tettegah)

This document leaves no doubt concerning the purposes and ends of the AATUF in Africa. If anyone still doubts that AATUF served any other ends than Nkrumah's let him study the foregoing! It will be too much an exaggeration to comment in detail as to the

extent with which Tettegah "as a tool of Osagyefo" was used. I leave this to readers to judge for themselves.

Just how expensive an affair was the AATUF and whence came the funds to run its manifold operations?

Given below is a summary of the 1965 provisional budget of AATUF, approved by its executive Bureau on February 11, 1965. This budget totalling £G246,540 is broken down as follows:-

A. Recurrent Expenditures

Salaries and Wages	£G 78,350
Travel & Transportation	10,380
General Expenditure (Overhead)	15,440
Other Department Expenditure (Services)	59,200
Capital Expenditure (repair and renovation of AATUF offices)	10,150
	£G173,520

B. Conferences

General Council (once a year)	£G 24,170
Executive Board (twice a year)	17,940
Congress (once every three years next 1967)	31,110
	£G 73,020

C. Total

£G246,540

Contributions by each AATUF member are supposed to total £54,000 and contributions are to be broken down as follows:-

Ghana	£G10,000
Tanzania	10,000
U.A.R.	10,000
Morocco	5,000
Guinea	5,000
Mali	5,000
Algeria	7,000
Dahomey	700
Congo (Brazzaville)	700
Upper Volta	300
Kenya	300
TOTAL	<u>£G54,000</u>

It would thus appear, balancing commitments (£G246,540) against income (£G54,000), that AATUF was left to find £G192,540. A member of its Executive Bureau has explained that Tettegah was given a mandate by the Bureau to try and obtain the £G192,540 from **friendly Socialist Governments and friendly Socialist Organisations**. Where now are even the vestiges of the facade, so carefully maintained by Tettegah, **that AATUF was non-aligned?** What "friendly Socialist Government or friendly Socialist Organisation" would provide this kind of money without a commitment in return? This affiliation, although not formal, is of a deeper sort, clandestine in nature, cleverly hidden by perpetual cries of "Non-alignment" and "Disaffiliate!" These were in Tettegah's mouth whenever he made speeches.

After a post-Nkrumah press conference on March 10, 1966 one of the African journalists who attended remarked, "My God, how that man can lie"! He was referring to the contrast between the facts just quoted above and the replies Tettegah gave to newsmen's questions. Here is the exchange taken from the official transcript of the session:—

Q—(Where did AATUF get its funds?)

A—AATUF derives its funds from the subscriptions of the member affiliates. We are 36 countries all together, some are not rich, and from our current budget of £G64,000 per annum this is distributed between the countries of Egypt, Ghana, Algeria, Morocco, Tanzania, Mali and Guinea. The balance of £G2,000 to make up our budget was redistributed among the other affiliates as a token payment for their affiliation to AATUF, and we hope to continue to develop our funds from this source in the future.

Q—Were there no funds that came directly or indirectly from outside Africa?

A—We received no funds directly or indirectly from outside Africa.

Q—(How much did AATUF receive each year from the Ghana T.U.C.?)

A—From the Ghana T.U.C., £G20,000 a year.

I wish to emphasise in clarity that the T.U.C. (Ghana) never

paid anything towards AATUF funds. Evidence also shows that many of the affiliates never paid anything.

The discrepancy between Tettegah's admission of his budget totals and the official budget total is enormous. In all of this, even in the official budget of course, no admission is made of the existence of a subversion fund of £G30,000 passed secretly to Tettegah by Nkrumah for financing clandestine operations in Africa. This concealment of hard facts even after the fall of Nkrumah leaves much to be concluded as to the extent to which Tettegah wishes to protect not only AATUF but even Nkrumah.

After the fall of Nkrumah, there came to light a top secret document which outlines Nkrumah's intelligence plans for penetration of African Governments, political parties, trade unions and freedom fighter movements. Although undated, internal evidence shows that it was prepared prior to August 1965. The document was seized in Flagstaff House during the coup. In its introductory section, the document, entitled "Detailed Plan for Organisation" states among other things:—"The African Liberation struggle has reached a stage which calls for the employment of secret methods, i.e., intelligence methods for the collection of such information as will assist the prosecution of the struggle and the achievements of a Continental Government".

"A good organisation, i.e., a well-organised headquarters, is a pre-requisite for the success of intelligence work and it is therefore intended to first establish a virile centre here in Accra. The immediate task of the Headquarters will be to concentrate all its efforts toward making the O.A.U. Conference here a success as they alone will enhance the establishment of a Continental Union Government for Africa." The document goes on endlessly detailing plans for each individual country. A sample is the plan for Nigeria which, along with the rest of the document, has been reported on extensively in the international press. As written, an example of the operational plan states:—

1. Nigeria

"This country is of great operational importance because of its being a neo-colonialist country and its unfriendly attitude to-

wards Ghana and to the cause of African unity. The Department chief is therefore to work personally on this country. He is to be assisted by one other officer. The officers responsible will have to secure one top source each in the Prime Minister's Office and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Three sources are also to be obtained near the leadership of the Northern Peoples Congress, the United Labour Congress and the Labour Party. . . . A candidate for the post of Resident who will lead our network in Nigeria will have to be sought by the end of June for his education to commence immediately so he would be ready for work early in 1966 . . . One recruit will have to be obtained by the end of August 1965. Use will have to be made of some of the Action Group members and immigrants here for the work in the direction of acquisition of hints which will facilitate the security of sources . . ."

In the plainer language of espionage, the foregoing describes the need to select an illegal resident agent who will recruit spies in key government offices and in trade union organisations. Names of likely candidates are to come from radical Nigerian emigres, forcibly exiled in Accra by the Nigerian Government. This is a classic statement of Nkrumah's method of bringing about his envisioned Empire in Africa with himself as the Head.

The mode of intelligence collection and the apparatus for illegal clandestine action envisaged for Nigeria was to be repeated elsewhere on the Continent of Africa as well, using labour attaches and Nkrumah's Foreign Service as "cover" for individuals who would transmit Nkrumah's orders to other resident illegals and local natives recruited to spy.

The use of labour attaches in assisting AATUF's work of subversion as one part of Nkrumah's overall drive masked under the propaganda phrase "Continental Union" is particularly interesting. The following is quoted from an undated memorandum, written by John Tettegah to Osagyefo, detailing Tettegah's views on redefining the role of the Ghanaian Labour Attaches:

NEW PROPOSALS AND IMPLICATIONS

“Various views are being examined with a view to redefining the proper role of Labour Attaches in contemporary needs of the African situation.

It is considered to re-designate the official status of Labour Attaches as **Ghana Activists Abroad** so as to facilitate a more valuable result of their mission

Although there could be no objection to the question of these officers being completely integrated in the machinery of the African Affairs Secretariat, a number of international implications arises when we consider the points raised in earlier paragraphs as regards the complex nature of AATUF operations and the need to camouflage strategy.

Although the African situation urges a number of revolutionary steps, in the context of AATUF which is openly involved in intricate international wrangling the need to camouflage a number of devious is necessary, if we are not to scare support of African Trade Union opinion which has not completely developed an attitude responsive to the logic of our strategy.

Except the intention is to abandon completely the Osagyefo's revolutionary trade union programme for Africa, it must be emphasised for all involved in the formulation of African policy the necessity for mass organisations and trade union action in the various States as a pressure on their national Governments to adopt and follow the revolutionary programme for African Independence and Unity.

The present witch-hunt initiated by some people in exaggerating and spreading undue alarm around the activities of Labour Attaches must by all means be avoided.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the foregoing explanations, the Osagyefo may wish to consider the following recommendations:—

- (a) Present measures to integrate Labour Attaches in the machinery of the African Affairs Secretariat be effected.
- (b) That the present designation of “Labour Attaches” be retained.

(c) Reposting of Labour Attaches be related to the strategic importance of areas in which AATUF work is considered of vital interest,

(d) That the Secretary-General (AATUF) should submit reports from time to time on the whole tenor of operation, in order to determine possibilities of re-adjustments in strategy, policy, and the entire involvement of Labour Attaches.”

Mr. A. K. Barden, Director of the Bureau of African Affairs, Nkrumah's over-all co-ordinator for subversion in Africa, prepared a memorandum for Osagyefo entitled “All African Trades Union Federation” detailing his view on how the work of AATUF could be meshed with that of the Bureau of African Affairs:—

“... Ghana's policy in posting labour attaches abroad should be reviewed. In order that we may regain our lost ground and establish the AATUF on a firmer footing, I humbly suggest the following:—

STAFFING

Trade Union activists such as Ferguson, Interkudzie, and others who are now abroad should be immediately recalled to base. Frankly speaking, most of these labour attaches have acquitted themselves creditably abroad, but I consider the emphasis must now be on AATUF and our African Unity policy. It is prudent always to fortify the root than the trunk. On the return to base of these attaches, the whole situation affecting AATUF must be carefully analysed to them and an organisational planning Committee set up within the Secretariat to undertake the task of effective organisation. For the purpose of this exercise, Africa will have to be divided into geographical areas each under an Area Organiser. These Area organisers will leave the base or Secretariat on periodical tours abroad say once every month and submit reports to the Secretariat. These reports will be properly analysed and immediate and appropriate measures taken. The Secretary-General will exercise overall supervision, direct affairs and plan visits to various leaders after the way has been paved by Regional or Area Organisers. It will be in the light of these reports that the Secretary-General will decide, if necessary, to call

general meetings with a view to ironing out disagreements or differences.

CO-ORDINATION

The Bureau of African Affairs, with its intimate relations with other African States and nationalist organisations and parties abroad coupled with its knowledge of developments in almost all parts of Africa, will assist by providing the Area Organisers with valuable information and materials which will help them in their periodical visits abroad. The Administrative Secretary of the AAPC will also be playing a prominent part by linking the activities of the AAPC to the AATUF."

The most important document relating to the role of Labour Attaches in the over-all Ghanaian plan was written in Spring 1964, entitled: "The Role of AATUF and Ghana Labour Attaches," the document lays down in explicit terms the principles of labour attache operations as they had been developed empirically in several years of operations by that date:

"Alongside present exercises to streamline our Africa policy, several administrative measures are being considered with a view to achieve compact and efficient integration of various operation networks and apparatus.

This paper is intended to review and clarify some vital aspects of the work of AATUF and Labour Attaches so as to emphasise a number of points which the Osagyefo may wish to take into account.

Primary Objectives

The importance we attach to the role of the trade unions in the African struggle makes AATUF a logical team-mate of our African policy as well as an advantage to our strategic designs. It is within this framework that the work of Labour Attaches features as an important link in our field work... To buttress AATUF solidarity our agents in the form of "Labour Attaches" were posted to strategic areas for **monitory work** on the trade union level to facilitate politically the co-ordination of intelligence information.

It has been possible to achieve the following results in barely 3 years of initiating policy on Labour Attaches:

- (a) Establishment of effective coordinating network for monitoring trade union intelligence information in Africa which facilitates a counter check from the operations base.
- (b) Formation of AATUF and the insurance of a Pan African trade union support within the framework of our African policy.
- (c) Creation of an effective blockade against ICFTU manoeuvres and other infiltration in the African trade union movement.
- (d) Provision of an adequate check on pro-Nasser Arab nationalism in trade unions south of the Sahara and close surveillance on the subversive role of the Maghreb in international trade union affairs.

Unfinished Tasks

At present the field work of our Labour Attaches is being coordinated, especially in East and Central Africa where developments in Tanganyika, the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Kenya and Zanzibar have shown dramatic turn in support of AATUF..."

CHAPTER VII

AATUF SECRETARIAT VERSUS OTHER AATUF LEADERS

The ugly note in sub-paragraph (d) of the foregoing concerning AATUF suspicions of Nasser, Arab and Maghrebian manoeuvring in sub-Sahara trade union matters is reflected in a final example of the use of the Labour attaches as an arm of Nkrumaist meddling in subversion and spying in friendly as well as unfriendly fellow African countries. Nkrumah saw Nasser as a threat to his chance of becoming Head of State for Africa

The following letter, quoted in its entirety, shows to what lengths the rivalry was carried between Tettegah, Secretary-

general meetings with a view to ironing out disagreements or differences.

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This paper is intended to review and clarify some vital aspects of the work of AATUF and Labour Attaches so as to emphasise a number of points which the Osagyefo may wish to take into account.

Primary Objectives

The importance we attach to the role of the trade unions in the African struggle makes **AATUF a logical team-mate of our African policy as well as an advantage to our strategic designs.** It is within this framework that the work of Labour Attaches features as an important link in our field work... To buttress AATUF solidarity **our agents** in the form of "Labour Attaches" were posted to strategic areas for **monitory work** on the trade union level to facilitate politically the co-ordination of intelligence information.

It has been possible to achieve the following results in barely 13 years of initiating policy on Labour Attaches:

- (a) Establishment of effective coordinating network for monitoring trade union intelligence information in Africa which facilitates a counter check from the operations base.
- (b) Formation of AATUF and the insurance of a Pan African trade union support within the framework of our African policy.
- (c) Creation of an effective blockade against ICFTU manoeuvres and other infiltration in the African trade union movement.
- (d) Provision of an adequate check on pro-Nasser Arab nationalism in trade unions south of the Sahara and close surveillance on the subversive role of the Maghreb in international trade union affairs.

Unfinished Tasks

At present the field work of our Labour Attaches is being coordinated, especially in East and Central Africa where developments in Tanganyika, the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Kenya and Zanzibar have shown dramatic turn in support of AATUF..."

CHAPTER VII

AATUF SECRETARIAT VERSUS OTHER AATUF LEADERS

The ugly note in sub-paragraph (d) of the foregoing concerning AATUF suspicions of Nasser, Arab and Maghrebian manoeuvring in sub-Sahara trade union matters is reflected in a final example of the use of the Labour attaches as an arm of Nkrumaist meddling in subversion and spying in friendly as well as unfriendly fellow African countries. Nkrumah saw Nasser as a threat to his chance of becoming Head of State for Africa

The following letter, quoted in its entirety, shows to what lengths the rivalry was carried between Tettegah, Secretary-

General of AATUF, and Majhoub Ben Seddik, AATUF's President. It also reveals the use made of pseudo-diplomats in this personal vendetta:—

Ref. No. APS/C. 25/423/64

26th September, 1964.
The Principal Secretary,
African Affairs Secretariat
Accra.

Dear Sir,

FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER NOW AT POST IN TUNIS

After discussing the very disturbing developments out of the Executive Bureau of the AATUF especially the intransigence of the Moroccan colleagues to co-operate and give any response to our attempts to liquidate neo-colonialist manoeuvres aimed at disrupting our Bamako victories, the Osagyefo the President has approved the re-posting of (Mr. X) from Tunis to our Rabat Mission so that he can be available in Morocco to track the activities of Mr. Ben. Seddik, President of the AATUF.

This exercise is extremely of an urgent nature and I shall be grateful if the necessary administrative measures will be taken to give effect to this decision.

Yours faithfully,
(JOHN K. TETTEGAH)

Ample evidence of secret bad blood between Tettegah and Ben Seddik, as well as other Arab leaders, has been brought to light by the demise of the Nkrumah regime in Ghana. Following are two documents illustrating this hostile attitude. The first is a memorandum from Tettegah to Osagyefo dated March 10, 1962:—

“To recapture a brief picture of events since the formation of AATUF the following facts must be stated:

Casablanca was chosen despite our opposition as the Headquarters of AATUF.

It must be mentioned here that the forces that worked against us in Casablanca were the I.C.F.T.U. influence, U.A.R. and Arab interests, the unreliability of our Guinea Trade Union colleagues.

As a result of the above manifestation at Casablanca the Osagyefo approved our proposals to set up an underground working Secretariat in Accra. For fear that Majhoub may be briefed by American and ICFTU influence to keep the AATUF in cold storage, the Ghana Secretariat will keep up the torch of AATUF by issuing a bi-monthly journal and launching an attack on the ICFTU for its subversion in Africa. We shall by this means keep the spirits of AATUF going and intensify our activities in East and Central Africa where we could win allies to counteract Arab influence and Guinea's influence on French speaking areas aimed at isolating Ghana. Meanwhile, Labour Attaches were reposted from their original stations to tune up to this policy.

“The point I want to make here is that we did not achieve any agreement in Casablanca as to a Secretariat and we had to resort to underground manoeuvres until the expiration of the ten-month period, i.e., 31st March, 1962 when Mahjoub himself should make his position clear about disaffiliating from the ICFTU and our knowing the real number of African Trade Unions who will adhere to the AATUF respecting the principle of neutrality and disaffiliation from all existing international trade union bodies.

Within the next few months we should assess the amount of assistance required in the High Commission Territories, East and Central Africa and the Secretary-General of the Ghana TUC should personally go on tour to give out this aid in the name of Ghana not AATUF. It is only by this that we can be sure to hold the loyalty and votes of those we helped during the coming Congress of AATUF to adopt a Constitution and elect officers. If help is given in the name of AATUF it will be thought that Casablanca is giving the help and when we bring forth an argument for the Headquarters to be transferred to Accra or some other areas in negro Africa we may not be able to secure votes of East and Central Africa and the High Commission delegates”

A final quotation from a document entitled: “Future of the Work of AATUF in Africa” (undated), brings into question

the reason for the welcome AATUF's office was accorded recently in Cairo. AATUF files are replete with data like this:—

“Without prejudice to prove rival Arab treachery, our intimate flirtations with our Arab friends after all these years have only confirmed the fact that **they are never reliable**. ... We have held the view over the years that Mahjoub Ben Seddik, the President of AATUF, has been in the pay of the Anglo-American forces and sails along with the progressive forces to be able to turn the tide at will...”

“The Arab strategy has been to keep Black Africa divided against itself so that in the final analysis an Arab takes over the leadership. These tactics must now be broken in our isolating the reactionary Arab sector and ensuring that leadership is firmly in the hands of Black Africa.”

CHAPTER VIII

SUBVERSION OF INDEPENDENT LABOUR UNIONS

Thus we see further proof of the role of John Tettegah and AATUF as the labour arm of the Nkrumah penetration of African organisations. This activity had as its aim dominating and controlling these organisations in standard totalitarian fashion. It remains only to see the apparatus in action. For this purpose, a variety of documents have been selected from voluminous files on the subject which were brought to light with the fall of Nkrumah.

The tone for this section is set by a memorandum to the Presidential African Affairs Committee dated June 22, 1964, written by John Tettegah entitled “The New Phase of AATUF in Africa.”

“There can be no doubt that Ghana will now give AATUF its political direction. Our Accra-based Headquarters will only serve as a subterfuge apparatus subservient to the will of Osa-

gyefo, but this must be kept secret. In order to achieve this most important prerequisite, three major factors are involved:—

- (a) ideological coherence of the movement;
- (b) an organisational apparatus which can be effectively controlled and manipulated at any given moment by Ghana... Ghana's pressure apparatus for effective continental actions;
- (c) Our reliance not only on the financial subscriptions by member organisations, etc., but more substantially from grants in aid by the Government of Ghana and the USSR...

“If the above conditions are fulfilled internally and the material requirements placed at our disposal there is no doubt that the future United African trade union movement will be a progressive one that will toe Osagyefo's line.”

The foregoing defines AATUF's purpose, the following shows how funds were made available each year in Nkrumah's “contingency fund”. The first letter quoted below is Tettegah's request for funds:—

29th June, 1965.

The Principal Secretary,
African Affairs Secretariat
Flagstaff House,
ACCRA.

Ref.APS/C.25/604/65.

This is to refer to our letter No.APS/C.25/434/65 to which we have not as yet received any positive response.

I remember the memo put before Osagyefo the President on 24th April, 1965, on the question of general assistance to Upper Volta, Sierra-Leone, Gambia, Senegal, Dahomey and Congo (Brazzaville), was referred to you for action.

This letter has now become extremely urgent and embarrassing for us, and I shall be grateful if you will give some attention to our memorandum and let us hear from you positively as to what further steps I can take in making direct approach to Osagyefo the President.

(John K. Tettegah)
SECRETARY-GENERAL

The second letter is the response and the foregoing evoked:—

FUNDS FOR AATUF WORK

Osagyefo has approved that the following amounts should be released from the Contingency Vote for AATUF work as follows:

Sierra Leone	—	£G2,000	to be transferred
Gambia and Senegal	—	£G2,000	directly to Ghana Mission
Congo (Brazzaville)	—	£G2,000	
Dahomey	—	£G1,000	
Upper Volta	—	£G2,000	to be kept at the Secretariat
Togo	—	£G1,000	and disbursed when required.
Total	—	£G10,000	

2. I shall be grateful if the amounts above can be released either to our Missions as indicated or given to us in the Secretariat for disbursements.

14th July, 1965.

Copy to: J. K. Tettegah,
AATUF, Accra.

Ghana is a poor country, nearly as poor, if not more so, than some of the countries on the list foregoing. Jomo Kenyatta's question concerning Communist China aiding Kenya is equally valid in the case of Ghana aiding Senegal. Kenyatta said: "What purpose is masked by a country with poor of its own, giving aid to another poverty-stricken nation? Why don't they spend their money on their own hosts of needy? Such money smells of subversion!"

Subversion and meddling it was, as the following documented examples of Nkrumah actions in Africa in recent years illustrate.

TANZANIA

NUTA, the sole labour confederation in Tanzania, has as its Secretary General the Labour Minister, Michael Kamaliza. In the early parts of 1965, the African American Labour Centre (AALC) sent a representative to Tanzania to offer assistance. Certain projects were formulated for assisting NUTA to raise its standards as a labour organisation. When Tettegah heard of this, he was

sufficiently stirred up to take Kamaliza, who was also one of AATUF's Vice-Presidents to task for accepting assistance from this quarters. Despite the fact that the AALC is a legitimate trade union body which hires qualified individuals, regardless of nationality, to give union assistance and training and despite NUTA's manifest need for this kind of help Tettegah's letter to Kamaliza dated June 23, 1965 was entitled; "Activists of the African-American Labour Centre in Africa". Excerpts are quoted below:—

"... We still feel strongly that the activities of the African-American Labour Centre is saturated with motives inimical to the independent development of African Labour and detrimental to our economic development.

In the light of this, far from attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of our affiliated organisations, you may wish to reconsider your entire relations with AALC."

This is an example of the kind of meddling in the affairs of other country's trade unions that had become flagrant by mid-1965 on the part of Nkrumah's minions everywhere in Africa. What was Tettegah referring to? The following is a quote from the June 1965 issue of the AALC monthly newsletter:

"Projects to which the Tanzania Minister of Labour would like to give priority are **community and village development, training of Medical assistants for clinics and training of hotel personnel.**"

Apparently, Tettegah was willing that only Soviet, WFTU and Nkrumah's help in these fields would be acceptable. This is typical of the radical position in Africa which spurns open offers of needed help from one camp, while seeking clandestine assistance from the other camp. The African workers and their unions are the only losers.

MOROCCO

Ben Barka, whose disappearance in France under mysterious circumstances caused a break in French-Morocco relations, was a recipient of Nkrumah's aid prior to this event as part of the latter's plan to get rid of King Hassan. Ben Barka, a former National Assembly President, arrived in Accra from Geneva, his

headquarters in exile, to seek Nkrumah's aid in overthrowing King Hassan. He met with Nkrumah on November 14, 1964, at which time he was granted £G1,000 to continue organising resistance to Hassan. While he was in Accra, he was escorted by AATUF staff members, probably because of the close connection between his Party and the Union Marocaine de Travail whose Secretary-General, Mahjoub Ben Seddik, is AATUF's President. Ben Barka was taken to the Bank of Ghana to withdraw the £G1,000 authorised by Nkrumah.

UGANDA

Not content only with supplying funds for the overthrow of legitimate governments, Tettegah and AATUF were not above theft on a grand scale. In April 1965, acting on a tip from A. M. Senanu, an AATUF official, that the Obote Government was about to seize the ICFTU-owned Kampala Labour College, Tettegah attempted to get AATUF's fingers into the seizure operation by offering to run the College for George Magesi, Uganda's Minister of Labour. Tettegah got Nkrumah's enthusiastic backing and a promise of £G20,000 of Ghana Government funds to be devoted to paying administrative costs of running the College. As if this were not to be enough, Tettegah promised Magesi to obtain additional funds from WFTU during his planned meetings with Louis Saillant at the June 1965 ILO Annual Conference in Geneva.

It is worth asking how Ghana, no richer than Uganda, could pick up the ICFTU subsidy if and when Obote's Government seized the college? The AATUF working arrangement with WFTU suggests that in concert both saw it as a chance to spread subversion in Africa by closing down and denying to the democratic labour movement the services of an institution serving bonafide labour causes in Africa. As such, the opportunity was worth any price to the radicals. Even theft was no obstacle!

Not only did AATUF plan to seize Kampala Labour College with Magesi's help. The Ghana State Treasury was also tapped for further funds to finance a splinter radical affiliate that had no other funds to keep it alive. A Tettegah letter dated 24th August 1965 to Michael Kamaliza, Vice-President of AATUF, states

that: "On the strength of the encouraging report I have received concerning new trends in the Uganda Labour Front, the Special Accord concluded in March 1965, asking provision for monthly subvention of £G500 to the above organisation be extended for another 3 months with effect from this month. It is believed that within the next three months, our mutual friend Mr. George B. K. Magesi will have granted the 'check-off' facility to the new National Unions forming the Federation of Uganda Trade Unions (FUTU) . . ."

This did not occur. The splinter confederation composed of illegal splinter unions, formed to battle Humphrey Launde's legitimate Uganda Trade Union Congress (UTUC), gradually withered away. Since Nkrumah's fall, the splinter has degenerated even further with the loss of its only source of revenue. Moribund AATUF is suddenly out of funds for subversion in Africa. Kwame Nkrumah has been de-stooled.

SOMALI REPUBLIC

To show that the Nkrumah's drive toward subversion in Africa is not just a thing of yesterday, I quote below from an account of Ghanaian and WFTU activities prepared by a neutral Somali journalist-observer of the trade union scene in September, 1961:

THE FOREIGN-SPONSORED OPPOSITION

"Opposition to the Somali Confederation of Labour (CSL) arises principally from two sources: The Embassy of Ghana in Mogadiscio, and the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. The Ghanaian Embassy pursues its campaign more or less directly, whereas the WFTU operates through the Italian Communist Confederation Generale Italiana del Lavoro (CGIL) and the Northern Somali labour leader Saleh Nur.

The Ghanaians and WFTU are using similar inducements to lure component unions away from the CSL and into the opposition fold. In their probable order of effectiveness, these inducements are (a) direct payments of money, (b) offers of scholarships and training abroad, (c) opportunities to attend international conferences with all expenses paid, and (d) the argument that the CSL is

an ineffective, imperialist-dominated organisation which does not have the real interests of the workers in mind. To these four lines of attack the Ghanaian add a fifth, which they apply to plantation workers of supposed Bantu ancestry: namely, the argument that workers in the cane fields and on the banana plantations are more closely akin to Ghanaians, racially and culturally, than they are to the Somalis in charge of the CSL, and that they should turn from the CSL to the Ghanaian-sponsored Federation of Arts and Crafts Workers which is affiliated with the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF).”

THE FEDERATION OF ARTS AND CRAFTS WORKERS

The Ghanaian instrument in the struggle for influence on Somali labour is the thinnest of disguises for Ghanaian Ambassador K. Budu-Acquah and his staff. The front man and President is Bihi Garad Baile, an opportunist devoid of labour experience who by all accounts is not very bright. In July 1960 he was reported to be one of a group of youths who applied to the District Commissioner of Mogadiscio for permission to open a Somali Communist Party. Bihi was drawn into the Ghanaian fold with cash payments, a trip to the organising conference of the AATUF at Casablanca, and the promise of an automobile. His office consists of one room adjoining an auto repair shop near the Hotel Scebeli. Bihi keeps no records and reportedly has collected no dues, his activities thus far having been limited to occasional public meetings and the issuance of propaganda for the Ghanaians. Despite the obvious inability of the Federation of Arts and Crafts Workers thus far to perform the minimum functions of a labour union, it is legally registered as a union with the Ministry of Health, Veterinary Affairs and Labour. Its attainment of legal status can probably be attributed to the desire of the Somali Government to maintain friendly relations with Ghana, the only West African state with diplomatic representation in Mogadiscio and to the personal political interests of the responsible Minister, Seek Ali Giunale.

THE VALUES INVOLVED

The most significant aspect of the struggle at its present stage is that the CGSL is directing its appeal not toward the rank-and-file of workers, but toward the officers of the unions it wishes to win away from the CSL in order to weaken or destroy it. Employing inducements listed at the beginning of this section, it seeks to persuade union leaders to break away from CSL and bring their unions with them into the General Confederation of Somali Workers (CGLS).

In waging this campaign the Communists exploit vulnerabilities such as venality, a great weakness for free travel and training anywhere outside the Somali Republic and an almost absence of ideological motivation. In these circumstances it does the CSL little good to point to its recent admirable accomplishments in improving the economic status of several groups of Somali workers. Worker benefits are not the immediate issue but rather the satisfaction of the personal desires of union leaders. The Communists and to a lesser degree the Ghanaians have shown that they know how to manipulate these desires and are willing to bear considerable expenses to bend them toward their goals.

KENYA

The relative stability of Kenya and the opposition of Kenyatta to the radical thrust in Africa made that country a prime target for subversion directed from Ghana. The role of AATUF in subversion there is illustrated by a letter, the substance of which is given below:—

The letter signed by John Tettegah Secretary-General of the Ghana Trades Union Congress, and written on Ghanaian government stationery was addressed to Vichy Wachira, Deputy General Secretary of the Breakaway Kenya Federation of Progressive Trade Unions (KFPTU).

In the letter, Tettegah announced that he was going to Zanzibar for two weeks; that he would stop in Nairobi for two days; and that news of his visit to Nairobi should be conveyed to Minister for Home Affairs Oginga Odinga; Minister of Information Achieng Oneko; and Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry

of Internal Security and Defence, Dr Waiski. He went on to say that the financial assistance requested by Wachira "would be provided on the spot on my arrival."

The offer subsequently made to the KFPTU by Tettegah was as follows:—

50 motorcycles, 6 typewriters, 4 duplicating machines, Rent (already paid in advance) for 8 offices at B.A.S. £120:00 per month each.

All of the names cited in the letter reported above have been identified by Kenya's Government as being those of disloyal and subversive elements. After most of these men were deprived of their offices by action of the ruling KANU Party in 1966, they lost special elections held to determine the view Kenya people held of them. Tettegah continued his interest in maintaining a radical opposition to Kenyatta in the labour movement to the end. Everyone wondered how the funds were transmitted which the Kenya African Workers Congress (KAWC-ATTUF's splinter affiliate in Kenya—afloat with just enough life to challenge the Kenya Federation of Labour (KFL) but not enough strength to do the workers any good. The bagman in this operation has finally been uncovered with the overthrow of Nkrumah. A letter to: "Osagyefo the President" signed by John Tettegah, dated October 1, 1965, reveals to when AATUF payments were made in Kenya:

"I reproduce hereunder for your perusal, a message we have just received from a Ghanaian Official (Mr. X) who is urgently requesting a further assistance of £G800 to enable him complete our operations in Kenya:"

"Please urgently contact African Affairs Secretariat for report on elections. Happy to report that KAWU has won ten repeat ten out of fifteen repeat fifteen national union elections today Monday 27th September. Akunu elected Secretary General of Customs Union. Control over dock union still continues. Grateful appeal to Osagyefo for further funds (stated in my letter No. SCRCOR/TU/NRE of 24th September) to complete National election and also C.O.T.U. elections. Our enemies have

been rudely shocked by fighting desperately. Treat matter as extreme urgent. Standing by."

It is recommended that we give this assistance and hold Kenya.

(JOHN K. TETTEGAH)

1st October, 1965

If any further proof of the role of (Mr. X) in passing AATUF gold is required, the following is quoted:

ALL-AFRICAN TRADE UNION
FEDERATION-HEADQUARTERS
SECRETARIAT ACCRA, GHANA.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS SEC.
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
AFRICAN AFFAIRS SECT.
P. O. BOX 1627
ACCRA.

Received 12 Sept. 1964

File to D.7

27th August, 1964

Dear Mr. Tettegah,

Reference your minute to Osagyefo of 26/8/64 concerning financial assistance to the Progressive Trade Union Organisation of Kenya, Osagyefo has agreed that the sum of £G2,000 should be transferred to (Mr. X)

2. I have accordingly issued instructions for this transfer to (Mr. X)

Yours sincerely,

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY.

MR. JOHN K. TETTEGAH,
SECRETARY-GENERAL,
A.A.T.U.F., ACCRA.

Meddling by Nkrumah's High Commission office in Nairobi on behalf of AATUF in Kenyan internal labour matters is shown by two letters quoted below written from the African Secretariat to the Ghana High Commission in Nairobi:—

AFRICAN AFFAIRS SECRETARIAT
Office of the President
P. O. Box 1627
Accra.

SCR.LAR/NR.

25th June, 65.

PROGRAMME OF ACTIVITIES FOR KENYA AFRICAN WORKERS
CONGRESS

"Thank you for your report No. CSR. COR/TUC/NRE of 11th June, 1965 on the launching of the Workers' Congress, an affiliate of AATUF.

As regards your urgent appeal for assistance to the K.W.A.C., I am sure Mr. Tettegah will be making the necessary approach on Osagyefo's return from the United Kingdom."

Headquarters Secretariat,
Accra, Ghana.

5 February 65.

**EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE GHANA MISSION IN KENYA
AND UGANDA ON BEHALF OF AATUF—SETTLEMENT OF**

"I have to inform you that the Secretary-General of the All-African Trade Union Federation has paid to the Principal Secretary, African Affairs Secretariat, the sum of £G200 being refund of expenses incurred by your Mission on behalf of the Federation.

2. The amount will be paid to Ghana Government Account No. 15 as overpayment recovered in previous years."

There are countless other examples of the perfidy of Nkrumah, Tettegah and AATUF in this vast African Labour conspiracy. What has been written and quoted above is neither the best of evidence of this now uncovered plot, nor the worst. It is merely representative.

CHAPTER IX

AATUF AND NON-ALIGNMENT

Kwame Nkrumah's power-mad drive for personal hegemony in Africa was bad enough in itself. It was made much worse by his practice of depending on forces from outside Africa to accomplish his ends. Here we have a two-fold irony: the man who claimed to champion African unity did more to destroy that unity than any other; the same man who claimed to fight for African independence was willing to open his country—and the entire continent—to the pernicious influence of international communism.

It was always known that AATUF had links with the World Federation of Trades Unions (WFTU), despite AATUF insistence that it was non-aligned. Now there is documentary proof that this link existed and perhaps even in greater detail than was suspected. It was known also that AATUF was a front for the Communist block and it will be shown in what follows that this is absolutely true. One asked himself what Nkrumah was doing

pouring good money after bad into AATUF. It's now plain to see that the tin pot dictator made use of this organisation in his drive to power. Ghana wasn't big enough for Kwame's swollen ego. He needed a larger stage—the Continent of Africa itself. This was not easy because his main aim was not dedicated to trade union unity but he was merely using the trade unions as a lever to jump to great heights, the height of Continental Head of an African United States. Where he couldn't make progress legitimately, he worked clandestinely, and AATUF is now revealed as the labour arm of his continental plot. Let us take a brief look at the way this came about.

In May 1961, AATUF was formed as UGTAN's successor. It was primarily a creation of the "Casablanca Powers" and nothing more. It consisted of centres from Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco and the United Arab Republic (UAR). These states, with the exception of Morocco (a special case), were the core of the radical bloc in Africa. They have since added Congo (Brazzaville) and Tanzania. In 1966, they feared to have lost Ghana when a coup toppled Kwame Nkrumah. He had then, as we shall see, become the funnel for Communist money finding its way into African labour. At the very outset, WFTU referred glowingly to its own role in promoting AATUF in collaboration with the labour unions of the Casablanca Powers. AATUF later denied WFTU's support in very strong terms. To cover this support they coined the slogan "Disaffiliate" urging all African trade union centres which were grouped in the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC) who had affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. to disaffiliate.

This confirmation from the WFTU side of the existence of a "cooperation agreement between AATUF and WFTU" hardly squares with AATUF's oft-repeated assurance to fellow Africans that AATUF is not "affiliated with any extra-African organisations." It gives the lie to a summary of AATUF's position presented in a paper prepared for the African Affairs Committee and signed by John Tettegah on July 27, 1965, entitled "The Role of the All-African Trade Union Federation at the Forthcoming O.A.U. Summit Meetings."

The AATUF is a continent-wide trade union organisation ... which is non-aligned, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist and independent of the three rival world international trade union organisations ...

In the light of the foregoing, it is strange to read a letter written on November 11, 1965, to: "Comrade V. Grishin, Chairman, AUCCTU (All Union Central Council of Trade Unions). Quoted below are pertinent sections of that letter showing the degree of reliance (rather than independence) AATUF had, not only on WFTU but on AUCCTU, the Soviet state-controlled trade union organisation:

"... Among matters of immediate concern to us which I would like to raise is the suggestion put forward by the delegation of AUCCTU (which visited Ghana, during a tour of Africa earlier in 1965) for a joint initiative by the AATUF, AUCCTU and the other progressive organisations and governments for the nomination of a candidate to the Governing Body of the ILO during next year's elections. We have not before us requests from Yugoslavia and UAR and I am wondering what effective medium of consultation can be employed in handling these issues ..."

"The question of the immediate material requirements of the headquarters Secretariat of the AATUF and its national officers has long engaged our attention and I was sorry not to be able to make the trip to Warsaw for the 6th Congress of the WFTU, as I originally intended, to be able to discuss these matters. It is my intention to discuss them personally with you when I am able to fulfill my long standing desire to spend my holidays in the Soviet Union sometime in 1965 ... Until the details of the above scheme is finally decided, we shall be extremely grateful if the AUCCTU will favourably consider the following material requests which are intended not only for the Headquarters Secretariat, but for meeting the organisational requirements of some of our affiliates:

2 Volga Cars

3 Moscovich Cars

3 French typewriters (standard)

2 English typewriters

2 Motor bicycles (medium size)

I am directing this appeal to the AUCCTU in the knowledge that the magnitude of our responsibilities and the strain that these responsibilities impose on us are clearly understood and appreciated by you."

/s/ John Tettegah
Secretary-General

This AATUF appeal betrays a long-standing familiarity with AUCCTU officials and confirms AATUF dependence on that organisation for its material needs. Tettegah was long accustomed to asking for and receiving clandestine assistance from both AUCCTU and WFTU.

It has taken some time and travel to piece together evidence on another request, this time for an amount of £G100,000 levied by Tettegah on Louis Saillant, WFTU's Secretary General. A meeting on this matter was arranged by the letter quoted below:

10th November, 1964

Mr. Louis Saillant,
General Secretary,
W.F.T.U.
Mam. Curiecvych 1,
PRAGUE 1,
Czechoslovakia.
Ref: APS/B.3/559

I have just returned to Accra from a brief visit to East and Central Africa to meet your telegram. We are trying to persuade our Guinean friends to postpone the opening of the African Workers' University as we would like to concentrate all our African delegates at Addis Ababa for the Second Regional Conference of the ILO from the 30th of November to the 12th of December, 1964, where it has come to our notice that the ICFTU intends to seek another regroupment.

In any case, I am proceeding to Geneva on the 20th of November for the Governing Body meeting to try to put in a case for AATUF consultative status. I would suggest that I contact your Permanent Representative in Geneva immediately on my arrival and put a telephone

call to you in Prague for us to arrange our meeting in Geneva. I hope this will meet your convenience.

With my sincere and best fraternal greetings.

(JOHN TETTEGAH)
Secretary General.

On February 19, 1965, a cable requested: **"Information about the matter that AATUF and WFTU discussed in Geneva on 30th November 1964:"** Later research shows that Tettegah was referring to his earlier request to WFTU posed at this meeting for:

- (a) £G100,000 for an African Trade Union Solidarity fund to be administered by AATUF;
- (b) £G12,000 to pay bills resulting from the June 1964 Bamako Conference; and
- (c) payment for expenses incurred by AATUF's Executive Bureau during the course of a meeting held on February 10-13 in Accra.

WFTU in this case was not as generous as Tettegah had hoped. On February 22, 1965, a cable from WFTU, Prague stated that £G9,000 had been deposited with Czechoslovak Airways. The cable omitted any mention of the £G100,000. One could imagine Tettegah's disappointment, and brought this to the notice of Nkrumah.

A note on the cable indicates that Nkrumah's reaction to this omission was that if WFTU was not going to come through, Tettegah would have to approach the Communist Chinese. When he did this, he was offered £G50,000 by the Chinese Ambassador in Ghana with the sole condition that he should go to Peking to receive the money. Tettegah was reluctant to do this on grounds that if Peking were to publicise the gift, **AATUF's non-aligned "image would be ruined in Africa!"** Apparently, non-alignment for Tettegah represented an "image" to be preserved, **with no foundation in reality !!** It was cleverly designed to fool the gullible.

On or about June 15, 1965, Tettegah had another meeting with Saillant, this time in East Berlin. The purpose of the meeting was again to discuss WFTU aid to AATUF. Tettegah also hoped to receive the results of his earlier request to WFTU for

£G100,000. By then he had conceived of the money used for an African Trade Union Solidarity Fund to be set up in East Berlin, administered by AATUF.

Saillant informed Tettegah that WFTU members, notably Czechoslovakia, USSR, Yugoslavia, East Germany, France and Italy, had been in agreement to **loan** AATUF the money, but first each member was to contact his Minister of Finance before approval for the loan could be made. Saillant said most of the Finance Ministries were studying the matter. This was the reason he gave for his delay in answering Tettegah's request. Saillant further explained, that most of the WFTU members were faced with a lack of foreign exchange and that AATUF would probably not receive its request. In consequence, the African Trade Union Solidarity Fund would most likely not be established.

Tettegah brought up the subject of the £12,000 promised AATUF in December 1964, but not yet received. Saillant reaffirmed that the money had been sent to Czechoslovakia Airlines for transfer to Ghana Airways and blamed a bureaucratic snarl within either Ghana or Chechoslovak Airways, promising to look into the matter.

Letters, cables and personal contacts were the mode of keeping alive close ties with WFTU. Problems were first discussed in letters. Personal contacts followed, either in Accra or in Europe. To preserve AATUF's "non-aligned image", no publicity was given these letters and contacts. Here, for example, is quoted a portion of a letter number 56470 dated July 19, 1964, in Prague, signed by Louis Saillant. It describes the observed pattern of contact between AATUF and WFTU:

"... Brother Zakaria informed me about the discussion you had with him in Geneva. He transmitted to me your proposal to send somebody from our office who could discuss with you on our common problems. I welcome your proposal and I believe it is in the interests of our **fraternal** co-operation.

I think that the best thing for the time being is for me to send you my closest collaborator. He is Brother Maurice Boye who is working in my office. He will be able to leave for Accra at the beginning of September..."

The foregoing represents a selection of documents pertinent to proof of my first thesis: that AATUF was actually aligned very closely with WFTU and the USSR's AUCCTU and was not in any way the "non-aligned" independent organisation Tettegah claimed it to be. Not only was it dependent on Nkrumah's manipulations and on his money but also very much was it dependent on the funds and control of the Communist trade union world.

It is quite clear from the foregoing that AATUF worked hand-in glove with the WFTU in Africa, serving its purpose in an over-all plan for subverting the Continent on behalf of the objectives of dictators like Nkrumah. What are these objectives? They may be summarised as follows:—

- (a) Where strong, free trade unions exist, every effort is made to subjugate them to the ruling political machine. This is necessary because otherwise free labour would resist the growth of totalitarian regimes which enslave labour and deprive the working man of a voice in his country's affairs.
- (b) When free trade unions are too strong to be crushed, splitting tactics are pursued, by buying off a few opportunistic leaders and encouraging them to set up a rival labour federation.
- (c) While attempting to capture or destroy free labour organisations, incessant propanganda is directed against any connections with international free labour movements. The objective is to weaken international labour solidarity, and to reduce national labour movements to helpless powers. We in Ghana still remember that Nkrumah and Tettegah forced the TUC to withdraw from ICFTU as the first step in placing us in chains!
- (d) The next step in this sordid process is to convert once free trade unions into docile appendages of an all-powerful party-state machine. The workers are then helpless to protect their interests and become mere pawns to be manipulated on the political chessboard.

- (e) Communist trade unions, themselves sworn enemies of free labour, are always happy to support these efforts. They do so first to spread their own influence and control. The true interests of the African worker is ignored and indeed despised.

This anti-labour strategy is sometimes successful for a short time—as it was in Ghana. But it can never succeed over the long run, because our workers know who are their friends and who are their enemies. When the time comes, they will always rise up and crush the tyrants who seek to use them, just as we did in Ghana.

CHAPTER X

THE NEW GHANA TUC AND AATUF

There is very little need to say more. Most of what one would like to say, having read the foregoing, is summed up in an editorial that appeared in the *Ghana Evening News* of 17th May, 1966, quoted below:—

"SCRAP THE AATUF"

Who are the best judges of whether a particular regime is "reactionary, unpopular and anti-people."

Is it the people living under such a regime or some amorphous outside body over which the governed had no control?

These are the questions engaging the attention of most people ever since the Executive body of the All African Trade Union Federation met last month in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

At this conference, the Secretariat of the AATUF reportedly issued a press release, vehemently denouncing recent military coups in Africa AS BEING IMPERIALIST INSPIRED. The single splash of the brush with which the AATUF tried to tarnish events in Africa raises certain fundamental questions.

It has become increasingly clear that an objective analysis should take place regarding the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the A.A.T.U.F. and how this body went about its business in the past.

Nkrumah had a grand design of having his finger in every pie on the continent and thus emerging as the "Champion" and "first President" of Africa. In this regard, he made it a matter of high policy to cause to be established "all African" bodies and Unions.

These bodies were almost coerced and blackmailed into having their headquarters in Accra and some of Nkrumah's henchmen were virtually forced on these bodies as General Secretaries.

All these bodies, in order to be pliant tools in the hands of Nkrumah, were financed from Ghana's Public Funds and from handouts from Nkrumah's Communist friends.

Of such bodies the AATUF was the most vocal, its Ghanaian officials assigning to themselves the roles of Gauleiters on the African continent.

The outcome of this was that certain labour leaders in independent African countries knowingly or unknowingly became agents in the hands of these officials of the AATUF in the fomentation of troubles and dissensions in some sister states.

In Kenya, the AATUF has been proved to be the cause of the troubles that existed within KANU, KADU and the labour movements.

In Nigeria, the ignominious role played by AATUF in the labour movements led to the Nigerian Government declaring the Secretary-General Mr. J. K. Tettegah, persona non grata.

In short, there can be no running away from the fact that funds from Ghana were used by AATUF to finance and foment troubles all over Africa.

It was not therefore strange that such a "loose" statement should come from the Secretariat of the AATUF at their recent meeting in Tanzania.

Shall we then be asking too much if we call for the abolition of the AATUF?"

Ghanaian worker who wrote a letter to the editor of **Ghanaian Times** on 18th May, 1966, which the newspaper titled "Tell Us Now, John", expresses our sentiments.

"Sir—In your issue of April 11, 1966, it was reported that Mr. J. K. Tettegah, Secretary-General of the AATUF, in his recent press statement in Dar-es-Salaam energetically denounced imperialist-inspired coups d'etat in Africa and considered some of the new military regimes as purely reactionary and anti-popular.

Mr. Tettegah knows that recent coups toppled corrupt and dictatorial regimes in West Africa and they were popularly acclaimed as "God sent" even Mr. Tettegah in his own statement praised the coup in Ghana, against a government in which he was a minister plenipotentiary and ambassador extraordinary.

And why John should have made the above statement in Dar-es-Salaam reveals either the mind of a hypocrite or a muddled thinker

My information of AATUF goes to show that **it was set up and financed by the deposed President Nkrumah as an international political instrument for brewing trouble in those African countries whose governments were opposed to Nkrumah's unrealistic continental government of Africa and for which he was aspiring for its leadership.**

Perhaps Mr. Tettegah would take the opportunity of informing Ghanaian workers of the aims and achievements if any and the sources of finance of this dubious organisation since its inauguration."

V. K. Quist, Accra.

Thus as can be seen from the above chapters, it is small wonder that the Executive Board of the GTUC voted unanimously to disaffiliate from AATUF on 7th October 1966. The Executive Board issued the following communique:

TRADES UNION CONGRESS (GHANA)

Headquarters Secretariat
Hall of Trade Unions
P. O. Box 701
Accra, Ghana.

COMMUNIQUE

At the first meeting of the reconstituted Executive Board of the Trades Union Congress (Ghana) which was held from the 29th September to 1st October, 1966, important matters were discussed on both internal and international situations. The Executive Board at the end of the meeting immediately issued its first communique which dealt with the internal labour and national economic issues, affecting the workers of Ghana.

In this second and final communique, the Executive Board wishes to proclaim the following decisions which have been taken after a thorough and objective study of its international relations.

The Executive Board noted with displeasure the stand of the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) on the Ghana revolution. The Executive Board observed that immediately after our glorious February 24, Revolution which toppled the dictator Kwame Nkrumah and his corrupt government, the AATUF Executive Secretariat called on all African workers to get mobilised against what they termed "the new pro-imperialist puppet regime". The statement further continued that AATUF should urge all African workers "to give an indispensable support to the workers and the people of Ghana and their great leader President Kwame Nkrumah in their struggle to free Ghana from the grip of reactionary neo-colonialism and imperialism". It was noted that this was an attempt calculated to incite the workers of Ghana against their popular and accepted new Government.

It was further noted by the Board that the protest issued on the 14th March, 1966 by the Secretariat of T.U.C. (Ghana) to the A.A.T.U.F. to take immediate steps to correct the erroneous impression created and to make the stand of the Ghanaian workers known to the outside world as to its complete support to the revolution was never heeded to by the Executive Secretariat of the A.A.T.U.F.

The Executive Board noted that the protest note from the T.U.C. (Ghana) further demanded that unless that was done by the A.A.T.U.F. the T.U.C. (Ghana) "shall be forced to regard the A.A.T.U.F. as an agent of external force which does not speak or act in the interest of its affiliated organisations".

"The Executive Board noted that no statement had been issued by the Executive Secretariat of A.A.T.U.F. but instead, continues to attack the Ghanaian workers and their glorious revolution.

The Executive Board of Ghana therefore, on behalf of the T.U.C. (Ghana) in pursuance of its declared policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of African trade union centres and dedicated towards the evolution of a genuine and free democratic trade union movement is now satisfied that A.A.T.U.F. to which the Ghana Trades Union Congress is affiliated is an agent of an external force which is being manipulated to cause strife and disunity among the various trade union centres.

Consequently, the Executive Board decided that the T.U.C. (Ghana) in the interest of the workers of Ghana and conscious of its responsibilities and obligations in the total framework of achieving realistic and beneficial labour unity in Africa **decided to disaffiliate forthwith from the A.A.T.U.F. which has its headquarters in Accra, Ghana.**

The Executive Board of the T.U.C. (Ghana) further decided not to affiliate to any international trade union body until such time that the trade union international situation is properly assessed".

Issued at the Headquarters Secretariat of the Trades Union Congress.

(Sgd.) B. A. Bentum
Secretary-General.

Accra,

Dated this 7th day of October, 1966.

CHAPTER XI

PART III—THE FUTURE

What of the future of our labour movement of our newly constituted Trades Union Congress?

First it is the T.U.C.'s aim to build trade unions that "really do stand for the workers of this country, and not, as under the previous regime when trade unions became passive instruments

for the dictates of a political party," as was adopted at the Extraordinary Congress of the T.U.C. on June 4, 1966;

"It was a grievous error of the former T.U.C. to sell out to the corrupt CPP . . . and if anything at all, this lamentable past experience has taught us never again to subordinate the trade union movement to party politics, and even less to greedy politicians like those of Nkrumah's type."

Second, we do not intend to support any particular economic ideology. This can be seen from the fact that in the preamble of our newly-adopted constitution, our T.U.C. pledged to "defend and uphold the democratic foundation on which the future of our Nation must be built." Under the old Constitution, the words "and socialist" followed after the word "democratic." Ghana labour has had enough of exploitation and thievery masquerading as "socialism". In fact wherever the word "socialism" occurred in the old document, it has been excised.

Naturally there is no room in our new Constitution for such totalitarian impositions as:

"To maintain the Trades Union Congress as one of the wings of the C.P.P. dedicated to the building of a socialist State in Ghana."

OR

"To uphold the aims and aspirations of the Convention People's Party through financial and organisational support in its struggle in Ghana"*

We would like now to show how our Constitution has been changed so as to return the powers to the National Unions which the CPP-dominated T.U.C. had taken away:

OLD

The Executive Board shall intervene in all industrial disputes affecting any of the National Unions of TUC and shall assist the parties concerned to hold a

fair arbitration (Art. X, 2) Such (financial statements shall be audited by an Auditor to be appointed by the Minister of Labour . . . (Art. IX, 5).

* From text of Constitution of the Nkrumah-dominated TUC before amendment by the Extraordinary Congress. Ghana Gazette, June 7, 1963, page 14.

NEW

With the object of promotion of a just settlement the Executive Board may, any upon the formal application of the Union concerned shall intervene in all industrial disputes, threatened or actual, provided that it is satisfied that a stage has been reached in which the Union concerned does

in effect need such assistance and provided it is satisfied that sufficient time has elapsed for the Union itself to have reached a settlement (Art. VI, 2). Such (financial) statements shall be audited annually by an Auditor to be appointed by Congress . . . (Art. XIII, 5).

In the new Constitution occurs a new provision, Article XII, 2(b) which declares that "A vote of non-confidence by two-thirds majority of delegates shall be required to demand the resignation of the Secretary-General."

There are, of course, other examples of amendments, alterations and additions which have been introduced into the new Constitution to make our T.U.C. more democratic and its affiliated unions an instrument whereby the workers will be able to improve their wages and working conditions. We know that we have only put all this on paper. Now we must see to it that our Constitution becomes a living organism, not something to be interpreted and misinterpreted for the anti-social interest of totalitarian dictatorship.

The future programme of the TUC (Ghana) is embodied in the following which was adopted by the TUC at its Congress on 4th-5th June 1966.

(1) The first task which the trade union movement in Ghana shall tackle is to transform itself into an organisation that has meaning for the workers, and responsibly advances their interests in the social and economic spheres. The only form of organisation that can do this with any measure of success is one which draws its authority and its power from the workers themselves, and is responsive to their aims and aspirations. In order to properly translate the workers wishes into action, the movement must be self-reliant, and should in particular stay away from party politics, as the past has abundantly shown, and yet be free to determine

its own policy, which may, but does not necessarily, run parallel to a particular political demand. Thus the trade union movement shall always promote political democracy, and defend it against threats from any quarter as genuine trade unionism can only thrive in a democratic environment.

Adoption of this programme shall therefore constitute authority to re-organise the trade union movement at all levels into an instrument willing and capable to defend workers' best interest in their relations with their employers and with Government, and to do so responsibly with the nation's welfare at heart.

(2) In order to adequately fulfill all the tasks that are expected of it and to which reference was made above, it shall be necessary to press without delay for the overhaul of the restrictive labour legislation imposed by the previous regime. The TUC shall therefore, as soon as possible make proposals to the Government in particular on how it wishes to have the Industrial Relations Act changed to be in keeping with the new found spirit of liberty and to allow the trade unions a role in society which reflects their new potential.

It should be constantly borne in mind that healthy industrial relations are the most immediate positive contribution the trade unions can make towards economic progress and national well-being, as long as it is based on voluntary agreements and not on compulsion. The workers can only feel a sense of personal participation and concern in the nation's interest.

(3) The Trade unions therefore shall pledge their co-operation to Government and employers in all genuine efforts to improve and stabilise industrial relations. Any agreements in this field that trade unions may enter into should contain adequate provisions for the settling of industrial disputes through conciliation and arbitration where collective negotiations break down, but should not interfere—and the same goes for any legislation—with the right of the workers in the last resort to withhold their labour by concerted action.

(4) The trade unions shall do whatever is in their power to stimulate economic development and workers productivity; help

in creating employment opportunities; encourage the establishment and expansion of co-operatives; promote efficiency at the workplace, always provided that the workers will also adequately benefit from progress in these fields.

The trade unions shall support unreservedly all forms of economic planning aimed at viable economic units and an increase in the people's standard of living. But it wishes as closely as possible to participate in such planning preferably through representation on the competent statutory bodies; in any case it expects to be consulted by local and central governments on all matters affecting the economic and social interests of its membership.

In order to keep abreast in the so important field of the national economy and the economic position of the enterprises the T.U.C. shall maintain an economic research and statistical service, also in order to enable the national unions to present their cases with greater force and justification.

(5) Social progress should go hand in hand with economic progress. The trade unions shall strive after a society in which the ideal of equal opportunity for all shall be fulfilled. Personal aptitudes shall be encouraged. All persons, irrespective of race, creed or sex shall be entitled to equal pay for equal work, while for the least fortunate, an efficient machinery for the fixing and keeping under review of minimum wages is to be promoted by the trade unions as one of their first priorities. Such minimum wages shall not be regarded by the trade unions as a norm for the employers to follow, but rather as a means to help the economically weak.

(6) Extremely important for the workers is transportation to and from work. The previous regime squandered untold resources on useless schemes and unprofitable undertakings, but neglected this basic ingredient of the workers requirements. We shall press the authorities to make adequate arrangements in this field as a matter of priority, to avoid lateness to work and delays in getting back home after business.

(7) Workers' Housing is another grave social problem. It is essential that the building of adequate housing at moderate rentals be intensified and that trade unions have a determining voice in their allocation to prevent the previous malpractices.

(8) The trade unions shall press for the widest range of social provisions by the state, the Local Government Authorities and the employers. This applies not only to improve social security measures, but more in particular also to health and medical services at the workplace and in the community which the people badly need. The trade unions will do what is possible within the limited means to establish clinics for its members.

(9) The manner in which workers spend their leisure time is also of real concern to the trade unions. In this field also provisions need to be made by the authorities in the form of recreational facilities and community centres; the trade unions themselves will make every attempt to provide holiday centres within their financial possibilities.

(10) The financial burden of all the kinds of social provisions shall be equitably distributed among private enterprise, government and other employers, while the wage-earners will contribute in accordance with their ability to pay; but they should not be asked to make financial sacrifice beyond a reasonable level. Workers contributions to social provision shall therefore, form a subject for consultation between Government and trade unions.

(11) The effects of the present grave unemployment situation and the prevalence of redundancy require to be mitigated and relieved with the utmost despatch. In regard to inevitable redundancy trade unions shall insist on equitable severance payments. However, under present circumstances employers, including the Government as an employer, should exercise the utmost restraint in declaring redundancies even if only to prevent the evil social consequences of a further increase in unemployment.

Trade Unions pledge their co-operation in effective schemes to combat unemployment; but at the same time, the trade unions shall firmly claim unemployment relief benefits in keeping with the maintenance of a decent life. Above all, unemployment needs to be tackled at the root through economic expansion with the accent on labour intensive industries and agricultural schemes.

(12) Fundamentally all trade unions are concerned with organising of workers; it therefore remains the aim of the T.U.C. and its affiliated unions to achieve and maintain a maximum

coverage of all workers wherever they may be found. From now on the national unions will have to prove their worth to the workers as they above all will have to carry out the organising work and maintain contact with the rank and file.

(13) The past has shown what happens when trade union rights are trampled underfoot. In the future we are determined to defend the rights of trade unions and resist any encroachment by political parties or other forces. Trade union rights form part of human rights and are internationally recognised and even codified. The trade unions shall promote as soon as possible labour legislation in Ghana which duly reflect the internationally accepted standards.

(14) Very important now that the whole of the trade union movement is again going to be placed on a democratic footing is the trade union training and education of all levels of the movement. With this in view the T.U.C. shall give particular attention to this field of activity and devote a substantial part of its resources to it. After the practical standstill of the last few years we are very conscious of the urgent need to start again in the training in trade union techniques, and indeed to heighten the consciousness for trade unionism among the workers themselves. An educational campaign is to be worked out and an urgent education programme is to be executed as soon as possible.

In addition to trade union education the T.U.C. shall stimulate in-service-training in a very vigorous manner to afford opportunity for the existing workers to increase their knowledge and skill on the type of work they do in order to merit promotions to supervisory and managerial positions which hitherto had been filled mainly by new entrants and outsiders.

(15) It is equally important to keep our membership and the public informed of our activities and our opinions. The T.U.C. shall therefore, issue regularly a journal which contains news and views of the movement, but shall bar any propaganda of a political nature. Other mass media for disseminating news shall be used to the maximum: newspapers, radio and television. An efficient information and publicity service shall therefore be created, whose task it shall be to provide trade union propaganda



material for distribution among the workers.

(16) Special attention shall be given to female workers thus ensuring that they are not only paid equally with their men counterparts but that they are given such protection, encouragement and opportunities to enable them to progress along with the men.

(17) In our international relations we shall establish and maintain contact with trade union organisations having ideals and practices in common to ours. We shall insist that we be free to choose our own friends, and that they shall not be chosen for us as in the past.

CHAPTER XII

LESSONS WE HAVE LEARNED

1. Duty of African trade unions is to serve the African worker.
2. Workers cannot be properly served, if trade unions are merely the instrument of a state or a political party, no matter how benevolent the latter may seem.
3. Subjugation of labour to an all-powerful party machine hampers economic and political progress.
4. African labour unity can only be achieved by the willing co-operation of the African trade unions—not by shouting slogans, by subverting those who think differently or by back-stage intrigues.

The Trade Unions have learnt that they must constantly guard against the danger that assistance either from the Eastern or Western Trade Union Organisations can be used to diminish their independence and national identity.

Freedom is for Africans, too, and for African workers. Freedom means not only freedom from foreign domination, from colonialism and neo-colonialism. It also means freedom from native despots like Kwame Nkrumah and his ally, Sekou Toure, who no doubt is also acting in the "national interest" when he controls labour unions and gives succour to Nkrumah.

This, then, is the story of what happened in Ghana when Nkrumah destroyed the free trade union movement in Ghana and extended it on the African continent. An era in Ghana has ended. Another is now dawning. Ghana labour will play its part. It expects its experience to benefit others.

END

APPENDICES

FILE No.

MEMO.

To: African Affairs Committee.

THE ROLE OF THE ALL-AFRICAN TRADE UNION
FEDERATION AT THE FORTHCOMING O.A.U.
SUMMIT MEETING.

The last meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the O.A.U. held in Lagos reached a demarche for all member countries to do everything within their power to achieve the success of the forthcoming OAU summit meeting in Accra.

In view of this agreement, it has become necessary to re-examine the role of the AATUF in the African revolution.

The AATUF is a continent-wide trade union organization, which has affiliates from some 38 national centres. Our programme emphasises the propagation of the ideas of revolutionary African trade unionism and the achievement of a unitary and democratic All-African Trade Union grouping, which is non-aligned, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist and independent of the three rival world international trade union organizations.

Our fundamental objective is to mobilise, educate, and co-ordinate the African workers in the struggle against imperialism and explain to them in simple terms the imperatives of the political unification of Africa crystallised through the achievement of a Continental Union Government.

As we are dealing with Africa which is passing through different phases of development, the analysis of our relative influence and strength before the Algerian coup, could be summarised as follows:-

Category 'A' - Independent countries in which
AATUF affiliates are most loyal
and dependable.

1. Algeria
2. Burundi (trade union rights now suspended)
3. Congo (Brazzaville)
4. Dahomey
5. Ghana
6. Guinea
7. Upper Volta
8. Mali
9. Morocco
10. South Africa
11. Tanganyika
12. Uganda
13. U.A.R.
14. Zambia
15. Zambia
16. Togo
17. Sudan.

Category 'B' - Dependent countries in which AATUF
affiliates are most loyal and dependable.

1. Angola
2. Botswana
3. Portuguese Guinea
4. Namibia
5. South West Africa.

6. Zimbabwe
7. Bechuanaland
8. Swaziland

Category 'C' - Independent countries where the AATUF
share split National centres with
ICFTU-American subversive agents.

1. Congo (Leopoldville)
2. Gambia
3. Kenya
4. Libya
5. Mauritius
6. Sierra Leone
7. Nigeria
8. Senegal

Category 'D' - So-called Neutral Trade Unions with
which AATUF contacts are fine except
where governments are hostile and
ICFTU influence is underground.

1. Ethiopia
2. Ivory Coast
3. Cameroun
4. Somalia
5. Rwanda
6. Mauritania

Category 'E' - Unstable Trade Unions. Views not
clarified due to lack of contact
owing to governmental pressure.

1. Gabon
2. Central African Republic
3. Chad
4. Malawi

Category 'F' - Remaining ICFTU affiliates in
Africa.

1. Tunisia
2. Liberia
3. Malagasy

From the above analysis will be seen the educational work we have done so far to orientate trade union organisations even in countries where the governments are hostile to revolutionary African trade unionism.

Our role not to undermine any efforts towards the success of the forthcoming meeting will be to exercise caution in our operations but not to abandon our revolutionary role for the sake of a demarche. This demarche can be dangerous in enabling Anglo-American forces to dig in before we find our head again in the OAU meeting that we have been trapped on the battlefield.

While doing nothing openly to provoke press controversy and misunderstanding we shall continue our underground operations in consolidating the countries in which we are already in full control and also winning over countries where our influence is already at work clandestinely.

16th July, 1965.

H. P. Mr. G. Rodinov,
Ambassador of U.S.S.R.,
ACCRA.

Our application for a consultative status will come up for discussion at the forthcoming OAU meeting; therefore, AATUP as such cannot be seated as observers or otherwise and other methods must be found to infiltrate our representatives into national delegations to argue the adoption of the Cairo Economic Council resolution.

Recommendations:

We are now faced with two alternatives.

I. The first alternative is to summon the Executive Bureau meeting at Dar-es-Salaam before the Heads of States meeting and secure a resolution in support of a Continental Union Government. This is possible but we must bear in mind that such a meeting cannot gloss over contentious issues for the sake of not offending Heads of States - issues involving the suppression of trade union rights and imprisonment of trade unionists in countries where Ghana may be involved in lobbying for support.

II. The second alternative is for the AATUP Secretariat to publish a well documented booklet showing the Heads of States, the conspiracy directed against their very independence by the Anglo-American forces and should therefore see with us that a non-aligned All-African Trade Union Federation is in their own best interest. This booklet will be accompanied by a memorandum showing the imperatives of a Continental Union Government now or never in accordance with the resolution passed by the First Executive Bureau Meeting of the AATUP which can be signed by the Secretary-General for circulation to all Heads of States and delegations.

We can then have an opportunity of holding our Executive Bureau meeting after the Heads of States meeting to assess the success or otherwise of the Accra Summit and decide on our next steps.

If Recommendation II above is approved, a special allocation will have to be made for the publication of the booklet exposing the ICFTU. With factual evidence and photostat copies of cheques and letters in our possession. The sum of £5,000 is needed for assembling material, publication, distribution and securing the services of special staff to undertake this special assignment.

General approval of the principles discussed above is needed for our guidance and future action.

(John K. Tetlegah)

27/7/65.

REF. APS/C.26/656765

NIGERIAN STUDENTS ON THEIR WAY BACK HOME

I am asking Mr. Homawu of my staff to come and discuss problems that have arisen over the above who are in transit back to Nigeria.

On a tacit arrangement with Dr. Otegbeye, we were responsible for looking after them during their passing over to Moscow since they could not leave openly. There seems to be some misunderstanding in Moscow that the students could arrive by direct Ghana Airways flight without their being molested by the Nigerian Police. The obvious thing to do here is for them to stay here until somebody from the Party comes from Nigeria to arrange their secret entry into the country, but the amount handed over to them could not suffice for transportation and their longer transit in Accra for the purpose of making contact with the Party leaders in Lagos.

I shall be extremely grateful, therefore, if you will let one of your staff who deals with this matter discuss with Mr. Homawu the positive arrangements for their easy transit to Nigeria without our exposing the trained cadres to the Nigerian Security Forces, which makes their training completely worthless and the amount spent on them in achieving the results we desire in the construction of socialism.

(John K. Tetlegah)
SECRETARY-GENERAL.

MEMORANDUM JUSTIFYING AATUF SUBVENTION

The All-African Trade Union Federation starting from a nucleus of five National Centres has now grown into an enormous organisation embracing 38 National Centres throughout Africa.

Hitherto, when the Secretariat of the AATUF was operating under, round as the African Affairs Division of the Ghana TUC, the salaries of the present staff of the AATUF were borne by the Ghana TUC and the subvention of £30,000 only covered operational costs.

This arrangement was discontinued with effect from 1st July, 1964, with the establishment of the Permanent Headquarters Secretariat in Accra without a corresponding increase in our subvention.

It must be borne in mind that at this initial stage the financing of AATUF work has become the burden for Ghana alone since we are now in total control of the administrative machinery of the AATUF in furtherance of our African policy in mobilising the African workers and educating them on the ideals and imperatives of African Unity and the establishment of a Continental Union Government.

This fact coupled with AATUF's increased African and international activities in the struggle for African Unity and the fight against the ICPTU have placed on the organisation enormous financial responsibility necessitating the expenditure budgeted for.

The assumption of additional responsibilities of the AATUF in respect of printing and dissemination of information and propaganda materials and hotel and hospitality, travelling representatives, and the convocation and financing of educational meetings and conferences have all contributed to the sharp rise in our current estimates for the fiscal year 1966.

In view of the classified nature of our operations, I shall avail myself of any opportunity for further discussions if this will suit the convenience of the Budget Committee.


(John K. Tettegah)

15th July, 1965.

7th June, 1965

Comrade Rafael Tabor,
Secretary,
Confederation of Trade Unions of
Yugoslavia - Central Council,
Post Office Box 756,
BELGRADE - YUGOSLAVIA.

B. APS/B. 8/547/65

Dear Comrade,

We write to inform you that we have today taken delivery, with thanks, 42 boxes containing the undermentioned articles which your organisation so kindly presented to the AATUF for the equipment of the Labour Colleges we intend establishing for the education of the workers of Africa.

- 1 Standard Typewriting Machine
- 2 Blackboards
- 6 Cupboards
- 1 Round Table
- 62 Writing Tables
- 3 Arm Chairs
- 1 Large Table
- 1 Writing Desk
- 132 Ordinary Writing Chairs.

It is no surprise that since the formation of the All-African Trade Union Federation, progressive organisations and trade union movements throughout the world, such as yours, are doing everything humanly possible in diverse ways to help us stand on our feet in our just struggle to extirpate imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and all that they stand for, from our dear continent.

By this, you have clearly demonstrated that in the struggle of Africa, we can count on the support of our comrades in Yugoslavia, who have made our struggle theirs.

We can assure you that full use will be made of the articles to further promote the already existing good relations between the workers and people of Africa and their counterparts of Yugoslavia.

Once again, dear comrade and brother, accept our sincere thanks.

Yours fraternally,

for: JOHN K. TETTEGAH

18th February, 1965.

Mr. Ben Forjoe,
Director,
Special Branch,
Headquarters,
ACCRA.

Ref. APS/O.26/200/65.

I attach hereto, a letter received (post stamp marked Takoradi) posted on 15th February, 1965, which is self-explanatory.

This is proof beyond doubt that there are still in this area of our country fellows who must be thoroughly watched despite the seemingly pro-government appearances they may put up.

Takoradi was the scene of our strike in 1961, and I shall be extremely grateful if investigations can be conducted although this may be difficult as the fellow has not signed his name. But our handwriting experts may discover if this fellow has been one of those who used to write anonymous letters to Government Ministers in the past.

I shall be interested to know the results of your investigations.

(John K. Tettegah)
SECRETARY-GENERAL.

FILE No

MEMO.

From: John K. Tettegah,
To: Oagyefo the President.

Oagyefo the President may wish to recall my oral report on the second aspect of my visit to Geneva during the latter part of November, 1964.

As indicated in my oral report, a rendezvous between ourselves and our "capable" friends has now been arranged for Berlin between the 27th and 30th January, 1965.

The purpose of this memo is to seek the approval of Oagyefo the President for the Secretary-General of AATUF, accompanied by a French/English Interpreter, Mr. Prosper Akanni, to leave Accra on Monday, 25th of January for Berlin. This approval is needed for us to be able to obtain the necessary tickets and exit permits for the purpose of this brief journey.

We reckon to be back in Accra by the 2nd of February as our Executive Bureau is due to meet in Accra by the 10th of February.

This is submitted urgently for Oagyefo's approval or otherwise.

(JOHN K. TETTEGAH)
21st January, 1965.

MFMO

Osagyefo the President,


MOROCCAN MANOEUVRES.

Osagyefo the President may wish to be appraised of the following report which has come to our notice in the course of Pabat reporting on the activities of the UMT:-

It is evident that since the Bamako Congress of the A.A.T.U.F., the U.M.T. has realised that their Ghanaian counterparts have taken the wind out of their sails. I will like to emphasize here that every effort is being deployed by the U.M.T. officials to revive their contacts with the African Trade Unions (South of the Sahara) in order to win them over to accept Casablanca as the AATUF centre of activities. The International and African Affairs Division of the U.M.T. is very busy working in the vein as described above."

I am drawing the Osagyefo's attention to the above for his information at this stage.

This source of danger to our victories is my constant concern of reports earlier submitted that there must be in Ghana itself the close of ranks and understanding so that all of us working as instruments of the Osagyefo's African policy should pursue only one cause which must bring about the formation of an African Continental Government.


(JOHN K. TETTEGAN)

11th. November, 1964.

CONFIDENTIAL EYES ONLY
SECRET AND PERSONAL

FILE No.

23rd September, 1964.

Osagyefo the President,
Flagstaff House,
ACCRA.

M. No. APS/C.2/391/64.

My dear Leader,

While the various organs of State, both diplomatic, the Press and other agencies are keeping the need for a Continental African Government before the attention of African public opinion, I feel indeed very reluctant to raise matters that may border on an interference on the assignment of any other agency of the Ghana Government.

Since on the trade union level, we have to keep up the mobilisation of the African masses and trade union opinion in favour of a Continental Union Government with a common ideology and identity of political orientation, I would like to raise with the Osagyefo the following urgent and pressing matters in confidence:-

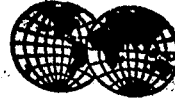
- a) Has anybody been assigned definite responsibility for drawing up concrete plans for a political link up with Algeria and U.A.R. as a follow up of the initiative launched by Osagyefo on the eve of the Cairo Conference?
- b) Is there any definite policy regarding Upper Volta which is today a bottle-neck preventing our link up with Mali and onwards to Algeria? Favourable conditions that exist in extending Ghana's influence within the trade unions and the masses of Upper Volta to secure a break through for a link up with Mali can be explored and discussed. AATUF has concrete proposals in mind.
- c) Since a Revolutionary Continental Union Government with a socialist orientation must have congenial States, are there any drawn up plans for exploiting the cordial relations now existing within the masses of Togo and Dahomey? The AATUF has concrete proposals to discuss in exploiting the present cordial relations within the trade unions and workers of Togo and Dahomey before American or French influence changes the scales against us.

FILE No.

- 2 -

These are matters that I hesitate very much to discuss in an open meeting, and the Osagyefo the President may wish to give me a private audience to elaborate orally on my proposals.

(JOHN K. TETTEGAH)
SECRETARY-GENERAL.



WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ
ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

Address all correspondence to:
Adresse la correspondance à:
Toda comunicación ha de ser dirigida a:
Адресовать всю корреспонденцию:
SECRETARIAT DE LA
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
PRAGUE 1, NÁM. ČURČEVOVŤCH 1
TELEPHONE 67456
ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: PESYMOND PRAGUE

SG/No... 2242

Senenu
Yes

Prague, July 19, 1964

* 56470

Mr J.K. Tettegah,
General Secretary,
AATUF,
P.O. Box 1810,
ACCRA,
Ghana.

Dear Brother Tettegah,

I just came back to Prague to find your letter of June 25, informing me about the results of the Bamako Congress, for which I thank you very much.

First of all I would like to congratulate you for the great confidence that your colleagues have shown in you by electing you as General Secretary of AATUF. I sincerely hope that the unity of the African trade union movement will further advance under your leadership.

The WFTU's attitude towards African trade union unity has always been inspired by its principles of working class unity and solidarity in the struggle for the interests of the workers and peoples. We welcomed the creation of AATUF three years ago because we were convinced that it would make a great contribution to the freedom of Africa, her independence and progress along a road that brings happiness to her peoples and serves the great cause of humanity for a lasting peace and social progress. We now welcome again the steady steps that AATUF is taking for the realisation of these noble aims.

Be sure, dear Brother Tettegah, that the WFTU will always be at the side of the African workers and people.

Brother Zakaria informed me about the discussion you had with him in Geneva. He transmitted to me your proposal to send somebody from our office who could discuss with you on our common problems. I welcome your proposal and I believe it is in the interests of our fraternal co-operation.

.../


(COPY)

FILE No.

I think that the best thing for the time being is for me to send you my closest collaborator. He is Brother Maurice Boye, who is working in my office. He will be able to leave for Accra at the beginning of September.

Hoping that this proposal is acceptable to you and waiting for your reply, please accept my warm greetings.

Yours fraternally,



Louis SAILLANT
General Secretary of the WFTU

OSAGYEFO THE PRESIDENT.

In my memorandum regarding our Bamako Conference, the estimated amount for expenses in connection with lodging delegates in Accra, brain washing and lifting them to Bamako was £3,000. The small Committee composed of Mr. Kofa Botsio, Mr. Dei Annan and the writer which discussed the memorandum cut down this figure to £1,000 with the reservation that any further request should be resubmitted after the Bamako Conference.

In order to expedite the organisational apparatus of A.T.U.F. which is necessary if we have to consolidate our victory, it is important that we tidy up all our affairs. Of the amount of £1,000 transferred to Bamako for organisational purposes, only £92.7/- was the balance transferred back to us from our mission in Bamako and our hotel bills and other hospitality given to delegates on their way back home far exceed our original estimates.

The Osagyefo may graciously consent to the payment of the balance of £2,000 which is urgently required to tidy up our accounts with the hotels and other agencies.

(JOHN K. PATTSAN)

19th June, 1954.

(COPY)

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Louis Saillant
 Louis SAILLANT
 General Secretary of the WFTU

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(JOHN K. JEFFERSON)

19th June, 1964

FILE No.

TO: OSAGYEFO THE PRESIDENT
FROM: JOHN K. TETTEGAH

*Osagyefo approved
£3,000 to be transferred
to Kampala. -> Sam and
Daima to join delegation
15/11/64*

AATUF AND THE AFRICAN OPERATION

The fluid nature of African Trade Union affairs demands that frequent analysis be made to the Osagyefo regard to strategy and guidance.

RECENT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON APARTHEID:

In order to focus international Trade Union attention on the question of Apartheid and to emphasise the positive contribution of African Trade Unions through the AATUF, the Osagyefo generously approved of the International Trade Union Conference for Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa, held recently in Accra.

Two important principles underlined the importance of Ghana's acceptance to play host to this first representative international Trade Union Conference on Apartheid:-

1. To limelight Osagyefo's idea of the positive role the International Trade Unions can play in the struggle against apartheid, and to formulate a concrete basis for effective international action.
2. To utilise the unique nature of African representation at the Conference for consolidating the AATUF with a view to assessing immediately possibilities for any revolutionary initiative.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND AATUF FUTURE ACTION:

I am happy to inform the Osagyefo that the objectives of the two principles afore-mentioned fully materialised with spectacular results as follows:-

1. The aftermaths of the Accra Apartheid Conference have been developing other chains of reaction in the world with regard to the resolutions and positive declarations calling for concerted international action.

The fact that Ghana as the venue was able to mobilise one of the most representative international platform is a phenomenon which compliments Osagyefo's international personality and enhances the prestige of Ghana abroad.

2. Twenty-eight African countries constituting an exclusive AATUF contingent mobilised for the Conference were fully utilised to formulate concrete proposals for future AATUF action.

In effect it was necessary to be guided by the fact

that for the African Trade Union Movement to maintain its revolutionary anti-imperialist and independent stand the AATUF should retain its identity and platform.

In concert with the Secretariat of the AATUF, 23 African countries present in Accra signed a declaration (copy enclosed), calling for an all African Trade Union Conference of only disaffiliated organisations in Bamako from 21 - 24th May, 1964. Only Ivory Coast, Senegal and Sierra Leone reserved their position.

The basic principle involved in this line of action is that the AATUF will no longer entertain any bid for conciliation with the reactionary ICFTU, ATUC based in Dakar.

FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS:

In the light of these significant developments since the South African Solidarity Conference, which have given rise to other far-reaching implications it is necessary to analyse the overall financial commitments in order to clear up the stakes for our future initiative.

In view of the fact that the increased participation of African countries in the Conference came as an emergency provision of the AATUF the original figures submitted was considerably under-estimated. A brief review presents the following picture:-

Received from Ghana Government ...	£2,500. - -
" " WFTU ...	2,400. - -
Outstanding Debts re air fares and hotel bills ...	<u>4,309.16. 5</u>

Total financial commitments for the organisation of South African Solidarity conference ... £9,209.16. 5

The above analysis indicate that we still require the sum of £4,309.16. 5d. to liquidate the outstandings in respect of the Solidarity Conference.

FUTURE FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS:

In view of the forthcoming AATUF Conference in Bamako, it is also of extreme importance owing to our commitments in the African field in regard to AATUF and the Ghana position in general to make room for the following provisions:-

1. For the Organisation of AATUF Conference in Bamako ...	£7,000. - -
2. For preliminary East and Central African operation to consolidate this regional bloc within the AATUF and to counter-act ICFTU manoeuvres.	<u>3,000. - -</u> <u>£10,000. - -</u>

GENERAL BASIC REQUIREMENTS:

(a) To liquidate outstandings re South African Solidarity Conference	4,309.16. 5
(b) AATUF Bamako Congress	7,000. - -
(c) East and Central African Operations.	<u>3,000. - -</u> <u>£14,309.16. 5</u>

SECRET

FILE No.

TO: OSAGYEFO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN K. TETTEGAN

*Teletype
in range with Batsa
and I better to see
will. Thursday about
12 noon. J.K.T. 14/4/64*

GHANA'S AFRICAN TRADE UNION POLICY

Osagyefo the President may wish to consider the extent to which our national Editors are allowed the freedom of writing on subjects that may have some bearing on our African policy without prior consultation with the appropriate Department charged by Osagyefo with the responsibility for that particular subject.

I wish to refer in particular to the issue of the "Spark" No. 70 of April 10th, 1964, which carried the article "TRADE UNIONISM IN THE NEW PHASE", a reproduction of a very brilliant lecture given by Comrade S.G. Ikoku to the TUC Seminar which I chaired. Several of the theoretical and organisational questions raised may be applicable to Ghana which has a forward-looking socialist Party and a gracious leader like Osagyefo. The situation may, however, not apply at all to areas like East and Central Africa where, although African nationalists are in control of the independent States, the whole economy is still in the hands of white settlers and Indian minorities. In these areas, we cannot ask for trade union collaboration with Governments and national Parties which are not guided by any clear ideology. This applies to the other puppet and teleguided Governments in other parts and especially the French-speaking areas of Africa. The generalisation of the unique position in Ghana may therefore, be a false Marxist analysis of the trade union role in the African revolution.

Another salient point I wish to raise is the Editor's comment "Next week we shall examine specific problems and shortcomings of the Ghana Trades Union Congress". Nobody is saying that the present set-up of the Ghana TUC is infallible and above constructive criticism but where we working in Africa are today involved in a life and death struggle with the forces of the ICPTU and neo-colonialism who will exaggerate and falsify anything about the Ghana TUC to justify their interference in the African trade union scene, I would have thought that any views held by the Editor of the "Spark" can be conveyed to the Party for action to be taken internally without exposing to public ridicule the model structure which Osagyefo himself has helped build and which we are busily today selling around Africa on the back of which is built the whole super-structure of the AATUF. We are just about to convene the second Congress of the AATUF at Bamako where Ghana is making a definite bid of getting the Headquarters transferred from Casablanca to Accra and also the position of Secretary-General. Any unbridled attack on the Ghana TUC may become a complete embarrassment for our venture.

I have ventured to raise this matter with Osagyefo personally as my intervention with the Editor, gave me the impression that he has orders from above to carry out his exercise, in which case I am under obligation by my responsibility to Osagyefo the President to draw his attention to the harm that would be done the AATUF cause by any unfortunate ill-founded criticisms.

My humble Suggestion will be for all of us who are working for Osagyefo the President to take collective action in every field of our African endeavour and an Editorial Committee for a paper like the "Spark" will be a worthy solution.

It may please Osagyefo the President to intervene with the "Spark" Editorial staff to avoid any clash of views at least on the role of trade unions, in which we have some years of practical and organisational experience, not only theoretical intellectual knowledge.


(JOHN K. TETTEGAN)

14th April, 1964.