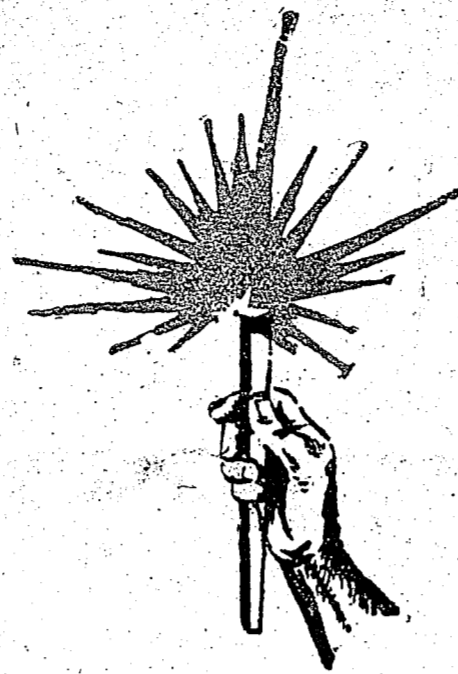


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IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN THE NEW AFRICA

EDITORIAL

The New Offensive (1)

ANGLO-U.S. imperialism is gearing up to a new attempt at subverting the state of Ghana. Evidence for this exists. And this evidence is growing.

Experience has shown that in its grand strategy against a state or against a political system opposed to its interests, imperialism starts off with a sustained propaganda barrage. The starting point is a propaganda offensive. The goal is to force a change either in policy or in administration. In both cases, the climax is subversion.

Anti-Ghana propaganda from imperialist quarters is nothing new by itself. It has been going on even before Ghana attained full independence in 1957.

Nor is this anti-Ghana imperialist propaganda anything unique. Similar attacks have been launched against Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Guinea and a few other African states that have taken up positions of radical opposition to the interests and manoeuvres of imperialism.

All this notwithstanding, the current anti-Ghana propaganda possesses a few features which are distinctly new. Its intensity is unprecedented. Practically all leading imperialist newspapers and radios in Britain and U.S.A. have been pressed into the attack.

Its virtual Anglo-American character is also a new feature. Instead of the usual ideological attack coming from reactionary organs dotted all over the imperialist world, we now witness a sustained effort by practically all organs of information in Britain and U.S.A. and in Anglo-American spheres of influence. These spheres of influence include West Germany, Belgium, and the client states of Anglo-U.S. imperialism in Africa. In the midst of this carefully stage-managed propaganda din, France has stood severely aloof showing objectivity of mind and flexibility of approach which are undoubtedly new.

Yet another new feature is the theme of this propaganda offensive. Having temporarily shelved its absolute opposition to socialism, imperialism is now busy building a new image for itself. It wants Africa to believe that it is not hostile to socialism as such, but would like to see an African socialism instead of scientific socialism. In this queer posture how can a non-African phenomenon insist that by retaining control over large parts of Africa it is creating social systems entirely African?—imperialism pretends to be the true friend of Africa and the guardian of her heritage.

In this and subsequent editorials, we propose to make a study of this new propaganda offensive by Anglo-U.S. imperialism. In particular, we propose to study its theme and its mechanics. Our view is that such an investigation could throw light on the source and pattern of the next attack, if it comes, on the peoples political power in Ghana.

Pan-Africanism has become a generally accepted concept in all enlightened circles in Africa. It has made such a profound impact on the African mind that imperialist powers are now compelled to allow for it in whatever plans they hash for their

I SHALL PREFIX MY TALK WITH A QUOTATION WHICH I CONSIDER BASIC TO EVERYTHING I HAVE TO SAY THIS MORNING. IT IS AT PAGES 60 AND 61 OF DR. KWAME NKRUMAH'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORK "CONSCIENTISM" IT READS:

"Every society stresses its permissible ranges of conduct, and evolves instruments whereby it seeks to obtain conformity to such a range. It evolves those instruments because the unity out of diversity which a society represents is hardly automatic calling as it does for means whereby unity might be secured, and, when secured, maintained. Though, in a formal sense, these means are means of 'coercion', in intent they are means of cohesion. They become means of cohesion by underlining common values, which themselves generate common interests, and hence common attitudes and common reactions. It is this community, this identity in the range of principles and values, in the range of interests, attitudes, and so of reactions which lies at the bottom of social order"

We are investigating the need for ideological education in the New Africa. But I think it would be most helpful if we first make sure of the features of this New Africa. Put in question form, what are the fundamental features of this New Africa?

FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES

I think these fundamental features are three.

FIRST, all Africa is emerging from colonialism and neo-colonialism. Every country in Africa is at an early or an advanced stage in this historic transformation. And even if we have achieved formal political independence, it is common knowledge that this political freedom is being undermined or rendered nugatory by the fact that many of us are still economically dependent.

A common basic fact of far-reaching importance in our economic condition is the near-absence or pronounced weakness of a capitalist class in a position to finance a rapid rate of economic development. Reliance on an indigenous capitalist class for the wherewithal of economic growth invariably leads either to economic stagnation or to a very small growth rate. In both cases, dependence on foreign capital is the result.

ant, for the simple fact that our puny and weak capitalist class cannot face up to the competition nor stand up to the pressure of foreign monopoly capital.

This leads to the second cardinal feature of the new Africa, namely the inevitability of a great measure of collectivism. The whole purpose in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is to free ourselves politically and economically from foreign control. This idea is negated if after the attainment of political independence, African states again fall back on the former colonial masters to finance economic growth. Nor shall

we fare better if we substitute some new masters for the old ones.

It follows that for it to have meaning for emergent African states, independence must be buttressed by self-induced economic development. And because of the weakness of our capitalist class, that is where it exists at all, the state has no alternative but to step boldly into the field of economic development. The 19th century concept of *laissez faire* under which the state merely held the ring for private entrepreneurs is simply inapplicable to Africa. For such supine position by any African state means continued domination by foreign interests.

The third fundamental feature of the new Africa is the need for organising our efforts on a continental scale. This is forced upon us by the need for self-induced economic development.

As soon as the new African state is born, there arises the need to protect the new political unit against internal and external enemies. Further, having closely linked with the fight against internal and external enemies, the new African state must set out boldly to provide the basis for the fullest satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people. In short, the new state must expand its productive capacity many times over.

This need for an expansion of production, on which the fullest development of all hinges, demands two conditions:—

- the use of the most up-to-date technology; and
- an optimum area of development.

The optimum area of development is consequent on the use of the most up-to-date technology, for the fullest deployment of modern industrial technology cannot be achieved until an optimum area within which development can be self-induced is secured. The only other solution to this problem is imperialism. And how ludicrous it is to think that an African state can follow the path of development that postulates imperialism as a condition of success!

By S. G. IKOKU,

Senior Lecturer in Applied Economics,
Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba,
based on
A talk to a nine-man delegation of the Federation
of African Students in France who visited Ghana
recently at the invitation of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame
Nkrumah.

The optimum area of self-induced development must necessarily be a vast land mass with a big population. The vast land mass is required because a wide variety of geographical regions and geological formations is needed to yield all the agricultural and mineral products on which modern industrialism depends. A big population is needed in order to provide the various types of labour skills and, even more important, the vast and expanding market for the products of a highly technical industrial system.

OPTIMUM AREA

Judging from the experiences of U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and now of Peoples' Republic of China, not to forget the European Economic Community, it seems that a vast land mass with a population running into a few hundred millions is needed.

Accordingly the fullest development of our people in Africa demands the application of up-to-date technology which in turn implies an optimum area of development, if such development is to be self-induced. And the search for an optimum area of self-induced development leads inescapably to the African continent being considered as a single unit of development. Hence continental African Unity.

Having established the need for treating all Africa as a single unit politically and economically, it is easy to see that the inescapable corollary to such an arrangement is to

conceive of one organic society. But Africa today is far from being one organic society. It is a complex mass made up of three distinct civilisations—the traditional Africa, the Islamic Africa and the Euro-Christian Africa. And the one organic African society has to be distilled out of the existing three Africas.

As Conscientism teaches us, traditional Africa was communalistic with the individual firmly anchored to the group. The welfare of the individual was the concern of the group; and the well-being of the group set the limits within which the individual can operate. This social order was largely disrupted by the subsequent incursions of Islamic and Euro-Christian civilisations. But it was not completely eliminated.

ISLAMIC CIVILISATION

Islamic civilisation swept in from the Middle East and engulfed all North and North-Eastern Africa. Its influence spread to a good part of West Africa and down the East Coast of the continent. In short, Islamic civilisation overran the open country North of the equator and down the East African coast, east of the right valley and as far south as river Zambesi.

Islamic civilisation penetrated Africa by conquest under the banner of the Jihad (the religious war). Accordingly, it brought in its wake the slave society in which the non-muslims (the pagans) were usually equated with the slaves. This slave society gradually evolved into a feudal society in which the social hierarchy was based increasingly on birth. Of course the Islamic religion remained an instrument of the ruling classes. The economic impact of feudalism was confined largely to agriculture.

Next in historical time came imperialism which swept in from Western Europe. It overran all Africa, established colonialism and diffused its own culture which is broadly referred to as Christianity. Colonialism, be it noted, was also established by force of arms helped on here and there by diplomacy indistinguishable from blackmail. It created its own class structure, this time based on economic power. The economic impact of imperialism was felt largely in commerce and, later, in industry.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

Thus feudalist agriculture had grafted on it a superstructure of colonial commerce and light industry. A colonial central administration fastened on to a feudalist local government system. Colonial

Christian education rested on top of feudalist Islamic education. Today, the two contrasting cultures exist side by side in a state of uneasy balance.

The socio-economic relations introduced by Islamic civilisation are contradicted by those created by Euro-Christian civilisation; and both sharply contradict traditional African life. And it is out of this complicated and heterogeneous mass that a new organic African society is to be created.

How do we carry through such a huge assignment? In other words, on what basis can this new African society be created?

Clearly, it is impossible to create this new African society by way of geographical demarcation. If we took such a line, Africa will no longer be treated as a single unit. In any case, such a treatment is impossible. The three Africas—traditional, Islamic and Euro-Christian—overlie one another almost everywhere on the African continent. Everywhere at least two of the three strands are present; and over large areas, all three strands are present. It is therefore not possible to parcel out Africa into three watertight zones which can be labelled traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa.

Nor can we unify Africa on the basis of race. It is obvious that a race approach will involve Africa in serious schisms which will make unity impossible of attainment.

PHILOSOPHICAL SYNTHESIS

Again, we cannot hope to achieve a new organic African society by way of one of the three civilisations becoming supreme. Supremacy in military terms can be secured; but the fact that traditional African life still exists after centuries of spoliation by both Islamic and Christian influences shows how futile it is to hope for absolute cultural supremacy.

The answer to the problem of creating one organic African society is to be found only in philosophical synthesis. This philosophical synthesis is obtained through a dialectical development involving all the three trends in contemporary African life. This philosophical synthesis Conscientism provides by blending what is best in traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa into a body of coherent thought pointing up an ideology. This ideology we call Nkrumaism which is scientific socialism applied to the historical conditions and aspirations of Africa. Our contention, there-

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Continued on back page

The Workers and our Revolution

COMRADES,

On my own behalf and on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party, I send you warmest greetings on the occasion of the National Consultative Conference of the Trades Union Congress.

I am particularly happy that your Conference is taking place at a time when, more than at any time in our history, the working people of this country are being called upon to direct all their efforts towards the success of the Seven-Year Development Plan. This Plan is the greatest economic initiative in the entire history of our nation. Its significance lies in two facts. Through industrialisation and the modernisation of agriculture, the Plan will put our economic independence on broad and secure foundations. In addition, the Plan is the first blueprint in the historic task of building a socialist society in this country.

Our Party has always served the working people of Ghana. Throughout its existence, the Party has honestly and doggedly fought to safeguard, protect and promote the interests of our workers. We have done all this because ours is the Party of the working people themselves. It has moved forward with the people. It has defended their interests honestly and selflessly. And it is but natural and logical that the Party should be recognised and acclaimed today as the leading force in the entire life of Ghana—the organiser, the educator and the guide of our people in all walks of life.

The prestige of our Party is a clear demonstration of the confidence and hope our people repose in it. The mission which history has imposed on us is that of ensuring our country's transformation into a socialist society, a society without the exploitation of man by man and in which man shall not be a wolf to his fellow man. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Party, leading the nation and our entire working people, because of their confidence and support, will successfully fulfil this historic mission.

In building the economic and cultural foundations of a socialist society, our main task is to mobilise and direct all the forces and resources at our disposal towards the successful fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan.

ENTHUSIASM

You meet at a time of great importance in our revolution.

It was with you that we fought for the independence of this country. Now we must consolidate our gains in order to consummate our struggle for political freedom. We must, therefore, mobilise our efforts again in grand unison in order to ensure the success of our economic revolution. As I said when I launched the Seven-Year Development Plan, the success of the Plan will depend on the extent to which we can mobilise the enthusiasm of our workers so that they know the part they ought to play, and if they are drawn into full consultation in the execution of our Plan I therefore call upon all workers, farmers, fishermen, and peasants of our country to accept this challenge and thus fulfil the hopes and aspirations of our people.

The basic task of our trade unions is to ensure that the targets set under the Plan are

fulfilled and even over-fulfilled before schedule. I am glad to note that the workers have recognised this and are taking the necessary steps to ensure their active participation in the success of the Plan.

In embarking on socialist construction, our Party is fully aware that the success of the Plan depends to a decisive extent on our ability to draw out and unite the creative efforts of our people behind the Seven Year Plan. I am happy that the trade unions are doing their utmost to revive the enthusiasm of our workers in order that our trade unions could fulfil their allotted tasks successfully.

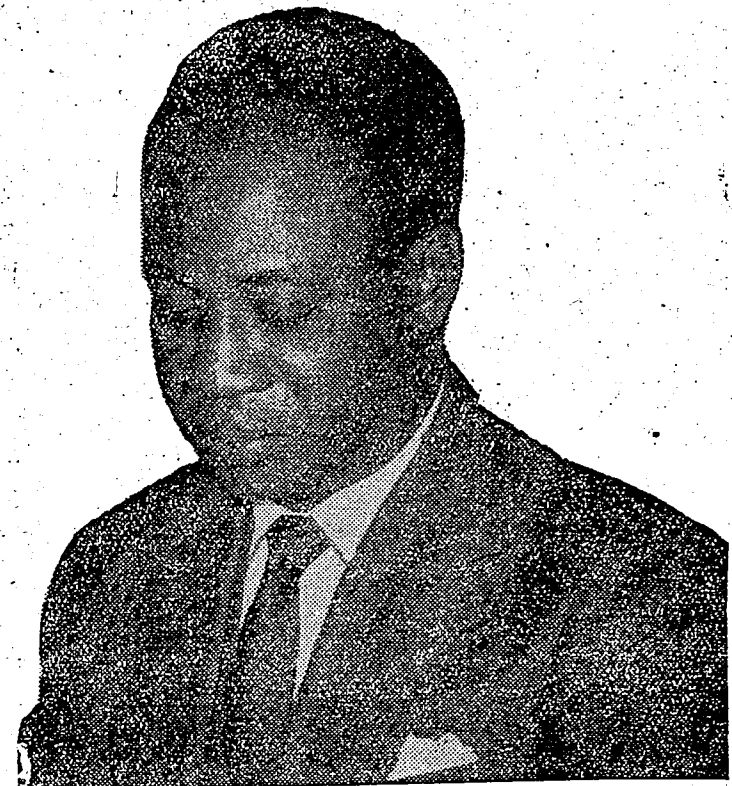
Party guidance at all times and correct leadership of the Trades Union Congress are very essential if our trade union movement is to play a positive and decisive role in the present phase of our revolution. Our trade unions must carry out Party ideological education within the ranks of the workers in order to identify the masses even more closely with the activities of the Party. Every Party member must take an active part in organising and educating the people, in encouraging the initiative of the workers for the successful implementation of the Plan.

I have time and again emphasised that the conduct of all leading members in the various wings of the Party and in other high offices should be exemplary. I have, in particular, emphasised that bribery, corruption and nepotism are vices which we cannot tolerate, and that those who indulge in such practices will be discovered and ruthlessly smoked out from the Party and its integral wings.

EXEMPLARY CONDUCT

Our socialist revolution demands that leading cadres of our Party be imbued with a sense of mission, selflessness, patriotism, devotion and dedication to our cause. The Clean-up in the Trades Union Congress is a further assurance of the Party's determination to wipe out these social evils from our society. It should also serve as a warning to those who have not yet been discovered to rid themselves of such practices. More drastic steps will be taken in future against those who indulge in these mal-practices.

This clean-up in the trade unions marks a new approach to trade unionism in this country. The present stage of our revolution calls for a new thinking and a new style of work in our trade unions. Our trade unions must move in line with our Party which is the supreme directing force behind our revolution. Our trade unions must eschew



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, champion of the workers

bureaucracy. They must be accountable to their rank and file and to the nation. And they must use some of their resources in providing educational facilities and welfare amenities for the workers. Without socialist morality and socialist consciousness we cannot achieve our socialist goals.

The responsibilities that the African revolution impose on our trade unions demand that we be exemplary in all our activities and that our public conduct be above reproach. The initiative of the African Revolution for achieving con-

tinental trade union unity has been placed in the hands of our workers. We must live up to expectation. We must never fail millions of workers and freedom fighters on our continent who look to us for inspiration and guidance.

The Party will continue as ever before to give active support to the trade unions. Together we shall lay a firm foundation for the construction of socialism and the fulfilment of the aims and aspirations of our people for a better life and happier future. I wish your Conference every success.

THE TASKS BEFORE US

THE Trade Union Movement in Ghana since the World War II has grown in importance in our national life. In spite of the difficulties which faced organised labour before 1957, it played a fundamental and decisive role in the struggle for political freedom, actively supporting the conquest of political power by the Party. Thanks to the correct leadership of the Convention People's Party, the hostile atmosphere to trade union growth created by colonialism was quickly transformed into a congenial atmosphere for the growth and development of trade unionism in Ghana.

Over the last decade the numerous weak unions which bedeviled the Movement have amalgamated into strong national unions with established organisations and administration. Since independence, the rank and file of the workers organised in the trade unions have stood firm in their support for the Leader, the Party and its policies. The popularity of the Leader and his policies have greatly entrenched the Party's position among the workers.

The role of organised labour has changed with the economic, social and political changes which have taken place in Ghana. Consequently, the organisation of the trade union movement must change too. The Convention People's Party, as the true expression of the will of our peoples, their aspirations and their objectives, makes the emancipation of the entire people the basic condition of its objective in the next phase of our revolution. The Party seeks to construct in Ghana a Socialist Society in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

Consequently, the general objective of the Trade Union Movement, that is, the emancipation of labour coincides with the wishes and aspirations of our entire people truly expressed in the programmes and policies of the Party. Thus the Party truly represents the wishes and aspirations of the entire masses of our people including the rank and file of the workers organised in the Trade Union Movement.

Legislation has been enacted to give legal personality to the trade unions. The Industrial Relations Act with its subsequent amendments has placed the unions firmly on their feet. These legislative measures have recast the system of industrial relations

and have contributed to a considerable extent to the development of harmonious relations in industry. Such relations are a precondition for successful economic development.

The Trade Union Movement must, therefore, discover its proper place and play its correct role in the People's Movement. We must understand that the fight for higher wages, better working conditions, safeguarding and raising of living standards etc., all these involve economic, social and political considerations.

CHALLENGES

Our trade unions must conduct themselves in a way to meet the challenges that are posed by our present circumstances. Since rights are conditioned by the duty we owe the state and our society, our attitudes and behaviours must conform to the general interests of our nation and our society. Ghana, by popular will, is travelling the road of socialism. Our people have decided to build a socialist society and have chosen the Convention People's Party as the sole national political party charged with the responsibility to mobilise and direct the national effort towards socialism.

We must, therefore, discard the erroneous view that

the trade union movement is the vanguard of the socialist revolution in Ghana. The Trade Union Movement is not the same as the People's Movement. Our trade unions are but a part, even though an important part, of the People's Movement. Hence our trade union movement must see itself as pulling in the same direction with our National Party.

We must see ourselves as operating under a general staff made up largely of political leaders who constitute the leadership of the Convention People's Party. We are a detachment of a large army of the people—farmers, market women, petty traders, manual and skilled workers, intellectuals etc.—engaged in building socialism with the Convention People's Party as the vanguard of our socialist revolution. Although consultations are necessary and must frequently take place between the Party and trade unions, it must be emphasised that the leadership of the entire socialist movement in Ghana is vested in the Convention People's Party. Therefore, the Trade Union Movement as an integral wing of the Party ought to and must remain an instrument of consolidation and construction in order to be in complete harmony with the social and political environment which exists in Ghana today. In short, the trade unions must accept and conform to the general line of the Party.

These facts, therefore, must shape and condition the basic strategy of our trade union movement today. Consequently, we are in duty bound, to ourselves and the socialist revolution, for which we have already made tremendous sacrifices, to re-

mould our movement to meet the needs of the times. This calls for important adjustments in our interpretation and application of the socialist ideology, in our tactics for winning our goals and in our organisation. Above all the major task facing the Trade Union Movement today is to lead the workers to achieve the success of the Seven-Year Development Plan. This cannot be achieved without the continuous, active and creative support for our Leader, Party and Government by the rank and file of the workers organised in the Trade Unions.

THE TRADE UNION AND THE PLAN

WE propose here to discuss some of the problems facing us and to explore some ways which might help to solve them. The Trade Unions have their origins in societies where wage labour is exploited by the owners of private capital for their profit. In such circumstances, where man's labour is bought and sold for wages, the Trade Unions grew up to fight for the highest possible wages and for the best possible conditions of labour. In many cases, one of the weapons of the workers in enforcing their demands was to restrict productivity. Many Trade Unionists who were among the most militant when this was the role of the Trade Unions have had to adapt themselves and change their methods of work under new situations.

In Ghana, we are faced with the problem of developing our backward economy through industrialisation and the modernisation and diversification of our agriculture. Our job is to expand in every possible way, through a variety of forms of ownership, the productive capacity of Ghana, so that, on the basis of this expansion of productive forces and the growth of actual material values, Socialism can be constructed in Ghana. We are, therefore, in a transitional stage between

capitalist and socialist relations in industry and in some sections of our agriculture. This transition we call 'the mixed economy'. It presents very complex problems for the Trade Union Movement because we have to work under conditions of different sets of production relations to achieve one aim, namely, the success of the Seven-Year Plan.

Basically, the Seven-Year Development Plan has the following features:—

- The economy must be developed rapidly and efficiently so that within the shortest possible time it can assure a higher rate of productivity and a high level of living for each citizen.
- The incomes which are accrued to us as a result of organising our physical assets and our human labour should be utilised for socially purposeful needs. In other words, it is not sufficient for the national income of Ghana to rise but this income should be distributed in such a way that public want and private affluence are not allowed to co-exist.
- The community as a whole should play a major role in the economy in order to ensure the attainment of a high level of economic growth.

THE PEOPLE'S NEEDS

The essence of our socialist economic policy is the concern for the needs of our people and steady improvement in the material and cultural living conditions and labour of our working people. Steady improvement in the material living conditions of our people, however, necessarily depends on uninterrupted development of the productive forces of our society and on raising productivity of labour. Only by steadily increasing the production of material wealth is it possible to guarantee substantial improvements in the living conditions of our working people.

And this, in turn, is an essential factor in, and a pre-requisite for, stimulating the development of the productive forces and increasing productivity of labour.

THE NEED FOR INCREASED PRODUCTION AND PRODUCTIVITY

A major problem faces us immediately in our fight to achieve the success of the Plan. We call for increased production. We ask the workers to work harder, to increase their skills to produce more. This increase is to be used primarily at this stage to expand our economy and improve social services. Can we persuade them to do this? We can persuade them because we know our workers are patriotic and their enthusiasm and creative mass action can be released for this Seven-Year Plan and all that it means. We believe that education—both ideological and technical—for example and incentives, all combined, will lead to a big upsurge in the ranks of organised labour for the achievement of the Plan.

The guarantee of our political independence is to set free the economy of our country from its old imperialist ties. This in turn is the only way in which we can ensure for our people an ever rising satisfaction of their material and cultural needs. Our legacy from imperialism is a lopsided economy based on extractive industries and on the production of crops to be sold on the world market for processing in the 'advanced' capitalist industrial countries. Such an economy is unbalanced and unable to provide our people with even the basic necessities of food. We have, therefore, to struggle to free our economy from the domination of big foreign monopolies and establish an all round balanced, and modern economy which will ensure that we are not mere puppets of a world market over which we have no control. While expanding our extractive

Programme of the Ghana T.U.C. presented by

J. K. Ampah

National Secretary and adopted by the National Executive

output of cocoa and industrial crops we aim to be in a position to provide our basic foodstuffs from our own agriculture, establish basic industries and consumer industries using the most modern methods of industrial production. We need to acquire machinery and the most modern machinery embodies great quantities of material values. We must train skilled men and women. This too takes up social assets. We have to modernise our agriculture and develop scientific research into the numerous problems of industrial and agricultural production which we face. All the resources needed for this can come only in the main from one source, that is, from the labour of our people whose industry and skill are our main riches.

SPEED

We have to rely, in the main, on our own energy, skill and organisational ability and we have to achieve in decades what the most advanced industrial capitalist countries have taken centuries to do. Modern plants and machines are bigger and more powerful than in the days when early capitalists were establishing their industries. Our rate of accumulating enough to buy and build modern industrial equipment must be faster than they have ever achieved. Only by this rapid growth can we prevent ourselves from falling once more the victims of foreign exploitation in new guise. Our economic aims are the logical extension of the success of our struggle for independence. If this is a correct estimate, it follows that personal consumption must take second place to social accumulation, thus presenting us with an important problem as mentioned earlier. In other words,

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We must postpone the consumption of inessentials in order to facilitate capital accumulation for development.

In State Enterprises, given correct explanations and organisation, we can show more easily how what workers create over and above their wages can be used for their benefit, because this surplus is going into the common pool of wealth and is being used for re-investment and for social services etc.

REMUNERATION

In order to ensure steady development in labour productivity, it is of paramount importance to work out in detail and apply a system of remuneration according to work. This involves the introduction of adequate and appropriate production targets and scales of remuneration of the social effect of labour in working groups and other fields and branches of our economy. In other words, we must introduce a system of collective incentive, using each work place as the basis for remuneration, according to work means and consequently ensuring that personal income increases in proportion to the greater productivity of labour. Many workers would give willingly their best by a changed spirit pervading working groups and bringing better forces of leadership into play. Departments or teams of workers on the attainment of agreed targets could be rewarded with collective amenities such as canteens with cheaper i.e., subsidised meals, (or better meals), club facilities, perhaps when the scheme is developed, housing schemes—with houses allocated to workers on priority, related to efficiency in production.

One method of financing this would be to set aside an enterprise fund which would be fed by a small percentage of the profits from increased production and the achievement of certain targets. This fund will be utilised for compensating individual incentives as well as for collective welfare benefits. People cannot live indefinitely on promises of better living standards. On the other hand, the achievement of better living standards should be in itself the very means of getting the increases we need. Collective incentives will encourage collective work and responsibility and weld the workers together in socialist forms of labour. Incentives too, and the benefits they bring, will represent part of the benefits that the Party promises will flow from the application of its policy.

INCREASED PRODUCTION

Media of information and publicity will also play their part in the fight for increased production. In the press, radio, and in future television, in films, we can ensure that economic successes are highlighted and given plenty of publicity. Publicity also within enterprises is important and such means as well as newspapers, factory bulletins, leaflets and so on should be used to explain aims and achievements in a simple way. We should also organise production meetings in every factory, to summarise the achievements of outstanding workers and promote socialist emulation of the style of the outstanding workers to the groups. We realise that these suggestions will be complex and far reaching and we might begin to apply them in certain limited spheres, especially in those enterprises under workers' control already, and on the basis of a period of testing the ideas out, we can draw the correct lessons and apply them more widely.

One important method of organisation which we consider necessary is the Joint Production Committees. We suggest that state enterprises should establish joint production committees comprising

THE TASKS BEFORE US

representatives from the managements, from the Party branch in the factory and elected representatives from the Trade Union branch. The Committee should have a realistic target worked out and its activities must be directed towards the achieving of this target. The aim must be quite clear and specific, ambitious but realisable. Through careful planning, through discussion, through encouraging the release of initiative, by utilising suggestions from the workers on the job and by personal as well as collective targets the committee could mobilise all the actual and potential powers of the enterprise. Emulation between enterprises must be launched. This will create the growth of enthusiasm and socialist competitions, linked to the incentives discussed above.

LABOUR LAWS

The Committee must discuss and examine all factors relating to or affecting production in the factory—raw material, wage rates, industrial relations, marketing and market conditions, sales, repairs and replacements. The Committee must ensure that the Management observes Labour Laws, safety regulations, norms and rules of factory sanitation. No worker must be dismissed from his employment on the initiative of the Management without the consent of the Production Committee. The Production Committee must organise jointly with the Management socialist emulation, sum up results, determine winners and outstanding workers, institute competitive trophies amongst the units and certificates of merit or other incentive to individual workers. The Committee must supervise the introduction of agreed variations, technical improvements and rationalisation proposals, ensuring that the workers are always brought into consultation at every stage.

The Committee and especially the Trade Union representatives, must be concerned, not only with harder work but with more effective work e.g. the elimination of waste, the careful maintenance of machines (small rewards could be given for the best kept machine, etc.) the maximum use of machinery and the inventing of more rational methods of production.

The joint production committee can be not only a means of increasing production but represents a development of democracy which in turn increases the sense of responsibility and efforts of the workers. Reports to the workers must be made regularly and the committee bound to meet at specified intervals. In the reporting back, problems must be raised frankly and suggestions from the floor of the meeting heard and discussed. In this way we think that the following three things could be achieved: Discipline, devotion and ideological unity.

OUTPUT

Incentives would stimulate output and effort and engender willingness to forgo immediate full enjoyment of the surplus produced for the general social, long term interests of the nation. It is of course understood that the Party and Government will strive to maintain the real value of wages by price control and the development of social services, and that limitation on the enriching of individual capitalists will come with taxation policies and other governmental actions.

The application of these aims and proposals to private enterprise is much more complex and involves important decisions. In the private or capitalist sector we must continue the old struggle for squeezing every penny out of the managements. We must, however, see to it that the production targets set for private industry under the Seven-Year

Development Plan are not crippled. In other words, we must extract every advantage we can from the private sector subject only to one condition that is, that the fulfilment of the plan targets for the enterprises is not impeded. Various methods and agreements will have to be tried with variations for different private enterprises. Many private firms may resist attempts to get them involved in reaching targets designed to meet the needs of the plan. How can we get them to co-operate directly with these aims? We see the possibility of encouraging them to do so by guarantees of raw materials, special targets release or concessions etc. Generally speaking, we must ensure that Ghanaians are employed more and more in positions of responsibility and that these firms should train them. This is vital for our future in these enterprises and in developing similar state enterprises. We must also ensure the provision of minimum conditions of safety, health and amenities like canteens, rest rooms, club facilities etc., at the firms or companies expense. We must also mobilise workers in the campaign for price control to ensure that profiteering does not take place in these enterprises.

Above all, we must not overlook the fact that in our economic relations with private firms, many of them expatriates and very powerful at this stage and at present necessary to us, we need to be clear what demands on them will involve and whether we are ready to face the consequences, of such demands. Here, very close liaison of the trade unions with the economic organs of the State through the Party is most essential. The Trades Union Congress must maintain an efficient unit for collection and analysis of industrial statistics and price movements.

IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING

THESE important tasks make all kinds of new demands on our members. The ideological training of our workers is absolutely vital because in so far as they understand what we are doing and how we are doing it, they will rally to the call of the Party and Government to achieve the Plan. The Trades Union Congress must encourage both ideological and technical education. We believe our educational programme is absolutely vital and we want to lay much stress on it.

We need education for all levels of the movement especially those who give the day to day leadership at branch and factory level. In our next stages of development the position of the industrial worker becomes of paramount importance. We have to consider as a matter of urgency, the raising of his consciousness through education, in order to enable him to play a leading role in the leadership of the labour movement. We need to give them general socialist understanding, give them a grasp of scientific socialist principles, showing how society develops and changes, how they can create a new society, how man changes himself, the basic law of socialism and other aspects of political economy. We need to give them the history of the labour movement, the nature of imperialism and classes on international as well as national problems. We need to create a new type of worker, the worker intellectual who will be in the vanguard of socialist labour and construction.

Intensive training is being offered at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba and we will continue to nominate our members for these full-time courses. But this is not sufficient to meet our present requirements and we propose to launch a vigorous campaign to involve as many members as possible, especially the cadre force of the branches. We must organise week-end seminars, one-day

schools, mid-day lectures etc., to ensure effective application of these proposals. In addition, we would like to give crash courses to a number of our staff who can in turn go out into the field and extend our educational work very quickly. These cadres of socialist construction will be given training on the job. The ideal time will be during breaks within the normal working hours. We will have to establish a special unit of our educational set-up charged with this responsibility. This set-up will be run jointly by the Trades Union Congress, the Productivity Department of the State Planning Commission and the Party. Syllabuses, Teachers etc., will be fully vetted and approved by the Central Committee.

We need to institute week-end schools, evening courses and leave courses of a week's duration or more which workers can attend. As we place much importance on this work, we may consider the question of the Trades Union Congress establishing its own education department designed to meet our particular needs, with the perspective also of the establishment of a labour college. In this connection, it might be helpful to us, if we could call on the help of the people from abroad where the Trade Union Movement is actively engaged in the construction of socialism to assist us in establishing our educational activity on a firm basis.

SKILLS

We must also take active steps to help our workers to improve their industrial and agricultural skills, both production and management skills. Business management as at present taught needs very careful examination before we would feel happy about recommending it for our members.

We will encourage our workers to take advantage of the Institute of Public Education's Evening Classes and to study to improve their educational background.

We consider that it is highly desirable to establish model workshops for technical training within industry. These workshops should be attached to specific enterprises which have achieved a high degree of efficiency and outstanding workers in these enterprises should be deployed as instructors for part of their working day or after business hours with some compensation as incentive. Such workshops should be established in the best factories within a given industry in order to serve all other factories within that particular industry.

Young people especially should be encouraged to improve their skills. Investment in them in developing them as skilled workers is investment for a long period of future time.

GHANA is an agricultural country which will in the next 7 years undergo urban and industrial expansion at an unprecedented rate. It is important that in this process relations between town and country, between industrial and agricultural workers should be strengthened on a firm fraternal basis.

Increases in food prices caused by artificial shortages or inefficient production and marketing can cause tremendous difficulties just as inefficient work in industry will deny the countryside all kinds of new amenities and goods at reasonable prices to which the rural worker is looking forward. In a variety of ways therefore, the two sections can be alienated unless there is efficiency in each sphere. The two sections of workers are mutually dependent.

The members of the Trades Unions, especially at branch level must encourage our people to take part in community development projects. Amenities enjoyed by the enterprises should from time to time be made available to the rest of the local popula-

tion and various services can be rendered which will show the creativity of the labour of working people when they combine together.

Many people, especially young people, will move from the countryside to the new factories and industrial areas which will develop in the course of the Plan. This can create all kinds of difficult social problems. The restraints of living in small stable social groups once lifted when a young person moves into a town or city can have negative effects on moral and social behaviour. The Trades Union Congress must take on the responsibility of caring for young workers in their branch or enterprise. Where numbers are large, we must see to the provision of hostels for young workers, provide opportunities for sound leisure activities and take the responsibility of ensuring that they improve their education and technical training.

With measures like this, the transition from rural to urban life can be made easier and the links between town and country strengthened.

The Trades Unions must constantly advise, discuss, with the Party and the Planning Commission, on the siting of industry so as to avoid undue concentration and the de-population of important rural areas.

These responsible tasks, to be undertaken properly, will involve the setting up of a small but efficient research department for the Trades Union Congress. It will consist of men and women who are fully convinced Nkrumists, who have mastered the difficult study of the basic principles of scientific socialism in the light of Philosophical Consciousness and who have developed research techniques. The department must be alert and constantly in touch with the real problems of the Labour Movement and while academic standards are important, political experience and awareness are equally vital. It will be useful to investigate research departments established by Trade Union Movements in other countries where socialism has, or is being built to see if some of their experiences can be adapted to our needs.

SPHERES OF WORK

THE regulation of relations and the definition of spheres of work of the various wings of the Party is very important, though the dividing lines cannot be rigid. The Party is a mass Party and mobilises hundreds of thousands of people for the all round political, social and economic struggle for the general aims of the Plan and for the building of Socialism. This is the leading force in our society and cannot be replaced by any other organisations whose functions, while vitally important is to operate on a less general level.

Every worker is a member of the Trade Union by virtue of his presence at some point of production, but every worker is not a member of the Party in the active sense. The Trade Union Movement, therefore organises the worker in precisely that capacity and it is at the point of production and in his production relations that the Trades Union Congress will affect him most directly. While therefore the Trades Union Congress' range of activity is on a narrower scale, its relations with its members can be close and direct. It is indeed through these mass organisations that the Party strengthens its links with the masses. The Party works to realise its aims in the economic field through the work of Party members who have leading positions in the Trades Unions, as well as directly through the Party branches.

The Party cannot expect to command respect, but it must win respect through the activity of its members in the mass organisations of the people, such as the Trade Union Movement. The Trade Union Movement however, has a specially important part because it organises the most advanced section of the people, the working people; those

whose basic interests have no important links with the past and who have everything to gain by the building of Socialism. In this respect the Trades Union Congress is a vital wing of the Party with special opportunities and responsibilities because of the character of those it organises. The policy of the Party in relation to the Labour Movement must be fought for in a principled way by the Party members inside the Trade Union, argued for, shown in PRACTICE TO BE CORRECT. Similarly, the experiences of the Party members in their work in the T.U.C. must be correctly evaluated and given expression so that the Party's policy is based on a realistic estimate. To ensure success in this work one of the most important principles of mass work should be observed i.e., have confidence in the people's ability to participate in the formulation of policy and in their earnest desire to build a new society. Secondly, the leadership of the T.U.C. must enjoy the confidence of the workers. No one can trade on past achievements. The leadership of trade unions are being constantly judged and assessed by the masses who can soon sense when the leadership is growing out of touch with them. They rightly resent the appropriation of all kinds of unnecessary privileges and wide disparity in living standards, habits and outlook between the leaders and the masses. This leads to cynicism and loss of morale. The election of officials is vital at all levels of our movement. Our workers are mature and growing in experience. Their stake in the Labour Movement and sense of responsibility for it can only be developed in so far as they feel they have an important say in it. The Party, therefore, must ensure the holding of elections and fight in a principled and energetic way to win support for its nominees. Without this frequent reference to democratic opinion, degeneration can easily set in. Bureaucracy is the enemy of socialist construction, stifling the initiative of the masses and dampening down their efforts to re-create society. Every Party member must struggle unremittingly against it, in the Trade Union Movement and fight every manifestation of it. With this in mind the following conditions will be operated and insisted upon:

- (i) Regular branch meetings must be held and conducted in a businesslike manner.
- (ii) Regular reports of activities must be submitted to the members for their information and consideration.
- (iii) Regular elections of officials must take place at all levels, with all members having equal rights African, first and foremost. This will ensure that when the time arises for unity the consciousness of the people is ready for it. The point should be stressed that our Republican Constitution is unique in respect of African Unity—that Ghana is prepared to give up its sovereignty in order to create unity. Osagyefo's book "Africa Must Unite" should be compulsory reading in educational courses as well as his philosophy, "Consciousness". These texts need to be as widely publicised as possible throughout Africa. The time is ripe for these ideas to be presented to Africa, as the minds of the most conscious progressive Africans in all levels of activity are ready for them and desire African Unity—the point is, to make up their minds on what kind of African Unity.
- (iv) Special efforts must be made to involve every member in the meetings of the branch and in its activities. Its meetings must be varied dealing not only with day to day organisation but including educational, political and cultural items as well. The Trade Union Branch must be an important element in the life, leisure and culture of the members, and their families.
- (v) There should be promotion for the best member, enjoying the workers' confidence.

WE wish to set out some special measures for two important sections of the labour force:

- i. Women workers.
- ii. Young workers.

Our society guarantees equal rights to women, but unless special measures are taken to help them this will be a merely formal step. We wish to take active measures to involve women in branch meetings and organisations. They should be involved in joint production committees and in administering the trade union at all levels. It will be necessary to establish a women's department at the Trades Union Congress level with a Women's Officer, who can take on special responsibilities for seeing to these pro-

blems; she should see that labour regulations are kept in the enterprises, make sure that 'the women's angle' is included in policy statements and all new developments, handle those problems which women workers have especially and work to generate interest among the women ensuring that they are involved in general activities.

The Trades Union Congress must ensure that not only is the principle of equal pay applied, but that there is equal opportunity for women to gain admission to all trades and professions. Certain special conditions are necessary for women workers such as fully paid maternity leave, factory or enterprise nurseries where there are many women workers, or nurseries in areas where factories can combine, 'take away' meals for women to take from the canteens for their families and possibly the special siting of markets and shops near factories. Special efforts should be made to encourage women and girls to go to Winneba, and to take part in all the educational provisions of the Trade Union Movement. The promotion of women to positions of responsibility must be actively planned and encouraged.

We must also establish an inspectory division which will ensure enforcement of all labour and safety regulations and see to it that all labour statutes and rules are correctly implemented.

SOME GENERAL PROBLEMS

The Trade Unions must not only organise their own members for the aims of the Seven Year Plan and the building of Socialism, they have a general propaganda role to play. They need constantly to exert their influence among the general population to win respect for the dignity of labour; to win respect for public property and to develop a new attitude to work in general.

In publishing the achievements of the workers in all possible ways and in encouraging workers to participate fully in its activities, in strengthening the links between workers in town and country, between mental and manual workers, it can play an absolutely key role in the reconstruction of our society in Ghana.

AFRICAN UNITY

African Unity should be recognised among all our trade unionists as a necessity for the future of Africa. It is our unbought duty to press for it on all fronts, within Ghana and Africa. Our people need to be made continuously aware of the fact that we belong to our African Continent and must begin to think seriously in terms of being African, first and foremost. This will ensure that when the time arises for unity the consciousness of the people is ready for it. The point should be stressed that our Republican Constitution is unique in respect of African Unity—that Ghana is prepared to give up its sovereignty in order to create unity. Osagyefo's book "Africa Must Unite" should be compulsory reading in educational courses as well as his philosophy, "Consciousness". These texts need to be as widely publicised as possible throughout Africa. The time is ripe for these ideas to be presented to Africa, as the minds of the most conscious progressive Africans in all levels of activity are ready for them and desire African Unity—the point is, to make up their minds on what kind of African Unity.

Outside Ghana and within Africa, the trade union movement is growing in numbers and consciousness as urbanisation increases. The leaders will therefore play a fundamental, historic role in their countries—the way these leaders think and act will have an important impact on their peoples. If they are made aware as speedily as possible of the absolute necessity for the march forward toward

Continued on page 5

AFRICAN PROBLEMS (I)

IN examining African problems today, one cannot make them clear unless their historical background is brought into perspective. In fact, a lot of confused theories about Africa originate from the imperialist propaganda that Africa had no history of her own. Of course, today, the whole world knows that such claims were sheer lies. We have also been told by an American Senator that Africans are incapable of governing their own countries without the guiding hand of the white man. But we know that all this is based on pre-conceived ideas, pre-judices and neo-colonial motives—all of which are so prevalent among imperialist countries.

The truth is that Africa has a rich history and, in terms of international trade, it is on record that Africa traded with both Europe and Asia, on the basis of mutual benefits and reciprocal respectability long before the slave era. Thus as far back as 1554, an English trader warned his countrymen about dealing with Africans on the Guinea coast, and reported:—

"The Guinea traders are very wary in their bargaining and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They use weights and measures; and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall have to do with them must use them gently; for they will not traffique or bring in any ware if they be not civil used."

The advent of slave trade and later colonialism found Africa with her own skills; cottage industries and other forms of economic organisation which might have easily led to the growth of capitalist development. One has only to cite the well-known iron works of Menoroe in an ancient kingdom of Kush, the metal works of Mpungubwe and all the archeologically well-known mines scattered all over the continent. As Basil Davidson has pointed out:

"Until the discovery of America, the gold of Europe was mined and smelted by Africans in Africa. Metal working was known for many centuries before Europe's first appearance... In the mineral bearing hills of Brazil, the mining labour used by the Portuguese was African but so was the mining skill. The earliest Brazilian mines were opened by Africans using African methods."

Archeological discoveries on the east coast of Africa show the lively trade which existed between Africa and the countries of Asia even as far as China. Chinese tea was well known on the east coast of Africa long before Europe even dreamt of it. This mutually beneficial international trade was unfortunately destroyed by the upsurge of slavery.

SYMBOL OF SERVITUDE

"It was slavery that ruined the promising equality of this early partnership," writes Basil Davidson. From henceforth it became now a question of loot, piracy, violence and vandalism, and a black skin became the badge and symbol of servitude and degradation and later on exploitation under colonialism.

Thus Europe destroyed the basis of our economic development, our cottage industries were put out of production because their apparently inferior products could not compete with the better quality manufactured goods from the metropolitan countries. Our role ceased to be that of producers. We instead became hewers of wood and drawers of water for the European colonialists.

Today, we are constantly being accused of laziness, indolence and lack of industry; we are told that this is the cause of our poverty; and hence of our low standards of living. We are also told that without European powers, there is nothing we can achieve on our own. Therefore we must accept European tutelage, influence and direction or guidance. It is argued, we must accommodate the "PEACE CORPS", and we must pursue policies favourable to the European powers if we have to expect

heavily on the "Advice" of the same colonial interests which oppressed us politically yesterday, and which continue to exploit us today under neo-colonialism.

The result is that our economic policies are based on theories which are best applicable to already developed countries, but which, in this respect only serve to safeguard the economic interests of the metropolitan countries. Thus, a number of our leaders and intelligentsia while shouting nationalistic slogans, continue to behave like their former masters, so that instead of having white colonial agents, middle-men and firms, you have black ones instead, enjoying the same social prestige and privileges as did the colonial masters; i.e. you leave the status quo unaffected.

Thus, an African lawyer, doctor, minister, teacher, engineer etc. strives in complete disregard of the economic differences, to enjoy the same standard of life and status as his western counterpart. But as President Sekou Toure once pointed out merely to change masters and leave the system unaffected is simply to replace colonial exploiters by African exploiters. Matters become worse when these black pretenders to the colonial throne of their departed white masters are overtly encouraged and supported by the imperialist powers who at the same time claim to be helping us to solve our economic problems. Due to this blind imitation of a way of life only suitable to economically advanced societies by a small but influential group in our developing society who also enjoy the backing of the neo-colonialists, today, there are many African countries where independence only means freedom for the Ministers and high civil servants, while to the frustrated masses it has become a burden. Therefore, unless there is a concerted effort to decolonise our minds, i.e.

"to destroy the habits, conceptions and ways of conduct of colonialism true economic progress which can contribute to international well-being and peace becomes impossible."

TODAY'S PROBLEMS

In Africa, the major root cause of our today's problems is neo-colonialism. It is well known that like all developing countries in the world, we are burdened with the three major problems of poverty, disease, and ignorance. Our continent is one of those areas in the world where the per capita income remains miserably below 100 dollars per annum, where death rate is high, education facilities not only limited but subject to foreign control as most schools are owned by missionaries, whose main purpose is to indoctrinate our children with western ideas and western way of life. Bilharzia, malaria, worms and other diseases sap the energy of our people daily. Life expectancy is therefore short and living conditions appalling. These conditions are academic to the people in the affluent world, but to us, they are a reality.

We are born to them, grow up and live under them and in fact, die under them. They affect our economic growth and therefore their solution remains the driving force behind any African political movement. Some people in the world have formed or are in the process of forming the idea that all Africans want is political independence and nothing beyond that. But we should remind them that we are fully aware that political independence is only a means to an end. As one of our leaders, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, pronounced: "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and the rest shall be added unto you". Therefore, our ultimate goal is and will always be economic sovereignty and until we reach it we shall never rest in peace.

However, we appreciate that there are many obstacles on the road to this goal. In the psychological field we have the problem of colonial mentality. This is a direct result of years of foreign domination and intensive brainwashing, which imbued irrelevant and unrealistic values in our minds, deprived our people and especially the so-called "educated" ones of originality, boldness and courage which are some of the essential characters of leadership in the struggle for economic development and sovereignty. Most of our leaders continue to rely

by
B. Chango
Machyo
(A Ugandan Journalist)

ness by the superior foreign economic tycoons, who are naturally favoured by the "free market economic force".

Because of this foreign control of our economy it is no wonder that the intra-African trade is negligible. The U.N. "Economic Bulletin" for Africa of 1962 points out that:—

"the intra-regional trade probably did not account for more than 10 per cent of Africa's total exports". This cannot be otherwise, since foreign monopolies are only there to produce for export to their respective countries. For the same reason there are no intra-regional communication systems, everything is directed outwards to the West, whence colonialism came and where the headquarters of neo-colonialism are located. Because of this outward oriented trade, Africa continues to suffer an unfavourable balance of payment with the rest of the world—mainly former colonial countries. This amounted to about £2,000 millions in 1959.

The effect of this colonial type of economy is our low income. Low incomes result from the fact that the terms of trade between Africa and the developing countries are very bad, as we have just pointed out. Naturally, the richer you are the more you get, and as the Bible puts it: "for unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance. But from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath"

TERMS OF TRADE

The world is fully aware that, whereas the prices of raw materials have continued to decline, those of industrial goods have risen so much that by 1961 a given quantity of raw materials could only buy 66 per cent worth of the industrial goods, the same quantity could buy in 1951. Industrialised countries were however, able to buy 34 per cent extra raw materials because of these favourable terms. A Yugoslav expert points out that

"in absolute terms this implies a loss of about 10 billion dollars for the underdeveloped countries or twice the total amount of annual international financial aid, private and banking capital received in that period"

STRUGGLE OF OUR ECONOMY

Our greatest problem however, lies in the structure and essence of our economy today. Our continent is dominated by a colonial type of economy. This means that we are just producers of the essential raw materials needed by the manufacturing industries of the metropolitan countries while at the same time we serve as a market for their industrial goods. In this sense our economies are merely regarded as complementary to the economies of the "mother country". But worse than this, the lion's share as well as the main sectors of our economy, e.g. wholesale and retail trade, finance etc. are in the foreign hands who continue to exploit us and make fabulous profits out of our continent. The result is that the so-called African businessmen wherever they exist are mere middlemen compradors of the foreign capitalists. They make profits not from productive investments, but by overcharging the masses. Even then their number is negligible and in most cases they have been driven out of busi-

ness by the superior foreign economic tycoons, who are naturally favoured by the "free market economic force".

FABULOUS PROFITS

In addition to interest paid on loans raised from outside and the fabulous profits made by foreign investors and remitted abroad, is the problem of expatriating of capital. We have pointed out that the African economy is largely in the hands of foreign capitalists. Today, all these are busy remitting to overseas banks every bit of their surplus capital. Many financial institutions in Europe and America are full of money expatriated from Africa for "safe-keeping". This callous drain on our capital has been very much reflected in the countries of East Africa. From this it cannot, therefore, be disputed that in "aiding" Africa the developed countries are just doing good for themselves. For example according to the U.S. publication "Newsweek" the Paris officials also know that much of aid-spending as with all donor nations, goes directly to individual Frenchmen and indirectly back to France.

We can now see why, although AFRICA IS POTENTIALLY ONE OF THE RICHEST continents in the world, its people are paradoxically among the poorest due to colonial and neo-colonial plunder and ruthless inhuman exploitation. This exploitation does grossly affect our productive capacity. Professor Nurkse has pointed out that

THE CRUCIAL DETERMINATION OF THE SIZE OF A MARKET IS PRODUCTIVITY

Admittedly, productivity in our agricultural sector, which is based on peasant farmers is small because of lack of capitalisation. Our people continue to employ the same primitive and energy-sapping methods as they did before the colonial era. In addition, although our people produce a lot more other agriculture products, many of them have no value in economic terms because there is no market for them. The only valuable crops, e.g. sisal, coffee, cocoa and cotton are those demanded as raw materials by the metropolitan countries. But this low productivity is not, however the case in the processing, mining and other foreign-owned and controlled extractive industries. Here productivity is high in comparison with low wages and high dividends earned by the shareholders in metropolitan countries. We can therefore see that because we have low income, our productivity, is low and this "in turn is due to lack of real capital", dependence on single commodity as source of revenue, and the adverse terms of trade; but above all, it is due to the drain of wealth from our continent.

CHIEF DETERMINANT

But as Nurkse has rightly stated, productivity of a people is the chief determinant of their incomes, and this has a direct effect on international trade because, "as productivity increases and the domestic market expands, while composition of exports and imports is naturally bound to change the total volume of external trade is more likely to grow than to shrink."

The socialist countries offer a good example in this case. It is now obvious that as their productivity increases they are beginning to want more international trade than they had demanded before, and what is true of these countries could certainly be true of Africa and other developing countries.

From the foregoing it is now clear that among the chief factors which affect Africa's international trade are the bilateralism of colonial trade relationship which has resulted from the so-called "economic and cultural ties" between the various African states and the former colonial countries; the adverse terms of trade due to the decline in the prices of our primary commodities and above all the effect of neo-colonialism which includes the economic domination of Africa by the capitalist world monopolies who continue to earn fabulous profits from our continent.

FORM OF DOMINATION

This latter phase of domination was defined by the 3rd All-African Peoples' Conference which met in Cairo in March 1961 as

"the survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence in the emerging countries which become victims of an indirect and subtle form of domination by political, economic, social, military or technical means..."

The resolution emphasised that this form of domination is the greatest threat to African countries that have newly won their independence or those approaching this status. Countries which were specifically mentioned, as the perpetrators of neo-colonialism were U.S., Federal Germany, Israel, Britain, Belgium, Holland, South Africa and France; and we should also add, Japan, Switzerland and Sweden.

Directly connected with the problem of Neo-Colonialism are the effects of cold-war. The anti-communist propaganda in Africa has disastrous effect on our international trade. Outside Africa we can see its foolish effects on Cuba. Today, nearly all Western European countries have to boycott trade with Cuba at a great loss to themselves, because they can no longer control her economically as they did before. This anti-communist propaganda is mobilised to act as a smoke screen. But we all know that the real issue is not whether Cuba is communist or not, but whether the success of Cuba to solve her age-long economic problem, is going to affect the U.S.'s neo-colonial interests both in Latin America and the rest of the developing world.

In Africa, everything is done to portray socialist countries as a devil with two horns. Diplomatic intrigues and blackmail are employed to discourage Africans from making any contract with the socialist countries. We are made to understand that the simplest way to become a communist is to have anything to do with communists. Nations responsible for this propaganda are the same neo-colonialist nations as specified by the Cairo Conference. But today every intelligent African is fully aware of the hypocrisy of these nations. Because, we know that while they want to stop Africans having any economic and cultural links with the socialist countries, there is not a single country in the West which does not trade with the socialist countries.

The U.S. has a lively trade with Poland and other socia-

list countries. Britain, France etc. have trade interest there. A paper tycoon, Thompson, took a plane load of businessmen to Moscow. The Stock Exchange Gazette of February 8 1963, carried an article advocating Britain's trade with U.S.S.R. West Germany despite the notorious "Hallestein doctrine" which is readily invoked against any African country, which tries to deal with the German Democratic Republic signed a trading agreement with Poland and was negotiating with Hungary and China. Britain has trade with China, so has Australia and Canada. But when Ghana, Mali or Egypt enter into similar relations, then the blackmail, calling of names, intimidation and even attempts to assassinate the leaders.

Today, there are thousands of West European students studying in socialist countries, but every form of intrigues and propaganda are employed to dissuade our students from going there. In our opinion, Africa has everything to gain from forging economic and cultural links with the whole world. For example, when the "representatives of the Chinese Government" bought 6,000 bales of cotton in Tanganyika, "brisk bidding in competition with regular shippers who still had outstanding commitments caused very sharp rises in prices" to the benefit of Tanganyika. Moreover, it is now obvious that the economic aid offered by socialist countries is of more lasting nature and offers a much better base for an economic "take off", than what we have hitherto received from the neo-colonialist powers who are only interested in making fabulous profits from extractive industries and our cheap raw materials.

INTELLIGENCE AND ABILITY

But the whole world should be told in no uncertain terms that Africans are also human beings with intelligence and ability to judge for themselves. So that, if the communists are devils with two horns this we shall prove for ourselves; but we cannot tolerate being confused, misguided and duped by our self-appointed guardians who claim to know what is good for us better than we ourselves do. In our opinion cold-war is inimical to good relationship internationally and above all to trade.

We have already mentioned the effects of the adverse terms of trade on Africa. The only point we feel we must add at this juncture is that as long as Africa remains a producer of raw materials or semi-processed goods, there can never be an end to her present unfavourable balance of payment with the developing countries. The reason is that the cause of the present adverse terms of trade is partly due to the monopolistic hold on our raw materials by the imperialist countries etc. and partly due to what a Yugoslav economist has called the third industrial revolution. This is the result of the development of synthetic products, for example, fibres, plastics etc. which render obsolete natural raw materials like rubber and cotton. Coupled with this is the practice of the developed countries to discriminate against so-called low cost manufactured goods from the developing countries by imposition of high tariff walls in order to protect their own industries. Andrew Shonfield has pointed out that the Western developed countries,

"propensity to protect traditional industries when they are in trouble... will not be easily overcome"

Sometimes imports of developing countries is discriminated against by the manipulation of fiscal measures.

THE MEN BEHIND GOLDWATER

by Harry Freeman

HOW did Goldwater, a merchant from the small state of Arizona, a relatively newcomer to Republican Party politics, a Senator who does not have a single important piece of legislation bearing his name, a Senator who never attained membership on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a man who confesses publicly that he does not possess a first-rate intellect or education—how did he succeed in besting Nelson Rockefeller, representative of the most powerful financial dynasty in the country?

How did he succeed in besting such wealthy and powerful figures as Henry Cabot Lodge, William Scranton and George Romney, Governor of Michigan and former head of the American Motors Corporation?

I think that the answer lies in a combination of factors. I have seen in print and heard often here in San Francisco that Goldwater's victory may be explained by a shift in the sinews of financial power from the Eastern seaboard, and especially New York, to the Southwest and to California.

FINANCIAL POWER

This is an over-simplified explanation. New York—Wall Street—remains by far the most important centre of financial power.

But Wall Street's hegemony and influence in the Republican Party was never unchallenged.

In Chicago, Cleveland and other financial centres of the Middle West there were and are important financial groups whose interests frequently clash with those of Wall Street.

Within the Republican Party these groups were represented for many years by Senator Robert Taft of Ohio.

In four Republican conventions, in 1940, 1944, 1948 and

1952, Taft came very close to winning the Republican presidential nomination.

In each convention he was beaten by a narrow margin by a representative of the leading financial groupings of the East—by Wall Street.

In a memorandum published in 1959, Taft attributed Eisenhower's victory at the 1952 Republican convention to the "power of the New York financial interests and a large number of businessmen subject to New York influence."

Mid-Western capital and the politicians under their influence smarted under this and previous defeats.

Goldwater was the beneficiary of this resentment. In a fight between Goldwater and the kings and princes of Eastern finance, the financial barons and corporate overlords of the Middle West made their choice, the only one they could have been expected to make.

The financial genius behind Goldwater's drive for the nomination was George Humphrey, enormously wealthy Cleveland financier, chairman of the M.A. Hanna Company, director of the National Steel Corporation, the Consolidation Coal Company and numerous other corporations, and Secretary of the Treasury under President Eisenhower.

Humphrey's role was not confined to fund-raising. Ac-

ording to a well-informed *Newsweek* correspondent, it was Humphrey who persuaded Eisenhower to maintain an attitude of "benevolent neutrality" in the pre-convention struggle.

If Eisenhower had used his prestige in the Republican Party against Goldwater, the result here in San Francisco might well have been different.

Goldwater was heir to Taft's strength. Ohio, Taft's state, cast all of its fifty-seven votes for Goldwater. Illinois, Indiana and other Middle-West states, the core of Taft's political power, also cast their ballots for the Arizona Senator.

But to this was added the strength of south-western capital, especially oil money from Texas and the financial groupings in southern California, heavily interested in the armaments industry, and particularly in aero-space development.

There is a crotchety old oil baron from Texas named I. L. Hunt, ultra in his views and said to be the possessor of a fortune estimated between one and two billion dollars.

Mr. Hunt, deeply concerned about the preservation of the "free enterprise system", was on hand in San Francisco to promote Goldwater's nomination.

REVOLT

In this connection it is worth noting the name of Denison Kitchell, an extremely wealthy Phoenix, Arizona, lawyer and chief of staff of the "Arizona Mafia".

Kitchell is a director of several Arizona banks and counsel for the leading metal mining corporations in the United States—the Phelps Dodge Corporation and the American

Smelting and Refining Company—American Airlines and a number of other corporations.

Clearly, his financial connections, especially in the south-west and west, are extensive.

And conducting Goldwater's campaign in California was former Senator and millionaire publisher, William Knowland. The Knowland family, well entrenched in the upper crust in Californian society, has important financial connection in the state.

And according to reports circulating here, Goldwater was supported by some very high officials of the California Bank of America, the largest bank in the United States.

A recent article in the "Saturday Evening Post" describes Goldwater's challenge to the "Eastern establishment" which controlled the Republican Party for so many years, as a "revolt" of the *nouveaux riches* against the overlords of Wall Street.

NEW MONEY

The magazine said: "In its economic aspects, the Goldwater revolt is a revolt of new money against old money, the H. L. Hunt kind of money against the Chase Manhattan Bank kind of money, of the big money of the new boom areas against the big money of the old industrial states".

There is much truth in this—if one keeps in mind that these forces joined with the banking houses, investment firms, and the corporate overlords of Chicago and Cleveland seek to back Goldwater.

And one reason why Goldwater was acceptable to them was that both of these camps are little involved in international transactions.

They are less aware than are the financial barons of the East of world realities, and are less ready to recognise the limitations of American power in a changing world.

But there is another important reason for Goldwater's victory. He was deeply conscious of the undemocratic nature of the American convention system, and worked hard and shrewdly to take advantage of it.

The moderates were unaware of the great strength that Goldwater was quietly building up. By the time they realised the situation and combined forces in an effort to stop Goldwater, it was too late.

WHAT ARE THE PERSPECTIVES?

What are the perspectives for the Republican Party under Goldwater's leadership in the November elections?

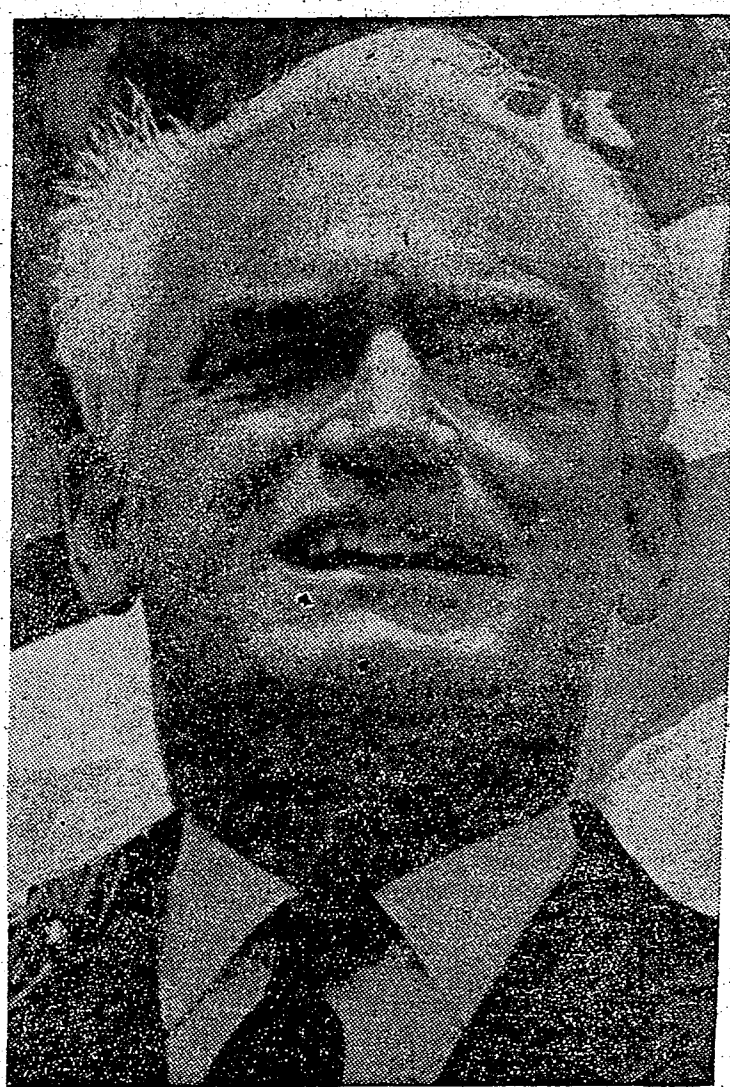
It would be premature to attempt predictions. The "Arizona Mafia" has displayed much skill in American bourgeois political techniques and even greater ruthlessness.

But the candidate and the programme put forward at the Cow Palace do not seem to suit the temper of the times in America in 1964.

The Republican candidate calls for more cold war and brinkmanship. The American people have made it clear that they are sick of both.

Goldwater is anti-labour; he opposes even the mildest measures for social welfare, such as medical care for the aged.

The Senator is trying to shoot his way into the past, and most Americans live in the present.



BARRY GOLDWATER... result of new money against old money?

-And His British Friends

FROM the Conservative right wing, Captain Kerby, M.P. of Arundel and Shoreham, who sent a message of encouragement to Mr. Goldwater before the nominations, said: "I am delighted he has been picked. His triumph shows that in America as in Britain there is growing reaction against wishy-washy socialism and neo-liberalism."

Mr. Goldwater, replying to Captain Kerby's

message, sent him his photographs, election address and his electoral elephant: a gold elephant wearing spectacles which Captain Kerby said he would wear in the Commons on the day of Mr. Goldwater's victory in November... the surprising amount of support that Mr. Martell's extreme right-wing Freedom Group is managing to capture in Conservative Association—Captain Kerby is one of its supporters—suggests that Mr. Goldwater's militancy may well find an embarrassing echo from the Right in Britain.

—Daily Telegraph 19/7/64

African Problems

Continued from page 4

For example, "in 1957 the custom duty for coffee imports to West Germany was only 25%, yet the luxury tax was fixed at supplementary of 47% *ad valorem*, thus raising the actual tariff on coffee imports to 72% *ad valorem*".

The same fiscal policies were employed by France and Italy.

It can therefore be seen that whereas the rich nations talk of "free enterprise" and healthy "competition", these are all right as long as they

favour their powerful economies and destroy the weak economies of the developing countries, and thus enhance the monopolistic powers of the rich. But the moment the economies of the poor show any signs of gaining from "free trade" and "competition", then everything is done to keep competition out. The story of BOAC and Ghana Airways is one of the many examples where the rich try to employ their superior economic power to muzzle the poor nations. "The Hallstein doctrine" is another typical

example of the negative policies of the rich vis-a-vis the poor.

This being the sad situation facing our continent, we thought that we could take refuge in the UN and her various agencies, e.g. IMF, World Bank etc., as well as in such international organisations as GATT—but as Shonfield has pointed out, the rules which govern such organisations were meant to favour the rich nations.

RADICAL CHANGES

From the foregoing analysis, we come to the conclusion that for Africa to benefit from international trade there must not be reorganisation in the economic relationships in the world only, but also within Africa herself radical changes must take place.

It has been rightly stated by Professor Gunnar Myrdal that international "solidarity" is not a state of mind nurtured by condescending compassion for those who are different from oneself. His opinion is that

"it develops naturally between equals and near equals"

For example, "it is not downtrodden Negro in America who overcomes white prejudice and inspires a natural acceptance of his equals... But the educated prosperous and secure Negro..."

While in the industrialised countries, it is only when the workers

"have won and fortified their rights to strike that

they can enter into collective bargaining on equal terms"

with their employers. Furthermore, "land reforms (are) seldom handed down by public spirited landlords on their own benevolent initiative... they (are) pressed upon them by the dissatisfaction of the land-hungry peasants".

All this is well known to many enlightened people in Africa, and therefore, in agreement with Professor Myrdal's conclusion, we believe that until Africa has reached a stage of near equal with the advanced countries, true and genuine international solidarity becomes a difficult phenomenon to achieve.

This naturally leads us to make proposals which we think Africa should adopt and which the advanced world should respect and accept as inevitable if our continent is to be expected to benefit both herself and other parts of the world in an international trade.

Firstly, we strongly advocate AFRICAN UNITY as an inevitable prerequisite to any stable political and economic development in Africa. At the same time we believe that unless this unity takes a real political form and is based on a positive humanitarian, unifying ideology, it could prove a danger not only to Africa herself but to the rest of the world too. We do not wish to see Africa become another imperialist power, but neither should she become a battlefield of warring ideologies.

AFRICAN DIARY

28th AUGUST, FRIDAY:

CONGO (Leopoldville): A new political party—United Lumumbist party was launched in Leopoldville today by Mr. Antoine Gizenga, who was recently released from detention and former vice-premier of late Premier Patrice Lumumba.

In launching his new party, Mr. Gizenga attacked Premier Moise Tshombe's Government of using force to put down the guerrilla uprising and appealed to his countrymen to work towards ending the civil war in the Congo.

GHANA: The All-African Trade Union Federation has called on Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity to bring the Southern Rhodesian issue as a matter of urgency before the September meeting of the Organisation's Foreign Ministers.

The AATUF also appealed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to intervene "in the present political unrest in Southern Rhodesia, and to restrain Ian Smith's white settler regime from flagrant violation of fundamental human rights."

KENYA: Kenya's opposition party (KADU) has called on the British Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, to cancel his proposed meeting with Southern Rhodesian minority leader, Ian Smith, because of the banning of Southern Rhodesia's two African nationalist parties.

SOUTH AFRICA: The biggest Dutch Trade Union—the Socialist Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions, has issued a warning to its members not to emigrate to South Africa.

The warning was based on the country's apartheid policy which the Union said, "has given cause for tension and must lead to an explosion sooner or later."

29th AUGUST, SATURDAY:

GHANA: The Soviet Union and the United States have joined forces to back a proposal put by Ghana at the UNESCO-sponsored World Assembly for youth for an international corps of volunteer youth workers.

ETHIOPIA: The Secretariat of the Organisation of African Unity has announced in Addis Ababa that the Council of Ministers of the O.A.U. will meet on September 5 to consider the Congo crisis.

The required two-thirds majority approval was reached last night when 23 of the Organisation's 34 members agreed to attend the meeting.

31st AUGUST, TUESDAY:

GHANA: Welcoming Twelve Ghanaian Journalists who returned to the country last week after a fortnight's tour of Nigeria, at Flagstaff House today, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah reminded them of their responsibilities in helping to educate the people and mobilising all the productive forces of the state for the triumph of socialism and the birth of a Continental Union. Government for Africa.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia's Premier and President designate, has reiterated his belief that Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies had joined in a plot to cripple his country's economy by cutting off Zambia's rail links.

He announced the setting up of two special government committees to find ways to bring supplies into Northern Rhodesia, should the Southern Rhodesian-Portuguese plot materialise.

UAR: In a joint communique issued in Cairo after week-end talks between President Nasser of the UAR and President Ma-

karios of Cyprus, President Nasser promised all possible aid to Cyprus and defend the island's independence.

ETHIOPIA: Ethiopia and Nigeria have agreed to establish a direct telegraph-telephone link between the two capitals.

1st SEPTEMBER, THURSDAY:

GHANA: In a message sent to the second annual "Bu Ber" school opened at Kumasi today, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has reiterated that it is only in the context of a Union Government of Africa that African society worthy of "our aspirations, unhampered by crushing and humiliating imperialist and neo-colonialist controls and interference," could be constructed.

Osagyefo declared that everywhere throughout the continent, there were open testimonies to the irresistible surge of the African revolution which had aroused the political and social consciousness of the African masses and now demanded the establishment of a continental Union Government of Africa as categorically imperative for Africa's survival.

SOUTH AFRICA: The conservative "Daily Telegraph" (London) has reported that the Pretoria regime is negotiating for further purchases of lighter aircraft from Britain.

The paper's Air Correspondent said the original order for 16 Buccaneers placed with the Hawker Siddeley Company would be doubled.

NIGERIA: The Nigerian Ministry of Communications has announced that South African postal and money orders will no longer be cashable in Nigeria as from October.

The announcement also said money orders for exchange in South Africa will no longer be on sale in Nigeria from the same date.

THE TASKS BEFORE US

Continued from page 3

economic freedom for the African worker, it will be abundantly clear that this cannot fully be achieved without African Unity—thus the economic argument, if clearly presented, can have an important effect. Here A.A.T.U.F. is, and will play a crucial role.

The progressive trade union representatives who recently met at Bamako proved the necessity for presenting argument through them on African Unity: that a logical result of a United African Labour Force is African Political Unity. For the labour movement to be fully effective in Africa, it will need an African Government which supports the workers in their endeavours. Strong central African political leadership in an all African Government with the requisite power to carry out economic development

and to out-manoeuvre the machinations of the neo-colonialists is imperative. It is only by such means that the African worker and villager can be emancipated and will be enabled to build up a highly industrialised African Socialist Continent able to stand on its own feet in the world and expunge the contempt that history has poured on the African.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Ghana Trades Union Congress will continue to support the non-aligned policy being pursued by the Party and Government in International affairs. We shall maintain close liaison with all international trade union organisations ensuring however, that the interest of African labour, organised in the A.A.T.U.F., remains the cornerstone of our policies and our activities.

Our Revolution and the Co-operatives

by **Kweku Yakubu**
(A Graduate of Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute.)

THE constitutional decision for a one-party democracy in Ghana is the epitome of the socialist reflections of the people. This is unlike a myriad of newly independent states in Africa and elsewhere, whose leadership have taken the fashion to a one-party system as an instrument to hold together their tottering, unpopular regimes.

In other words, Ghana's adoption of a one-party democracy did not spring as a meteoric ideal. It originated from the people to serve the people as the bastion for the building of a socialist society. In point of fact the need for a one-party system in Ghana had been a long cherished one. From its constitutional angle, it is clear that seven years were required by the people to critically study and finally entrench the Convention People's Party as the National Party, "which shall be the vanguard of the people in their struggle to build a socialist society and which shall be the leading core of all organisations of the people". (Article 1A, Amended Constitution).

The pertinent fact in this entrenched clause is the quintessence which all along, since the dawn of independence (1957), the people have cherished; namely the building of a socialist society. In this the people see the leadership of the Convention People's Party (after the collapse of the numerous opposition parties all along the years) as the vanguard for their popular advance into the realms of human progress and social democracy.

Because the objective of the people is nothing short of scientific socialism, the leadership of the Party is committed to fulfil a primary exercise: mobilisation of all latent talents into one national personality. This is not an easy task if the Seven-Year Plan, which must by all means succeed, is to achieve its aim of laying the superstructure upon which the future socialist foundations of Ghana must rest.

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Mobilising a people to face reality sharply contrasts the political, economic and social system of a socialist society with that of an unplanned, elementary capitalism. To mobilise the human elements of a nation into an army of builders is to raise the political consciousness of the masses of the people to be responsive to their social milieu. This is what a capitalist society dares not attempt; it would expose its own sharp contradictions and collapse like a pack of cards. As soon as the workers realised the intrigues and mechanics of capitalism they would revolt and seize state power.

Yet in socialism it is the other way round: the people, who are the owners of the means of production, distribution and exchange and who constitute the main productive forces in industry and agriculture, must always plan to produce.

Ghana's socialist path is a tedious one, and this needs no understating. Unlike most socialist countries where nationalisation became the only "open sesame" after the seizure of state power by the people, in Ghana's experience it cannot be likewise. For, the only legacy which the old colonial administration left behind is a number of churches and a handful of "mission" schools, not excluding the tiny but exploiting commercial houses operating throughout the length and breadth of this country.

Except in the fields of extractive industries where there was no choice left but to install heavy machinery in order to exploit the rich mineral resources from our mines, the British colonial regime left not a single productive industry behind when independence was achieved in March 1957.

Even here it was ill-advisable to take them soon after independence. For it is one thing nationalising and another thing running the said industry efficiently to justify the cost paid as compensation to the outgoing entrepreneur. It is impossible because presently we lack the efficient personnel.

This is the result of the fact

that the colonial administration denied the people the right to formal education as a calculated move to keep the people in perpetual backwardness. The colonialist viewpoint was that as imperialism could only thrive on ignorance, the colonial people must always remain uneducated. Even as the theoreticians of apartheid put it, "education makes the indigenes susceptible to the pernicious influence of literature". The colonial myth that "Britain shall ultimately grant independence to her territories" was never intended to materialise. It was a hoax lacking truth. Independence is always fought for.

On this point Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah rightly advises, "Dedicated to the complete destruction of colonialism in all forms, I can hold no brief for any colonial government, whatever its pattern: British, French, Portuguese, Belgian, Spanish, German, Italian, all at one time or another ruled parts of Africa or still continue to do so. Their methods might have varied, but their purpose was the same: to enrich themselves at the expense of the colonies" (Africa Must Unite, page 19).

What this statement puts across is the knowledge that the primary aim of any colonial power is economic exploitation. And to make this exploitation durable, the colonial administration makes certain that the people revel in illiteracy and live on subsistence economy. Unless such a colonial people are conscious of the interplay between this economic motive and colonial politics, such a people will continue to perish under bondage, no matter who the colonial power is.

ASSAULT ON POVERTY

Seven years of independence have provided a completely overhauled stage in Ghana; a stage prepared like a springboard from which the people are to launch a collective assault on poverty; a stage from where the people shall enter the new social order of socialist democracy. This is the launching of the 7-Year Development Plan.

With this stage set, the next task before the people of Ghana today is the implementation of the Seven-Year Development Plan, which gives high priority to industry and agriculture.

It is this fact that the present article is committed to study i.e. how far the institutions created by the Party have been tackling their tasks. Because to determine our pace of development in the next seven years, we must measure the rate at which these institutions are functioning. And these institutions are the four wings of the Party. This brings us back directly to the mobilisation of the people into one national personality.

To mobilise the people is to educate the people. For the people to be able to fulfil the high demands set out in the Plan, Party education plays the primary role. Education, which in the past was a privilege of the few, is today a universal decree in Ghana. Primary and middle

school education in the country is now free and obligatory. The study of the sciences is now compulsory to every child in the State. Universities and institutions of higher learning are springing up everywhere throughout the country, and admission is free.

Over 6,000 Ghanaian students are presently studying in European universities to come back and assist the socialist programme to go through. Little wonder that the Government of Ghana spends the highest amount of money on education than any other African country; we may say, in fact than any developing country in the world.

EDUCATION

The Government attaches great emphasis on education as the keynote to progress. Education is the only answer whereby the people, once colonial subjects, could be fully mobilised and thereby develop their potentialities.

On mass education, Ghana's record in recent years has been remarkable. Yet in view of our objectives there is much need to step up our programmes. Here we quote the Seven-Year Plan (page 30) which states *inter alia*: "The most important of the specific programmes proposed for the realisation of these economic objectives are the targets of commodity production set for industry and agriculture. The attainment of these targets must take precedence over all other programmes set out in the Plan. In particular, the productive investments required by agriculture and industry must have first claim on the resources that will become available during these seven years."

It means that this Seven-Year Plan mainly dwells on commodity production. Agriculture and industry must be highly developed to meet the essential demands of commodity production. This in short means that those sectors in our economy which are responsible to the development of agriculture and industry must educate the men and women to be involved in the exercise.

"Three-fifths of Ghana's population is illiterate, an extremely large proportion consisting mostly of farmers and fishermen. And it is from these same people that the present Plan demands the highest productivity in order to fulfil the targets set for commodity production."

COMMODITY PRODUCTION

If the United Ghana Farmers' Council Co-operatives, the agricultural wing of the Party, remains as the directing organisation of the farmers, then any attempt to educate the farmers must come from the Farmers' Council. And not necessarily from the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development. The latter could come in the literacy campaign as the supplier of technical advice.

Literacy education in the country must now be directed towards one and only one objective; socialist education. The type of social education now required by the peasantry is not the old classroom book-cramming sort. Rather it is the "On-the-Job" type of education.

Mass education is social education and it only succeeds when the peasantry is properly organised into co-operative units. Because it is a collective education it succeeds best through co-operative movements where a conscious method is introduced by the Party for the systematic education of the peasantry. The

People's Republic of China offers an excellent example. There, the illiteracy rate was the highest in the whole of Asia. Yet with the introduction of the "Peoples Communes", after liberation in 1949, the peasantry is today producing first class doctors, agronomists and technicians from the farms. We see similar results in the "Kubout" system of Israel.

This is why we contend that the United Ghana Farmers' Council, as a Co-operative movement, should be the initiator of the collective education of the peasantry.

The organisation and leadership of our peasantry into co-operative units should be implemented. So far the idea is only on paper. Why should it be so?

The present districts' leadership of the United Ghana Farmers' Council Co-operatives should face the problems of the peasantry on the threshold of socialist reconstruction. The leadership should be immersed in the broad masses of the peasantry. What is happening now can only be superficial unity between the leadership and the peasantry.

This is not an attempt to impeach the public image of the United Ghana Farmers' Council Co-operatives. Neither is it a denial to acknowledge the good work done by the Council so far, an eloquent testimony of which is the able manner in which it has been handling the purchases of the country's cocoa, since it became the sole buyer three years ago.

CARE-FREE ELITE

In the rural areas, where the Farmers' Council operates, it looks as if there is an upsurge of a new care-free elite, a degenerated form of the district 7-man committee of the Farmers' Council. There is a tendency that instead of leading the farmers in solving some of their problems at Party meetings and rallies, this 7-man committee is on instruction not to join Farmers' Council work with Party activities.

And because it is this 7-man committee which controls money and power in the districts, the farmers naturally turn to look upon it for succour. Since the Party is the core of all organisations, meetings should be very regular and dynamic among the farmers.

The farmers should actually know the meaning of the Co-operative establishments. Most of the so-called co-operative farms claimed to have

been established by the Council are private concerns. This excludes the laudable Co-operative Settlement Scheme of the Young Farmers League, which is not a Farmers' Council undertaking.

Because the Farmers' Council has the machines and trained personnel to hire, any well-to-do individual with money and land has the right to form a "co-operative farm".

What must be done now so that co-operative establishment could flourish alongside with the springing up of industries in the country?

The answer is not hard to find. A permanent liaison between the Education Bureau of the Party and the U.G.F.C.C. must start functioning now. The Farmers'

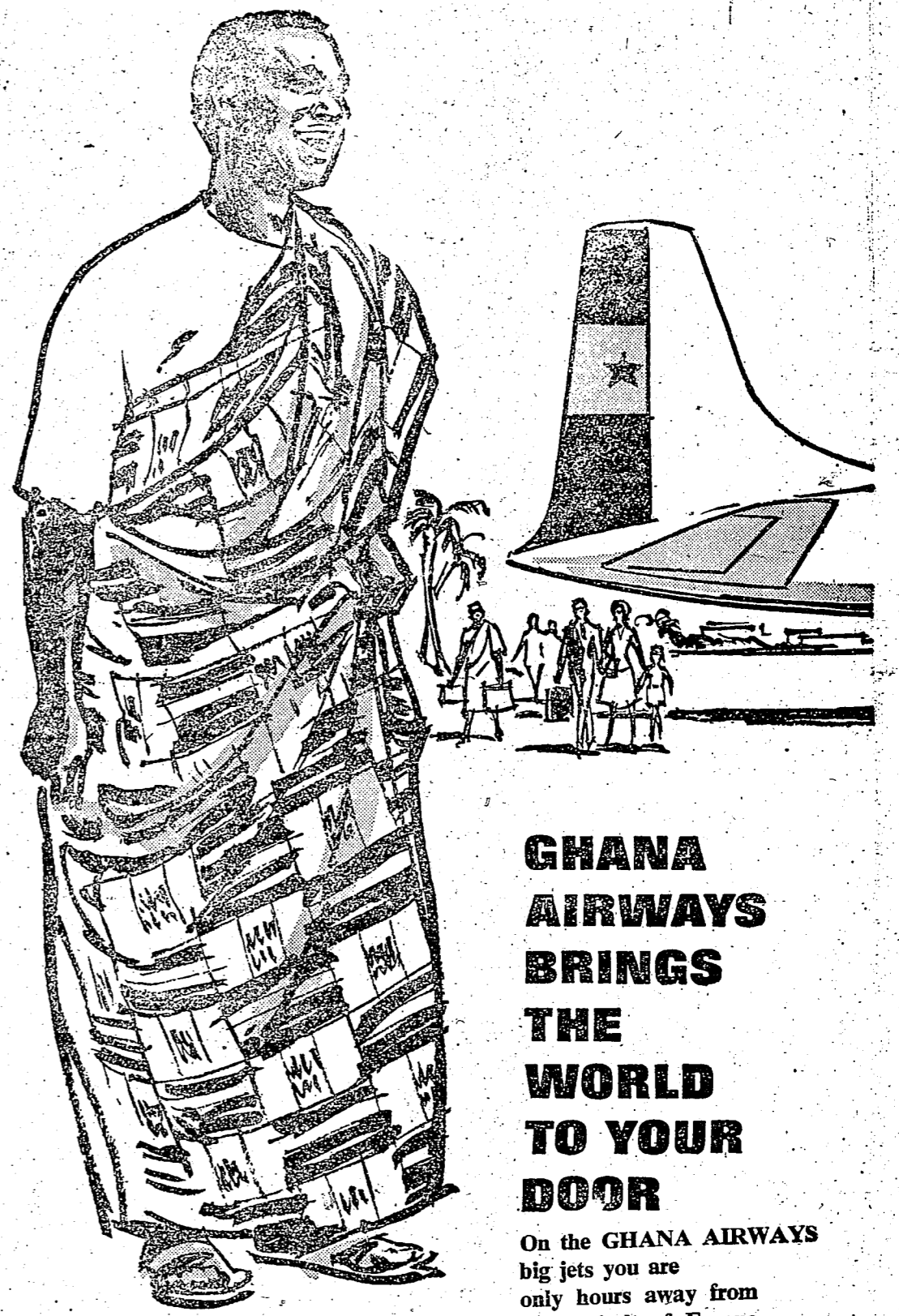
Council has the means to translate Party literature into a number of Ghanaian languages; and because the Farmers' Council is the one organization which directly links the farmers with the Party, the farmers would most gladly enjoy studying these pamphlets.

In this exercise, the publicity section of the Council, as a press responsible to the farmers, must assume its correct role of explaining official policies concerning the farmers in the language the farmers understand.

The Audio-Visual Aid Department of the Council is also directly involved in this national exercise. It is high time the Department stopped staging concerts and dances, which are already too many

in the country, and joined the publicity Department in the urgent task of the farmers' education.

The system for the nomination of the Farmers' Council district 7-man committee needs immediate overhauling. The Party must be the sole arbiter to decide who is the correct nominee to serve on the committee, judging from the past and present political initiative of a particular nominee. Without such a move, there shall always exist divided loyalties in the district. Yet because the Farmers' Council is the creation of the Party, the latter must always infiltrate and supervise the field activities of the former. Because the Party is the leading core of all organisations of the people.



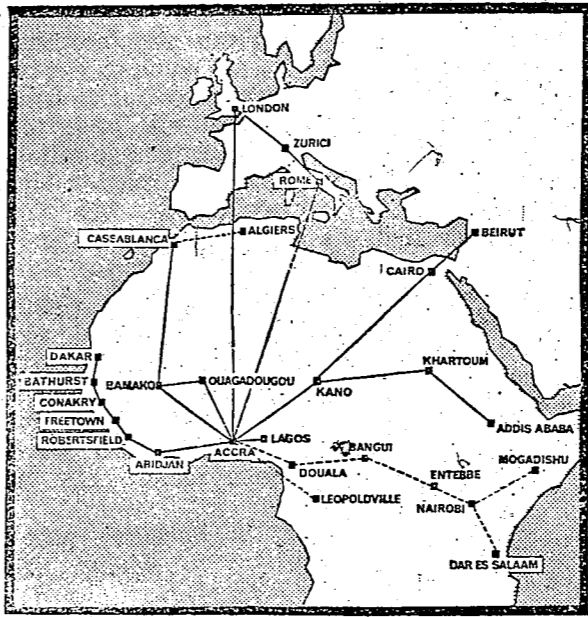
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Tally of Political Trials

JOHANNESBURG:
Of 88 accused in 14 political trials (concluded since April), eight were sentenced to life imprisonment and 47 received jail sentences amounting to 334 years. Of the others 18 were remanded, eight acquitted, and seven had their charges withdrawn.

This brings our total of reported political trials since March last year to 111, in which 1,315 persons were charged.

- Their fate was as follows:
- 44 sentenced to death.
- 12 sentenced to life imprisonment.
- 894 sentenced to a total of 5,713 years' imprisonment.
- 340 acquitted or discharged.
- 1 sentenced to six cuts.
- 4 sentences unknown.
- 18 remanded.

From "FORWARD", Johannesburg, as quoted in the weekly air edition of THE STAR (JOHANNESBURG), 8th August, 1964.

FLY Ghana Airways

THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA

The Tasks before the T.U.C.

by TETTEH AMAKWATTA (Student, K.N.I.I.)
THE programme issued by the Secretariat of the Ghana Trades Union Congress reveals the vital role the working people have to play in the fulfilment of our cherished Seven-Year Development Plan and the awareness of the Trades Union Congress of its responsibilities in this all important national assignment.

The programme which discusses the basic tasks of the working people of Ghana in the plan period presents the major difficulties that face the Trade Unions in persuading the workers to work hard for increased productivity and to improve their skills, and also provides practical steps to overcome these problems.

In tracing the origin of the Trade Unions of Ghana, the programme explains that organised Trade Unions became necessary as a weapon to fight against wage labour exploitation in our societies.

Effective labour organisation in the pre-independence days was, however, very difficult and as a result a colonial attitude to work in the form of low productivity emerged creating an industrial canker in our labour force. With the attainment of independence and the effective mobilisation of our labour force into the T.U.C. as an Integral Wing of the Party, a new coating has been given to the attitude of the working people.

The basic task now facing the Trades Union Congress therefore is how to effect this transition from the capitalist relation to the socialist relation in industry. This change over, the programme believes, can be effected through education: both ideological and technical, examples and incentives.

Our economy, the programme asserts, is unbalanced as a result of capitalist exploitation which turned us into producers of raw materials only to feed foreign industries. We therefore have to struggle to free ourselves from foreign economic domination and establish an all-round, balanced economy which will enable us to provide the basic needs of our people. This we can achieve through industrialisation and mechanisation of our agriculture which need machinery and skilled labour.

The programme admits that the provision of these pre-requisites rests with the workers. They have to rely on their own energy, skill and organisational ability to achieve in a decade what the advanced countries used centuries to attain.

To achieve increased productivity and efficiency in the Civil Service, State Enterprises, Boards and Corporations, the programme intends to show to workers how their surplus labour value can be used for their own benefit. Surplus profit will be ploughed back into business for expansion and the provision of social services.

A system will be adopted to reward efficiency to tally with the socialist principle of "From each according to his ability and to each according to his work". After attaining an agreed target in this remuneration departments or teams of workers could be rewarded with collective amenities such as subsidising worker's canteens, providing club facilities and planning housing schemes to be allotted to workers according to merit.

Funds for creating these incentives can be raised by setting aside a small per cent of profits accruing from increased productivity.

The programme plans to arouse the consciousness of workers to this new attitude to work through the use of different forms of information media. Much publicity will be needed from the Press, Radio, films, and later television. Wall Newspapers, factory bulletins, leaflets will also be used to explain their aims and achievements in a simple way to workers.

An important organisa-

tional machinery will be set up to be known as a Joint Production Committee. This committee which will comprise representatives of the boards of State enterprises, the Trades Union Congress and the Party, will be charged with the responsibility of the overall running of our labour force. It will draw specific plans aiming at realistic targets for increased production and greater labour productivity. It will concern itself with all matters relating to or affecting production in the factory such as the provision of raw materials, determining of wage rates, promotion of socialist industrial relations, maintenance of a study market, and repairs and replacement of machinery. It must also ensure that labour laws are observed, workers are not maltreated and all suggested activities for the creation of incentive are carried out. It will further interest itself not only with harder work but with more effective work such as the elimination of waste, careful maintenance of machines, maximum use of machinery and the adoption of more rational methods of production.

This Committee the programme holds will achieve increased productivity as well as lay a solid foundation for democracy in industry which will in turn develop a sense of responsibility and promote creative efforts of the workers. Specific meeting times and regular reports to workers will be necessary. Problems raised should be frankly discussed to achieve discipline, devotion and ideological unity.

The programme admits that the application of these aims in the private sector of our economy is much more complex and so needs care not to cripple the targets set out for these enterprises during the plan period. The T.U.C. will, however, see to it that an effective policy of Africanisation is pursued, the security of workers is ensured, general essential amenities are provided at their working places and good industrial relations promoted. Since many of these enterprises are run by expatriates, the programme continues, we must be sure of what demands to make on them and the repercussions involved. It therefore suggests a close liaison of the Trade Unions with these economic organs for effective collection of dues and accurate industrial statistics.

The programme stresses the need for both ideological and technical education as a means of raising the consciousness of the workers to play a leading role in the labour movement. Its education will aim at equipping workers with a general socialist understanding, scientific socialist principles, how society develops and changes, how to create a new society, how man changes himself, the basic law of socialism and other aspects of political economy. This will help to create a new type of worker, the worker intellectual.

This type of orientation is being offered as a full time course at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, but in addition week-end seminars, one day schools, and mid-day lectures should be run jointly by the T.U.C., the Productivity De-

partment of the State Planning Commission and the Party. Syllabus and Teachers will be approved by the Central Committee.

Weekend schools, evening courses, leave courses of a week's duration or more will be run by an education department to be designed to serve their needs with the perspective of a labour college. Workers will also be encouraged to take advantage of the Institute of Public Education Evening Classes to improve their educational background.

Model workshops will be established for technical training within the industries. Outstanding workers will be employed as instructors for part of their working day with a small remuneration as an incentive. The youth especially will be encouraged to improve their skills, as investment in them in this way is of great value in the future.

The programme believes that urban and industrial expansion within the next seven years will be inevitable, as such there is the need for a strong fraternal relation between town and country, agricultural and industrial workers because of the principle of interdependence between them: The industrial worker depends upon the food and raw materials that the agricultural worker produces while the agricultural worker also cannot do without the supply of manufactured goods from the factory. Artificial shortages and inefficient production should therefore be guarded against. Workers must be encouraged to participate in community development projects.

The programme envisages a sudden rise of population in the urban areas with the breeding of difficult social evils. The welfare of the workers should therefore be the concern of the Trade Unions. They should provide hostels to ease accommodation problems, and leisure facilities to cater for their social life.

To combat the vices connected with the transition from rural life to urban life T.U.C. will advise the Planning Commission on the location of industry to avoid undue concentration and depopulation of important rural areas.

A small but efficient research department made up of true Nkrumaist is recommended to furnish the Planning Committees with the real problems of the labour movement.

The programme believes that the success of the outlined aims and suggestions depends on the organisation, of the various wings of the Party. The T.U.C. which represents the workers is one of these wings and should consider itself as being within the Party. Special consideration will be given to women workers to help them contribute fully to our labour force.

The T.U.C. faces other problems such as the need for creating dignity of labour, respect for public property and a new attitude to work in general. It must also use every opportunity to foster African Unity and promote international relations by pursuing the non-aligned policy of the Party and the Government.

It is hoped that with a careful and diligent application of these aims and aspirations of the workers the building of socialism in Ghana will be completed before schedule.

NEW BOOKS

"The Challenge Of Marxism"

THESE six essays, giving a general analysis of the present political and economic position of Britain; an exposition of the true meaning of democracy, and the class struggle; a consideration of Marxist theory in its application today; and a study of the place of the arts, of science, and of the intellectual in Communism, are rich in lessons for Marxists, near-Marxists, and non-Marxists. There must be very few of us so well-informed that we cannot learn a great deal from them.

The six writers—Brian Simon, John Gollan, J. R. Campbell, A. L. Morton, E. Rowsell, and Arnold Kettle—tell us pretty simply what in essence Marxism and Marxist life are, and they answer the main criticisms of Marxism which most non-Marxists have been brought—or brought up-to, entertain. In particular, they give a reasonable and convincing estimate of what life is and will be under scientific Socialism and they expose and explain frankly what has at times 'gone wrong' in some Socialist countries. They make clear the vital importance, in practice as well as in theory, of the class struggle, and analyse the real nature of democracy and of freedom, which are class issues. They

examine life under Capitalism as it is in Britain today, including the growing futility and unreality of 'parliamentary democracy' and demonstrate that its disappearance is as inevitable as it is necessary, and that it must be replaced by scientific Socialism. They give a particularly illuminating examination of the phenomenon, now a century old, of the country being ruled by a narrow minority ruling-class in face of the theoretically overwhelming power of the popular vote.

Turning to what has to be done to get rid of Capitalism, they prove the incapacity, indeed the unwillingness, of Right-wing Social Democracy to bring about the necessary change, and the consequent vital need of the leadership of the Communist party for its achievement. And, inevitably they show the optimism of inevitable victory, the optimism of those who know clearly that if we do our political work correctly, the advance to the Marxist State cannot be halted even by the most cunning reactionaries—the worst that they can do is to cause delay and confusion here and there.

Everyone can, and must, go to this book to know what Marxism is, and why it and it alone can rebuild and guarantee our future. There may be no short way to learn what Marxism is, but this book goes near to providing one.

D. N. PRITT

Economic Planning In France:

IN THE OPENING words of their Introduction the authors say: 'Economic planning has at last acquired an honourable status as a branch of theoretical and, even more, of applied economics' (p. 17). What they say is true enough, but perhaps the real point of their remark is that planning is now 'respectable'. What social-psychological circumstances make this so? Planning has never lacked honour amongst socialists and socialism remains, in theory and in practice the vitalising spirit of planning which comfortable capitalist property will never think 'respectable'. Nonetheless capitalist concern about national planning has grown rapidly and extensively, particularly in Britain and Italy, but has probably gone farthest in France where there is a more or less general acceptance in capitalist circles that national planning is necessary.

The explanation for this lies not in the personality of Jean Monnet—though this is a factor—but rather in historical circumstances in France and in the world. We are living in the epoch of transition to socialism on a world scale, and as the socialist sector grows, the challenge of socialist planning changes things for every capitalist power too. Add to this the impact of the progressive forces in France at the end of World War II with the Resistance fighters at their head, together with the consequent nationalisations and the amelioration of social services undertaken by the progressive French Government in the early post-war period—and then it is not hard to see why French capitalism has been compelled to take a positive attitude towards national planning. It had to find a way of living with large nationalised sector and also of injecting new energy into its own private

undertakings. At the same time it was anxious to block further advances of the popular and progressive forces. Consequently it has evolved its own special type of planning, of which the present Commissaire General du Plan, Pierre Masse (his predecessors were M. Jean Monnet, 1946-1950, later first President of the European Coal and Steel Community, and M. Hirsch, 1950-1959, later President of Euratom), writes as follows: 'The foundation of the French Plan is a collective reflection on the future. It leads to conclusions which are concerted between the representatives of the various groups in society and corresponds to a middle way between the traditional liberal market economy and the detailed, centralised and authoritarian type of planning which existed and still exists, in the Eastern European countries' (Foreword, p. 7). For Britain this French experience is of considerable importance for we shall be told—and are already being told—that French style planning is the alternative to socialism and the answer to those who demand more nationalisation. It is nothing of the sort: it is an insecure compromise arising out of a particular balance of social forces nationally and internationally. However, it is certainly an important feature of the contemporary historical landscape and as such deserves study. For those who wish to make such a study, this intelligently written and thorough book will be of great value. It shows how things work, dealing fully with the institutional framework, methods used in drafting the plan and the means of implementing it—so far as they exist which, outside the public sector, is not much! On the other hand, this book adds more to knowledge of the apparatus than it does to basic understanding of France's economic and social system. It would be wrong to say that it is 'uncritical' for on its own assumptions ('... No major changes in the existing structure of society and its institutions are envisaged! p.122), it faces facts; rather, it is 'acceptive' and turns its eyes away from those major social defects which are the *raison d'être* of socialist planning.

THE SPARK IN THIS ISSUE INTRODUCES A NEW COLUMN IN WHICH VIVID REVIEWS OF BOOKS, MAGAZINES ETC., WHICH BEAR ON THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION WILL FROM TIME TO TIME BE MADE. IT WILL APPEAR ONCE A MONTH.

A PHILOSOPHY OF MAN:

ADAM SCHAFF, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Warsaw and a member of the Central Committee of the Polish People's Party, gives us in this book, his own Marxist contribution to the great debates which broke out in Poland after the events of 1956. It was a period of great intellectual unrest and confusion, rendered more difficult by the invasion, by many streams of thought, from the capitalist West, including the cult of Existentialism. This was not only a time of intellectual upheaval but of moral heart-searching.

Schaff met the challenge with a series of articles, lectures and eventually a collection of the most important of these in book form. Here he deals with these issues critically, constructively and with a refreshing absence of conventional phraseology. This is a living and illuminating restatement of Marxism as the answer to many of the most searching of these contemporary problems.

The main question is that of the fulfilment and achievement of happiness by individual men. Schaff makes it clear that man has no self to realise that is not a social self, finding its fulfilment in human fellowship and in the shouldering of human obligations, and that he has no freedom which is independent of the conditions which surround him and indeed make him

what he is. The only effective freedom of choice is the rational decision as to what course of action is required by the concrete situation, not some abstract and unconditioned choice of an arbitrary nature.

What nullifies the individual and denies his freedom is not the pressure of society and of conditions as such, but the 'frustrations of a class society. Here the freedom of one class is restricted by the freedom of another. Freedom for all is only to be achieved by the final overthrow of the freedom of the capitalist class to achieve its own aims at the expense of the rest of us. In other words, there is no real freedom apart from a radical change in property relations, since it is these that stand in the way of human happiness and deny fullness of life to the great majority.

To proclaim ideals, to preach utopianism, to proclaim the worth of freedom, all this is futile so long as we remain in the realm of abstractions and vague generalities: unless we face the actual conditions and decide how precisely the freedom of the great majority is to be obtained—what are the indispensable conditions, what must be done? When we have discovered that 'ideals do not by that stop being ideals, but they stop being utopias'.

It is a trenchant and searching book. This is not to say that there is not room for further argument on some of the issues raised, but it deserves the same welcome and careful reading here that it has received in Poland.

JOHN LEWIS

'Fair Profit'

IT is, as Hella Pick, Guardian United Nations correspondent, has pointed out (17.8.63) not so long since the Security Council was passing resolution after resolution against the introduction of foreign military and paramilitary assistance to the Congo (other than United Nations assistance).

"At that time," she noted, "the resolutions were strongly supported by the United States since they were directed mainly against the Soviet Union."

Allegations about Soviet "interference" in the Congo were transparent. There is nothing transparent about the bombers, transport planes and Fort Bragg-trained counterinsurgency paratroops that the Pentagon has sent in.

Washington officials were at pains to point out that they were sent "in accordance with existing agreements" and at the request of M. Tshombe, who once led the Katanga breakaway movement for the Union Minière monopoly and who is now out to make the whole of the Congo safe for foreign Big Business.

They claim that the libe-

ration forces that have freed about one-sixth of the Congo are under "Chinese Communist influence".

But, writes Hella Pick, "In discussions with United States officials it is admitted that the Chinese argument has been overstressed and that the overriding reason for helping M. Tshombe is still the desirability of preserving a unified Congo—unified, that is, under a government amenable to U.S. influence."

Shortly after his accession to power, Tshombe gave an interview to the Big Business, ultra-right U.S. News & World Report, (3.9.64).

The awkward fact that the U.S., then anxious to oust Anglo-Belgian influence from Katanga, had once opposed him was gingerly skirted: "I am not permitting myself any criticism with respect to the Government of the United States," said Tshombe.

The preceding Government encouraged the investment of foreign capital in the Congo and, he pledged,

"my Government will continue to seek ways and means of giving foreign capital the security it requires in addition to a fair profit"

world with their miracles, but in the field of economics where their successes are also spectacular.

More than this, Soviet endeavours to help ex-colonial countries to stabilize and develop their economies is eloquently brought home to the reader.

Furthermore, Soviet attempts to assist us in the cultural and educational fields are also treated and the reader is given an inkling into Soviet foreign policy and aspirations for world peace.

The language is sometimes halting and rather ornate, nevertheless, the articles are on the whole well written. We highly recommend "Sputnik" to our readers.

'Sputnik'

"Sputnik" is a new illustrated bulletin published by USSR Embassy in Ghana. It is a very attractive eight-page quarterly printed on very good paper. The principal aim of "Sputnik" according to the Soviet Ambassador, is to strengthen and develop the friendship and co-operation existing between the peoples of Ghana and the Soviet Union.

"Sputnik" does this admirably in the first issue by publishing informative articles on Soviet achievements not in the field of science and technology where they have stunned the

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

1. Our Special Correspondent analyses two students magazines of two important seats of learning in the Country: "Legonite" of the University of Ghana and "The Nkrumaist Student" of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute.

2. We carry a critical analyses of American neo-colonialism in Puerto Rico by Dr. L. Cordero.

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

continued exploitation of Africa and its riches.

In this attempt to undermine Pan-Africanism by way of accommodating it, the imperialists have sought to give their own stamp and definition to the unity of Africa. Gradually, but unmistakably, the struggle between African nationalism and Western imperialism is being centred more and more on the content of Pan-Africanism.

At Addis Ababa last year, Ghana put forward the concept of total African Unity. Imperialism countered with functional unity. And since the historic African Charter was signed, imperialist strategy has concentrated on controlling the Organisation of African Unity through a crafty manipulation of a few African states.

At Cairo this year, imperialist attacks on the concept of African political union came along two fronts. First, it was argued that the idea is premature. Next, it was held that the idea serves as a convenient cover for the expansionist ambition of some African leaders. Both attacks were effectively exposed and repulsed. Africa agreed to study proposals for a union government of Africa; and decided that these proposals be placed on the agenda for the 1965 Accra Conference of African Heads of State and Government.

The performance of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at Cairo, and the decision to make a concrete study of proposals for an African Union Government have put imperialist strategists into confusion. They must fight back. But how?

The new technique is to put on the pretence of accepting Pan-Africanism; but to reject a socialist content for the new African community.

Kwame Nkrumah, it is well known, demands one organic, socialist society for all Africa. In "Africa Must Unite" he writes: "Since our inception, we (Ghana) have raised as a cardinal policy, the total emancipation of Africa from colonialism in all its forms. To this we have added the objective of the political union of African states as the surest safeguard of our hard-won freedom and the soundest foundation for our individual, no less than our common, economic, social and cultural advancement". And earlier in "Towards Colonial Freedom", Kwame Nkrumah had written: "... the goal of the national liberation movement is the realisation of complete and unconditional independence, and the building of a society of peoples in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

The more far-seeing of the imperialist strategists concede the unity of Africa (by which of course they mean functional unity) while rejecting its socialist content. It is along this line that the new imperialist propaganda offensive is being pushed.

The stand of imperialism on the issue of socialism is clearly brought out in a recent article fed to a Lagos newspaper under a Ghanaian pseudonym. The relevant portion reads: "There is foolish talk in Ghana about socialism. A year ago Kofi Baako, the Minister of Defence, gave a speech in which he defined African socialism. Among other things he declared that it rejected atheism, that it called for a mixed economy, and that there was no class struggle—in short he termed it African rather than scientific socialism, and he stressed its differences from European socialism. Baako was immediately attacked by 'The Spark'... Since then there has been a steady retreat from the purely African socialism concept. The government press now speaks only of scientific socialism, not of African socialism."

It is along this line that imperialist propaganda has concentrated all its attacks on scientific socialism. It refers to true socialism as "Moscow control" or "Chinese orthodoxy" as suits its whims. It employs phrases like "atheistic materialism", "left-wing infantile disorder", "left communism", etc. to describe the stand of patriotic Africa on this point. It conveniently forgets that Africa has evolved in philosophical conscientism a brand of scientific socialism that builds upon the experience of Africa and points the way to Africa's immediate well-being and future greatness.

It forgets that the stand of the African Revolution has been a stubborn non-alignment between the blocs. And that this stand has been vindicated in practice.

The truth of course is that imperialism is absolutely opposed to all forms of socialism except, perhaps, that which dresses up capitalism under the label of socialism. To lose sight of this eternal truth exposes African patriots to the grave risk of being caught up in the web of the new propaganda offensive by Anglo-U.S. imperialism. For under this subtle guise, imperialists wish to stem the tide of history in Africa, to halt, if they can, the irresistible human avalanche moving forward to the complete liberation of peoples and to the emancipation of man himself.

Ideological Education

Continued from page 1

fore, is that an organic African society can be created only on the basis of an ideology. This ideology must be basically socialist for it is along this road alone that Africa can achieve the highest rate of self-induced development. It is this basically socialist ideology that will permit the following:—

- i. the early elimination of imperialist influences from all Africa;
- ii. a high rate of all round development;
- iii. collectivism in our economic life; and
- iv. a fair distribution of the wealth of the continent among its peoples.

An ideology unifies millions of people by introducing a specific order into their total life. It creates this "specific order", this "dynamic unity" by laying down common values for all; by deciding which institutions should be set up and what ends they shall serve; and by formulating the social goals to which the common effort should be directed.

An ideology achieves its purpose of unifying millions of people around certain common values in two broad ways. Firstly, it provides a rational basis for all prohibitive and permissive decrees. That is to say, the ideology provides the basis for all enactments (statutes) that compel people to behave in a particular way. This direct, coercive way of enforcing common values is well-known to every student of political science.

But there is a second way by which ideology establishes common values among peoples. This is by its influence over what Consciencism calls "a whole gamut of instruments which are at once subtle and insidious" (p. 61). These oblique instruments of social cohesion include education, the interpretation of history, literature, art and religion.

Through education, more especially the social studies and the humanities, a common perspective could be given to a people through the faithful application of the tenets of an ideology. The same is often done with art (music, drama, cinema, sculpture), with literature and with religion.

For example, Consciencism enjoins that African history be studied as the experience of Islamic and Euro-Christian influences by traditional African society; and not as the story of European adventures. Clearly, to study African history as the story of European adventures is to accept the view that Africa was a vacuum until the whites came to these shores. But if we study it as the impact of foreign influences on an existing African society, many facts fall into place and the picture of a people with a glorious past begins to emerge. What we advocate for history could be done for other branches of study. The resultant flowering of African thought will provide a central rallying point for the African renaissance—a single intellectual focus that will transcend and thereby render useless the existing three foci which correspond roughly with traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa. Having established the general need for ideology in the new Africa, we may now consider two special areas of the problem.

The first is the need for ideological education among Africa's administrative cadres and corps of experts. I am sure you are all fully aware that the new Africa will not be completely free of imperialist influences as long as its governments are advised by the former colonial masters, and as long as its administrative machinery is manned either by nationals of the for-

mer colonial power or by Africans who are still wedded to the perspective of the colonial or neo-colonialist system. Here I draw your attention to a very apt passage in "Consciencism". At p. 102 we read:

"It is far easier for the proverbial camel to pass through the needle's eye, hump and all, than for an erstwhile colonial administration to give sound and honest advice of a political nature to its liberated territories. To allow a foreign country, especially one which is loaded with economic interests in our continent, to tell us what political decisions to take, what political course to follow, is indeed for us to hand back our independence to the oppressor on a silver platter."

The problem of raising the right type of administrative experts for the new Africa therefore breaks down as follows:—

- i. replacement of all experts from the former ruling power with Africans;

- ii. giving the existing African administrators a new ideological perspective; and

- iii. raising a new corps of African cadres who combine administrative expertise with ideological perspective.

The second special sphere where we must apply vigorous ideological education is in the mobilisation of the masses. "Consciencism" holds that the emergent nations of the world are faced with one major contradiction—the contradiction of neo-colonialism. This contradiction can be solved only by passing on straight to socialism. This view departs somewhat from the orthodox view in Europe which holds that a society moves on to socialism only when the contradiction of capitalism has become acute.

Our study of contemporary world history reveals that many countries have gone on successfully to socialism even when their economies still had a long way to development along the capitalist path. Examples are Korea, Mongo-

lia, North Vietnam and the Soviet Union in 1917 to mention but a few. We therefore maintain that the decisive factor in these transformations has not been the level of technological development but the will of the people. "Consciencism" therefore places great store on the ideological mobilisation of the people. This is the decisive factor for "the people are the reality of national greatness" p. 103.

We may now summarise. Africa demands fast, all-round, self-induced development.

The rate, scope and nature of the development demanded by our historical circumstances enjoin a continental approach to all our problems.

A continental scale of organisation and operation demands a new organic African society.

And a new organic African society can be built only on the foundation of one unifying ideology.

This one unifying ideology must be basically socialist

and must reconcile the best elements in the three strands of civilisation that make up contemporary Africa, viz. traditional, Islamic and Euro-Christian ways of life.

The new Africa will be achieved through the forging of all Africa into one political unit held together by this unifying ideology. And this ideology, in order to be a more effective matrix must permeate our history, culture, literature, art, religion and social studies.

In the years ahead, African unity which we see as vital to Africa's emancipation, survival and progress will be fought for on two fronts. There will be the struggle for the political unification of Africa. This is the task of the leaders and the politically conscious and organisationally mobilised masses.

In addition, there will be the fight to give Africa ideological unity. This will be the fight of the scholars and intellectuals. And this is the sacred duty that history has imposed on all of us.

WE CANNOT FORGET THESE ...

Party Education

With this new approach to our economic and industrial development every avenue of education and information must be used to stir and nourish the political consciousness of the people and make and keep them aware of the welfare objectives of the government's planning. We must at all times ensure their fullest support, without which our plans for their enhanced well-being can fail. They must be refreshed by the ELAN which swept them into the battle for political emancipation in order to carry through the more exacting battle for economic freedom and advanced social progress. Socialism needs socialists to build it. Accordingly, we are taking positive steps to ensure that the Party and the country produce the men and women who can handle our socialist programme.

—Kwame Nkrumah

On Mistakes

"No one is guaranteed against making mistakes. What matters is, firstly, to make no gross errors and, secondly, not to persist in an error when it has been established as such.

Criticism and self-criticism is the force that reduces the possibility of mistakes both in cognition and in practical activity, and reveals them when they occur. The battle of opinions in science, a critical attitude to one's own scientific effort and a heedful approach to the criticism of others—these are conditions for the normal work of every scientist. Ignoring or suppressing criticism in any way is extremely harmful to the scientist himself, and to science."

—Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism

Our Revolution

The Ghana revolution is a popular socialist revolution. Its driving force is the all-conquering power of the down-trodden classes that constitute the majority—the men and women who work and till the soil, and have as their allies the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist intellectual and traditional elements. It has as its foundation the unity of all popular forces.

The Ghana revolution is African in content since it aims at the total liberation and organic unity of Africa. It is universal in outlook since it is anti-imperialist.

The objectives of the revolution are to free the people from want, to enhance their stature materially, mentally and spiritually, so that they, as the ancient dream has it, will truly live as men.

The Ghana revolution is popular because it is based on the people.

Kwame Nkrumah emphasises that the tactics and strategy of the Ghana revolution must be based on mass struggle and mass action because the people will bring all their magnificent qualities to bear in the new life only when power is in their hands. They alone can and will transform Ghana into a first class socialist country in the whole world; thereby putting an end to poverty, unemployment, insecurity, class inequalities, social arrogance and privileges. The farmers will ensure that every inch of land is brought into cultivation and made to support general prosperity. The workers will blend every energy in raising production on which the well-being of all can be securely based. And the result of all this is that the people will stand forth in all their strength and dignity as free men and women in a socialist society. The decadent and corrupt cliques of degenerates who are sapping the fortunes of the people will then be destroyed. Their demise will further enhance the unity of the people. And as long as there

is unity in the camp of the people who are the most reliable forces of the revolution, the revolution will be indestructible. It will grow from strength to strength. It will win more and more victories.

Ghana is not yet socialist. But the preconditions for a socialist solution of her problems are maturing, because the people know that the capitalist path of development is grotesquely outmoded and simply cannot solve their problems. The people know that under their popular democratic regime there are certain measures which are of a state-capitalist nature; but they understand that the measures can play a revolutionary role—a significant preparatory and transitional role—in relation to the ultimate goal of socialism.

Cadres of the Party

Apart from the leadership, the programme and the adoption of the correct forms of struggle, the most important factor in the triumph of the socialist movement in Ghana is the quality of the vanguard activists of the Convention People's Party.

The problem of recruiting, training and deploying cadres must therefore be given highest priority in our Party.

These cadres must understand the Party programme. They must be thoroughly conversant with the ideology of the Party and world outlook of socialism. They must be familiar with the problems, aspirations and attitudes of the people among whom they are to work.

What is most important is that in selecting cadres we must not fall for sheer enthusiasm. We must, in addition, look for sincerity, honesty, industry and staying power. The cadres must be efficient, understanding and effective. To achieve this, they must rely more on the force of hard work and less on pontifical repetition of slogans.

If we must score and consolidate victories, then our vanguard activists must work actively as the transmission belt between the leadership and the people. They must faithfully report the reactions, the moods, the complaints of the masses to the leadership. While they teach and organise the masses, they must readily learn from the masses.

Strong and dedicated vanguard activists are the only guarantee that the magnificent prospect of a socialist Ghana will be realised in our life time.

"The Spark" (28/2/64)

Noise Makers

It is not always those who shout the slogans loudest who are most loyal to the principles that lie behind them. By shouting over-loud, some may hope to distract attention away from their own shortcomings, mistakes, or perhaps worse.

"The Spark" (8/1/64)

Socialist Newspapers

In a socialist country, newspapers are successful only in so far as they (a) reflect the aspirations of the people (b) mobilise the immense latent talent and creative energy of the people. Any newspaper, therefore, which hampers that mobilisation diminishes the force with which the people fight for their aims.

One thing can hamper it. It is the idea inculcated by newspaper élites in the capitalist world that the mass of the ordinary people are not capable of thinking. This is one of the worst legacies of an imperialist regime.

"The Spark" (8/1/64)