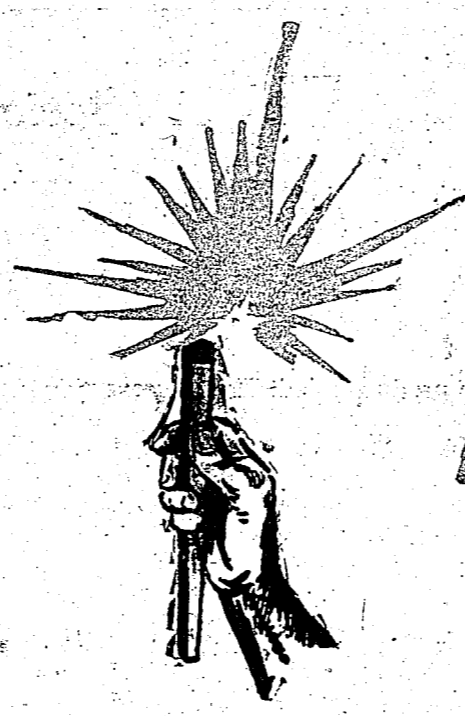


THE SPARK



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EDITORIAL

Towards Union Govt. (1)

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

LITTLE more than a year has passed since the first meeting of the Heads of State at Addis Ababa and we are now eagerly looking forward to their next gathering in Cairo next month.

Many important developments have taken place in the past year under the impetus of the Addis Ababa Conference. The settling of frontier disputes between African states, through the medium of the Organisation of African Unity, has been an important step in establishing new levels of independence and co-operation.

The increasing consultation between African statesmen strengthens the bonds between their countries and peoples and paves the way for greater unity. The successful Conferences of the Pan-African Union of Journalists, the All-African Trade Union Federation, the All-African Farmers Union and the All-African News Agencies indicate what new power flowed from Addis Ababa.

Africa's stature in world politics has grown as unity has developed.

The forthcoming Conference has many solid achievements on which it can congratulate itself. However, it faces many serious problems. Threats to the peaceful development of our country are arising from the new crisis in the Congo, the new levels of repression in South Africa and the countries under the heel of Portugal's fascist rule. In addition new phases of African Unity must be considered. New economic developments and new political forms must be devised to bring fuller benefits of unity to the African masses.

These are all projects of growth and change, but the meeting of the Heads of State will also, we hope, look at what has so far been achieved in a realistic and critical spirit, so that weaknesses can be eliminated and mistakes avoided.

The Head of African States are courageous men, able to look at even unwelcome truths without flinching. They must face the fact that one of their projects, launched last year has not fulfilled its mandate. We refer to the Committee of Nine. The "Spark" has already dealt in some detail with the problem before but we make no apology for reiterating our views as the Conference draws nearer.

Let us establish a basic principle. No African State can regard its independence as secure while imperialism or neo-colonialism influences any aspect of its activities. Above all nobody's independence is secure while imperialism holds state power in some parts of Africa, ruling over our African brothers. While one African is not free the rest of us can never be sure that the chains of imperialist exploitation will not be fastened on us again.

As Kwame Nkrumah has reminded us: "As long as a single foot of African soil remains under foreign domination the battle must continue". This means in effect that till the major battle is won, all the resources of free and independent Africa must be marshalled to speed the attainment of liberation throughout the continent.

It is clear that in establishing the Committee of Nine it was intended to give additional strength and encouragement to the liberation movements and it was hoped that a continental organisation would be able to give them the maximum assistance.

Quite recently, Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad was quoted as saying that the Organisation of African Unity is one of the most powerful

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The Republic of Ghana

ON the first of July Ghana will celebrate her 4th Republic anniversary. This year has seen the launching of the Seven-Year Development Plan which will end in December 1970, to coincide with the tenth anniversary of the Republic.

In this article the eminent British journalist and author, Jack Woddis, analyses the progress of Ghana so far and the assured future.

The Ghana revolution is a popular socialist revolution. Its driving force is the all-conquering power of the downtrodden 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 SPARK, January 17, 1964.

THOUGH ONLY 'SEVEN YEARS OLD', Ghana is one of the first of the new independent states that have arisen in Africa since the end of the Second World War. It is therefore opportune to examine her economic progress, to assess how far she has gone in liquidating the former colonialist economy and in creating a new basis for raising the people's living standards.

Ghana has been an outspoken opponent of imperialism, both in its open and direct forms as well as in its more indirect methods of neo-colonialism. She has championed the cause of those African peoples still languishing under European rule, and from the very moment of her birth as an independent state has lived by the rallying slogan of her President, Kwame Nkrumah, that Ghana's independence is meaningless unless all Africa is free.

She has been a leading fighter for African unity, at the same time emphasising that this unity must be based on African independence and anti-imperialism if it is to have any meaning. She has been a consistent advocate of the cause of peace, playing a leading role in denouncing the French nuclear weapon tests in the Sahara, calling for Africa to be a nuclear-free zone, and assembling at Accra the first major African peace conference. She has campaigned for all-African trade union unity and for the building up of strong African trade unions severed from all dependence on the imperialist-orientated I.C.F.T.U. She has established firm economic relations with the socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union. She has proudly nailed the banner of socialism to her national mast, at the same time making clear that she is basing herself on scientific socialism, and that she recognises, in the words of President Nkrumah: "We have still to lay the actual foundations upon which

socialism can be built."

The totality of these policies makes Ghana one of the leading progressive states in Africa. It equally makes her a major target of imperialist hostility and intrigue. The western press consistently attacks the Ghana Government, falsely depicting it as tyrannical because it does not hesitate to act sternly against those reactionary, self-seeking elements in Ghana society who have shown their readiness to act as imperialism's cat's-paws.

NEW PERSONNEL IN THE STATE

Such attacks from the West, however, far from turning the people of Ghana away from supporting their government in its courageous efforts to reconstruct the nation's economy and uphold national sovereignty have only served to stiffen the people's resolve to press onwards more energetically to fulfilling their historic tasks.

Since gaining independence, Ghana's national leaders and the Convention People's Party have striven to enhance the authority of

the central government, to strengthen national unity in the face of repeated imperialist attempts to foster tribal division, and to staff the Ghana state institutions with patriotic Ghanaian citizens in place of the former cadres of British imperialism. It had been the experience of President Kwame Nkrumah, even in the period before full political independence when he was acting as First Minister under conditions of internal self-government, that the British colonial officials and civil servants working within the state machine could not be relied upon to implement the anti-colonial measures which he desired to introduce. On the contrary, they did everything they possibly could to delay and utterly thwart such proposals. Writing in his autobiography, *Ghana*, in 1956, President Nkrumah pointed out:

... it did not escape my notice that where the administrative service was concerned, if a policy was laid down for the officials by the Government with which they disagreed, means were adopted, by subterfuge or otherwise, to wreck that policy. At other times I would find that matters I wanted to be dealt with urgently, would be delayed indefinitely (because they were not approved of by some of the officials) until I had to intervene and get the job done.

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Founder and Leader of the Republic of Ghana

EDITORIAL (2)

SENEGAL TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA

THE Senegal Minister of Information is quite correct when he says that the question of a trade boycott against South Africa should be one of the most important problems to be discussed at the forthcoming meeting of the O.A.U. Heads of State. In the light of his announcement, however, that Senegal is continuing 'to honour' her trade contracts with South Africa arranged prior to any boycott decisions is scarcely re-assuring and hardly, in our view, consistent with real honour.

For a wrong-doer to plead extenuation because there are other malefactors is a curious piece of self justification. Does Senegal think she can shuffle off her moral responsibility onto the shoulders of others in this feeble way?

South Africans in the fight for freedom will judge Senegal by this action. They will experience the bitterness of betrayal by an African Government and such meretricious excuses will not satisfy them.

The Heads of State at their meeting in Cairo can do no other than make a call for a trade boycott but no African State needs wait for that moment. They can take the decision now and break off relations, joining countries such as Ghana in such a stand.

We ask the Senegal Government to reconsider their responsibilities to the National Liberation Movement of our continent. No trade contracts can be more sacred than one's duty to those fighting for their freedom from apartheid and oppression.

CONSCIENCISM:

by A Special Correspondent

'CATEGORIAL CONVERSION'

THE philosophical battle between monism and dualism (or for that matter pluralism) had, until the arrival of PHILOSOPHICAL CONSCIENCISM, assumed the form of a never-ending and indecisive battle. The monist had, in brief, held that the question "What does the world consist of?" Was answerable only by reference to ONE basic thing. In other words they held that WHAT THERE IS was one and not two or more. Not that they had all agreed as to what this ONE THING was.

Thales the Greek pioneer philosopher had, for instance, claimed that this ONE thing was water, while Plato (and Berkeley) had suggested that the one thing that is spirit (Plato called it the Form or the ideal). Thales was a materialistic-monist for he held that the one thing that is was a material thing. Plato was an idealistic-monist, for to him that which is, was not material but spiritual (IDEAL)

In spite, however, of this very significant difference between them both Thales and Plato were in significant agreement: that whatever the quality of that which really existed, it was ONE and not many. In this they fundamentally disagreed with those who thought that there were more than one thing which really existed. Such people—the dualists and pluralists—did not agree that the universe could be explained in terms of only one thing, and they consequently held that an explanation of the universe was possible only in terms of at least two basically different things. John Locke, the famous English philosopher and founder of the Empiricist school, held—although very grudgingly—that both matter and spirit existed. His intellectual mentor the Frenchman Descartes believed that the world consisted of matter and soul, although he persistently emphasised that one could only be certain about the existence of the soul but not about the existence of the body. (In Consciencism the claim that one can be certain of the existence of any soul—a thinking entity—is shown to be based on nothing more than a question-begging argument. pp.17-18). The dualist, in any event, believed that the question of what there is can only be answered in terms of more than one thing—generally they held that the explanation was only possible in terms of body (matter) and soul (spirit).

MONISTIC AND DUALISTIC POSITIONS

Before the bar of logic and of common sense both the monistic and the dualistic positions were highly unsatisfactory to say the least. The monistic hypothesis, for explaining the universe appeared to fly in the face of common sense and common experience. For all normal and intelligent people know that there are a great many things which are material as well as many things which are not material.

They know that both these two kinds of things—material such as stones and animals and non-material such as thought and ideas—exist in the world around them. They therefore find it difficult to accept any explanation which either, like Thales' seems to say that non-material things do not exist or like Plato's, that material things do not exist. They regard philosophy as being concerned with the world as it is and any philosophy which would seem to explain away the world they know instead of explaining the world as it is, they consider to be undesirable and certainly unhelpful.

The dualistic hypothesis is also subject to a difficulty, though a difficulty of a more subtle sort. The dualists postulate the actual existence of matter and spirit (body and soul, substance and idea). The very wearisome question which any serious inquirer is likely to ask is: How do these two clearly different things come to interact—as they so patently do in the world. What is the relationship between mind and body (soul and body) if they are so different? Dualism, while it appears to square more comfortably with naive common experience, raises a fundamental question which has never been successfully answered within the context of orthodox dualism.

SECONDARY EXISTENCE OF SPIRIT

Until the formulation of 'Categorical Conversion' therefore the explanations of the world proffered by both monism and dualism produced nothing but bewilderment. In Philosophical Consciencism, we are for the first time introduced to a new approach which promises to remove this bewilderment.

Philosophical Consciencism is of course, materialistic and as such, therefore, it would appear to be inevitably monistic. And such indeed it is. But it is this and more. While remaining true to the monistic position, it is still realistic and circumspect enough to realise that naive monism cuts across the grain of popular experience which is not to be lightly scoffed at. It rejects the dualism which postulates that both matter and spirit (body and mind) exist independently of each other and in their own rights. For it cannot accept this and retain its basic materialistic character. But while it rejects the independent existence of spirit, it does not deny the existence of spirit. It accepts, with common experience, the existence of non-material elements in the world, but it postulates that their existence is not INDEPENDENT but SECONDARY in a sense. Philosophical Consciencism agrees that matter and spirit are different; that they are two separate categories such that what may be correctly, and meaningfully, said about the one may not be correct or even meaningful about the other.

Here then it would appear that Philosophical Consciencism is capitulating to dualism. If it is admitting the actual existence of TWO categories of EXISTENTS, then it is agreeing with dualism. If it is, then it is vulnerable to the fundamental objections against dualism—how do the two different categories interact? But in fact Philosophical Consciencism is not capitulating to dualism and is therefore not vulnerable to dualism's major bogey.

Philosophical Consciencism admits the existence of non-material entities but says that their existence is merely secondary. The only thing that exists independently—that has PRIMARY existence—is MATTER. Although spirit exists, it does not do so independently of matter.

Philosophical Consciencism remains true to its monistic and materialistic character by postulating the PRIMARY existence of matter, and it seeks the necessary rapprochement with common experience by admitting the ACTUAL existence of SPIRIT (non-material entities).

Since Consciencism thus admits the actual existence of two different categories of things, it must seek to answer the question—fatal to naive dualism—as to how these two categories can and do interact. Philosophical Consciencism has the answer—the simple but revolutionary answer—in the concept of CATEGORIAL CONVERSION. "The key to the solution of the problem—the problem of accommodating the assertion of the primary reality of matter with the hard facts of actual experience lies in categorical convertibility" (Consciencism p.20)

By categorical conversion is meant the transforming of one category into another: the production of one category by using one or more categories which are different from the one produced.

"By categorical conversion I mean such a thing as the emergence of self-consciousness from what is not self-conscious, such a thing as the emergence of mind from matter...." (Consciencism p.20)

With the concept of categorical conversion, Philosophical Consciencism succeeds in providing a basis for a position which is essentially monistic and materialistic (by asserting the primary reality existence of matter) and at the same time compatible with the "hard facts" of actual experience, (by accepting the actual existence of the categories of matter and mind).

THE CONSCIENCIST VIEW OF MATTER

The difference between Philosophical Consciencism and the naive monists is that it does not assert, as they do, the SOLE reality of matter. It asserts the PRIMARY reality of matter, and therefore permits reality—SECONDARY reality to spirit (mind). The difference between Philosophical Consciencism and orthodox dualism is that unlike dualism, Philosophical Consciencism does not accept the independent existence of mind as against matter. It grants to mind only SECONDARY existence. "Mind", according to philosophical materialism "is the result of a critical organisation of matter...propositions about mind(s)...are reducible without residue to propositions about body..." (Consciencism p.23). That is to say, it takes matter and no

more to produce mind. The difference between "non-conscious matter" and "conscious matter" is merely that of ORGANISATION or ARRANGEMENT. Just as the substances we know are reducible to elements so is mind reducible to matter. Common salt is a very different thing from either sodium or chlorine, its chemical components. Yet common salt is nothing but the result of a Particular combination of the elements—sodium and chlorine. The same is true of ordinary water. It is reducible without residue to its chemical ingredients—hydrogen and oxygen.

In both these examples we have been dealing with two entirely different categories: elements and substances which are not elements. Both exist in fact and to that extent are real. Common salt is no less real for being a compound of two elements. But its reality is entirely different from that of the elements—sodium and chlorine. The latter are real in a primary way whereas the former is really only in a secondary sense.

MATTER IS PRIMARY

In the same way Philosophical Consciencism holds that mind does in fact exist, that it is real, NOT an illusion; but it goes on to show that it is real only in the sense that it does in fact exist. But since it does not and cannot exist independently of matter—its reality is dependent on the reality of matter. Its reality is secondary. There can be no mind where there is no body.

And this difference between PRIMARY and SECONDARY existence (reality) is made meaningful by reference to the concept of categorical conversion. The two things matter and mind do exist. They are different and thus they form separate categories. But they are not really dif-

ferent things. They are in fact one and the same thing. Matter and mind are reducible to one thing. We call matter the primary thing because while we can arrange matter to produce mind we cannot produce matter by any arrangement of minds. The categories of mind and matter exist but the one (mind) can be converted into the other (matter).

Thus by means of the concept of categorical conversion, the materialist monism is saved and at the same time reconciled with the "hard facts" of practical experience. This reconciliation is of course imperative to a philosophy which holds that "PRACTICE WITHOUT THOUGHT IS BLIND (and) THOUGHT WITHOUT PRACTICE IS EMPTY". (Consciencism p. 78).

NOMINALISM, CONSTRUCTIONISM AND MATERIALIST REDUCTIONISM

In fact, categorical conversion makes the controversy between monism and dualism less acerbic. The only reason why the naive dualist cannot seek refuge in categorical conversion is that he himself has made it impossible for him to do so. He has asserted the concurrent primary reality of both matter and mind, hence he does not talk of reducing one to the other. Reducibility (convertibility) is possible and meaningful only when there are primary things (irreducibles) and secondary things (reducibles). If you assert that two things are each primary, you are saying that they cannot be reduced to each other or to anything else. Thus the naive dualist creates his problem and takes away the only possible solution.

Philosophical Consciencism is of course not so naive: it does not assert

naive dualism, it accepts "practical dualism" and makes it compatible with materialistic monism by means of categorical conversion.

Of course it is not to be supposed that Philosophical Consciencism does actually trace the mechanics of this conversion. What it asserts is that the problem of 'practical dualism' and 'basic monism' can be explained away by reference to categorical convertibility. But it does, and indeed need not, provide the actual methods by means of which such conversion is accomplished. It merely states that such conversion is possible... It is not the task of philosophy to trace the details of such... conversion: that is one of the tasks of science. Philosophy is only called upon to show the POSSIBILITY of the conversion (Consciencism p.20). But Philosophical Consciencism does not escape the problem that easily. It goes on to show how it "can demonstrate the possibility of the conversion". It indicates the two ways in which this can be done. The "possibility of the conversion can be demonstrated in one or two ways either by means of a conceptual analysis or by pointing at a model." (p. 20). These methods are provided by logic and science—"both of which owe their origin and early development to the demands of philosophy" (p.21). The "Conceptual tools" (provided by logic) by means of which the formal problems of categorical conversion are coped with, are contained in NOMINALISM, CONSTRUCTIONISM AND MATERIALIST REDUCTIONISM, in which Philosophical Consciencism "holds some category matter here) to be a primary category of reality, and holds other real things (e.g. mind) to become real only in so far as they are

ultimately derived from the primary category of reality." (p.21). For the model philosophical consciencism appeals to science. "Matter and energy are two distinct, but, as science has shown, not unconnected or irreducible categories. The irreducibility of matter and energy offers a model for categorical conversion" (p. 21).

PHILOSOPHY MADE MEANINGFUL

Even though philosophical consciencism does not itself attempt to answer the question of how categorical conversion actually takes place, it shows clearly that it is possible and, even more, it demonstrates the possibility by opposite example (model) and by providing a pointer to the direction to be followed in pursuing the subject further. More than this it would be unprofitable and unfair to ask any philosophy.

By enunciating and elaborating on the concept of categorical conversion, philosophical consciencism has not only clarified and fortified the materialistic position against "common experience" objections it has made philosophy a meaningful discipline to society and has provided a directional sign to future philosophical as well as non-philosophical discussion. Not that it is any wonder that this has been done in a book which is described as propounding a "philosophy for decolonization and development with particular reference to African revolution". What is surprising, and refreshingly so, is that it should have been done by means of a concept which, in spite of its originality, appears so simple even to the uninitiated. Our wonder is: why did it not occur to the old philosophers and to us earlier. Or is it really that simple?

Foreign Monopoly Barriers Must Be Overcome

AT THE summit conference in Addis Ababa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, pointed out that gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum, copper, iron ore of Africa were still in the focus of attention of stock exchange the world over. Western Powers resort to all possible forms of economic and political integration in order to keep pumping out Africa's natural resources. But the African public is well aware of the urgent necessity to launch a struggle against foreign monopolies which are all out to keep the low level of national economies in the African countries.

A one-sided structure of the economy which under the rule of the colonialists is designed to produce monocrops, up till now makes politically independent nations turn their eyes on the capital of former metropolises. While creating the state-owned industrial projects these nations, at the same time, are compelled to

come to an agreement with private monopolies permitting them to exploit the natural resources of their countries.

Foreign monopolies, of course, which are being asked for aid, show no concern for the harmonious economic development. More, trying to revive their former undivided rule, they boycott any chance which might promote the development of the industries whose progress would consolidate the economic positions of a young nation.

GUINEA'S EXAMPLE

Let's take Guinea, for example, whose iron ore reserves amount to more than 2,500 million tons. Before it won independence all Guinea's supply of hardware had been imported from Europe while nowadays the country is faced with tremendous difficulties in giving the rights to foreign firms to exploit its iron ore reserves.

As to the activities of the imperialist monopolies in dependent countries, they were rather vividly described by Erich Sevarheid, a New York Post observer.

In his article "Africa at the Crossroads" published last November, he pointed out that both Portugal and Angola were prisoners of one and the same thing: their poverty. And indeed, the plans to rejuvenate the economy of this most rich country in Tropical Africa were based exclusively on the idea of using both Portuguese and other foreign capital, as well as, on the utmost encouragement of foreign monopolies' "initiative". These projects, the author stresses, hold, in the final analyses, nothing but poverty and ruin in store for Africa, and an increase of profits for industrial and financial clique of those businessmen who are out to consolidate the positions of group colonialism in Angola.

Life persistently demands that the statesmen of Africa pull up all its material resources, avail themselves of all the opportunities for mutual support in order to jointly disprove the shameful argument according to which, as Modibo Keita justly pointed out in Addis Ababa, "Africa had been a milch cow of Western world for many centuries."

The decolonisation of the economic structure of the

economies in the countries, which proclaimed their political independence, could be a success if the legal lever of each separate nation would have a large-scale support of African nations' joint effort. Of primary importance is the assistance of the nations that have made a certain progress in the development of their national economies on the basis of the nationalisation of land, banks, transport, introduction of state monopoly on export.

The problem of state control over the activities of foreign monopolies, which, by force of necessity, are admitted on African territory, is rightly in the center of attention of national authorities, which are in a position to issue legislative acts, to adopt the rules for land-tenure and labour codes, which eliminate the last opportunities for race discrimination, as well as investment rules. However, the struggle of Africans for complete economic independence all over the continent is in direct proportion to the level of their co-operation, unity of their economic and financial efforts.

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THE SPARK

Ghana Republic

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President Nkrumah stressed that the British civil servants in the Ghana administration did not limit their efforts to holding up the Government's plans. They actively worked to weaken the Government and to assist the reactionary opposition. 'I could at one time', writes the President, 'almost guarantee that if there was any movement afoot against the Government, every attempt was made on the part of the civil service to enhance the opposition against the Government.'

From these experiences Kwame Nkrumah drew the correct and valuable lesson that 'after any political revolution, non-violent or violent, the new government should, immediately on coming to power, clear out from the civil service all its old leaders. My own experience taught me that by failing to do so, a revolutionary government risks its own destruction.'

There is no painless advance to political power wherever fundamental so-called change is involved. To defeat the privileged class and the elements opposed to the people's advance and curb the developing 'new rich' in Ghana, is to challenge the whole capitalist order of the world over. "Spark", January 8, 1964.

Acting on the basis of this understanding, the Ghana Government under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party, has set about clearing out from the key positions in the State the old imperialist cadres and placing all the departments under the control of Ghanaian citizens.

This process has included the removal of British military officers from their command posts in 1961 and bringing the armed forces firmly under Ghanaian hands.

According to a statement by the Ghana Minister of Defence, Kofi Baako, there are now only 0.6 per cent non-Ghanaians in the top grades in the civil, judicial and police services. Further, every single Ministry, Secretariat and Department in the Civil Service is now headed by an African. In the police service there are now 148 African superior officers out of a total of 151. In the statutory boards and corporations and in other State-sponsored organisations, the same trend is apparent: over forty-five of these, out of a total of sixty, are headed by Africans. All the judicial system, all the fifteen Supreme Court and High Court Judges, eight Circuit Judges and twenty-four District Magistrates are Africans.

SOCIAL ADVANCES

The placing of the State and administration firmly in Ghanaian hands has facilitated social and economic progress and has enabled the Ghana people to commence tackling their immense task of reconstructing their economy and so strengthening their national sovereignty. In pursuing these aims, the Ghana people and their national leaders have had no narrow departmental view of economics but have wisely related their social and educational programme to the major economic aim.

In the field of health an important beginning has been made, with the stepping up of the provision of hospitals, clinics and health facilities, and the training of doctors, midwives, nurses, and dispensers. The number of hospital beds in

Ghana is now 6,500—still very limited for a population of 6½ million, but already double the figure for 1960 and increasing all the time. There are now thirty-seven Government hospitals, as well as a further thirty-two hospitals subsidised by the Government. By the end of 1963 there will be nearly fifty rural health centres. A number of Ghanaian women have been sent overseas for medical training and for training as nurses. Between 1951 and 1961 the number of doctors trebled. Maternity and child welfare clinics are now to be established in more towns and cities; and a National Accident Insurance Scheme is to be inaugurated. By 1970 it is intended that there should be one doctor to every 10,000 people.

The money and resources allocated to the health services is in no sense regarded as a diversion away from the much needed economic effort. On the contrary, it is regarded as very much linked to that effort. Ghana, like all African countries emerging from colonialism, has found that widespread ill-health

Ghana became independent, she had eighteen secondary schools attended by only 3,000 students. Today, she has seventy-four secondary schools attended by 23,000 students, a nearly eight-fold increase! By the end of the new Seven-Year Plan, the enrolment is intended to be 78,000. Between 1951 (when Ghana first had a measure of internal self-government and some possibilities for improving education) and 1961, the number of children in primary schools more than trebled. During the period 1962-63 a further 1,412 primary and 239 middle schools were opened. By the beginning of 1964 Ghana had over 7,000 primary schools attended by 1,200,000 children. By 1970 it is planned to have 2,200,000 at primary schools. Text books are now supplied free to all approved primary, middle and secondary schools. Ghana now has three university institutions with a combined student body of over 3,000, and a number of teacher training colleges, as well as research institutes attached to the Ghana Academy of Sciences.

health, and three times as much as is to be spent on housing. The Ghana Government takes the view that the rapid training of skilled cadres is a priority question without which Ghana's economic—and thus, in the long run, social—progress will be severely handicapped. When one considers that in 1960 three-quarters of the adult population had never been to school it is obvious how necessary is this emphasis which the Ghana government is placing on education.

Inheriting A Backward And Distorted Economy....

In the decisive field of the national economy, too, Ghana has made impressive progress. How significant this is can best be judged if we take into account Ghana's economy at the time of winning political independence.

When Ghana became a sovereign state in 1957 she bore all the hall-marks of a colony in the sphere of her economy. She was mainly

raw materials' production for export also meant a complete neglect of the domestic production of foodstuffs. Traditional subsistence agriculture was neglected in favour of cash crops such as cocoa, and Ghana was compelled to spend millions of pounds a year in importing necessary foodstuffs. In his recent book *AFRICA MUST UNITE*, President Nkrumah describes how, before the Second World War, the Ghanaian people were told by the British colonial authorities that the Ghana climate and soil were unsuitable for cultivating potatoes. During the war, however, large numbers of British troops were stationed there. British troops without the proverbial potatoes could not be thought of. To import large quantities, however, was out of the question; in view of the desperate needs of war and the Nazi submarine campaign, valuable shipping space could not be devoted to importing potatoes. Consequently the British authorities obtained a supply of seed potatoes and throughout the war grew potatoes in Ghana. As soon as the

cocoa had to be imported, Ghana even had to spend hundreds of thousands of pounds every year importing jute sacks into which to load her raw cocoa for export!

In *Africa Must Unite* Kwame Nkrumah points out that Ghana expressed her limes but had to export the lime juice overseas where it was bottled; Ghana then was obliged to import back the bottled juice made from her own expressed limes!

In order to strengthen the socialist movement throughout Africa, we think that 1964 should see the emergence of co-ordinating action by truly socialist political parties and movements throughout Africa to fight the synchronised operation of collective imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.—"Spark", December 28, 1963.

Ghana was no exception in Africa. All the new states, as they embark on their independent path, find themselves almost completely without industry. Often even nails have to be imported.

UNEQUAL PRICES

The distortion of Ghana's economy in this fashion—concentration on raw materials for export to the detriment of domestic industry—has had another serious consequence, one that is a familiar problem for all newly developing countries. Statistics over the past fifty years show that prices of industrial and manufactured goods tend to rise more rapidly than prices of raw materials, especially of agricultural items. On top of that, prices of raw materials are much more unstable, so that even where they may show a significant rise in one year they may, just as suddenly—owing to the position of the world market or the deliberate moves of the big capitalist trading monopolies dominating capitalist trade—show an alarming drop and throw into utter confusion the estimates and plans of the developing countries.

Where a country's economy is based on exporting raw materials and importing practically all its manufactured goods and machinery requirements, it faces a losing battle. The price relationships of imports and exports become ever more unequal, and the country's increased efforts to expand production of raw materials and increase the volume of exports only meet with ever-decreasing monetary returns. Thus the gap between itself and the more advanced, industrialised countries becomes wider and wider.

In the case of countries whose economy is largely dependent on one crop or mineral the hazards are even greater.

Ghana, whose economy has been mainly based on cocoa, a crop whose world price has shown considerable fluctuations in the past two decades, is particularly vulnerable. By 1962, Ghana found that a volume of her exports which sold for £100 in 1954 were fetching, eight years later, only £70; imports, formerly valued at £100, were costing £107. This means that by 1962 Ghana was having to export 50 per cent more in volume in order to receive in return

the same quantity of imported manufactures.

In his sessional address to the Ghana National Assembly on October 15, 1963, President Nkrumah pointed out that during the past main cocoa season, earnings from the export of cocoa beans was £67 million, which was £2 million less than receipts in 1961 although the volume of crops exported was 4 per cent higher than in the previous year.

Such a situation plays havoc with the balance of payments, and is an additional reason why Ghana is making strenuous efforts to do away with the distorted economic structure bequeathed to her by colonialism.

IMPORT SUBSTITUTION

Independent Ghana has begun to transform her economy, to end her dependence on raw materials production, to develop import substitution, to diversify her agriculture and grow more foodstuffs, and to lay the basis for industrialisation. In carrying through these radical changes, the Ghana Government and people have found it necessary to take over a number of foreign enterprises, to initiate a state sector of the economy, to draw up economic plans, to strengthen state control over trade, to encourage both producer and marketing co-operatives, and to diversify external trading relations, in particular in the direction of the socialist countries.

In the field of import substitution Ghana has already registered important successes. She is manufacturing a number of goods from her own raw materials which were formerly produced only for export, and is thus developing a whole range of light industries.

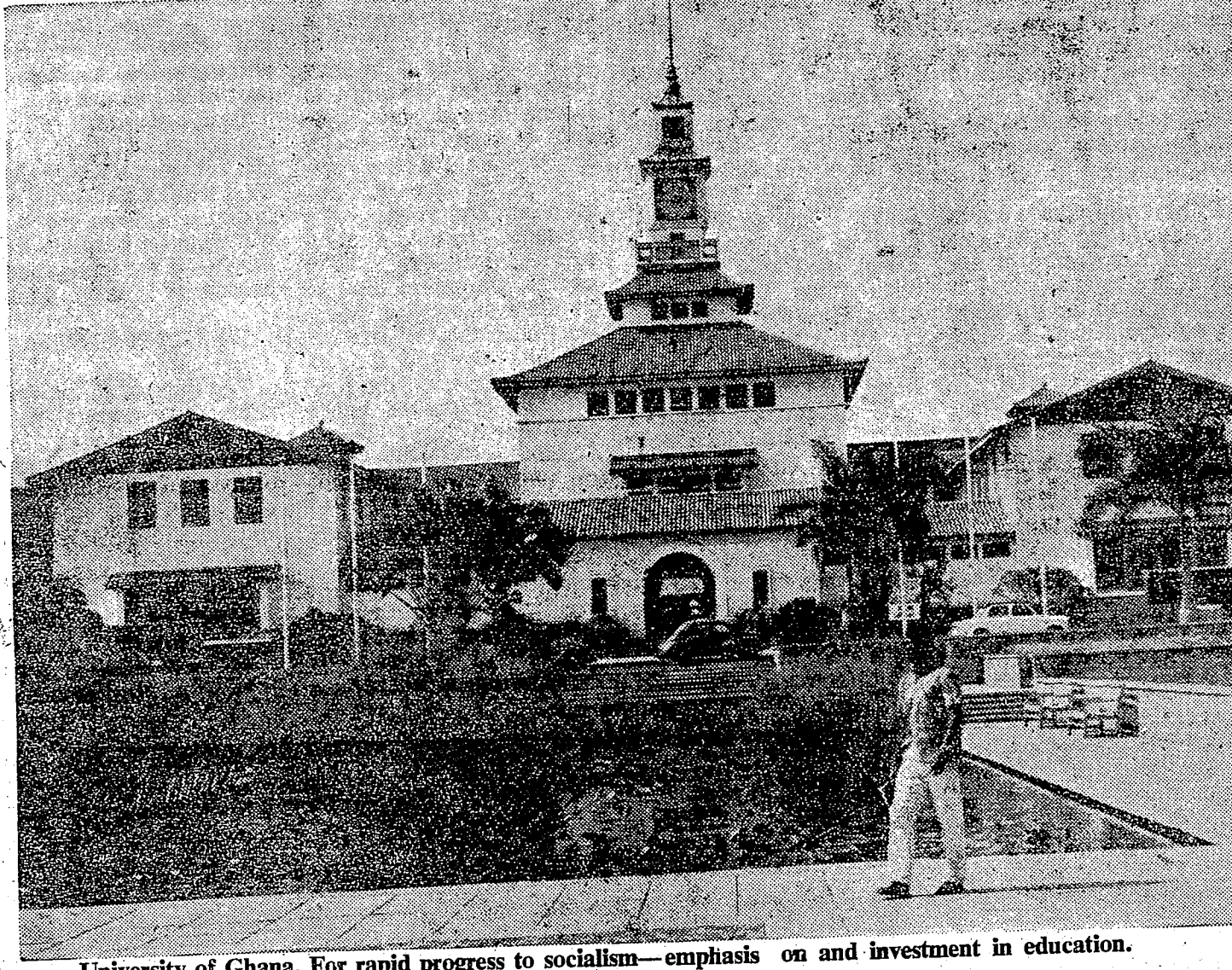
Ghana now manufactures furniture, timber products and tissue paper from her own ample supplies of timber; she even exports some lines of furniture and tissue paper. Soap is now being produced from Ghana raw materials by the new £2 million soap factory recently established at Tema by the big firm, Lever Brothers. Ghana now grows her own jute, and has established a factory at Kumasi, which is now turning out sacks. Eventually it will provide half of Ghana's annual requirements of cocoa sacks.

Ghana is also building two factories for processing cocoa (one at Takoradi and the other at Tema), and aims, by the end of her Seven-Year Plan, which goes into operation this year, to be exporting half her cocoa in processed form instead of raw. With help from Czechoslovakia, a £1,700,000 state-owned shoe factory is being constructed at Kumasi. Its annual output by 1965 will be two million pairs of shoes.

Among other light industries already in operation are matches, nails, cigars, bricks, boats and biscuits. Further plans include a fish cannery, four fruit and vegetable canneries, and a £1,600,000 factory for bleaching, dyeing and printing grey baft. Glass is to be produced, and Ghana will thus be able to bottle her own lime juice. Two other projects expected to go into operation in 1964 are a meat processing factory and a packing plant.

A new rubber factory, to produce 300,000 canvas shoes and 200,000 beach shoes a month, is under

Contd on page 4



University of Ghana. For rapid progress to socialism—emphasis on and investment in education.

and malnutrition are major obstacles to increased productivity by the workers. Dr. Jozsef Bogner, the well-known Hungarian economist, who was invited by President Nkrumah to participate in drawing up Ghana's new Seven-Year Plan, pointed out after his visit to Ghana that 'improvements in health conditions and in nutrition are part of the preconditions for raising the productivity of labour.'

The question of education, too, is seen very much in terms of the needs of developing the national economy. On this question, too, Dr. Bogner has stressed that training in skills raising the level of the training of the labour force... are essential if there is to be an increase in labour productivity. At the moment, he stresses, much of the labour force is 'incapable of concentration because of the low level of skill.'

The expansion of educational facilities, and the changing of the whole pattern of education, have been amongst the most outstanding of independent Ghana's many achievements. In 1957, when

In contradiction to the old colonial pattern in which among the limited number of Ghanaians able to obtain university education, the emphasis was placed on law and humanities, the emphasis is now very much on science and technology in order that the educational bodies can turn out an increasing number of qualified people able to participate more directly in production and the development of the national economy. Both industry and agriculture will be equipped with a growing body of cadres. Science has already been made a basic subject in all secondary schools and is now being introduced into the middle schools as well. One of the three universities, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, is placing special emphasis on scientific and industrial training in order to promote technological progress in Ghana. A National Science Museum will be opened in 1965.

In the new Seven Year Plan Ghana will spend no less than £61 million on education—which is twice as much as is allocated for

a producer of raw materials—especially cocoa along with timber, palm-oil, gold, diamonds, bauxite and manganese. These commodities were produced not in accordance with Ghana's internal needs but for export in their raw state, to be processed and enter industry and commerce in the West. Ghana's mineral wealth was dominated by big British and other Western monopolies. Her agricultural wealth, largely produced by individual peasant producers, was purchased cheaply by the big British trading monopolies, such as the United Africa Company, a subsidiary of the giant firm, Unilever. Thus Ghana produced raw materials in order to enrich foreign monopoly firms. The low wages paid to the miners enabled the big mining firms to make exceptionally high profits. The low purchasing price which the peasant producers had to accept from the big trading firms which had a monopoly over trade enabled these firms, to make huge profits.

Furthermore, Ghana's one-sided concentration on

war was over the British authorities turned back the clock, and once again discouraged potato growing in Ghana on the specious plea that the soil and climate were not really suitable! The deliberate discouragement of Ghana's food industry has meant that, to this day, Ghana has to spend about 20 per cent of all her imports on importing foodstuffs, much of which she should be able to produce in Ghana.

A further, and in some ways much more serious, consequence of Ghana's concentration on a few minerals and crops for export was the complete dependence on imports for her manufactured goods and machinery. Even elementary processing was not carried out domestically. Ghana was virtually without industry. She exported palm oil—and imported soap; exported bauxite—and imported aluminium pots and pans; exported timber—and imported furniture and paper; exported hides and leather—and imported boots and shoes. She was (and still is) the world's largest exporter of cocoa-beans, but every bar of chocolate or a tin of

REPUBLIC OF GHANA

Contd from page 3

construction in Accra and is expected to go into production this November. In this connection, Ghana is developing her own rubber production. With the aid of the State Farms Corporation which plans to have 30,000 acres given over to rubber cultivation in the next few years, and the United Ghana Farmers' Council. Co-operatives whose seventy-eight rubber co-operatives aim to have a rubber acreage of 100,000 acres by the end of 1964, Ghana will soon have adequate supplies of home-grown rubber to feed into the new £600,000 rubber processing factory to be built at Abura. This will pave the way for a number of other industries making tyres, footwear, farm machinery, belts and so on. Two sugar refineries are also being built.

A foundation has recently been laid on the outskirts of Accra of a factory for producing prefabricated houses. With Soviet technical assistance, it should be completed in about a year's time and will provide about 1,000 room units per day. Initially it will provide houses for 22,000 workers in Accra and self-contained community dwellings for about 11,000 people in the new port of Tema. The Soviet Union is also assisting Ghana to establish a gold refinery.

The Ghana Government and the Soviet Union have signed a contract for the construction of a complex of fishing industries at Tema. The contract provides for a fish-canning factory, to produce 20,000 cans a day, a fish-smoking factory with an output of six tons of smoked fish a day, a fish-cookery shop capable of producing one ton of various fish products a day, and a fishmeal and grease plant which will produce up to 30 tons of raw fish products a day. The combination of these projects will provide Ghana with an integrated fishing industry which will, in the near future save the importation of £5 million worth of fish products a year.

BASIS FOR INDUSTRIALISATION

The policy of the Ghana Government and the proposals of the Seven Year Plan are intended to carry Ghana beyond the phase of merely producing consumer goods from her present raw materials. The aim is, according to the Plan, to make Ghana ultimately 'a predominantly industrial trading country'.

Primary products, such as cocoa and minerals 'which have formed the core of our fortunes for the past sixty years must gradually be replaced by the products of medium and heavy manufacturing industry'.

The purpose behind this goal of industrialisation is the creation of 'a Socialist society in which the individual Ghanaian will be able to enjoy a modern standard of living in his home supplemented by an advanced level of public services outside'. And it is the expectation that 'significant progress' in this direction will be achieved during the next twenty years.

In the first stage, which is covered by the present Seven-Year Plan—staple consumer goods and basic building materials will be supplied from domestic resources. During this period too, the main exports—cocoa, minerals, timber-

will increasingly be processed before export, so that eventually Ghana ends her dependence on the export of raw materials, which will gradually take second place in the export pattern.

In the second stage of industrialisation, which will follow the completion of the present Seven-Year Plan, concentration will be on basic industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, chemicals, fertilizers and synthetics. After that, Ghana will move over to machine and other heavy industries and commence her massive industrialisation stage.

That these are not just idle dreams can be gauged from the achievements already marked up by Ghana and the provisions being made in the Seven-Year Plan. Central to Ghana's industrial growth is the Volta River Project, which is not to be considered simply as a means of providing hydro-electric power, but as an all-purpose scheme affecting the economy as a whole. Electric power is, of course, of key importance.

In a recent message read to the National Assembly, President Nkrumah pointed out:

The abundant supply of electrical power will bring light to thousands of homes in the country-side where darkness now prevails. It will make available power practically at the doorsteps of businessmen and entrepreneurs in urban areas, and offer them a powerful stimulus for the modernisation of existing industries and the development of new ones. The increased use of electricity will help to reduce the foreign exchange expenditure on imported fuel oil. The production of aluminium ingots will add to the range of Ghana's exports and stimulate a greater development of our rich bauxite resources.

In addition, through the creation of a vast artificial

lake, the Project will also help to develop a system of inland transport and navigation, and will make possible the creation of a fish industry and irrigated agriculture, comprising heavy water-using crops such as sugarcane, rice and irrigated cotton. The whole scheme will also encourage the construction of new urban areas; the Tema harbour and Tema township, constructed from Ghana's own resources at a cost of £30 million, is seen as a key part of the whole Project.

Work is now proceeding on the Akosombo Dam, and 40 per cent of the dam has already been constructed. The original estimated cost of over £70 million has now been cut to £56 million. Preparations are also being made for work on the Bui Dam. Other sources of power are also being considered, search is being made for oil, and a nuclear research institute is being established.

Ghana's chemical industry—essential for comprehensive industrialisation—is favoured by the substantial resources of salt; and the £8½ million Tema refinery (one of the six largest in Africa) is expected to make available raw materials for a petro-chemical industry. This refinery is expected to process up to one million metric tons of crude oil during its first year of operation.

By next year Ghana hopes to be producing 30,000 tons of steel from scrap at her small steel plant—and this is thought to be sufficient to make in Ghana most of the simpler steel products at present imported. For her proposed large steel plant (which will cost about £1,700,000), Ghana hopes to exploit the ores in the Shiene area. With this achievement, Ghana by 1970, should have laid the basis for a modern iron and steel industry.

Thus, in three fields essential for industrialisa-

tion—power (oil refinery and electricity), chemicals, and iron and steel—Ghana's Seven-Year Plan will carry her decisive step forward.

KEY ROLE OF ST

What is of special importance in Ghana's plans for economic development is the key role being played by the government and State. It is State initiative, State control, State planning and State finance which is decisive. Ghana's national leaders fully understand that indigenous capitalism, left to itself, will never bring about the necessary economic and social revolution which Ghana's development requires. And neither is the Ghana Government prepared to leave things entirely to foreign capitalists. On the contrary, it has taken steps to bring a number of foreign enterprises in Ghana under the ownership and control of the State.

These include shipping, cable and wireless, civil aviation, five of the seven British-owned mines (though the richest, Ashanti Goldfield, is still in private hands), a Dutch diamond firm, and the big Leventis store.

Apart from nationalizing these undertakings, which form an essential part of the State sector of the economy, the Ghana Government has also broken foreign monopoly control over the buying of cocoa in Ghana. Until three years ago, the United Africa Company (a subsidiary of the giant Unilever Trust), and other big foreign firms bought their cocoa direct from the farmers and delivered it to the Cocoa Marketing Board. From this they made millions of pounds profit a year. The cocoa then went to London where again British firms made huge profits from the sale of the cocoa on the world market. Now the cocoa farmers, through their Ghana Cocoa Co-operative Society, sell directly to the Cocoa Marketing Board in Ghana; and the sale of cocoa for the world

market is now centred on Ghana instead of London.

Thus the policy of the Ghana Government and the Convention People's Party is to push forward the State sector of the economy, to launch special state projects in those fields which are decisive for the development of the national economy, and to ensure, by economic planning, that resources, including foreign capital, are mainly directed to those enterprises which are in Ghana's interests and not just those of the foreign investor. Of the total investment planned under the Seven-Year Plan—£1,016.5 million—the Ghana state will undertake £476 million.

The remaining £540 million will come from private investment, £440 million of this from internal sources, the remainder from abroad. The £476 to be invested by the Government will include

£240 million of foreign loans and grants. Thus of the planned total of £1,016 million, £340 million, in the form of investment, loans and grants will come from abroad; £676 million will be raised internally.

Draft agreements with socialist countries already provide for loans totalling about £100 million. But loans and investments from the West will also be required—and sought—if the total planned investment is to be reached.

WESTERN CAPITAL

The dangers of too much reliance on western capital are obvious, and President Nkrumah is well aware of them. He has rightly warned:

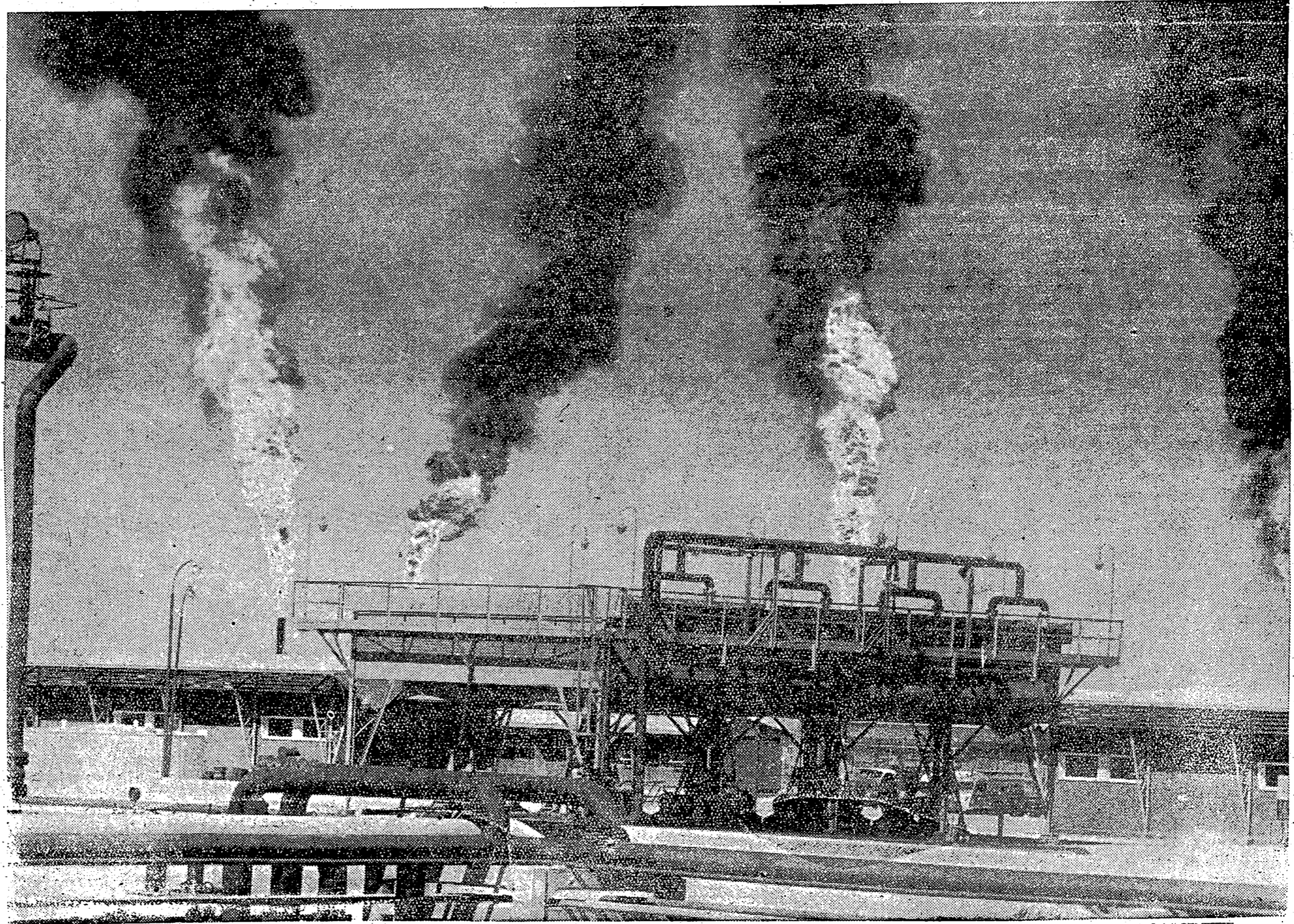
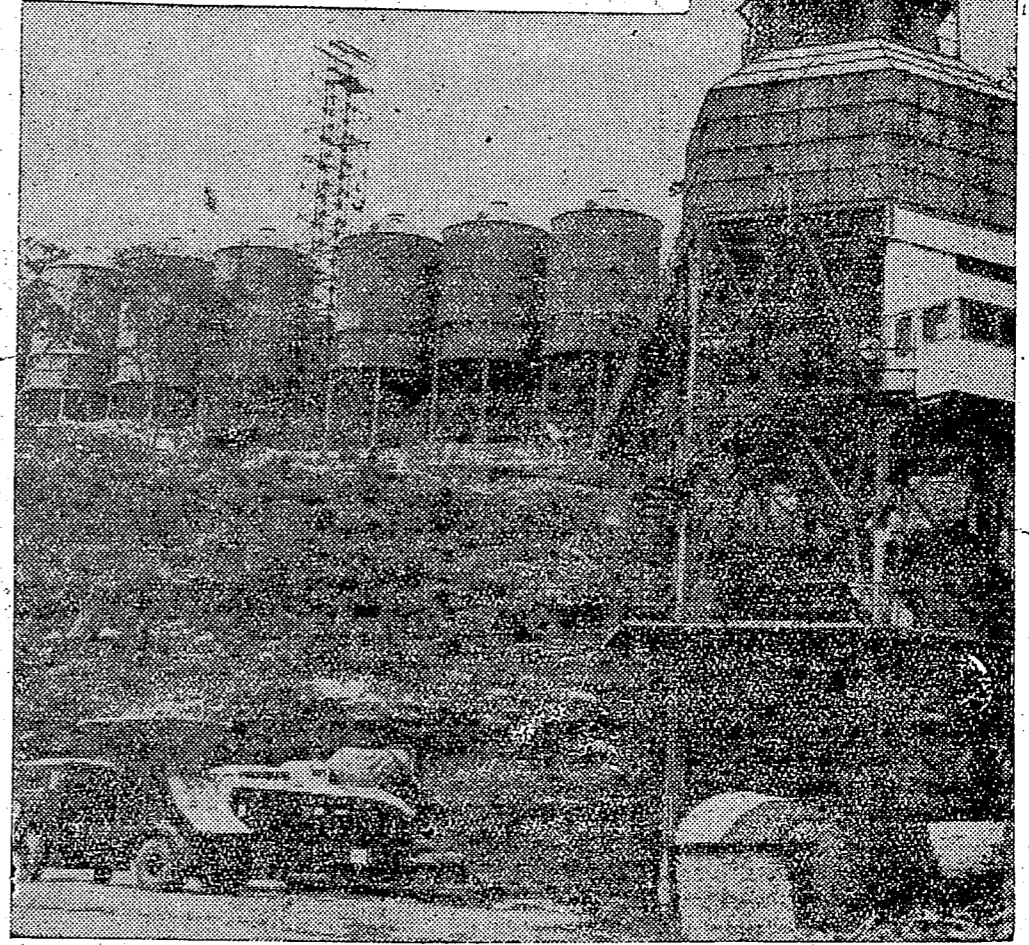
Private foreign investment from abroad is... open to a number of objections. First, the private investor naturally wishes to make as large a profit as possible and the

types of industry and trade in which the largest profits can be made are not necessary, the ones which would serve the interests of Ghana... Secondly, the foreign investor naturally wishes to export as much of his profit as possible to his own home country. Our interest is that profit from industry should be ploughed back into Ghana so as to develop further industry. Finally, if we rely exclusively or even largely upon private foreign investment for our industrialisation, we would in fact, become politically and economically dependent upon expatriate interests. Indeed, all we should be doing would be to reintroduce colonialism in another guise.

Broadcast to the nation, December 22, 1961.

Ghana has suffered too

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Our Republic

Continued from page 4

much in the past from imperialist investment not to be aware of its character. In a speech in September 1963, on the occasion of opening the soap factory at Tema, President Nkrumah reminded his audience:

FOREIGN CAPITAL CONDITIONED

...When external capital is merely applied for the purpose of obtaining a quick profit it more often impoverishes rather than enriches the country in which it is invested.

For example, the extraction and exportation of mineral ores through the use of imported machinery and by the employment of low paid labour is of no material benefit to the people of the country concerned.

Ultimately the mineral resources of the colonial country are exhausted and the imported machinery is removed elsewhere, or scrapped.

The labour that was employed, having been paid only a subsistence wage, will have accumulated no savings. Thus nothing remains upon which the future developments can be based.

This was one of the commonest types of capital investment in colonial Africa and it is still to be found, unfortunately, in some independent African States.

It is a type of investment we are not prepared to tolerate.

Foreign investors must today fit their investment to suit the overall plan for the development of our economy.

They must maintain a high level of employment and impart technical skill to the Ghanaians whom they employ.

Ghana is therefore doing her best to ensure first that foreign investments are directed to those projects in which Ghana herself is interested. Secondly by financial and taxation policies, to compel foreign investors to plough back a reasonable proportion into Ghana's industry, instead of exporting nearly all their profits. Thirdly, to reject those offers which are accompanied by conditions or strings which impinge on Ghana's sovereignty or lay her open to later economic difficulties.

The case of the Tema oil refinery is of special interest here. This £8½ million refinery was built for Ghana by the Ghana-Italian Petroleum Company, or Ghaip for short. To develop her industry Ghana must have oil. 'It is as important for

industry as water is for human existence'. Nkrumah has pointed out. Yet, if Ghana was not to endanger her independence, it was essential to obtain a refinery which would come under Ghanaian control. The authorized capital of Ghaip is £3,400,000, which is provided by two Italian firms, A.G.I.P. and E.N.I. However, 50 per cent of all profits of Ghaip will go to the Ghana Government.

Further, after ten years' operations Ghaip will automatically transfer 50 per cent of its share capital to the Ghana Government, which is to appoint the Chairman and half of the members of the Board of Directors.

If and when the Ghana Government finds it necessary to strengthen its control still further over Ghaip, it will have every possibility of doing so. Meanwhile the Tema refinery will be producing valuable solids, liquids and gases for Ghana. Solids will include waxes, carbon and asphalt, coke and briquettes; gases will include both natural gas and organic chemicals; and liquids will be petrol, diesel fuel, kerosene, lubricants, motor oil, etc. By-products will make possible the manufacture of synthetics (plastics and textile fibres), as well as the production of fertilisers which, on President Nkrumah's instructions, are to be given top priority.

The £2 million soap factory at Tema will be owned by Lever Brothers, but this, after all, is not as oil is, a key to Ghana's economy. No one owning a soap factory can seriously endanger Ghana's economy, and the question of direct Government control is not so important here. At the same time, Ghana will benefit greatly. The Government is expected to save about £2 million a year which she has to spend at present on importing soap. Last year, in fact, Ghana imported 24,000 tons of soap at a cost of £2.7 million.

SOCIALIST AID

Thus, even where foreign capital is allowed in, whether in joint projects with the Ghana Government or in purely private ventures, the Ghana Government tries to ensure that the benefit accruing to the Ghana economy outweigh any dangers or negative aspects. Foreign capital will continue for a time to make profits by exploiting Ghanaian labour, but Ghana's economy will benefit too.

The development of economic relations with socialist countries is undoubtedly

of assistance to Ghana. The Soviet Union will help establish the Bui Dam, the nuclear reactor, the gold refinery, the factory for prefabricated housing parts and the fish canning industry. It has sent a large team of surveyors to carry through a thorough geological survey which, it is expected, will uncover further mineral wealth in Ghana. The Soviet Union has agreed to examine the expediency of constructing a metallurgical and/or ferro-manganese plant, and of building a tractor assembly plant in Ghana itself. Soviet help is being given to set up two state farms growing rice and another cultivating maize. Experimental cotton growing is being undertaken with a view to the possibilities of state farms in this field also. In addition to the fish canning industry mentioned above, Soviet technical assistance and trawlers are being provided to help expand fishing in Ghana waters and beyond. Soviet assistance is also being given to help build a paper factory and a cotton mill.

Other socialist countries are also expanding their relations with Ghana. Poland will supply equipment for an iron-smelting plant and a shipyard. An agreement with China grants a loan of £7 million which will enable Ghana to receive machine tools, forging and pressing machinery, agricultural implements, instruments and electrical appliances, and machinery for building and road construction. A £2,500,000 credit from Hungary will go towards establishing hydro-electric and steam power plants, canning factories, flour mills, irrigation plants, an incandescent lamp factory, an aluminium cable factory, and a pharmaceutical factory.

Ghana will also obtain from Hungary diesel locomotives and railway coaches. Czechoslovakia is granting credits for £5 million which, in addition to the boot and shoe factory previously mentioned, will provide hydro-electric power plants, rubber, motor and cycle plants, a leather tannery and a number of hospitals. An economic agreement has been signed recently with Rumania.

In connection with a number of projects being built with assistance from the socialist countries, provision is being made for the training of Ghanaian technicians who will eventually be able to take over the technical management and running of the enterprises.

For example, ninety-two Ghanaians are at present in the Soviet Union, studying marine engineering, refrigeration, electronics engineering and radio engineering order to help run Ghana's new fishing trawlers.

It has been reported that the Soviet Union will give Ghana special help to train skilled workers and technicians for industry, agriculture and building. Special schools to be set up for this purpose will eventually have a combined student body of 5,000 to 6,000.

All this will contribute considerably towards the fulfilment of Ghana's Seven Year Plan.

As a result of its efforts in the past period, of the initiative, drive and planning of its State, combined with the building of closer economic relations with the socialist countries and the judicious use of loans and investments from the major capitalist countries, Ghana has made significant industrial progress. In his speech to the Ghana National Assembly on October 15, 1963, the President was able to declare:

"Already we have established forty-five industrial projects, thirty-three of which are completely state owned; the rest are owned jointly by the State and private enterprises. Thirty-six more industrial projects are under examination or in construction."

AGRICULTURE MAKING PROGRESS, TOO

The natural emphasis on industry does not mean that Ghana is neglecting her agriculture. This, too, is to receive special attention under the Seven-Year Plan. The main lines of change already under way are first, to expand food production in order to cut down the heavy expenditure on food imports which, at £26 million last year, were three times above the level of ten years ago.

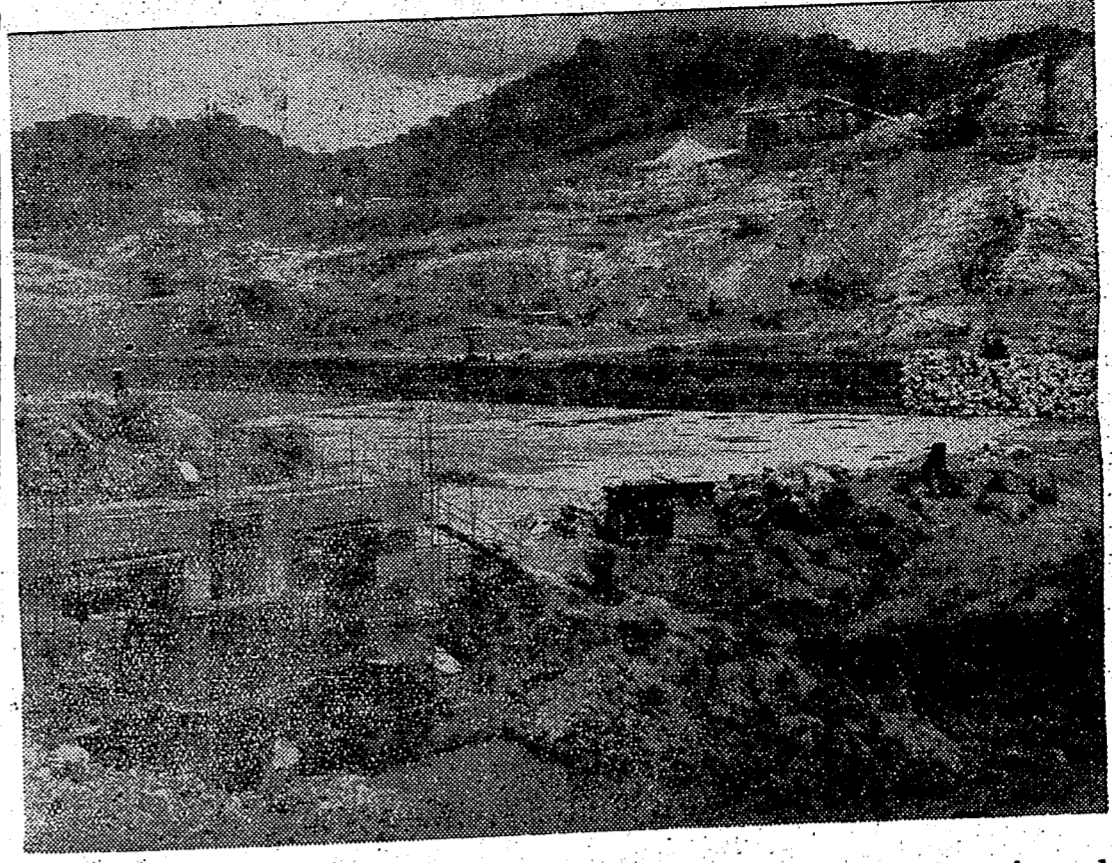
Secondly, to feed the rapidly growing population, especially as more of it will be urbanized and engaged in the expanding industry, and to increase and improve the people's diet.

Thirdly, to provide more industrial crops for Ghana's industry. And fourthly, to diversify agriculture and expand the production of those items which, in raw or processed state, can find export markets and so add to Ghana's overseas earnings.

There is no intention of abandoning the valuable cocoa production, for this is still a major earner. But dependence on cocoa will be ended, and a more all-round agriculture created alongside a thriving industry. The fact that a Ghanaian farmer produces only enough food for one and a half people compared with twelve in the United States indicates the key importance of increasing the production of foodstuffs.

Development of livestock, fish, rice, maize and sugar is to be encouraged, and fruit and vegetables to feed the new canneries will be grown.

There are now 105 State farms, many of them being experimental stations taken over from the former Department of Agriculture and the defunct Agricultural Development Corporation. These are rather in the nature, at this stage, of pioneering efforts. They will enable experience to be gained in large-scale cultivation, assist the training of



agricultural technicians, and, with the help of the Youth Work Brigade, help to clear new land.

The main responsibility for expanding Ghana's agriculture however, will fall on the peasant producers. They will be assisted by the Government with scientific advice, machine and tractor stations, better seed and livestock, and larger credit facilities.

Co-operatives are being encouraged amongst farmers, not only for marketing purposes but also for actual production. In mixed food production—food crops, poultry and pigs—there are now over 100 co-operative farms. There are further 78 co-operative rubber plantations and a large co-operative coconut farm. In cocoa there are still many large and medium-size farmers employing wage labour, but co-operative farming is very marked here, too. In a recent speech, opening a three-day conference of the United Ghana Farmers' Council Co-operatives, President Nkrumah stated that there were now about 1,000 co-operative farms in Ghana. The distribution of food and the regulations of prices are also receiving attention, and a Food Marketing Board has been set up for these purposes.

In the field of trading, the Government set up a Ghana National Trading Corporation in 1961. In 1962, the Government bought up the big trading firm of A.G. Leventis, and added this to the National Trading Corporation. This Corporation now handles all import trade with the socialist countries. In addition, Ghana has a State Bank and a State Insurance Corporation.

ORGANIZED PLANNED ECONOMY

Thus Ghana's economic progress is being organized in a planned and comprehensive way. The planning cannot yet be all-embracing, owing to the fact that a considerable sector of the economy is still in private hands, both domestic and foreign. Statistics, too are not yet full enough to enable completely scientific planning techniques to be utilised. But the foundations for Ghana's economic growth are being well laid.

The present pattern of Ghana's economy is based on five sectors—State, co-operative, mixed State-and-foreign, foreign enterprise (for large undertakings), and domestic private capital for smaller enterprises. But this pattern is not regarded as something which will be permanent. The Seven-Year Plan emphasises that Ghana has chosen the socialist form of society as the objective of her social and economic development, and in pursuance of this aim every encouragement will be given, in both industry and agriculture, to the expansion of the State and

co-operative sectors.

In essence, a state of war now exists in Ghana society. The forces of counter-revolution have again given proof of their determination to halt by violence and unconstitutional action the people's advance to socialism.
—Spark, January 3, 1964 after the latest attack on the life of President Nkrumah.

'DOMINANT SHARE' OF ECONOMY

The fact, that, for a time, much of Ghana's economy will remain in private capitalist hands is not in itself necessarily a danger. Even the existence of foreign capital need not become a serious threat. As long as the Government and the national leadership are clear and determined to avoid the path of 'normal' capitalist development, as long as they mobilise the workers and peasants to assist them in taking this path, then step by step, they can circumscribe the limits of the foreign capitalist sector and eventually take it over or buy it out at a time and under conditions which are most appropriate.

Similarly, domestic capitalist growth as well can be kept in check so that from this quarter, too, any threat can be countered. Ghana's aim, in fact, is that a 'dominant share' of the economy will be in the hands of the State within about twenty years.

The Seven-Year Plan itself warns: 'We must be careful to ensure that the operation of the mixed economy leads to the so-

socialist transformation and not to the defeat of our socialist aims'. In line with this objective, the plan lays down a three-fold strategy:

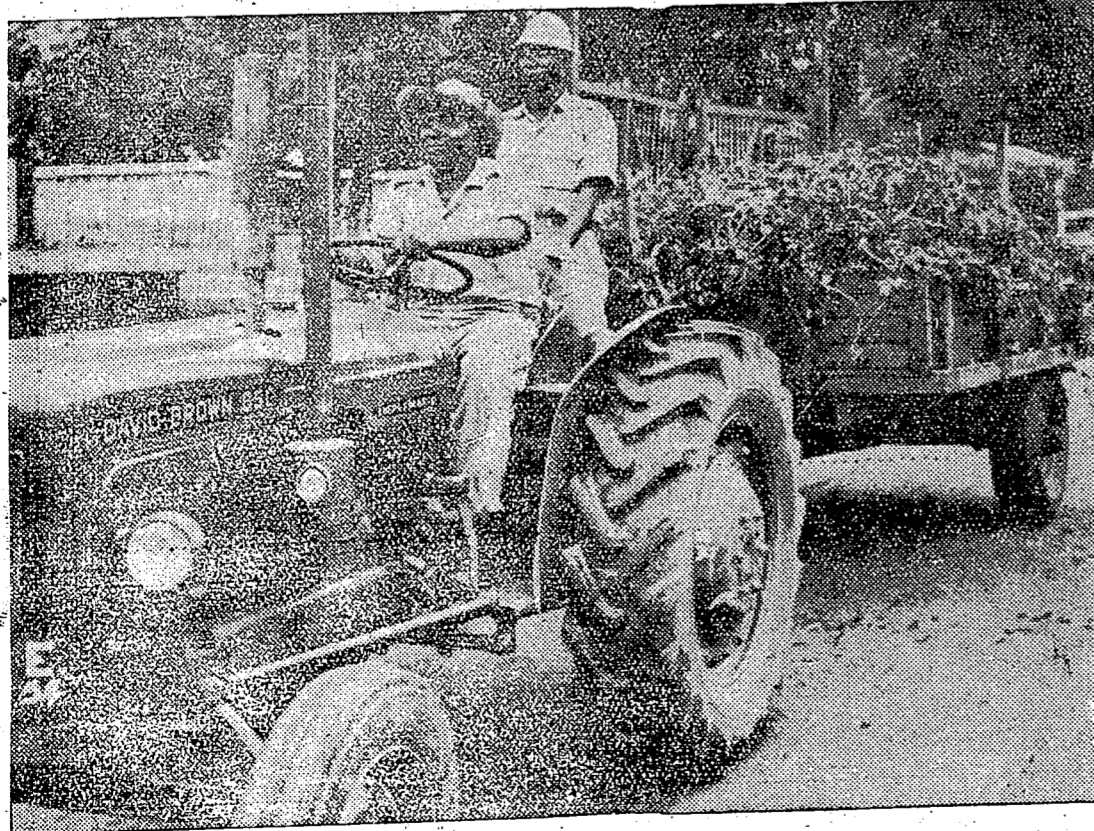
1. to speed up the rate of growth of the national economy;
2. to embark on the socialist transformation of the economy through the development of the state and co-operative sector; and
3. to liquidate the colonial structure of the economy by the development of modern industry. A significant basic principle of the plan is that 'the growth rate of the public sector must always exceed the growth rate of the private sector in agriculture and industry'.

PRODUCTIVE INVESTMENT

Indicative of the whole character of the plan is the fact that whereas in the period 1951-59 no less than 90 per cent of Government investment was in the non-productive sector, this will be reduced under the plan to 62.7 per cent, while the productive sector will be allocated 37.3 per cent of the Government investments, almost four times that of the previous period.

It must be appreciated that for a small country such as Ghana, with under seven million people, and an economy left in a most backward state by colonialism, the task of building a modern, industrialised economy is enormous. For this reason alone, apart from the most pressing political needs, Ghana would much

Continued on page 6



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Towards Union Govt. (1)

The Liberation Movement

Contd. from page 1

ful organisations in the world. But the most important calls on this strength is the speeding up of African liberation. Our continent must be cleansed of imperialist occupation and racist Governments and that very soon. This was what the Committee of Nine was intended to do. But the intention has not been fulfilled. Are we bold enough to admit our mistakes and start again? False pride or vested interests must not be allowed to stand in the way of the Organisation of African Unity fulfilling its first and sacred duty, the assistance of our brothers still battling for their freedom.

A year after its inception the Committee of Nine has helped nobody. It has established a bureaucratic apparatus which proposed to use valuable resources on perpetuating itself and it views the problems of the various liberation movements in a mechanical and conservative fashion.

It has virtually handed over control of aid to the liberation movements to neighbouring African states, without consultation. By recommending the establishment of bases outside the liberation movements' territories it weakens links with the masses of the peoples from whom the movements draw their strength. It gives excuses for the repressive Governments like Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia to undertake provocative military actions against African states where the bases are to be established. It has laid down and publicly declared what the basic military formations of the liberation movements should be with details of their equipment.

More serious even than this, the Committee is encouraging some sections of liberation movements as against others. It should be eminently clear that the people of a given territory must be left free to settle their own internal differences. The major principle that unites them is their fight for freedom and that is what should concern the Committee, which should work unceasingly for the unity of all sections and not play off one group against another by allocating resources on some private basis of favouritism. The Committee is supposed to be a unifying not a divisive force. Imperialism is the divider. The Committee is arrogating to itself important policy decisions which the Organisation alone should take. Who should receive aid is a policy decision. With the information at their disposal and with their experience the Heads of State will be able to decide who should receive help. In many regions, in any case, it is not a question of deciding to help one group rather than another but of helping any and every group which commands popular support and works honestly for the objective of liberation.

The decision about who must be helped cannot be left to a narrow, bureaucratic apparatus. It is a policy question for the Organisation to settle collectively. Once this is decided the Committee must be prevented from using the resources on offices and numerous officials. Every single item of resources is precious and must be used to greatest direct effect. A most rigorous policy of secrecy is needed. The Committee is not assisting at a game played according to polite rules, it is taking part in activities on which lives and the freedom of millions depend.

We believe the liberation movements are experienced and mature and that the Committee of Nine should listen to their advice when they specify what help is most needed in a given situation. Certainly it is impossible to give help according to a rigidly laid down formula to countries whose level of struggle and whose circumstances differ widely.

Let it be made clear too that the Committee has not been set up to act as a go-between, negotiating on behalf of liberation movements and the imperialist regimes. It is not its job to act as referee. It is its job to help bring the oppressors to their knees. It is not its job to seek some kind of accommodation with imperialism. It is its job to assist the freedom fighters to drive their oppressors out. The only negotiations permissible are those for full and immediate independence and the liberation movements are perfectly capable of conducting them when the time comes.

Let the Committee stop playing 'statesmanship' and get down to the job of completing African liberation. We are under no illusion that the imperialists will give in easily. Those regimes still remaining are more vicious and more desperate as their end looms near. They will try to fight to the last ditch. All our resources, skill and unity will be needed to defeat them.

The Cairo Conference is our second chance to fulfil our fraternal obligations. The people of Africa look to the Heads of State meeting there to rectify the mistakes of the Committee and give a new direction in assisting the movements for complete liberation under the canopy of a Union Government.

REPUBLIC

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prefer to be carrying through her economic changes as part of a united Africa which would enable all the resources of manpower and materials in this vast continent to be pooled, for communications to be co-ordinated, for hydro-electric stations to be created on a planned continental basis making a regional grid system, possible for iron and steel complexes to be established in selected, economically strategic regions—in short, for the economy of the whole continent to be co-ordinated and planned.

While pressing for African unity, however, Ghana is not standing still. She is pressing ahead and, in many respects, making herself an inspiration for other developing states in Africa.

Much remains to be done, there are many obstacles to be overcome and weaknesses to be eliminated. But Ghana is making—and will continue to make—

important economic progress. In six and a half years of independence she has begun to break up the former colonial pattern of the economy, and take her first careful but firm steps towards becoming a modern, industrialised country. She is diversifying her economy, extending her agriculture from its one-crop pattern, building her light industries, and laying the basis for heavy industry.

GHANA—IMPERIALISM'S BANE

Expressive of her economic growth is the present level of her average per capita income. United Nations sources now estimate it at \$245 a year compared with \$110 for West Africa as a whole, \$65 for East and Central Africa, and \$130 for North Africa. Some estimates place Ghana now on a level with some European countries. When one starts to compare an African country with a European one it is clear that something new is happening.

These important economic advances being carried forward in Ghana by the Government and the Convention People's Party are not at all to the liking of imperialism any more than are Ghana's consistent fight for peace and against colonialism, and her avowed intention to build socialism in Ghana. This explains why Ghana meets with such a hostile press in Britain and America, and why there have been plots to overthrow the Government headed by President Nkrumah.

But Ghana is fighting off these attacks and calmly continues her advance away from colonialism, and in the direction of a new independent economy, thus laying the basis, in President Nkrumah's words, of "a society in which the maxim: from each according to his ability and to each according to his work, shall apply, and in which the condition for the development of each shall be the condition for the development of all."

POETS' CORNER

THE TRUTH

THE truth can free all mankind,
vanquish greed and selfish pride
rid the heart of selfish passions;
then the mind is free to see
that life is love and brotherhood
and ever calls to thee;
the mind can make the body rich
and light the way for thee.
Heed not the voice of passions
seek Wisdom, Truth and Light.

—Joseph Shipley

Lords Prayer: Shareholders Version

OUR father who art in heaven please put the bank rate up to seven and start a war in Europe soon—extended arms sales are a boon. It matters not that men may die, please make our divi reach the sky and should their wives bemoan their fate, they've always got the welfare state. But please don't put their pensions high, Just keep them short, let's hear them cry. If there were profit to be made from catching tears of every maid, who's lost her boy in tropic land then we'd be there with spoon in hand, to catch them ere they touched the ground, but salt is far too cheap per pound. Should men return in broken health we'll take their pension for ourselves, we'll set them on at lower rates to do the work a fit man hates. Now bless us each and everyone, we've prototyped another gun.

D. J. Edmondson

Foreign Monopoly

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Difference in the natural and historic conditions is responsible for the fact that legislation in the field of granting rights to foreign companies is not identical in separate African nations. The necessity is strongly felt now to draw up model investment rules. The economic committee of the OAU might submit, by way of recommendation, such rules. These rules would stipulate the desirability of leaving the control stocks of a concession enterprise in the hands of Africans, call on the administration of a company to strictly observe social legislation rules of a given country, emphasise the absence of rights to re-invest and dismount enterprises upon the expiration of the concession term, etc.

ADVANTAGEOUS AID

The experience of last years insistently demands that independent African nations use to the full such form of economic aid as the construction on their territories of state-owned enterprises, long-term credits granted them for training national man power, mutually advantageous

trade on the basis of traditional exports, etc.

Certainly, all this does not mean that the inflow of foreign capital should be curbed or so conditioned that it would deprive the investor of material incentive. In this respect, Africa provides ample opportunities. Take for instance, the development of railways. Indeed, it is much easier so far to get to Addis Ababa from Dakar via Paris and from Kankan to Bamako via Dakar. The construction of the Trans-Sahara railway line or that from the Eastern Sudan to Nigeria has long been a pressing problem. Such undertakings might brisk up world market of steel production for many years to come, as well as promote iron ore development in Africa, provide consumers for electric power which would mean the building of hydro power projects on the basis of hydro power resources. Algerian oil would be utilised by the developing economy of the countries of Tropical Africa and the outflow of Gissera cotton to Manchester would cease.

Such construction projects might attract the attention of countries with differing social systems which

could provide practical examples of advantageous methods and rates of work. Qualitative value of designing work is largely instrumental in realisation of the projects promoting economic progress of the continent as a whole. Africans, above all, have naturally to take part in translating effective economic blue-prints into life in order to bring nearer the day when Africa becomes a major center of industrial output and takes the place, it ought to have taken, in the production of material and cultural values.



17th JUNE, WEDNESDAY:

U.A.R.: Mr. J. L. Appa-Sampson, Ghana's Ambassador to the U.A.R. said on arrival in Cairo that the present situation in Africa demands a continental political union buttressed with three things: continental economic planning, common Foreign representation and an African High Command or some effective defence arrangement for Africa.

He said recent events in some parts of Africa would convince any African Statesman to conclude that our salvation lies in the Union Government of Africa and expressed the hope that the Cairo Conference in July would see the birth of such a union government.

CONGO (Brazzaville): A spokesman of the Popular Movement for Angolan Liberation said in Brazzaville that an Angolan Free-

dom Movement Commando killed 15 Portuguese soldiers in an ambush on Monday.

UGANDA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia arrived in Entebbe, to begin an official visit to Uganda.

SOMALIA: The Somali Ministry of Foreign Affairs has sent telegrams to the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) and the United Nations, protesting against the conviction of Nelson Mandela and his seven colleagues.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Bernard Chipesa, local secretary of the Caretaker Council led by Mr. Joshua Nkomo, alleged to have set fire on a car, has been sentenced to death at Umtali by a white settler judge, Mr. Justice Fieldsend.

ALGERIA: Eleven Algerian counter-revolutionaries have been arrested at Dra'El Mizin in the Kabylia Mountains.

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