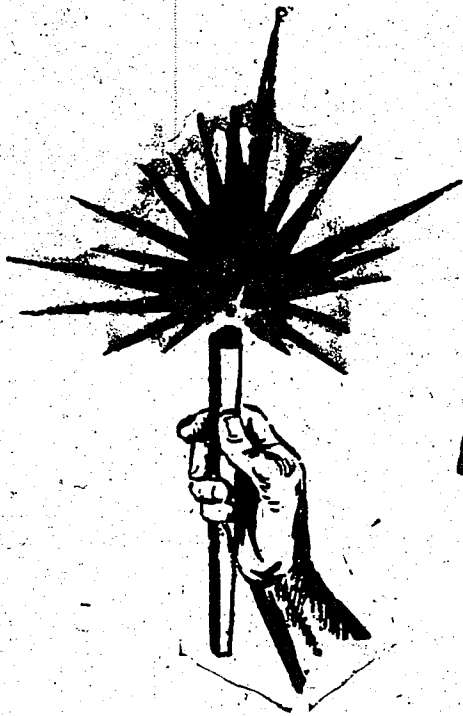


# THE SPARK



A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1964

"FREEDOM IS THE RECOGNITION OF NECESSITY", said Karl Marx in a philosophic definition which has not yet been bettered.

THE Seven-Year Plan, launched on Wednesday the 11th March, marked the most important step in the forward march of Ghana since political independence was achieved in 1957. For consolidation of that independence for Ghana, and its completion for Africa cannot be achieved without the success of the Seven-Year Plan, nor can the material and cultural life of Ghana be further advanced. We put this point soberly, without embellishment. Without the success of the Plan there is no future worthy of the name. It is as simple as that. Not to understand this is to understand nothing.

## UNIVERSITY'S ROLE

On Saturday last the Vice Chancellor of the University of Ghana made a speech of more than 4,500 words on the occasion of the award of degrees. He mentioned the Plan twice, in six short sentences, perhaps some 150 words in all, of which the message was that "only a university where well qualified teachers can work freely in congenial conditions can produce graduates of the required standard of quality" will suffice to implement the Plan. Was this quite the right balance of emphasis in the context? Less than 3 per cent of the speech on the University's role in the Plan, the rest about academic freedom. What the people of Ghana were expecting to hear, what they heard briefly from the Chairman of the University Council, what they had a right to hear in detail from the Vice Chancellor, was what plans the university had for furthering the end the people have chosen as the main goal of their efforts, for the next seven years.

But perhaps we are unfair, after all, it is true that a number of university teachers were deported. However,

# WE DISAGREE

## (Our Critical analysis of the Convocation Speech by Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien on 14th March 1964 at Legon.)

this is not the first time that a government in Africa, or elsewhere, has deported expatriates. The Attorney-General, in his speech on Founder's Day at Achimota, referred to the deportation of the staff of the Basel Mission from Ghana by the then Colonial Government of the Gold Coast for failure to teach proper respect to the British monarch. (One wonders, did the British editors and British university teachers write articles and letters protesting about academic and religious persecution?) The British Government deported an American teacher from the University of Birmingham during the McCarthy's days. And, of course, there are large numbers of teachers in Western Europe who cannot get admission to, much less be deported from, the United States. Altogether too much has been made of these deportations. Every government reserves the right to deport aliens for what it regards as good security reasons. One may deplore the conditions which give rise to this need for security; if so, one would more fruitfully deplore the Cold War and those who want to maintain it. We live, after all, in a world where an American President has been murdered, where one great African leader, Patrice Lumumba, was murdered, where three attempts in two years have been made to murder the President of Ghana; we live in a world where a British Defence Minister has arrived to fish in the troubled waters of East Africa, where a British Government is itching to restore its control over Cyprus, where an American Government threatens to invade North Vietnam, where

one likely candidate in the autumnal US elections is, an open advocate of the invasion of Cuba. This is the real world with which responsible governments have to deal.

If, because it is too ugly to contemplate or too sordid to soil one's hand with, some people want to put their heads in the sand and behave as if their compartment of life was unconnected with this world, they may earn understanding, but hardly sympathy. For such contracting out is a luxury which the people, and those who lead the people, cannot afford.

## IVORY TOWERISM

We have emphasised this real world in which the university operates, teaches and researches, because it is not some abstract, dream world, where all is harmony and light, where everyone is diligently searching to find the truth and disseminate it. It is a world in which those who want to preserve imperialism will use, indeed are using not only every sectional difference, but every piece of ignorance and prejudice, every illusion, every idea left over from the period when they controlled the educational system, to maintain their positions. "Academics need to be reminded, IT IS SAID", states Dr. O'Brien, "that the university stands on the same soil as the rest of the community". Why only the grudging, defensive, admission it is said. Does this imply it is said incorrectly?

Why not admit openly and honestly that ivory towerism is a constant and besetting sin of academic life, for the elimination of which the university community needs constantly to draw upon the wider community's experience.

Academic freedom, however, and some ominous threat to it, was Dr. O'Brien's primary concern. For someone who attacked his detractors for failing to produce evidence for their assertions, he produced surprisingly little for his. What he did produce

were arguments about the nature of academic freedom, which, while they are not in any sense new, struck enough response from his audience to require a reasoned and systematic answer. This we propose to give.

Freedom, academic or otherwise, is not the simple question of removing all restrictions upon behaviour. Most discussions on freedom (for the historical reason that this is the way the bourgeois struggle from the restrictions of feudalism developed) see

freedom as the absence of restriction. But what freedom to the Kaffir labourer is given by the Boer farmers' freedom from restriction? Freedom for the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress to propagate their views in South Africa is incompatible with the freedom for Verwoerd to maintain apartheid. Freedom for the majority means restriction of freedom for the minority. To increase the freedom of the Ghanaian people it is necessary to restrict the freedom of a minority to speculate and corrupt.

## RIGHTS OF MAJORITY

But freedom is also the presence of opportunity. For people who have nothing but their own labour for their own salvation, freedom is the creation of the conditions in which they can harness their collective labour to the achievement of ends decided by the majority. Democracy rests upon the right of the majority to assert that their ends shall be followed, if necessary at the expense of the privileges of a minority. Only in a society where the advancement of all is the condition for the advancement of each individual can this conflict be resolved, there is no privileged minority. Such a society is a socialist society, which Ghana is attempting to construct.

If the unrestricted pursuit of and dissemination of knowledge is the purpose of a university, let us be clear from the outset that all knowledge is social knowledge, and social knowledge is based upon the practice, upon the experience of actual, real, human beings i.e., upon social activity.

Knowledge is not achieved by contemplation in the study apart from the practical activity of society. Theory is a summary of experience gained by activity; it is based upon, and verified by, activity. No greater disservice has been done to universities, and no greater disservice to society, than the view that knowledge is achieved by thought alone. For this disservice consists in asserting that the clever man in the study can be wiser than society's experience. The knowledge of any one man is partial, one sided. Only collective knowledge, hammered out of the collective, many sided experience of a large number of people, can correct this failing. When therefore one says that the view of the majority should prevail, this is not because of some principle of abstract justice, but because there is no other satisfactory way to knowledge. Since only in a socialist democratic society will those who work in universities, will those who perform intellectual labour accept as valid the experience of the vast majority of their fellows who perform manual labour, it is only in such a society based upon mutual respect of manual and mental workers that the latter can achieve true knowledge. It is because almost all intellectual labour has hitherto been performed in class divided societies where the majority of the people were denied all but limited access to mental labour where this became the sphere of a privileged minority, based not on some superiority of intellect, but upon the opportunities provided by a privileged class position—that the fruits of mental labour have not been greater than they are.

It is because this has been the position, in greater or less degree, in all class divided societies, that Dr. O'Brien's picture of the role of universities in society is so far removed from actual reality. This picture of some "fundamental values of teachers and scholars" apparently

Continued on page 2



"... a rugged Biggar stand"?

Which operation?

Antaeus or Herakles!



Continued from page 1

held by all academics from Socrates to the present day, is either naive or simply disingenuous.

It may be an interesting speculation to construct some abstract Platonic idea of a university with which the real, fallible, human institutions can then be compared, to their detriment. It can be no more, for the actual history of universities bears little relation to this abstraction. For however Socrates may have applied the Socratic method to certain institutions of the Athenian 'democracy' of his time, however much he may have shown "respect for truth, intellectual courage in the pursuit of truth, moral courage in the telling of truth", he certainly never applied the method to the central institution of Athens, the central social relation which deprived the majority of its people (we will not say citizens, for they had no rights) of the right to freedom and culture alike, namely slavery. Though everyone praises the Greeks for their humanism and intellectual what-not, the Greeks were in fact morally undeveloped, and ninety per cent of their society consisted of slaves. The favourite word for slave, "andropodon", meant "man-footed". Socrates, in spite of his academic concern for truth, and for ideals of virtue, showed little practical concern for truth or practical virtue. Dr. O'Brien in his facile references may not have known that Socrates was most often concerned,

not with truth and virtue in the world, but truth and virtue in heaven, and that in any case he regarded this world as somewhat unreal. He hardly ever commented on affairs of the world, and permitted himself only minor criticisms of the Athenian oligarchy, an indulgence for which he was ultimately executed.

#### EDUCATION IS SOCIAL

Neither Greece in general nor Socrates in particular, nor let it be said Dr. O'Brien, has anything to teach us about an African university and its place in our society, about the relevance and connection between theory and practice, ideas of morality and their utility for good society, and all such spiritual talk. Education is not just a spiritual experience; it is a social one. And anyone who cannot derive a valuable experience from being useful to society does not deserve higher education.

The crucial question for a humanist, which one has to set alongside the achievements of Athenian 'democracy', it would not even have occurred to Socrates to raise; to such an extent, was he a prisoner of the assumptions and objections of the ruling class of his time.

The cloistral and monastic schools of the middle ages so rightly attacked in the President's speech from which Dr. O'Brien quotes, were precisely the Universities of the time. The ideology within whose framework their freedom of thought and their pursuit of truth moved was one of

scholaristic acceptance of the rigid categories appropriate to a rigidly hierarchical society of feudalism. Later, it was the absence of enquiry, of any spirit of enquiry, in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge which led the scientists of Britain to found the Royal Society in the 17th century.

In Oxford the religious condition for entry (and not merely religious, but Protestant, for Catholics were excluded) was not finally abolished until the 1870's, and in at least one college survived until the most recent times. The Royal Commission which considered Reform of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the late 19th century revealed a picture in which drinking and hunting, and regard for the ties of family, played a hardly smaller role than the pursuit of knowledge.

And as for the method of appointment of influential teachers—the Regius Professors in these two universities are still appointments in the hand of the Prime Minister of the day and therefore in essence political appointments. Dr. O'Brien referred to the fact that most other African universities relied upon subventions from outside Africa. Have these no strings? In all modern American State Universities it is common knowledge that the Boards of Regents, in which local businessmen are prominent, do not exactly encourage a critical appraisal of the

status quo. Even in the famous private universities a large part of research—and not only in the natural sciences and technology—is done under contract to the U.S. Air Force and the U.S. Navy, as can be verified from the file of a large number of current monographs.

The burden of our argument here is that nowhere in space or time have universities carried out research or teaching in freedom from the external pressures of money and politics or—and this is more pervasive, if less spectacular—in freedom from the pressures of their cultural and ideological environment. Since most teachers have come, for reasons already outlined, from social strata more privileged than those of the majority of their countrymen, their outlook has, not surprisingly, been more receptive to conservative than to radical ideas, and in the majority of cases they have therefore been simply unconscious that there were pressures.

#### PREVALENT IDEAS

If this has been true in tranquil times, how much more has it been true in times of national emergency. Dr. O'Brien puts up a ludicrous 'aunt Sally' about the teaching of history. One would dismiss, or not engage, (for incompetence) a man who believed that the battle of Waterloo was fought in 1923. But what would you do with an historian who when asked

to choose which of the two following propositions he believed to be true vis. a) "the Irish Easter Rising of 1916 was a legitimate rebellion of an oppressed people against imperialism" or b) "it was a stab in the back of a Britain fighting to defend christian civilisation against German barbarism" and chose the second? If you condemned him (as we would) you would be in disagreement with all the scholars "upholding values" in British universities at the time.

In practice, over most of history, societies have avoided the accusation that they were "determining for a teacher how he should teach his subject" by indoctrinating him in the prevalent ideas of the society from an early age (and not necessarily consciously at all—as we have suggested, Socrates no more questioned the institution of slavery than would a cotton plantation owner in Alabama) and then giving him complete freedom to teach what he believed to be true. Of course he exercised in freedom in such a way as to teach exactly what the ruling class of that society wanted taught. When societies were very secure they could tolerate a considerable degree of dissidence. But whenever a society feels itself threatened, it closes its ranks, and dissidence is not permitted. The famous English Liberal J. A. Hobson, who wrote of the first systematic analysis of impe-

rialism, was dismissed from his extra-mural post in the University of London not (be it said) for unorthodoxy but for incompetence. After all, if a man believes in so partial and distorted a concept he can hardly be regarded as a sound and balanced scholar, fit to disseminate to the young a proper respect for right and wrong, for truth and falsehood.

#### O'BRIEN'S RACIALIST DOCTRINE

The fallacy in the liberal point of view, which is what Dr. O'Brien represents, can be exposed by taking his own example of racist doctrine.

Should the Government of Ghana be expected to employ a person like Professor Harvey, the deported American Professor who headed the law faculty at Legon, who suggested in his inaugural lecture that the apartheid laws of Verwoerd were entitled to the same obedience and respect as the laws of any other country?

The fallacy of the test by a 'simcrometer' or by the 'conscience' of the teacher is here quite plain. But to take a less spectacular example: most European and American textbooks would argue that overseas investment during the colonial period represented a benefit to the recipients, and a sacrifice to the givers. Those who write them do so simply because someone paid them for it (though they may refrain

from attacking it because they have found it impolitic to do so), but because they honestly believe it or at least have not the incentive to investigate too closely those viewpoints which assert the opposite. This is how ideology is disseminated in class-divided societies, and it is quite unrealistic to deny it.

The question therefore of academic freedom cannot be answered, especially in periods of tension (and the whole world, not only Ghana, is in such a state of tension), by posing the question in this way at all. Of course in a society which pretends to allow everyone, irrespective of point of view, to teach what he believes to be true, and then attacks those who teach what is inimical to the most powerful university interest, in such a society those who are attacked are entitled to insist that the liberals and the conservatives who have paraded this argument should stick to it. Experience shows that when the tension becomes great they do not do so. Either they give in, or they defend a man's teaching because they approve of what he is saying. Here indeed is the crux of the matter.

#### INTELLECTUAL EVASION

If we postulate the abstract principle that a man shall be allowed to teach what he believes, then we have no right, on that basis to stop a man from teaching in favour of apartheid in Ghana. And it would be intellectual evasion, from this standpoint, to say "we will not appoint such a man". You may only find out too late anyway, and then you are open to the accusation of suppressing his freedom to teach what he believes. In the last analysis, this question can only be resolved on the basis of the content of what is being taught viz, is it progressive, does it advance humanity or not? That is a complicated question, not to be resolved by simple formulae. It is to be resolved only by making a specific judgment in each case, in light of all the circumstances. Of course there are always people who want simple rules as a substitute for the continuously painful business of making difficult moral and political judgments. This is understandable but they should not elevate their weakness into a virtue.

The conscience of each teacher in this same way as of each judge, cabinet minister, worker or peasant consists of the set of values he has acquired in the

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Continued on page 3





# WE DISAGREE!

Continued from page 2

MONDAY, 9th MARCH 1964:

**GHANA:** Mr. Osei Owusu-Afriyie, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, opens today the Second International Trade Union Conference for Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa.

In his opening address, Mr. Owusu-Afriyie says, "This is the time when the world must begin at last to look at African problems in the light of the needs of minority settlers".

Colonialism, imperialism and racialism, he says, are doomed in Africa and the sooner this fact is realised "by those who have eyes and yet cannot see", the better it will be for them and the world.

Other speakers to address the Conference are Secretary-General of the Ghana Trades Union Congress, Mr. J. K. Tettegah, Mr. Ibrahim Zakaria, Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions and Mr. M. W. Shope, General-Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

**UGANDA:** The Trinidad and Tobago Prime Minister, Dr. Eric Williams, meets Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda in Kampala today.

**NIGERIA:** Chief Richard Akiyemi, Western Nigerian Minister for Chiefdoms, resigns in protest against the acceptance of the recent census figures by the Western Nigerian Government.

TUESDAY 10th MARCH 1964:

**GHANA:** The Zanzibar Minister of Education, Culture and Youth, Mr. Othman Shariff, made a brief stop in Accra on his way to Abidjan, Ivory Coast, to attend a conference for African Education Ministers opening from March 17-24.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** The minority settler-regime in Southern Rhodesia threatens to dismiss African school children who continue to boycott classes.

The strike is against an increase of tuition fees imposed by the Field regime on Africans.

**KENYA:** A white announcer, Mr. Mike McCabe renders an apology to the Kenya Government after playing the British Colonialist lyric, "Rule Britannia" in selection of sea shanties.

**ZANZIBAR:** Addressing a crowd over 50,000 people in Zanzibar, President Karume, announces measures aimed at raising the living standards of his people, eradicating poverty and squelcher they inherited from the old British imperialist and the subsequent neo-colonialist administrations.

**UGANDA:** About 400 British soldiers leave Kampala today unceremoniously in a special train for Nairobi, Kenya.

The evacuation order was given after Mr. Duncan Sandys, British Commonwealth Secretary had failed during his recent visit to Uganda, to force the Uganda Government to commit itself to a neo-colonialist military pact with Britain.

WEDNESDAY 11th MARCH 1964

**GHANA:** Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah today launches Ghana's Seven-Year Development Plan involving a total expenditure of £1,016 million.

In a 75-minute inspiring speech, in the National Assembly, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, stresses much importance on Agriculture, Industries, Housing, Education and Health.

\* Mr. M. W. Shope, General-Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, attending the Second Conference of international Solidarity for the Workers and People of South Africa, says African unity and the sincerity of Asia, Latin America and certain countries in Europe in demanding the abolition of apartheid and racial discrimination have given inspiration to the workers and people of South Africa.

**GHANA:** An earth tremor occurred in Accra between 12.44 and 12.45 p.m. Several panick-stricken people ran helter-skelter during the few seconds of the first tremor.

Two minor tremors occurred between 4.15 and 6.15 p.m.

THURSDAY 12th MARCH 1964:

**SOUTH AFRICA:** The third conference of the Union of African Students in Europe has called on all African States to register their strong resentment to the continued assistance being offered to the Pretoria regime by members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

**CONGO (Leopoldville):** The French newspaper, the "Echo", reports that the economy of Congo is in a deplorable condition.

Political circles in Leopoldville blame the United States for misleading the country into economic chaos.

**GHANA:** The All-African Trade Union Federation is to hold its second congress in Bamako, Mali, on 21st May. It will be opened to all true African trade union organisations disaffiliated from all non-African International trade union organisations.

**NIGERIA:** A new party, National Democratic Party of Nigeria (to form the Western Regional Government) has been launched.

Fourteen N.C.N.C. Regional Parliamentarians headed by Chief R. A. Fani-Kayode, Deputy Premier, have resigned and declared for the new party.

FRIDAY 13th MARCH 1964:

**NIGERIA:** Police in Lagos uncovers a large number of arms and ammunition in a surprise swoop on Legco Flats, lodging place for Nigerian Parliamentarians.

**TUNISIA:** Tunisian delegate to the United Nations, Mr. Sadok Bouzayen, describes the situation in Southern Rhodesia as "critical" and suggests the creation of a United Nations "vigilance committee" to keep it under constant review. He reminds the General Assembly's Special Committee on Colonialism that the world body cannot remain "a passive witness of this dangerous adventure".

**NIGERIA:** The Nigerian Federal Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, gives an ultimatum to Federal Cabinet Ministers of the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens, (N.C.N.C.) to accept the new census figures for the Republic or resign.

This dramatic move followed disagreement within the Federal Cabinet over the figures which put Nigeria's population at 55 million.

SATURDAY 14th MARCH 1964:

**GHANA:** Ghana's chief delegate, Mr. L. R. Abavans, attending the World Health Assembly in Geneva, tells the Assembly that the development

process of living and learning. For teachers more than for most people, however, the process of learning plays the bigger part in their acquisition of values. Unless therefore there is a sharp conflict between what their reading and their experience tells them, they are likely to be influenced personally by their reading. The present generation of University teachers in the capitalist world (and this includes most Ghanaian teachers since they have been mainly trained in capitalist countries) have in the main imbibed the culture, science and values of a capitalist society. They are more likely to have accepted these than to have rejected them, if only because the weight of propaganda and conformity had made disbelief the more difficult course. When therefore Ghana begins to move along a socialist path, there is an undoubted problem, which cannot be shrugged off by pretending it is not there. It has to be tackled and tackled honestly.

Certainly it can be tackled in a clumsy way, and damage done to that constant search which (within a broad framework of socialist values and socialist ethic) is needed to analyse complex and rapidly changing situations, calls for courageous and well thought-out judgments. This is what we take the President's conception of academic freedom to be freedom with responsibility. The Congregation might well remember the sections from the Report of the 1961 Commission which Nana Kobina Nketsia IV read out in his speech of welcome. (Report p. 11): **TO ENABLE STUDENTS TO ACQUIRE METHODS OF CRITI-**

of Africa needed greater assistance for the solution of their immediate health problems and the strengthening of their health services.

**KENYA:** Kenya Prime Minister, Jomo Kenyatta, and the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Dr. Eric Williams, have issued a joint communique calling for a Commonwealth Conference on the Southern Rhodesian problem.

**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** The Congolese Premier, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, before leaving Lusaka airport after a three-day visit to Northern Rhodesia, accused Mr. Harry Nkumbula, leader of Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, serving as a spy to Tshombe.

Mr. Adoula maintained that Mr. Nkumbula attempted to provoke hostile activities "on the occasion of his coming to

**CAL AND INDEPENDENT THOUGHT, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME RECOGNISING THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TO USE THEIR EDUCATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE OF GHANA, OF AFRICA, AND OF THE WORLD.**

## SOCIALIST SOCIETY

"For the benefit of the people of Ghana"—the people of Ghana have decided that what is for their benefit is the construction of the material basis of a socialist society. The word socialist occurs nowhere in O'Brien's speech. Yet is not this the heart of the matter? Surely it means that the "critical and independent thought" does not include the propagation of theories which support imperialism, or the toleration of illusions about the nature of capitalism. Let someone think that to do this is a violation of the nature of a university, let us repeat that this happens everywhere. Those who are not concerned that we do not fall below standards of American Universities or British Universities (if this is what is meant by "quality") might read a

standard American textbook of economics which has the biggest sale of any in the world (and written by a most distinguished professor at MIT) which yet contains statements about Marxism of a level of distortion (or ignorance but surely the distinguished professor cannot be ignorant) which is only tolerated either because those who could criticise are not aware of what is wrong or because what he writes is so socially acceptable that no one finds it wise to point out his inadequacies.

American and British detractors of academic freedom in Ghana deserve nothing better than a simple accusation of hypocrisy, that they preach for others what they have never practised for themselves. But we do not propose to end with this negative answer. The students and the teachers who are to build a socialist society deserve a nobler concept.

In a society where a minority exploits the majority, where privilege is extended by imperialists domination and defended by violence, the real content and aims of that society cannot be presented honestly to the

majority of its members. For they would reject it.

So war is presented as an 'eternal aspect of human nature', rewards to those who do not work as 'the price of essential services', imperialist domination as 'the white man's burden'. Such a society cannot encourage, indeed can barely tolerate an honest scientific examination of its nature. Therefore it cannot permit academic freedom. We have shown that in practice it does not do so.

A socialist society sets itself because its form of ownership of the means of production permits it to do so, the noblest of aims—the liberation of the whole of mankind from material and spiritual poverty, the creation of the brotherhood of man (and woman) on the basis of human co-operation in manual and mental labour.

## TRUE KNOWLEDGE

Because it needs the fullest development of science it needs true knowledge. Because only men who fully understand the laws of social development can remake society, it needs true knowledge. It has nothing to hide, nothing to fear from truth. In an

advancing society some features are constantly becoming obsolete: old ideas, appropriate for one stage, are no longer appropriate for the next.

New ideas, new forms of thought, require to be developed to replace the old, the outmoded, the conservative. For this reason the free ranging of the human spirit is not some luxury to be permitted, it is a prime requirement of socialist advance.

But the free ranging of the human spirit, the free dissemination of ideas does not, and cannot include the right to disseminate ideas already rejected as obsolete. Society has always decided what is obsolete. In class societies that decision has been made for the majority, and against the majority, by the minority. What is obsolete, what cannot be disseminated, in countries where the people have control is what they the people, themselves, have decided is obsolete and holds back their future.

If Dr. O'Brien does not understand these things, then we hold to what we said sometime ago that he does not understand our conception of a university. He is today no nearer gaining such an understanding.

## Seven-Year Development Plan

# THE STATE SECTOR

(CONTINUED FROM OUR LAST ISSUE)

Another set of statistical data will bring out this fact more clearly. While the allocation to the productive sector is an average of 37.3 per cent over the Seven-Year Plan period, the ratio is highest at the end of the Plan. In 1969-70, as much as 48.3 per cent of all Government resources will go into direct production. If the trend is maintained under a subsequent plan, as is to be expected, we shall soon get into the happy

state of channeling a bigger portion of our public resources to the promotion of direct economic growth and away from non-productive social services and infrastructure.

However, a point here needs emphasis. Although the allocation of public resources is going more and more in favour of direct production, this is not being done at the expense of the social services and infrastructure. In reality there is increased allocation to all three categories—direct production, social services and infrastructure. The change is only in the relative size of these allocations. For example, the yearly expenditure on these categories during the plan period are £21.5 million on social services compared with £6.2 million in 1962/63 the year before the plan; £12.8 million a year on infrastructure compared with £6.6 million in 1962/63; £25.3 million a year on the productive sector compared with £1.5 million 1962/63.

Finally, the phasing of the Plan. Priority is given to productive investments while investments in the social services and infrastructure come next. Thus investment in agriculture and education is given top priority and reaches its maximum by 1966-67. Then the emphasis shifts to in-

dustry in the period 1967-70. Expenditure on health and community development is spread evenly over the whole plan period but the other social services (housing, public administration, etc.) will get more resources towards the end of the plan. As regards the infrastructure, electricity and water projects which are already on hand will be completed in the first part of the Plan. But development of the other elements of the infrastructure will be concentrated in the later part of the Plan.

## FUNDS FOR INVESTMENT

It is useful here to draw attention to how Government proposes to raise the funds it needs for investments in the public sector during the plan period.

The first source is the surplus of revenues over recurrent expenditure. This budget accumulation, as it is sometimes called, is put at £159 million over the plan period. The second source is external loans and credits which should yield some £240 million. Already some £120 million of this amount has been largely secured. The third source is also domestic; it is the money that government collects from

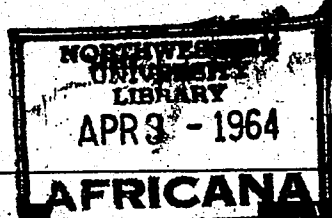
Ghanaian citizens and businesses, for instance by the issue of government bonds and by other borrowing devices. It is proposed to get £137 million from these sources.

These foreseeable (and therefore certain) financial resources still leave us with a short fall of approximately £54 million. That is, total foreseeable resources fall short of total planned expenditure by £54 million.

How is this financial gap in the public sector of the Plan to be bridged?

Government has two alternative remedies to deal with this situation. If world cocoa prices rise during the plan period above the existing level, the £54 million could be raised from sales of cocoa. If, on the other hand, world cocoa prices do not rise; Government intends to get over the problem of the financial gap by postponing certain of the projects already accepted for inclusion in the Plan to a new plan which comes into operation in 1971. And in deciding on which projects should be shifted to a new plan, Government has resolved not to cut down on investment allocations to productive enterprises. In short, the nation is called upon to meet the financial gap if world cocoa prices remain depressed, by postponing the provision of certain social services and not by cutting down on the productive sector of the economy. This further emphasises Government's determination to achieve substantial expansion in the productive capacity of the national economy.





# BANTU EDUCATION AND THE BANTUSTANS (2)

by Martin Legassick

WHEN the Government introduced the system in 1953 it forced all independent schools to close down. It is now illegal for anyone to teach anything to an African, unless he has permission from the Government. To teach a friend the alphabet can be a crime. This system of indoctrination, soon to be extended systematically to the Indian and Coloured population, is paid for almost entirely by the African people themselves.

Contributions from general revenue is pegged at 6½ million rand and the remainder is found by taxing the exploited African population further. Seven times as much is spent each year by the Government on a white pupil as on an African.

The arrogance and crudity of white racism is shown by the attempt by these fascists and their stooges to pervert and distort the language used by independent Africa in justifying Bantu Education. One stooge writes in a journal for teachers:

*"The intention is that we should strive to acquire the knowledge and skills of developed peoples whilst at the same time retaining and developing the cultural characteristics which distinguish us from other peoples. We do not advocate the retention of useless primitive practices... however, we do expect our schools to instil respect for their own people amongst the children. We also expect them to teach the children to respect those cultural possessions which can be developed to the level prevailing among highly advanced Western peoples. There is our language for example... and our history; there are our family bonds, our entertainments and our recognised laws and customs. We can be saved with the knowledge of modern science but if we lose the inherent attributes of our peoples, we will be like a flower without scent."*

### AFRICAN REDISCOVERY

There is an attempt here to speak of the rebirth of African culture and the rediscovery of the African past, which are indeed essentials in the free countries of Africa. But to speak of these on the basis of tribalism, to speak of the use of a vernacular while engaged in destroying its vitality, to speak in these terms while the people you speak of are vilely oppressed, is the way of an African stooge and a white paternalist and racist. The perversion must be condemned.

The Bantustans represent a further perversion smoke-screening a strategic retreat by the racists. "And so the Xhosa will rule themselves next year... the first of several autonomous Bantu nations... will have qualified for self-government" proclaimed an advertisement by the South African Government in a British newspaper in 1962. This was another crude attempt to appeal to the rationale of African nationalism; but to them it was transparent, and only the colonialists and imperialists found in it an excuse to continue their bolstering up of the apartheid regime.

For them the pattern was clear; they too had performed a strategic with-

drawal and returned juridical independence to their colonies, handing power to the traditionalists or to a colonialy-created bourgeoisie who had become integrated into the capitalist system. By this means, they sought to retain power through economic means, through military pacts, and covert political manoeuvring. The African states who have made a radical break under socialist Governments have exposed this neo-colonialism, and can see the same machinations at work in South Africa.

### "NEW ELITE"

For Dr. Verwoerd is creating a colony in the Transkei, which he intends, under world pressure, to give carefully controlled powers, and to continue to exploit. An African has written "The Bantustans will serve as mating camps for the production of cheap and docile labour as well as a suitable dumping ground from which the juice has been extracted". The Transkei "Parliament" includes a majority of chiefs, has control of none of the vital portfolios, and will be subject to the veto of the State President.

The second aim of Bantu Education is to create a "new elite" of Africans, schooled in the doctrines of apartheid, to administer the Bantustans as stooges of the fascist Government of South Africa. A supreme example is Kaiser Mantanzima, a racist opportunist, now "Prime Minister of the Transkei".

Thus a few Africans are permitted to pass beyond Standard 2. In 1960 23.5 per cent of pupils were in Standard 3 to 6, 2.9 per cent in Standards 7 and 8, and 0.2 per cent in Standards 9 and 10. One pupil in 500 reaches the matriculation classes: 100 or 200 pass the exam. From there, some of these pass to the supreme indoctrination centres, the tribal colleges, at which, in 1961, there could not have been more than 304 students taking degree courses. In South Africa, only one African in 15,000 is allowed to receive a University education, as compared with one white in 125.

These chosen few are gradually weeded out during their educational advance, so that at the end only the most responsive and acquiescent should be left. At secondary schools, pupils who resist the system are victimised or expelled: mass strikes in protest at conditions are met by mass expulsions. Those who are expelled forfeit their right to any education at all: those who remain are intended to absorb the ide-

ology of apartheid. The numbers who rise to higher standards are further reduced by the expulsion of all who fail examinations twice.

At the tribal colleges, isolated miles from any town, the process continues. Here the academic staff largely, Afrikaan former school teachers, are chosen for their belief in the "Christian National" education ideology of the Government. "Native education

should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation". ("Christian Nationalism is an ally of National Socialism", said the present Minister of Justice in 1942.) The courses at the colleges are limited, and student activity is strictly regulated. The Rector's approval must be obtained for students to leave the premises, for the holding of meetings, and for the circulation of magazines and pamphlets. Visitors may only come with his permission. The sanction of expulsion operates on those who engage in political activity, or dare to voice protest. The products of these institutions are intended to be the model agents of apartheid—as civil servants, parliamentarians, technicians and professional

men in the Bantustans.

This insidious and systematic scheme will not succeed, for the people have resisted it at every stage. Bantu Education was born to a boycott by the people initiated by the African National Congress, and to the protests of student organisations like NUSAS, and of other bodies. The "Bantu Authorities" scheme, predecessor of the Bantustans, provoked uprisings in Sekhukhuni and elsewhere, and more recently violent resistance by the people in Pondoland. The Transkei elections were held while the area was in a "state of emergency", with the intimidation and arrest of anti-apartheid candidates, and with fascist agents at the polling booths. Nevertheless, the people gave overwhelm-

ing support to Chief Victor Poto, standing for non-racialism and democracy: it was only Government manipulation of reactionary chiefs which brought the Parliament to elect Mantanzima as "Prime Minister".

Similarly at the schools and at the tribal colleges the students continue to resist the imposition of the apartheid ideology, and they organise opposition underground as well as openly. NUSAS, representing South African students of all races opposing apartheid, and other organisations, maintain underground contact with these students to give them support in their fight. For the struggle on the educational front is second only to the political struggle: an attempt must

be made to undermine the whole fascist education system.

As many as possible must be educated free from Government control, within the country or without. The declining standards mean that scholarship assistance must begin from secondary school level, and continue to universities, technical colleges and other institutions. African and other friendly countries have a grave responsibility at this stage of the struggle to provide scholarships and places, and the financial assistance to enable students to leave the country by any means that are available. The mobilisation of all resources against the Bantu Education system is part of the struggle against apartheid and white supremacy.

## Expose the Plans to Appease Verwoerd

ALMOST as if by common consent a number of voices have been raised in different quarters warning that the European racials in the Republic of South Africa will never give in to the present demands of the African majority, that all the international pressure in the world to force Verwoerd and Co. to abandon apartheid and introduce universal franchise will never get anywhere, and that therefore the opponents of apartheid should tone down their demands for full democracy and find some compromise acceptable to Verwoerd.

by Jack Woddie

Those who are spreading this argument are trying to back it up by playing on people's genuine fears of a third world war, and by asserting that increased pressure against the Verwoerd Government will only stiffen its opposition and could lead to a frightful holocaust.

The supporters of this view are busy producing new "plans" for South Africa which veer right away from or even run counter to the demands of the African majority in that country. Thus we have the "Scandinavian plan" for South Africa—a kind of "partnership" (beloved conception of Welensky) which would deny the people universal franchise and majority rule.

We also have the amazing proposals of John Hatch (recently published in the *New Statesman*) which turn out to be nothing other than partition and thinly disguised apartheid in the form of a "Confederation". And we have other "Confederation". And we have other "partition" proposals advocated in other journals.

Such proposals will never be acceptable to the African people who will be satisfied with nothing less than full democracy, an end to all forms of racial discrimination and segregation and the ending of white domination.

The excuses offered for putting forward these new "solutions" are the old familiar ones that if you press the white racials too hard they will get nasty and bite you—and then you will have a world war on your hands. We have met this argument before. It is called

appeasement. It is not the opposition to Verwoerd but the appeasement of him by the imperialists which endangers peace.

Of course, no one should underestimate the fanaticism of the white rulers of South Africa nor their determination to maintain their system of apartheid for as long as they can. But equally, no one should forget that Verwoerd and his government could never continue in power but for the support they receive from the imperialist powers.

The appeasers argue that international action has failed or that it will not weaken the Verwoerd Government but only stiffen its opposition to making any concessions.

But the real fact is that real international action has not yet been tried!

When the Western imperialist powers who do 93 per cent of South Africa's trade, supply 96 per cent of her oil needs, and provide 100 per cent of her arms purchases, refuse to carry out United Nations' resolutions and to impose economic and arms sanctions against South Africa, how can one argue that international action is useless?

Only the first steps towards international pressure have so far been taken against South Africa, and these have been taken by a number of Afro-Asian states and the socialist countries.

It is clear, therefore that international pressure must be increased. This is the best kind of help we can give to the people fighting to break down the gates of Verwoerd's prison house. For these heroic fighters, who have decided that recourse to arms is necessary, struggle—hard, bitter struggle is inevitable, and no one should underestimate the immensity of the task remaining to be done.

But there is a good deal of bluff in the threats of Verwoerd and Co., and in the "warnings" of many Western commentators and politicians.

I remember in 1952 the white settlers in Kenya proclaiming that they would never surrender their rule over that rich territory. The people struggled. The British imperialists intervened to drown the struggle in blood and to keep the settlers in power. But the people won. Imperialism had to retreat, and once Britain decided that she could no longer impose a solution of force, the settlers' bluff was called. They were powerless. Uhuru conquered.

### WELENSKY'S BLUFF

It was the same in Central Africa. Month after month that big blusterer, Welensky, shouted and roared that he would never allow the Federation to be dismantled. He threatened another "Boston Tea Party". He said he would use arms to resist.

As long as the British Government was prepared to play his game, he could get away with it. But the people of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias struggled. It became clear to the British Government that the Federation had to end. Welensky's bluff was called. Like a pricked balloon, he was deflated—and has now retired to grow roses and write his memoirs. The people of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are on the road to independence.

In Algeria, too, there were many white settlers.

One and a half million. "Algerie Francaise"! they cried. And as long as the French imperialists and other NATO powers backed them, with an army of 500,000, with arms and finance which, by the end was running out at hundreds of millions of pounds a year, the colons ruled. But the Algerian people struggled. France had to come to terms. The colons had their last desperate fling in the terror campaign of the O.A.S.—but by themselves, without French imperialist support, they were relatively powerless. Algeria won its independence.

### THE LESSONS

What are the lessons of these struggles? Simply that the settlers, on their own, without imperialist econo-

mic, military and political backing, cannot sustain any long-term struggle against the majority peoples they are trying to hold down. This is equally true for South Africa, despite the presence there of three million Europeans, with a considerable development of industry behind them, too.

The main blows against the Verwoerd Government will be struck by the people of South Africa. That is essential. But the action of the British people to stop military and economic support going to the South African Government will be of immense help to the courageous liberation fighters in South Africa. And all who try to weaken or disrupt this international action must be challenged and exposed.

## NKRUMAISM

THE Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in consultation with Osagyefo the President has finalized the concrete definition of Nkrumaism: "NKRUMAISM IS THE IDEOLOGY FOR THE NEW AFRICA, INDEPENDENT AND ABSOLUTELY FREE FROM IMPERIALISM, ORGANISED ON A CONTINENTAL SCALE, FOUNDED UPON THE CONCEPTION OF ONE AND UNITED AFRICA, DRAWING ITS STRENGTH FROM MODERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND FROM THE TRADITIONAL AFRICAN BELIEF THAT THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF EACH IS THE CONDITION FOR THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL."