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FRONT PAGE COMMENT

by Julius Sago

GHANA 1965

LAST Tuesday, Kwame

Nkrumah addressed the fifth and last session of the First Parliament of the Republic of Ghana. In an election year it is most welcome that the Presidential Address is a comprehensive review, with clear cogent solutions to the main problems—international, Africa and domestic—with which Ghana is beset. The hallmark of the address are the lucid exposition of complex problems, the forthright and clear-cut solutions offered and its infectious exuberance of confidence and optimism.

The aim in this article is not to attempt a rehash of what was said. The full text is published elsewhere in this journal. Nor is it to run a commentary on all aspects of the address. This would be rather long. The aim here is to draw attention to the highlights of the address in order to enable readers get hold of the urgent and crucial problems dealt with as well as the solutions proposed for them.

TWO MAIN PARTS

The address falls into two main parts—external affairs comprising international and African problems and domestic affairs which ranges over a multitude of problems like the economy, implementation of the 7-Year Plan, social services, scientific education and research, contribution of the Armed Forces to general development, the state administrative machinery and the reconstitution of Parliament.

In international affairs, the great goal remains the attainment of world peace. This is gravely threatened by the proliferation of nuclear weapons and NATO's Multilateral Nuclear Force. World peace, Kwame Nkrumah maintains, will be secured when two conditions have been fulfilled. The first is "total and complete disarmament". The other is the abolition "everywhere in the world" of "imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in all their forms and manifestations".

And to achieve these two conditions, Kwame Nkrumah places reliance on the peoples of the world. "I am sure" he says "that effective and con-

certed action by the Independent African States and the peace-loving peoples of the world can and could destroy forever colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Turning to the African scene, Kwame Nkrumah re-affirms that his government "from the very dawn of independence committed and pledged Ghana and all her resources to the struggle for the total liberation, and political unification of our continent.

This political unification which, concretely, takes the form of a continental union government is seen as "the first stage of our struggle to create the right image of Africa in the world, and to provide a secure political framework within which we can develop our national resources and improve the standard of living of our peoples."

We have to travel the road of political union because the "Addis Ababa Charter has already been overtaken by events". And we have to speed along this road because "if we go fast we shall surely succeed. If we go slow we shall go to pieces and perish".

In a carefully worded comment on the limitations of diplomatic action in the pursuit of African unity, Kwame Nkrumah stresses the need for popular action. "The struggle against neo-colonialism and all its ramifications in Africa, is the struggle of all people—the workers and peasants of our continent."

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

The address, however, gives greater attention to domestic affairs. And in this regard, the main concentration is on the problems of the national economy.

The general picture of the national economy is that of rapid expansion. Handicapped by falling earnings on cocoa, development projects are springing up everywhere with two consequential problems—a swollen national pay packet and

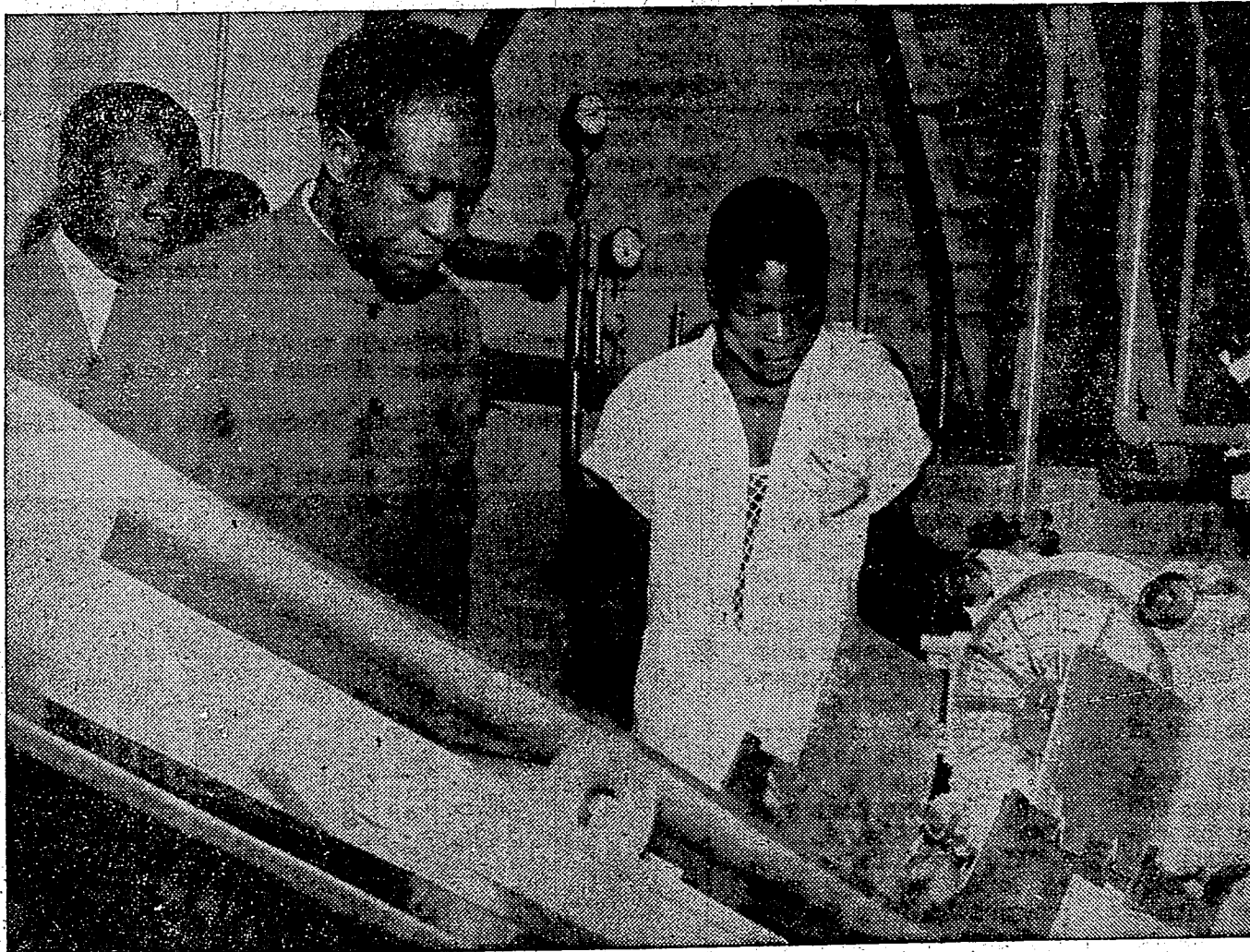
pressure on our foreign exchange position due to rising imports of industrial plants and equipments generally. The swollen national pay packet, placed alongside the necessary cuts in imports of consumer goods, has produced an inflationary pressure on prices here at home. The rising imports of equipment and plants, placed alongside the drastic drop in earnings on cocoa (£105m in 1954 and £70m in 1962), has meant

sure, however, falls in the field of economic production.

SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS

The solution to the urgent economic problems could be summarised in a seven point action plan as follows:—

1. continued firm control on imports, especially of consumer goods;
2. an effective and efficient price control ma-



a further squeeze on imports of consumer goods.

These difficulties notwithstanding, the national economic effort must be directed to "the continued development of the nation on a broad front, but with the emphasis on the further expansion of agriculture, industry and education". Secondary education is now free; scientific education is being expanded through increased scholarship allowances for degree and post-graduate work as well as through rationalisation of the work of the Academy of Sciences; an expanded base is being created for the turn out of trained doctors for our medical services and trained teachers for our schools. The centre of gravity of remedial mea-

3. increased production of food and consumer goods at home;
4. the setting up of heavy industries (especially iron and steel, machine building and chemicals) to supply the tools, parts and products needed by agriculture and the consumer goods industries;
5. diversion of part of the nation's spending power into investments;
6. the rationalisation of the production system in the public sector;
7. increased efficiency in the nation's machinery of administration.

Lets review the practical measures being taken to give effect to each of these seven points.

To cope with the import problem, Kwame Nkrumah emphasises that we need

"a system of controls during this period of reconstruction". The controls will be directed towards three objectives—a cut down of wasteful expenditure on luxuries; conservation of foreign exchange resources; protection of local industries.

The firm stand on an effective system of price controls and the warning that "the Party and the Government take a very serious view of this" should be read against Kwame

In the last analysis, the blackmarket racket reduces to an aspect of the inner party struggle between the devoted socialists in the Party and those others who still hanker after capitalism. The success of the fight against hoarding, blackmarketing and profiteering will owe much to the extent that the leading organs of the Party and State are, from now on, controlled by persons who are dedicated socialists both in words

and Pension's Fund will not only provide old age security for our workers but also help to reduce the pressure of swollen spending power on contracting consumer goods. In addition, it will provide a lucrative source of investment capital. The Provident Fund is thus an important link in solving the problem of capital formation at home.

Kwame Nkrumah's address pays considerable attention to the rationalisation of production in the public sector. After stressing that state enterprises, in industry and in agriculture, are set up with the tax-payers money, Kwame Nkrumah asserts that these enterprises "have a duty to operate on profitable basis".

Kwame Nkrumah put paid to the anti-socialist campaign against public enterprises on the grounds that these are inefficient. He crashed the hopes of those who sought to attack our socialist programme under the cover of attacking inefficient state enterprises when he declared: "We will continue to expand the public sectors of the economy by establishing more state-owned enterprises both in industry and agriculture". At the same time, he served warning on those bureaucrats who wish to run state enterprises on civil service lines when he declared: "The aim of the Party and Government is to make our State enterprises efficient and profitable state organisations, and to run them on sound commercial lines."

STATE ENTERPRISES

The gadget designed for this exercise of making state enterprises efficient shows a clear appreciation of the weaknesses of the present set up.

These enterprises will no longer be governed by civil service conditions of service.

Workers will be engaged by their management in each enterprise but appointments to managerial grades will be made by the Minister on the recommendation of the State Enterprises Secretariat and with the approval of the Cabinet. This arrangement gives greater control over the labour force to the men on the job while going a long way

... Let us therefore match our will and determination to the great responsibility that lies ahead. With unity, co-operation and mutual understanding we shall see the glorious fulfilment of our hopes and aspirations".
—K. Nkrumah.

and deeds.

Increased production of consumer goods at home and investment in heavy industries will get a boost from another £20 million planned investment for industries in the public sector alone this year. An Agricultural Credit and Co-operative Bank, to be boosted by nearly £3 million Trust Fund contributed by the cocoa industry, will provide credits at reasonable charges to farmers.

The setting up of iron and steel, machine tool and chemical industries should relax the squeeze on foreign currency reserves by helping reduce the volume of machines and spare parts coming in from abroad. Results, in this regard, will not be immediately available.

The National Provident

Continued on Page 8

The Socialist Revolution in Africa (6)

OUR previous articles in this series have analysed the nature of imperialism and have demonstrated that it is a world system standing in the sharpest contradiction to socialist states, to the peoples of the colonies, newly independent countries and to the working class and other sections of the people in the metropolitan countries. We have seen how it is the same monopoly capitalists through their world wide operations and drive for profit exploit the farmers, peasants, technicians and workers of many different countries and how consequently it is necessary in their own interests for all the working people of all lands to unite and confront imperialism in all its manifestations.

The socialist states are precisely those states where the people have succeeded in overthrowing for good all the domination of their economic, political and social life by a small minority of capitalists. They have set out to establish new societies which leave behind the exploitation of man by man and usher in a new era of wider democracy in all fields of life, of rapid material expansion and of cultural development.

It would appear to be self-evident that the unity of these three sections of the world anti-imperialist forces should work in unity and on the basis of the warmest fraternal relations but in fact this self-evident truth has to be argued far most vigorously. A powerful campaign of propaganda is, conducted by capitalist forces against the idea of national independence, against socialism, against Marxism; it specialises in systematic vilification of the socialist states and the national liberation movements and the militants, and revolutionaries in the metropolitan countries themselves. Sometimes these ideas are crude, sometimes subtle, sometimes they are presented at the level of propaganda or cheap journalism; at other times they are presented with claims to the highest intellectual pretensions. It is not only from obvious sources such as the capitalist Press, or the Voice of America that these ideas flow, very often they are presented under the guise of progressive ideas from self-styled anti-imperialists or progressives. We have to examine not only the origins of the ideas and who propounds but we have to subject them to rigorous examination (to see what purpose, objectively, they have. We must ask ourselves what, if acted upon would their net effect be, how would they affect the real actions of men and women struggling in the real world for peace, independence, socialism, a better, fuller life?

NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES IN AFRICA AND ASIA

Any consideration of the movement for national independence must remark on the staggering but inspiring fact that in the years since the end of the Second World War well over 50 new independent states have arisen in Africa and Asia. Millions of people have taken the first vital step in the establishment of real freedom for themselves, they have made the first political moves which can lay the basis for their full independence free from all elements of imperialist domination.

What are the factors which have led to this rapid development? It is not because the struggle only began in 1945. On the contrary ever since imperialism threatened the peoples of Africa they have fought back in a variety of ways against invasion, occupation and the theft of their lands, the looting of the wealth of their countries. Before 1914, however, they fought against overwhelming odds, against an expanding imperialist system with enormous reserves of material, political and repressive power which it employed quite ruthlessly. We have to look at the political struggle on a world scale to understand the development of the movement against imperialism.

The First World War saw an upsurge of revolutionary feeling and activity throughout the world. The capitalist powers were strong enough to suppress it generally. However, a decisive break through was achieved in Tsarist Russia because it was the weakest

of the imperialist powers. Its ruling class, confronted with the demands of the capitalist class, the peasantry and the working class for political change and the demands of the peoples of its colonies for freedom was unable to find a way of continuing to rule. The workers and peasants of Tsarist Russia and its Empire were able to win their demands in this crisis and established their state because they had the leadership of a Party based on scientific socialism

We continue the series of articles on the Socialist Revolution in Africa. The aim of the whole series is to demonstrate the relationship between the Socialist Revolution in Africa and the general world-wide advance of mankind towards full emancipation. We aim to show that full freedom in Africa as anywhere else in the world can only be realised through getting rid of exploitation and by creating a new society based on the common ownership of the resources of the nation. Pan-Africanism itself is part of the socialist revolution: it is based on the irresistible demand of the peoples of Africa for a new, developing prosperous way of life which can be realised only through socialism. We have dealt with the nature of imperialism, its characteristic features and its different forms. We have shown how this system is in crisis and what possibilities this situation holds out for the strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist forces. The problems of national liberation and the relation of this to nationalism and the fight for socialism will now be discussed and we shall endeavour to show that the very concept of liberation and Pan-Africanism involves the whole question of the reconstruction of African society on the basis of socialism, which is an economic and social system with common basic features wherever it exists or is being built. A guide in the exploration of these essential ideas is Nkrumahism which brilliantly demonstrates the basic validity of scientific socialism everywhere and which creatively applies its basic principles to the particular and special problems of Africa.

and democratic centralism.

Thus the first break in the front of imperialism came in an area covering one sixth of the world, with great potential resources. Weak as the new Soviet State then was, it was a state of the working class and peasantry established for the first time in history and dedicated to the task of building socialism.

In spite of this break through, imperialism was still powerful and indeed the subsequent struggles against fascism, for peace, for better living standards for independence saw not victories but defeats. The defeat of Fascism however in the Second World War and the emergence of the Soviet Union as the second power in the world marked the beginning of a decisive new turn in world history. The Soviet Union was joined by others dedicated to the construction of a new socialist society, out of the ruins of war and the political advances of their struggle for liberation from Nazi occupation they advanced to a new form of society; they were joined by China, and at present they are 14 socialist countries who now form a SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM.

The development of a socialist world system embracing many millions of people, combining together through trade, in production, in assistance in all fields one to the other represents a new factor in the world. The material and political power of these states which have thrown off capitalism and exploitation and the domination of the capitalist class for ever from their countries provides a powerful

bulwark sheltering and supporting all sections of the anti-imperialist movement, wherever it may be. Now it is no longer possible for imperialist powers to ride rough shod everywhere, now it is possible for a powerful challenge to be made if the national liberation movements recognise who are their friends and who are their enemies. It is significant that those countries like Cuba and Egypt threatened militarily by imperialist countries recognised that the Socialist camp was their natural ally and through this alliance imperialism was driven back. Where the national liberation movement wavers, weakened by anti-communism, as in the Congo, victory against imperialism is placed in jeopardy. This is what such great leaders as Fidel Castro, Lumumba and

struggle because of the economically strategic position it occupied.

The upsurge of socialist ideas and inspiration bound together the working class and sections of intellectuals in a common ideology which inspired their fight, its policy and tactics. The fact that the world socialist system existed did not of itself, of course, ensure national liberation in any particular country. National liberation, like revolution cannot be exported, it has to be won by the people of the country themselves in terms of their own traditions, history, forces and particular conditions; but they do now struggle in a world situation where in general imperialism can be restrained and restricted in its operations.

POLITICAL INSPIRATION

The growing successes of some countries in building socialism and of others in winning their national independence undoubtedly provides valuable lessons and political inspiration for others to conduct their struggles yet more successfully and the tempo of development accelerates. In addition, the material assistance which socialist countries can offer to the newly independent states provides tremendous assistance to them to break free from the economic trammels of their imperialist past.

The growth of the socialist world system is measured, not only in terms of the numbers of countries which now constitute it but in terms of the growth of production and the expansion of their economies. The aim of countries like the Soviet Union to outstrip the United States in all sections of production, industrial and agricultural, is not set for reasons of national pride, but because in the last analysis this material strength constitutes the most sure defence against imperialism and imperialist activities. It is the source of the strength offered as real backing to the diplomatic and

political support which the socialist states give to other countries now seeking to establish real independence.

The national liberation movement, and the newly independent countries, sometimes known as the third world, constitutes a powerful and vital element in three pronged front which confronts imperialism. Even in the imperialist countries themselves, where the third anti-imperialist force operates under very difficult conditions, the organisations of the working class in the form of trade unions, political parties, anti-imperialist organisations, peace movements are themselves growing and developing. In countries like France and Italy mass Communist Parties express the level of organisation of the most advanced sections, but throughout Europe struggles against war and against the effects of imperialism have been a feature of the last decade. In South America enormous impetus has been given to the peoples there by the success of Cuba, the advance of independent states in Africa has encouraged the powerful growth of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. Thus we see how deeply inter-related are all the elements on a world scale which stand for the real and full liberation of men and women from exploitation. The form of the exploitation differs, sometimes based on racial inequality, sometimes through neo-colonialist forms, in some cases still through colonial rule, and in the advanced industrial countries through the forms of bourgeois democracy. Nevertheless the success of one section supports and aids the advances of the rest. Those who isolate themselves from the rest will weaken their struggle and confuse the masses of the people who look to them for leadership. It may be asked how such unity can find its expression in the existence of the third world.

The stand of 'positive Neutrality' is precisely the diplomatic form of the African States' independence from

military blocs and entanglement in the international politics of the Cold War. The Cold War officially launched by Winston Churchill at Fulton, U.S.A., 1946, made the call for the smashing of the Soviet Union and for anti-Communist crusade. From there on military pacts around U.S.A. military power began to be formed. The imperialist powers would still like to be able to establish military bases on the territories of the newly independent states to complete their attempts to encircle the socialist countries by military force, but those states committed to Positive Neutrality have resisted. They have frustrated imperialist designs in this way, in the face of great pressure and they have fulfilled their obligations to the establishment of peace and the solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces. Kwame Nkrumah has clearly expressed the relationship between the struggle for peace and the struggle against imperialism. "The struggle against colonialism and imperialism is part of the struggle for world peace, because the liquidation of imperialism and colonialism means the positive removal of the fundamental cause of war".

The All-African Peoples' Conference at Cairo in 1961 was also quite clear where the danger of neo-colonialism comes from and specified the United States, Federal Germany, Israel, Britain, Belgium, Holland, South Africa and France. These are countries of the West; the Conference saw the connection between capitalism and neo-colonialism just as the finest leaders of Africa see where the danger to peace comes from, precisely the same quarters and they have resisted the efforts of the West to involve them in the anti-communist and pro-imperialist world campaign.

This unity is reflected in the Councils of the United Nations with the growing number of votes cast by socialist states and those of the newly independent states together in

support of such important measures as the Resolution calling for the ending of colonialism or for the demand for nuclear free zones and the development of real disarmament. In all these vital practical matters in the task of preserving peace, the socialist states and the non-aligned combine together precisely because the fight for peace inevitably challenges the basic feature of imperialism namely its drive to war in order to solve its own contradictions. The third world is not therefore an expression of separatism or division between the socialist states and the newly independent world but an expression of the determination of these new countries to assert their independence and the policies of imperialism and the Cold War. Its practical expression is to be found in the co-operation which exists in the United Nations Councils and at the International Conference Table.

The change in the balance of world forces which these developments reflect hold out the prospect for developments yet more rapid than those of the last decade.

Conscious unity and co-operation at all levels will help us to resist all the attempts of imperialism, to split the forces against it. It will help us to defeat the ideological confusion spread by those who claim to be socialists but by their splitting tactics play the imperialists' game and try to obscure the fact that the major division in the world is between imperialism and socialism, between all those who support imperialism and those who resolutely struggle against it and strive to build a new society which will end capitalism forever. These are the basic divisions, these are the principles upon which unity and unity in action must be built to ensure the rapid completion of the independence of the African continent and the construction of a society free from exploitation and poverty dedicated to the construction of a freer nobler society which socialism can bring.

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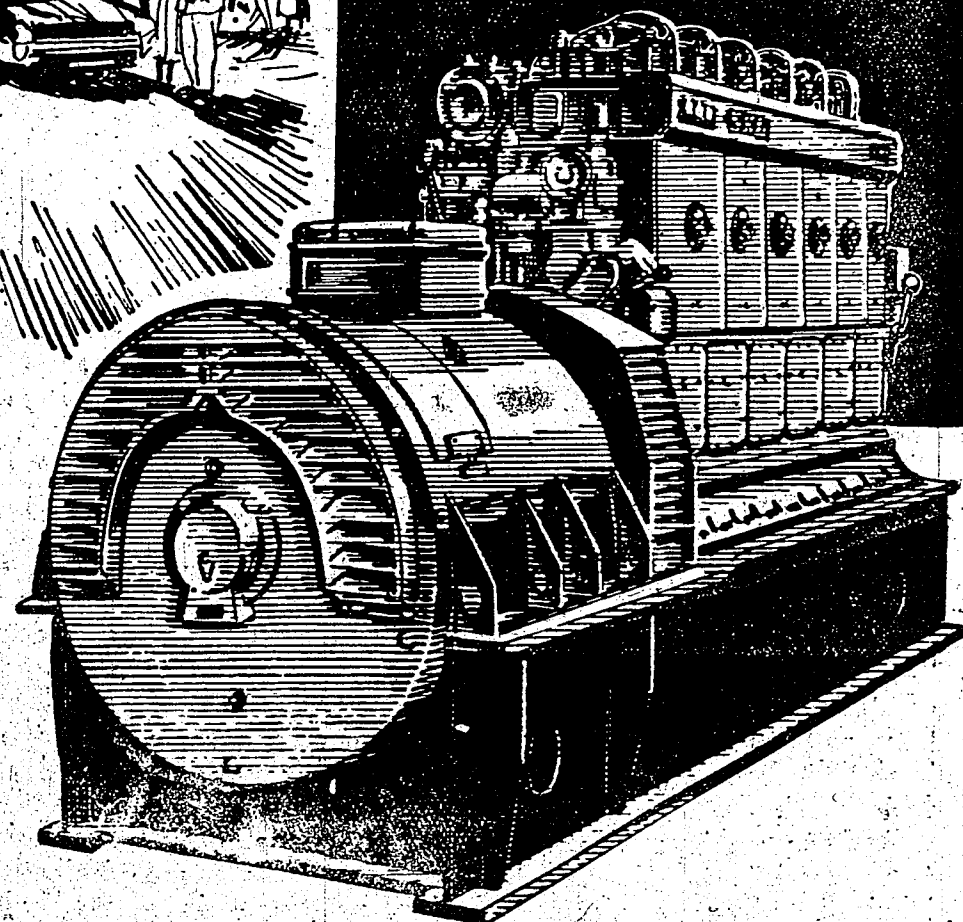
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The Forces of the African Revolution (3)

by **Jack Woodis**

THE migratory character of the African labour force has naturally a negative effect on trade union organisation. But is it such a dominant aspect of the whole problem that it requires special attention. Mr. Noon has commented that migrant labour is "the end result of all the problems which confront African labour". One must admit there is much truth in this statement. Compelled to take up wage labour through the poverty of his agriculture and the decline of his handicrafts, coupled with the pressing need to earn cash to meet taxation, and often driven by various open and disguised forms of forced labour, the African has often had to travel far from his own poor, soil-eroded land to the mines or rich farm and plantation lands owned by Europeans. Frequently this involves incredibly long journeys across frontiers to neighbouring territories.

Anxious to maintain his right to a piece of land in his Native Reserves to which he can return when out of work, or ill or too old—for he has been faced with absence of any social security provisions in the towns, mining compounds and European farms—the African worker has been obliged to return constantly to the countryside. The usual pattern of wages based on a single man's needs, with hostel accommodation for single men only, and often under terms of contract which debar him from staying at his job for more than a year or at most two years (this is often the case with mining) are further factors which compel the African periodically to return to his village or small plot of land.

All societies going through a process of change from pre-capitalist forms of economy to the introduction of wage labour have known labour migration. But in Africa, where the break-up of the old society has taken place under conditions of colonialism and with a limited growth of modern factory production, the extent of labour migration has been quite phenomenal, and has had some quite unique features. It has been a migration of single adult males, or of husbands unaccompanied by their wives and children; the act of migration is repeated time and again in the life of the individual worker; the scale and character of the migration is such that it has often produced a totally unbalanced population both in the countryside and in the urban areas. In the towns one finds mainly men between fifteen and forty-five, with far less women, children or old folk. In the rural areas there are women, children and old men, but few young men.

WAGE LABOUR

The 1949 *Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa* referred to a study of seven areas in South Africa which revealed that an average of thirty per cent of all males were away, engaged in wage labour. In relation to the men of working age, the percentage in certain districts reached almost one hundred per cent. A 1952 survey for Basutoland showed that the whole territory was deprived of fifty to sixty per cent of its able-bodied men each year. Dr. Marvin Harris has shown that "well over fifty per cent of the active Thonga population in Mozambique is away from home working for wages in the employ of Europeans." Official figures for Nyasaland for 1954 indicated over 42 per cent of adult males suitable for employment were working outside the territory. With good reason, Dr. Margaret Read has written:

"The chief export of Nyasaland in the past fifty years has been men."

How dependent European enterprises in Africa have been on migrant labour can be judged by a few figures culled from official reports. Two thirds of the miners on the Rand come from outside the Republic of South Africa. Nearly half the labour force in Southern Rhodesia is immigrant labour. Migrant workers are the majority of the labour force in Uganda. They make up a quarter of the mineworkers in Northern Rhodesia. The U.N. *Economic Survey of Africa Since 1950* (published in 1959) stated that the majority of Africa's million mineworkers were migrant workers. It further estimated:

"The vast majority of wage earners south of the Sahara are probably migrants."

All available reports up until a few years ago reveal that the migration of labour in Africa has constantly increased. Thus the U.N. *Special*

Study on Economic Conditions in Non-Self Governing Territories (1958) wrote of the "large-scale migration which... are in the main a phenomenon of the African labour situation", and added: "The most recent information indicates the continuation of these movements." The I.L.O.'s *African Labour Survey* (1958) points out that since the Second World War the continual enlargement of the modern economic sectors "have served only to intensify these migratory movements." It adds that "the information available... supports the view that the proportion of men who regularly absent themselves from their homes has been steadily growing in many territories during the last few years."

Why has this pattern of cheap, unskilled migrant labour persisted with such stubbornness, despite the advice given frequently in official and semi-official studies in favour of a permanent, stabilised and urbanised labour force? The answer is that migrant labour has appeared to the European employers, economically advantageous. The Report of the East African Royal Commission, 1953-1955, candidly explained:

"White employers on the whole are ready to put up with migrant labour provided the supply is constant, for the important reason

that migrant labour is likely to be cheaper in the long run than permanent labour. Apart from a rising scale of wages, a permanent labour force would require social amenities, such as housing and recreation, of a more white employers, provided they can get their labour at what they consider to be extensive and costly type

... *that the migrant labour will accept. Even more costly, whether at the employers' or the Government's expense, would be the necessary provision for old age and unemployment. The 'reasonable wages', do not,*

... *naturally, concern themselves with the problem of whether the African by working for them is undermining the economic life of his own village.*

It is only now, when the African peoples are building up their own independent states that the opportunity arises for sweeping changes in the economic structure and for vast improvements in the field of social services and social security which will make it possible to send migrant labour, this "curse of Africa",

as it has often been termed. For more than sixty years migrant labour has continued. It has had a most negative influence on the ability of the African workers to acquire skill and normal industrial discipline; it has helped to depress wages; and it has created enormous difficulties for those trying to organise African workers into trade unions.

Yet, despite the distorted and stunted character of the economy which has developed in most parts of Africa, with its serious results for the working class, the number of

	1938	1955
Angola	315,549	400,921
Belgian Congo	522,527	1,206,043
French West Africa	178,908	372,500
Gold Coast	63,779	233,595
Kenya	172,760	434,577
Nigeria	227,451	319,755
N. Rhodesia	152,230	252,937
Nyasaland	177,000	289,123
Sierra Leone	22,107	41,619
S. Rhodesia	107,581	267,286
Tanganyika	207,106	389,220
Uganda	72,680	225,453
TOTAL	2,219,678	4,334,019

wage earners has steadily grown, especially since the Second World War. Figures produced by Lord Hailey in his *African Survey Revised*, 1956, give a grand total of 7,554,384 African wage earners. His table, how-

his figures are an underestimate. Figures given by the U.N. *Economic Survey of Africa Since 1950*, and published in 1959, are unsatisfactory since they omit a number of important territories, including South Africa, Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, Guinea and the whole of the former French Community. For those territories which appear both in Hailey's 1956 table and the U.N. 1959 table, the latter shows a further addition of about half a million workers as having taken place over the few years between the two reports. Totals given in the I.L.O. African Labour Survey of 1958 are also inadequate, since they, too, exclude a number of territories apart from North Africa. (These have been given in their separate North African Survey, 1960). But the I.L.O. Survey gives a valuable table showing the growth of the working class in a number of African countries between 1938 and 1955:

Refer to table on the left.

This table shows that the African wage earning class had almost doubled by 1955, compared with the pre-war period. In the last ten years it has grown considerably more. When due allowance is made for all the inadequacies of available statistics it is probable that for the whole African continent there are now at least 20 million African wage workers in a total population of some 250 million people. Representing about 8 per cent of the population, this is

at some time in their lives (and usually on a number of occasions) is several times greater than the total size of the labour force revealed in labour statistics. A Government report for South Africa in 1955, for example, stated that "with the exception of the crippled and disabled persons, nearly all males are employed outside the Bantu areas at one or another stage between the fifteenth and fiftieth birthdays."

This may be rather exceptional but there is no doubt that in most African territories the majority of adult African males have been employed in wage labour at some stage of their lives.

Not all African labour has been migrant, casual and unskilled. Over the past sixty years a growing number of workers have settled down in African urban areas, or in the African sectors of larger towns under European rule, and have acquired some degree of skill, becoming permanent workers, and living in towns with their families, their ties with the countryside loosened. This development still only affects a minority of African workers, but it is a growing phenomenon, and has naturally been more marked in those territories which have been characterised by most industrial development, such as South

and 29 per cent for Egypt (1947). Nevertheless urbanisation of Africans has quickened over the years, in some cases at a remarkable rate. In Nigeria, the population of Lagos rose from 126,608 in 1931 to 270,000 in 1955; and off Enugu, from 15,000 in 1939 to 60,000 in 1953. The 1958 Report of the Urban African Affairs Commission for Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia shows that the African population in the seven main towns increased from 248,000 in 1951 to 324,700 in 1956. In the former Belgian Congo, 500,000 Africans—nearly half the labour force—were living in towns in 1953. In South West Africa, the percentage of Africans living in towns rose from 5.9 per cent in 1936 to 9.4 per cent in 1951.

The following table indicates the rapid growth of a number of towns in the French-speaking territories:

Refer to Table on columns 5 and 6:

Source: *Les Classes Sociales en Afrique Noire* by Raymond Barbé, 1964

This table shows that the populations of Dakar and Brazzaville increased ten-fold between 1910 and 1956, while that of Conakry went up 12 times over the same period. The hundred-fold increase in Abidjan's population is quite extraordinary. Senegal has a number of other growing towns in addition to Dakar; by 1943 it was estimated that 18 per cent of Africans in Senegal were living in towns of over 20,000 inhabitants, and a decade later the estimate was 25 per cent.

It is in South Africa, the most industrialised region of Africa, that African urbanisation has made the most rapid headway.

Refer to Table above:

By 1946, in Johannesburg alone, there were 357,175 Africans—more than the total number of Africans resident in urban centres in the whole of South Africa in 1904.

It should not be thought that urbanisation figures are conclusive evidence of a break with the migrant labour system through which the African worker maintains his links with the countryside and with agriculture. Even the majority of African town-workers are, in fact, temporary and migrant. This is borne out by investigations on the Northern Rhodesian Copper Belt, where urbanisation and stabilisation of the working class is more advanced than in most other African territories. A study by Dr. Clyde Mitchell, based on figures for 1951-53 in four areas of the Copper Belt produced these results:

	Roan Antelope	Other Luanshya	Ndola	Broken Hill
Labour migrants	54.5	53.3	54.7	55.5
Temporary Stabilisation	39.0	38.8	22.6	37.9
Permanent Stabilisation	7.9	6.5	12.7	6.6

Continued on page 6

TABLE IX
EMPLOYMENT OF AFRICAN LABOUR, 1 BY MAJOR CATEGORIES
(Thousands of Workers)

Territory and year	Agriculture	Forestry	Mining and Quarrying	OTHER EMPLOYMENT							Total	Over Total		
				Electric power production	Building and Construction	Industry	Commerce	Transport	Domestic and other services	Public administration			Miscellaneous	
Belgian Congo 1950	238.8	—	113.8	—	84.8	134.9	62.1	62.1	—	—	255.5	609.4	962.0	
French Equat. Africa 1950	44.3	22.0	27.1	—	17.1	14.2	9.1	5.6	—	8.2	0.7	99.3	192.7	
French West Africa 1947	50.0	10.4	4.7	—	—	41.1	39.9	18.4	—	50.8	28.9	179.2	244.3	
Gold Coast 1950	20.0	—	44.3	1.7	33.7	10.1	19.22	15.2	—	9.7	38.5	120.0	183.3	
Kenya 1950	201.9	—	8.3	1.4	16.3	34.7	19.3	5.2	—	—	—	210.5	420.8	
Nigeria 1957	55.0	—	70.6	0.8	—	10.0	—	28.7	—	92.1	—	131.9	257.5	
Northern Rhodesia 1949	32.4	—	37.0	—	—	21.0	—	3.9	—	32.0	9.7	102.6	172.0	
Southern Rhodesia 1950	177.0	—	59.5	3.7	43.0	52.0	19.0	10.0	—	93.0	0.8	221.5	458.0	
Tanganyika 1951	232.7	4.4	18.3	—	45.0	28.4	19.9	24.1	—	51.1	31.2	200.2	455.4	
Uganda 1950	29.5	3.6	5.8	—	34.5	24.4	2.5	6.4	—	7.2	39.3	132.2	171.2	
TOTAL	1,122.0	—	389.4	7.6	274.4	370.8	191.0	179.6	—	108.2	393.1	360.4	2,006.8	3,518.2

1 Including extra-territorial workers
2 Building and public works
3 Including 3,200 Europeans
4 Of these, 77,375 were employed by the Government and 106,963 by private enterprise
5 Including fishing.

6 Including domestic service
7 Including 36,000 migrants from other territories
8 Including 253,000 migrants from other territories
9 Including 18,000 Africans employed in cotton ginning, which provides only seasonal employment.

Source: Enlargement of the Exchange Economy in Tropical Africa, p.24, U.N., 1954

Note: For explanation of the above Table (ix) see our previous issue, Column 7, of Page 6.

Dakar	26,000 (1910)	54,000 (1931)	231,000 (1956)
Conakry	6,600 (1911)	6,800 (1931)	70,000 (1950)
Abidjan	1,400 (1912)	10,000 (1931)	125,000 (1955)
Douala	—	27,000 (1931)	125,000 (1956)
Brazzaville	10,000 (1900)	20,000 (1933)	99,000 (1956)

already an important force. Moreover it should be appreciated that this figure represents the number of wage earners employed at any given time. One should bear in mind that as a consequence of the migrant labour system, the number of Africans who have engaged in wage labour

GHANA LOOKS

Speech delivered by Kwame Nkrumah during the opening of the fifth session of Parliament on 12th January, 1965.

I OPEN this Fifth Session of Parliament at a time of great national expectation and promise. The implementation of our Seven-Year Development Plan which I launched a year ago, is proceeding vigorously. We have already exceeded during the first year of the Plan the investment target which we have set ourselves. This means that in terms of preparation and fulfilment for the future years of the Plan, we are already far ahead. We have laid a firm foundation for progress and sustained economic growth and expansion in the years ahead. I will say more about this later.

But the success of our national endeavours and our economic reconstruction depends on the maintenance of world peace. Ghana has played, and will continue to play, its part in the quest for peace within the comity of nations.

We cannot, however, ignore the fact that world peace depends on the attainment of total and complete disarmament. The stock-piling of nuclear weapons can only lead to tragic consequences for the world. No lasting peace can be achieved, until imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in all their forms and manifestations, have been abolished everywhere in the world. So long as imperialist and neo-colonialist intervention in other nations' affairs continues in any part of the world, world peace will continue to elude mankind.

TWO GREATEST FACTORS

The two greatest factors in the complicated society of the present century are decolonisation and automation. The attainment of complete decolonisation is a necessary condition for the proper distribution of historical initiative in society in order that everyone, every nation, every people, may attain their maximum development, and make a positive contribution towards world progress and civilisation.

Automation is the relationship between energy and human endurance, and should have for its aim the promotion of efficiency through the elimination of drudgery, and the enhancement of progress and development for all.

Complete decolonisation, when linked with the development of automation to its highest possible limits, could well lead to a period of great progress and prosperity for mankind.

Barely three months ago in Cairo, 47 peace-loving nations, including Ghana, owing no allegiance to any of the power blocs into which our world is unhappily divided, solemnly re-affirmed their resolve and determination to reduce international tension and keep the world free from the threat and scourge of nuclear war. In order to prevent war and create conditions for peaceful development, the causes of war must be removed. The non-aligned nations therefore took an uncompromising stand against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism—the major causes of international tension in the world to-day.

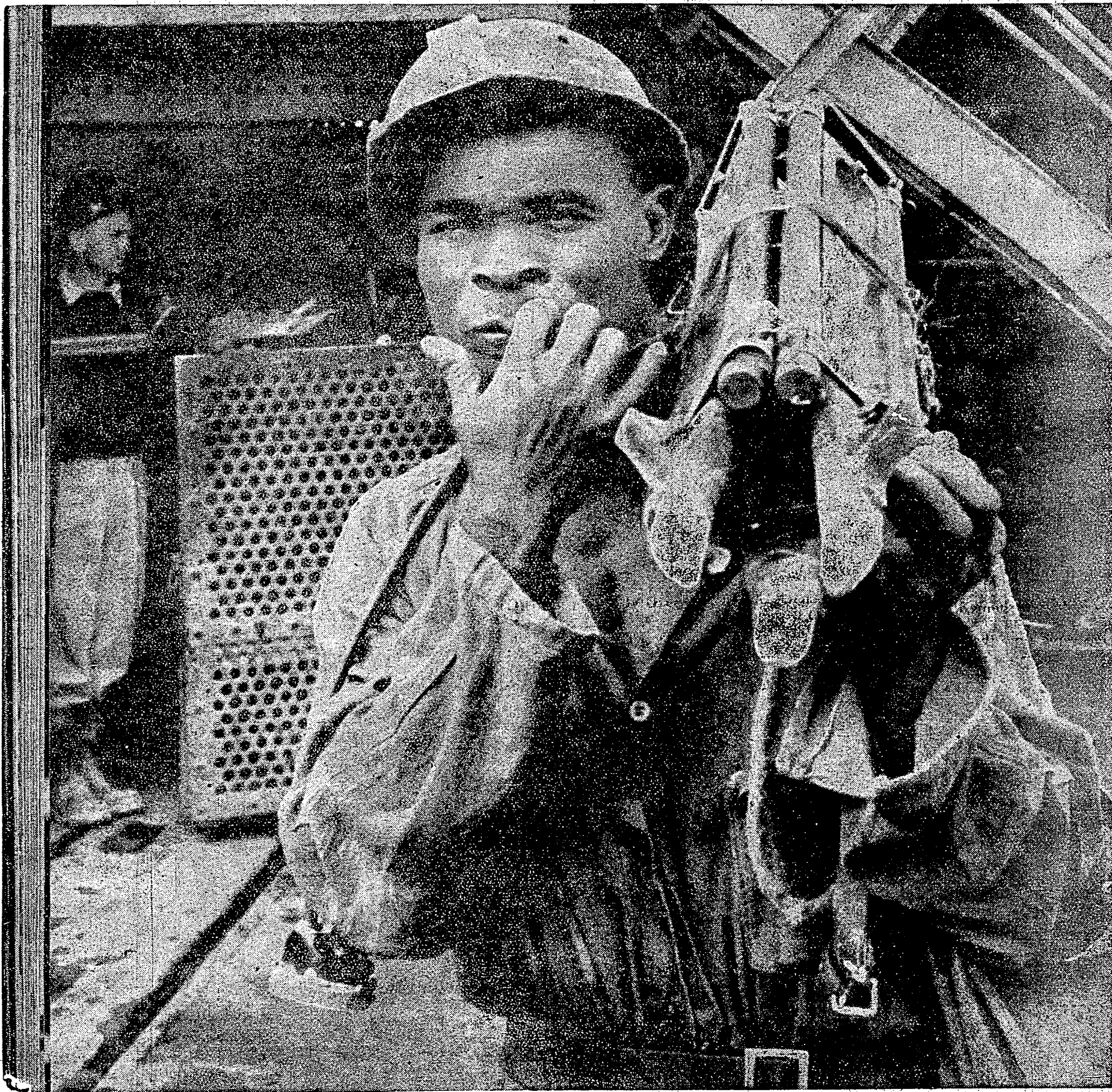
Mr. Speaker, The Cairo Summit Meetings of the Organisation of African Unity and of the Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned nations have strongly condemned the nuclear armament race and the proliferation of atomic weapons. But the danger of a

further dissemination of nuclear arms has been growing within the past few months. And now what do we hear? There is talk among the NATO powers of a multilateral force. What is this multilateral force? What does it mean? It means the intensification of the cold war and threat of a nuclear hot war. It also means the proliferation of nuclear weapons; in other words, more fingers on the nuclear trigger.

of the Partial Test Ban Treaty. We cannot convince any one that we sincerely seek peace by preparing for war. Peace can only be attained by acting peacefully and proscribing war in thought, word and deed. To this end, all the nations whose actions can lead to war on a world scale must begin now as a first step to prohibit the further manufacture of nuclear weapons. Putting a stop to the proliferation of nuclear weapons is, I repeat,

ardous struggle, demands sacrifices from us all.

On various fields we have already scored some victories; the African trade unions are to-day united within the framework of the All-African Trade Union Federation and are discovering for themselves the new philosophy of mutual co-operation between progressive national governments and the peoples' movements for the reconstruction of our national economy.



HE WORKS FOR THE NEW GHANA

The Multilateral Force is to consist of twenty-five warships camouflaged as ordinary merchant freighters. These vessels are to be equipped with two-hundred and fifty death-dealing nuclear missiles of the "Polaris" type. The crew will be composed of two thousand NATO soldiers. This fleet is supposed to operate in the Atlantic Ocean and in the Mediterranean. That means that one day some neo-colonialist and imperialist warships can appear along the coast of Africa in order to assist the Portuguese colonialists in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea in their fight against the liberation movement in Africa.

For this reason, the Multilateral Nuclear Force is a dangerous threat not only to the peoples of Africa, but to world peace.

Therefore, the peoples of Africa and all anti-imperialist forces of the world who do not want to see themselves implicated in a new hot war, must raise their voices in protest against this dangerous development. The Multilateral Force is a naked contradiction

only a first step in the process of making the world safe for peace. We must proceed to the next major step by agreeing to the total destruction of all such weapons throughout the world. If there are no more nuclear triggers around, we can be sure that there will be no fingers upon them. This is the surest way of making the world free from the threat of nuclear war.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that effective and concerted action by the Independent African States and the peace-loving peoples of the world can and should destroy forever colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The struggle against neo-colonialism and all its ramifications in Africa, is the struggle of all peoples—the workers and peasants of our continent.

My Government from the very dawn of independence committed and pledged Ghana and all her resources to the struggle for the total liberation and political unification of our continent. This tragic and

The trade union movement both in Ghana and in Africa has a very important role to play in the struggle to fight poverty, ignorance and disease, to help build new industries so to provide more employment facilities and thereby raise the standard of living of our growing population.

Here in Ghana, our Party as the vanguard Party of all sections of the community links closely together our trade unions and farmers organisations with the formulation and execution of Government policy. We call upon our workers to assume their full responsibility in all sectors of our industrial life and infuse into our working people the spirit of patriotism, love for one's country, which must help us increase productivity as the only way of increasing our national wealth.

When I addressed this House a year ago, I invited you to ratify the Charter of African Unity. The Organisation of African Unity has happily survived the border disputes between Ethiopia and Somalia, between Somalia and Kenya

and between Algeria and Morocco.

The Organisation of African Unity has endorsed our positive stand on the Congo impasse, and asserted in no uncertain terms that the Congo problem demands a political solution. The Congo problem is not a military one. It is an African political issue; Mr. Speaker; wherever neo-colonialism operates, there is always trouble and confusion for the people in that area.

In September last year, I addressed a message to the Heads of States of the Independent African States in which I put forward the following proposals for dealing with the Congo problem,

endorsed by the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity and I am happy to inform the House that the Security Council has recently passed a Resolution on the Congo which embodies our proposals.

There can be no peace in the Congo so long as foreign intervention and interference continues to hold sway and avenues for national reconciliation remain blocked and thwarted through neo-colonialist intrigues and pressures.

The compelling need now is for the establishment of a provisional Government of reconciliation composed of representatives of the main political parties to prepare the

agents that in spite of everything they do, the masses of Africa are awake, alert and on the march. The masses see through these intrigues and are determined to expose the enemies of Africa. History and time are on our side.

As I stressed in my address to you a year ago, the Addis Ababa Charter has already been overtaken by events. The Conference of African States in Cairo in July last year recognised this fact, and my call for a Union Government for Africa received at least the acknowledgement of my brother African Heads of State and Government. The study of Ghana's proposals for a Union Government was one of the main recommendations of the Cairo Conference.

YEAR OF DECISION

Mr. Speaker, 1965, is a year of decision for Africa. The next Conference of the Organisation of African Unity will be held here in Accra this year. It is my earnest hope and expectation that this Conference will see the birth of a Continental Union Government for Africa. If we go fast we shall surely achieve success. If we go slow we shall go to pieces and perish.

Our efforts towards a Continental Union Government of Africa is only the first stage of our struggle to create the right image of Africa in the world, and to provide a secure political framework within which we can develop our natural resources and improve the standard of living of our peoples.

Mr. Speaker, I referred earlier on in this address to the role which Ghana is playing in world affairs. To this end, we have continued to fulfil our responsibilities to the United Nations. In spite of its imperfections, the United Nations is the surest guarantee of world peace. The House will be glad to know of the signal honour earned by Ghana and Africa by the appointment of our Permanent Representative in the United Nations, Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, as this year's President of the United Nations General Assembly. With regard to the Commonwealth, we have played an active part in its deliberations, and have recently made suggestions for the setting up of a Commonwealth Secretariat which, when implemented, would make the Commonwealth a more positive force for progress and understanding.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly: Let me now return to the domestic scene.

On the 11th of March last year, I presented to this House, our new Seven-Year Development Plan by means of which we seek to give effect to the Party's Programme of Work and Happiness. The Plan is designed to speed up the socialist transformation of our economy through rapid industrialisation and the diversification and modernisation of our agriculture.

SOCIALIST EXPLOITATION AND UTILISATION

A bold decision such as we have taken, to transform and modernise our economy based on the socialist exploitation and utilisation of our national resources, calls for sacrifices.

The Seven-Year Development Plan is a blueprint for the first stage of our National reconstruction. Thanks to the far-sighted education and training programmes of our Party and Government, we have most of the trained personnel we need to help implement the Plan. We have been able to supplement our resources by employing technicians from friendly countries. What is required now is for us all to make sacrifices while we carry out our Programme. We need to make a strong national endeavour to save on consumption expenditure so as to enable us to divert more and more of our national wealth into productive investments. Already we have made

way for general elections under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity. It would be difficult, ineffective and impracticable to organise O.A.U. forces merely on an ad hoc basis for peace-keeping operations in the Congo and for the defence of the African continent. That is why I have suggested that an all African Defence System or an African High Command be brought into being without delay. Such a Defence arrangement could be used to safeguard and protect the sovereignty of each African State, no matter how big or small.

If the Congo situation has not improved since I last addressed you, it is because those who oppose the legitimate and rightful aspirations of Africans in Angola, Mozambique, the so-called Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa have acquired more strength and practical support from their imperialist and neo-colonialist allies. The situation would have been different if they had listened to us. We must warn the neo-colonialists and their

These proposals were

AHEAD

considerable progress in this direction. We have succeeded in laying down a solid infrastructural base for our future industrial development, which is about the best in Africa. We have built a first-class network of roads, ports and communications. We have expanded our schools, colleges and universities to train our young people to man important positions in our national life. Very soon the Volta River Project will be generating electricity for our industries and homes.

This year we are embarking on the second annual programme of development under the Seven-Year Plan. This will involve a total expenditure of nearly eighty million Ghana pounds. The Annual Plan for 1965, of which I will give you more details presently, envisages the continued development of the nation on a broad front, but with the emphasis on the further expansion of agriculture, industry and education in accordance with the provisions of the Seven-Year Plan.

UNINFORMED COMMENT

Our achievements in the past have been considerable, but there are certain aspects of our economic life about which I would like to make a few remarks here. Some of these are beyond our control; others we can correct. Our external financial position, and especially our foreign exchange reserves position, have been a subject of uniform comment from certain quarters of the foreign press recently.

The fact is that our efforts to develop and transform Ghana from an essentially agricultural country to a socialist industrialised State have been beset by an adverse turn in our terms of trade over the past five years. While, in actual volume, our exports—particularly of cocoa—have expanded considerably in recent years, there has been, during the same period, a disastrous fall in the world market price. When the cocoa crop was being ravaged by swollen shoot and cocoa was in short supply, the manufacturers appealed to us to do what we could to increase supplies. We spent a lot of money to increase production. The result of our efforts has been that production has almost doubled, but the manufacturers and the speculators in the cocoa trade have taken advantage of this to depress the price of cocoa. This is why the Cocoa Producers' Alliance is taking positive action to improve the bargaining position of the producing countries. The Governments of the consuming and manufacturing countries have a responsibility in this matter and should take an active and positive interest in the issue. As a result of these adverse trends in the cocoa trade, our overall export earnings have failed to show a proportionate increase.

INCREASE IN IMPORTS

On the other hand, the need to press forward with our development programmes has resulted in an increase in imports, especially imports of machinery, plant and equipment from those very countries. The fall in our export earnings while our imports were increasing, has resulted in deficits in our balance of payments.

It is in order to arrest this drain on our foreign exchange reserves that we have had to establish the present system of import licensing and exchange control. Our principal aim is to conserve our foreign exchange resources. By doing this we shall be able to purchase the investment goods, such as factories, machinery, plant and equipment, which we need to produce a large portion of the goods required for local consumption.

In order fully to secure our

economic independence, we must invest in those basic industries which can make locally the machines and equipment we need for producing consumer goods in Ghana. Until we can make these machines, we shall continue to be economically dependent.

This is the reason why, for the time being, there will necessarily be shortages of the less essential consumer goods. Government will nevertheless ensure that the essential ones are available in adequate quantities for the people. This means that we have taken a stand to extricate ourselves from the economic shackles inherited from our colonial past. Don't forget that we are at war with neo-colonialism.

The Government is seriously concerned about the shortages of some essential commodities that developed during the latter part of 1964. We have therefore instituted appropriate measures to eliminate such shortages. Steps have been taken to ensure the smooth working of the licensing procedure, so as to avoid any bottlenecks which might hamper our industrial production and slow down our economic activity.

Mr. Speaker, as you can see around you everywhere, the Government has embarked on a gigantic programme of reconstruction. This programme of reconstruction has led to increased employment all over the country. As a result, money incomes and currency in circulation have increased considerably in recent years. This means that the purchasing power of our people has increased over the past years. But, as I have said before, our programme of development and industrialisation demand that we should— for the time being—restrict imports and cut down consumption expenditure, particularly on luxury items. This process of restricting imports, at the same time that the money in the hands of the people is on the increase, has led to a pressure of demand on the economy. In other words, there is more money chasing fewer goods. Prices therefore tended to rise and some retail traders found an easy means of getting rich quickly by exploiting the situation, indulging in black-marketing and profiteering, and charging exorbitant prices.

SPECULATION AND PROFITEERING

Unfortunately, some retailers have been known to have held back stocks in order to force prices up further. Individuals, on the other hand, have tried to hedge themselves against any possible price rises by hoarding stocks of consumer goods for future use. In other words, some traders and a few individuals are now indulging in speculation and profiteering at the expense of the broad masses of the people. This unpatriotic behaviour cannot be permitted to continue unchecked.

Let us be quite clear about the need for a system of controls during this period of reconstruction. The controls are necessary as a basis for our industrialisation programme, in order to cut down wasteful expenditure on luxuries and direct our resources to investment expenditure. The controls are essential if we are to conserve foreign exchange resources to finance imports of machinery, plant and equipment for our factories. By means of these controls, we are able to protect our local industries and create an effective market for their products.

And here, Mr. Speaker, may I congratulate our people and express appreciation for their understanding and co-operation in these matters. I have directed that the system of price controls should be strengthened, and everything possible is being done to

check the current practice of profiteering and black-marketing. The Party and the Government take a very serious view of this.

While our people accept the need of self-denial and thrift, we must encourage them by showing results at home. On the infrastructural and construction projects there is no doubt that we have an impressive record of achievement. What is needed now is that our State Farms, the United Ghana Farmers Council Co-operatives and the State-owned and joint enterprises should produce, in sufficient quantities, and at reasonable prices, the commodities we require to meet the pressure of demand at home.

STATE ENTERPRISES

Mr. Speaker, I have had occasion before to mention to the House that our State enterprises—and this includes the State Farms and the Agricultural wing of the Workers Brigade—were not set up to lose money. The number of State Corporations which have been established has been determined by our policy of socialist construction and the building up of a socialist economy in Ghana. But the State enterprises, like any other enterprise, have a duty to operate on profitable basis, and thereby earn sufficient returns on the initial capital invested by the Government. Those in charge of the State enterprises must realise that the investments in the factories with which they are entrusted, are financed from the hard-earned savings of the individual tax payer! The management and the workers in our State Farms and State Enterprises must realise that they have been entrusted with the management of vital economic units on behalf of the people, and the Party and the Government expect reasonable returns on these investments.

State Enterprises are the main economic pillars on which we expect to build our socialist State. We will continue to expand the public sector of the economy by establishing more State-owned enterprises both in industry and agriculture.

The cocoa processing plants at Takoradi and Tema, the Steel-works Corporation which will be responsible for all iron and steel works in Ghana, the glass factory at Abosso, which is soon to go into operation, a meat processing plant in Bolgatanga, a textile mill, a radio and television Assembly Plant and a Cement Works at Tema. All these are soon to go into operation. We also hope to transform a number of Government Departments like the railway, transport, electricity and printing into Corporations.

We have at present 35 State Enterprises, in operation and additional new ones are being established which will bring the total to 60.

In addition to these State Enterprises, Government has share-holding in nine joint enterprises. Discussions are at present proceeding which will add three more enterprises to the list of Joint Enterprises to bring the number to twelve. The State Enterprises Secretariat will represent Government on the Boards of these Joint Enterprises and ensure that the interests of Government are fully safeguarded.

ASSIGNED RESPONSIBILITIES

Ministers will be assigned responsibility for these Corporations, and will be responsible for them in Parliament, but the State Enterprises Secretariat, which is under the Presidency, will have the overall responsibility for ensuring that these Corporations are run efficiently and profitably, and in accordance with the terms of their instruments of incorporation.

In view of the special requirements for the staffing and organisation of State enterprises, a special procedure will be established for the recruitment, training and discipline of staff of all State enterprises. The employees of these State enterprises will be removed from the control of the Civil Service Commission and the Civil Service Regulations and Procedures.

In accordance with the Instruments of Incorporation under which the State Corporations are being set up, appointments to the Corporations will be made by the Boards of these Corporations. The State Enterprises Secretariat will, however, ensure that these appointments are proper and that the salary scales fixed for them fit into the general pattern of salaries and working conditions which is being worked out for State Enterprises. Appointments to positions of Manager and comparable posts will be made by the Minister with the approval of the Cabinet and upon the recommendations of the State Enterprises Secretariat.

A sharp distinction will be made, in this connection, between the Civil Service, the members of which are governed by the Civil Service Act, and the Public Service, which will embrace those other officers of the State including employees of State enterprises not governed by the Civil Service Act and the Regulations under it. Steps are being taken to merge the Civil Service Commission and the Establishment Secretariat in the interest of efficiency.

The aim of the Party and Government is to make our State enterprises efficient and profitable State organisations, and to run them on sound commercial lines. Every effort will be made to set them production and financial targets, and their profits will be paid to the State revenue to enable the Government to help finance its industrial and agricultural projects.

FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICY

Mr. Speaker, I shall now turn to matters relating to our fiscal and monetary policy for 1965. Members of the House know that we have recently been running budget deficits of varying levels. This is essential because of the sharp fall in the price of cocoa which apart from being our main foreign exchange earner, is for the time being, that is to say until we have diversified our agriculture, one of the main sources of revenue by way of export duty. As you know, the export duty on cocoa is worked on a sliding scale so that the higher the price the more the revenue accruing to Government. The fall in cocoa prices, therefore, has meant a serious short fall in revenue. Hitherto, we have managed to finance our development expenditure by borrowing both from our own internal sources and from abroad. But as I have pointed out earlier, our programme of rapid development has resulted in considerable increase in money circulation. It has therefore become necessary to divert the weight of our development expenditure in the coming years from non-productive to directly productive investments.

The creation of heavy industry with the simultaneous growth of light industry and agriculture will be given priority in our industrial development. This can create the backbone of our national economy and lay solidly the foundations of our socialist industrialisation.

Our heavy industries should comprise power industry, metallurgical industry, machine building industry, chemical industry, building material industry, alumina industry, iron and steel industry, and so forth. Such industries directly related to the living conditions and requirements of the people will provide the machinery for producing food, clothing and housing. It is in this way that our heavy industry can be made to serve more effectively light industry and agriculture.

In order to provide the necessary support for the many

industrial and other projects now springing up throughout the country, the Government has already made plans for the establishment of heavy basic industries for the production of the machine tools and industrial equipment for our primary and light industries. This aspect of the Seven-Year Development Plan will now be given special emphasis in the remaining years of the Plan. Unless we can do this, our local industries will continue for many years to come, to rely on foreign supplies for the renewal of their spare parts and equipment. Real industrialisation can only be achieved when we have embarked upon, and completed a programme of establishing heavy industries.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

This cannot be achieved overnight. Our policy over the coming years will therefore be guided by the following principles: Firstly, an attempt will be made to close the budgetary gap while at the same time shifting the weight of development expenditure to productive investments in agriculture and industry. For this reason I have directed that the overall size of the Budget for 1965 should not exceed two hundred million Ghana pounds. This will allow sufficient funds to continue work on existing projects as well as for starting a few new ones.

We could easily and usefully provide a budget for additional productive products in the course of the year which would bring our expenditure ceiling to two hundred and fifty million, if additional external credits can be obtained to finance these new projects. In other words, our present overall ceiling of two hundred million will only be exceeded if additional credits are obtained. In this regard, our policy is that new credits



LEADER OF THE EMERGING GHANA

should now be confined mainly to productive investments in agriculture and industry.

Secondly, the Budget Estimates for 1965 will be broken down into foreign and local currency components. In the past, the estimates have been restricted only to cash expenditure. Credit-financed expenditure was excluded from the estimates on the assumption that it did not involve direct or immediate disbursements. Although this assumption is correct, the effect of this practice of excluding credit-financed expenditure from the estimates has been to understate the true size of the Budget. The 1965 Budget Estimates will now for the first time, show the total estimated expenditure during the year, indicating which project is to be financed on cash and how much on credit basis.

gress and development made by these institutions.

And now, Mr. Speaker, may I now touch briefly on the broad outline of our fiscal policy for 1965. The first years of budgetary practice and fiscal policy since independence were the formative years. During that period, our policy was aimed at laying the foundations of a broadly based tax structure which will enable us to increase revenue to meet our development expenditure. We have now reached a stage where certain refinements will be necessary in the tax structure. The Minister of Finance will announce the details in his Budget Statement. In addition to these adjustments, the system of collection of existing taxes will be improved and strengthened to reduce the possibility of evasion.

REPATRIATE SAVINGS

In this connection, and in view of our pressing need for foreign exchange, I want to take this opportunity to appeal to all patriotic Ghanaians who have funds abroad to make these funds available to the nation for the purchase of investment goods for our economic development. It has come to my notice that for fear that their bank balances at home might swell up unduly and cause embarrassment, those both inside and outside this House who have funds abroad, have been reluctant to repatriate their savings. In order to overcome their fears, I advise them to invest in the Bearer Bonds which were recently issued by the Bank of Ghana. Anyone with savings abroad may buy Bearer Bonds from Ghana Commercial Bank or any of its agents abroad. Since the Bonds do not bear any names, the identity of the holder can remain unknown until maturity if the holder so chooses. By buying the

LATEST BALANCE SHEET

The fourth new feature of the 1965 Budget will be the presentation for the first time of a brief analysis of the latest balance sheets of each of our State-owned and Joint enterprises together with their financial plans and output targets. This will enable the Members of the House to see clearly for themselves the pro-

Continued on page 7

COMMON MARKET:

Is Association with the EEC in the Interest of the Young Nations?

TYPICAL of most of the newly liberated nations are their one-sided economies, based on the production of a single, or at the most of several products. Thus they are particularly vulnerable. They can be shaken by unfavourable climatic conditions, which can lead to a poor harvest, as well as by the disfavour of purchasing states, which are mainly the highly developed capitalist countries. Take for example Africa. Over 90 per cent of Africa's export is aimed overseas, and less than a tenth of the goods produced is exchanged among the countries on the African continent.

In spite of the fact that this market is growing, the fact remains that trade among the African states is only a minuscule part of their entire commercial turnover. This is understandable. The similarity of the structure of the economies of the countries in question is not favourable to the increase of mutual trade relations.

These countries are trying to ensure a stable outlet for tropical products. The eighteen countries that have associated with the EEC have come the farthest in this effort. The colonialists left the economies of these states in a typically backward conditions, relying solely on tropical products. Over 70 per cent of the exports of these countries were earmarked for EEC countries even before they became associated in this organization.

ECONOMIC POSITION

The economic position of the countries associated with the EEC is mainly dependent upon the tendencies of world prices of their products. And these prices have been dropping relentlessly. Between 1958 and 1963, prices of tropical products dropped by almost 15 per cent. Countries associated with the EEC lost about 180 million dollars in 1961 alone as a result. The prices of some specific products have marked a particularly steep drop. Between 1954 and 1961, the price of coffee dropped from 1,401 dollars per ton to 680.7 dollars per ton, that is by 51 per cent. In the same period, the price of cocoa dropped from 1,070.2 to 483 dollars, that is by 54 per cent, etc. We must realize that these countries are important producers of tropical products—producing for example 53 per cent of the world's citrus fruit production, etc. The endeavour to achieve a stable outlet, and fear of a further drop in world prices has led African states to the EEC.

It is true that this association is beneficial for the stabilization of some branches of agricultural production in the African countries in question, since long-term contract ensure an outlet for certain types of goods. But this fact touches on the interests of the Latin American countries, which produce the same types of goods as the EEC countries (coffee, cocoa, cotton, bananas, sugar).

The share of the Latin American states in the export to the EEC countries (which in 1962 dropped to less than 5% from 11% in 1930, will continue to fall. Thus the associated countries have gained the certainty (and it may be said that this is a significant certainty) of an advantage over their Latin American competitors.

But it would be a mistake to say that the benefit to the African states, gained from association with the EEC is explicit. Trade with the associated African countries means only a negligible percentage of their foreign trade to EEC countries. The share of the African states associated with the EEC dropped in the overall export of EEC countries from 8.2% in 1958 to 4.3% in 1962. This drop is more than noticeable.

EEC members are consistently lowering duty fees. By 1967, a complete duty union in industrial production is to be achieved. This situation calls for the solution of duty questions with the associated

important for the Western states. It is apparent that inexpensive industrial goods from Western Europe are dangerous competition for Africa's young industry.

The imperialists are willing to invest certain sums in the development of, say, transportation in the countries associated with the EEC, but they are less willing to support their industrial development. Domestic industry in the African states is primarily dependent on French or West German capital, which uses this dependence in a manner that

dictions in the association that allows Western Europe not only to bind young African states to itself, but, more important, to bind them in their contemporary economy, to retain them at least for a certain period of time as sources of raw material, as agricultural appendages, and simultaneously, as markets for industrial products.

It is a great historical paradox that the heritage of colonialism the one-sided character of the economies of the former colonies is what forces the African countries into the arms of neo-colonialism, in the concrete form of "collective colonialism".

The extant economic situation has forced the African states to associate with the EEC. This becomes particularly apparent when we realized the problems that these countries must face alongside

(with perhaps the exception of Algeria) will apparently be much more difficult than for those countries which remained outside, and which include some of the most significant of the African states (UAR, Ghana, Guinea, Ethiopia). True, the development fund, established by the EEC primarily from French and West German deposits, consists of over half a million dollars for construction in the associated states. But it also remains a fact that most of this aid serves to cover transportation means ordered by the African countries in West Europe, and only

a fraction remains for actual industrialization.

Taken from an objective viewpoint, nothing may be said against economic co-operation between economically well-situated countries and those whose economy is only just being grounded. But the actual situation in the latter is a bit more complex. Their economies will not be where they should be until agriculture is rationalized, and manpower fully utilized. Political independence does not come without economic independence.

It is in the fact that association with the EEC does not ensure sufficient opportunity for the development of industry that the true danger for these states lies. The retention of a one-sided economy enables Western Europe to keep the associated states tied to her apron strings. Keeping African states dependent on tropical products in their economies is the primary aim of the EEC with its association policy. It is no longer a matter of doubt—neither in Western Europe nor in Africa—that this can do more harm than good to the economies of the young states.



The Community's African partners

Country	Capital	Area (sq. miles)	Population million	Imports \$million 1962	Exports \$million 1962
Burundi	Bujumbura	11,000	2.2	—	—
Cameroun	Yaoundé	183,000	4.1	101.8	103.4
Central African Republic	Bangui	237,000	1.2	25.2	14.2
Chad	Fort Lamy	486,000	2.6	29.1	16.5
Congo (Brazzaville)	Brazzaville	131,000	0.9	67.8	35.1
Congo (Leopoldville)	Leopoldville	902,000	13.9	170.8	120.6
Dahomey	Porto Novo	45,000	2.0	26.8	10.9
Gabon	Libreville	80,000	0.5	38.8	58.7
Ivory Coast	Abidjan	112,000	3.1	146.5	181.2
Madagascar	Tananarive	226,000	5.2	121.6	94.3
Mali	Bamako	475,000	4.1	45.8	10.0
Mauritania	Nouakchott	419,000	0.7	35.7	2.6
Niger	Niamey	460,000	2.9	27.5	14.5
Rwanda	Kigali	11,000	2.6	—	—
Senegal	Dakar	76,000	3.1	158.8	124.2
Somalia	Mogadishu	245,000	2.0	32.2 (1961)	26.3 (1961)
Togo	Lomé	22,000	1.4	27.1	17.2
Upper Volta	Wagadougou	104,000	4.5	34.7	7.9

measures, an external tariff will be put into effect for the non-EEC nations—an additional disadvantage for the unassociated countries. Some steps towards the realization of this plan have already been taken, with a view to completion in 1967.

In view of the fact that a large part of African export is aimed towards Western Europe, association with the EEC is an important factor for the maintenance of the contemporary character of the economy of African states. Association with the EEC stabilizes markets for agricultural products, and thus enables the development of agricultural production. On the other hand, it holds back the development of industry at home, which is no less im-

suits its own interests.

Foreign corporations control entire branches of the national economies of the associated countries. It must be noted, in this connection, that the associated states have pledged to effect a considerable drop in import duties for industrial products from Western Europe. Duties, which in these countries have up until now had a considerably fiscal and to a large extent almost protectoral nature, have facilitated the building up of domestic capacities. By eliminating them, competition on the home market is increased, and industrial development is hindered. Industrial development which in the young African states is a vitally important matter. And it is in this fact that we find the contra-

the economic ones: problems of technical development, education, health care, social care, etc. Tropical products are in essence their only means of payment. Ensuring an outlet for these products is equivalent to ensuring the stability of the national economy. And the countries of Western Europe took advantage of this fact for their own advantage, while naturally stressing only those aspects that appear favourable to the African states.

Today, after a certain amount of time has passed, facts are coming to the surface that are considerably less pleasant for the associated countries. The solution of the problem of the industrialization of the economies of the countries that did associate

Continued from page 3

Thus as recently as a decade ago only a very small percentage of workers on the Copper Belt, could be classified as permanent and stabilized.

Migrant labour in Africa is still overwhelmingly predominant, though stable settlement in the towns is growing. What has happened is that the flood of migrant labour from the countryside to the towns has risen faster and higher; and each time that the flood has seeped back again to the villages the residue left behind in the urban areas has been added to, bit by bit. It is this residue which is growing and which will become increasingly important.

Small as it is, impermanent as it may still be, an African proletariat has been born. As an industrial proletariat its numerical strength is still very limited but the very nature of the economy of Africa already gives it an importance in the economy far greater than that suggested by mere numbers.

For the majority of African peasants, the colonial system has been an absolute disaster. In nearly every territory sixty years of imperialist exploitation have been sufficient to plunge them into the most abysmal depths of poverty and misery.

The herding of Africans into the poorest land has meant a terrible land shortage which figures alone do not adequately convey. Overstocking and overpopulation have been the unavoidable result, coupled with the most intensive exploitation of the soil. The old, traditional African farming method of shifting cultivation, which allowed land to return to grass for considerable periods (a few years at a time) and so regain its fertility, is no longer possible. Instead, in a desperate attempt to provide sufficient food, the peasant is driven to keep his land continually under crop. This exhausts the land—and so the crop yield diminishes, and the crisis, for man and soil, deepens. Dr. Hinden describes the process in these words:

"The land, throughout most of Africa, is held communally. Private rights to any particular strip of territory are very uncommon. Agriculture follows the 'shifting' system. Trees are felled and bush burnt to fertilise the soil; crops are grown on the cleared space, and after a short period of cultivation the 'farm' is abandoned and the cultivator moves on to his next clearing. Village

sites move together with the shift of cultivation, and this system can be continued indefinitely if the population is sparse enough. All that is necessary is to allow an adequate period of time to elapse for the regeneration of the trees and bush, and then the trees may once again be lopped, the bush burnt, and cultivation recommenced. But, as soon as the population becomes too dense for its area, the forests will not be given time to regenerate, and the fertility of the soil will ebb."

And this is precisely what has happened in so much of Africa. The population has become "too dense for its area" largely because government policy has crowded it into insufficient reserves.

Ken Brown (in his book *Land in Southern Rhodesia*, 1959) has shown how this process has gone ahead in Southern Rhodesia. It is often argued, he says, that if Africans were given more land, they would only ruin it.

"This is a fallacy," replies Brown. *"The fact is indisputable that when, before the advent of the Europeans, Africans had abundant land, the erosion they caused was negligible and the soil maintained its fer-*

tility and structure.

Thus overcrowding and land shortages, coupled with crippling restrictions on African agriculture, have resulted in the decline of soil fertility, erosion, and, for most African peasants, ruin. This has been particularly so in central, eastern and southern Africa where there has been considerable white settlement. The East African Royal Commission, 1953, reporting on the British colonies of East Africa, stated:

"Throughout our enquiry we were impressed by the recurring evidence that particular areas were now carrying so large a population that agricultural production in them was being retarded, that the natural resources themselves were being destroyed, that families were unable to find access to new land, and that land which should have been lying fallow was being encroached upon."

The Commission Report adds: *"One of the most vivid impressions which we have formed as a result of our enquiry is the fundamental poverty which prevails in the East African territories."*

Continued on page 8

The African Revolution (3)

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GHANA LOOKS AHEAD

Continued from page 5

Bonds with his foreign currency savings, the holder would have done a useful service to Ghana. I therefore appeal to all of you who have funds abroad to seize this opportunity and show your patriotic spirit by using your foreign savings to take up our Bearer Bonds.

May I interpolate here: as the House is aware, preparations have been proceeding in the past few years for the introduction of a decimal system of currency. The new currency will come into use in July this year. In line with the Government's intention to introduce a decimal currency, it is proposed to adopt the metric system of measurement which is simple and more universal.

Mr. Speaker, I shall now give the House some insight into our plans for 1965. I have already stated that we intend during the rest of the plan period, to shift the weight of our development expenditure in favour of the economic services. Agriculture is one of the basic starting points of any programme of industrialisation. For the tasks ahead of us, we must ensure that there is an abundance of food at cheap prices for our people. For this reason, we shall press forward with our programme of rapid development, mechanisation and diversification of our agriculture. Such efforts will be supported by efficient systems of food storage and distribution. In this way, we shall be able in a short period of time to stabilised food prices.

LACK OF CAPITAL

One of the problems which has plagued our farmers over the years is lack of capital. The Commercial Banks, because of the large element of risk involved in agricultural production, do not readily invest in agricultural projects. Therefore, the farmers are forced to borrow from unscrupulous moneylenders who charge them exorbitant rates of interest. In some cases the interest payments are so heavy that the farmers are unable to meet their obligations to their creditors and eventually lose their farms. For this reason, we have decided to establish an Agricultural Credit and Co-operative Bank. A Bill for this will be introduced by the Minister of Finance during the early part of this session.

And here again our farmers have set us another example of public spirit and foresight by a voluntary decision on their part to subscribe four shillings for every load of cocoa as a Trust Fund to finance the Agricultural Bank. This Fund will be earmarked in the Bank to be used for granting loans at cheap rates of interest to the farmers themselves for the development of their farms and when they need such financial assistance. As practical economists, our farmers have realised that this provision will help to reduce the pressure of demand on the economy. This they know will result in a lowering of prices of the goods which they require for their daily needs. And here again, I say "Hats off to our farmers!"

SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALISATION

Now, returning to our industrial programme, we have continued to lay the basic foundations for the evolution of a socialist industrialisation based on efficient and rational methods of production. In 1963 our total investment in plant and machinery amounted to twenty-two million Ghana pounds and for the first time, industry accounted for more than twenty per cent of gross domestic investment in Ghana.

Our development estimates for this year provide for an additional expenditure of twenty million pounds for new investment in the State sector of industry alone. This does not include our annual contribution of seven million towards the Volta River Project. Let me say by way of parenthesis that the work on the main Volta Dam will be completed in a few weeks time, and it is expected that electric power

from the Volta will be available by September this year.

As the construction of the Volta River Project draws to a close, the large labour force which it has attracted will be progressively diverted into other gainful forms of employment, such as the work on the construction of the smelter at Tema as well as the industrial complexes which we have already planned for the industrial development of the country.

Mr. Speaker, I have recently cut the sod for work to start on the Smelter at Tema. This Smelter will provide initially the largest market for the electricity to be produced from the River Dam.

POLITICAL STABILITY

With the political stability and excellent infrastructure that our country offers, together with the abundant supply of electric power which will soon be available, Ghana offers as good investment possibilities as you can find anywhere in the world. The Capital In-

stitutions for the training of specialist teachers.

This academic year, over 8,000 new students entered our Secondary and Technical Institutions. It is our determination to lay a firm foundation now for universal free Secondary and Technical education in Ghana. We are expanding the facilities for Secondary and Technical education.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to announce that with effect from September this year, when the new academic year starts, Secondary and Technical education in Ghana will be completely free. This will mark a great milestone in our educational advancement. But, Mr. Speaker, I want the House to know that at the moment our budget for education is the largest single item in our national expenditure.

Reforms have already been introduced to encourage students in our Primary, Middle and Secondary Schools to combine academic work with the acquisition of basic technical skills for the manpower re-

quirements of industry, commerce and agriculture. In addition, arrangements have been made for the teaching of typing, book-keeping and accountancy in all our Secondary Schools. The educational system as a whole will be re-orientated to meet the requirements of our African environment and our socialist programme. In other words, African History, African Law, African Literature and Folklore, as well as Ghanaian languages will be taught side by side with Arabic, French, English and Swahili in our Secondary Schools. The Institute of Languages is fitted with the latest equipment for language instruction, and is doing a good job. New school syllabuses have already been introduced to give effect to our policy decision in these matters.

To avoid wasteful duplication in our universities and to harness effectively all our manpower, laboratory and other resources for the task of producing suitably qualified graduates, we have re-defined the functions of each of our existing three university institutions and assigned specific areas of study to them.

The University College of Science Education at Cape Coast will be responsible for the training and production of professional and graduate science teachers who are required to teach in our Secondary Schools and Polytechnics. In order to make the University College of Science Education the National Centre of research and teaching in education, our Government has also decided that the Institute and Department of Education at the University of Ghana and the Science Research Unit of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology should be transferred to Cape Coast.

The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology will henceforth confine

logy and other agricultural Research Centres in the country.

Mr. Speaker, a thorough review has been made of the new role which science and scientific research should play in our national development. The Ghana Academy of Sciences and the Institutes under it have been completely re-organised. In order to meet present and future needs of the country, 18 new scientific Institutes will be established under the Ghana Academy of Sciences. Already there are seven Institutes under the Academy, namely: the Building and Road Research Institute; the Forest Products Research Institute; the Crop Research Institute; the Cocoa Research Institute; the Animal Research Institute; the Soil Research Institute and the Institute of Health and Medical Research. The new Institutes which are planned include: an Institute of Nuclear Research; and Institute of Aquatic Biology and an Institute of Wild Life Management.

Each Institute under the Academy of Sciences will be autonomous under its Director as regards the execution of his work and programme as

and will help in accelerating our housing programme.

Mr. Speaker, *Mens sana in corpore sano*. The health of the people will continue to receive the urgent attention of my Government.

Our aim is to provide free health facilities for the entire population of Ghana by the end of the Seven-Year Development Plan period. We shall, in this connection, extend rural medical services and intensify the training of medical and para-medical personnel to cope with the rapid expansion envisaged in the Plan.

ACCELERATED TRAINING OF DOCTORS

For the accelerated training of doctors, in addition to nearly one thousand students receiving medical training on scholarships abroad, we have on our own initiative established a Medical School at Korle Bu and already 82 medical students are being trained in our own institutions in Ghana. The Medical School has been established as an autonomous institution, and will in due course develop a spe-

cial relationship with the University of Ghana.

The training of doctors in the Medical School will take not less than seven years, arranged as follows: one year for pre-medical training; two years for pre-clinical training followed by three years clinical work and training. At the end of this period, students of the Medical School will qualify for the M.B. Degree. They will not be registered to practise as doctors, however, until they have completed one year's compulsory internship or housemanship after qualification. After registration as doctors at the end of the seventh year, they will be required to undertake a second year's internship in order to qualify to practise completely on their own. They will then be eligible for the award of the M.D. Degree on the submission of an approved thesis.

Care has thus been taken to ensure that the graduates of the Medical School will compare with the best from leading medical institutions in other parts of the world.

As a means of reinforcing the facilities for medical training and research, it is intended, this year, to start work on a Medical School Centre comprising a Teaching Hospital, Nursing Training School, Dental School and Post-Graduate Institution for Doctors

and Scientists. Mr. Speaker, the latest addition to our modern media of Communication is television. Ghana television will begin operation sometime this year. Our television will be utilized not for cheap entertainment or commercialism, but for the furthering of our socialist ideals and the enhancement of our educational programme. It will also provide stimulating experience and relaxation.

Special training institutions are being established for the training of television personnel and the training of teachers in the use of television for science education. In order to ensure that the benefits of television are extended throughout Ghana a new Transmission Station has been established at Tamale, in addition to the Station in Accra.

Mr. Speaker and Members of the National Assembly: As a further mark of the Party's determination to provide our workers with social security and welfare facilities during their working life and in their retirement, the Social Security Bill will come before the House this session. This Bill is the first practical step towards removing from our society the hazards and difficulties that attend retirement and old age, and is the foundation for a comprehensive Social Security Scheme for the people of Ghana. This is another revolutionary step in our socialist programme.

Mr. Speaker, the Party and the Government hold firmly to the belief that within our lifetime, the living conditions of our people can be radically improved and the standard considerably raised. If we are to succeed, our development projects must be executed with realism and with a sense of mission. One heavy drain on our resources is the unreasonably high cost of construction in Ghana. The Party and the Government is therefore determined to reduce construction costs. The Government's tender procedure has been revised to ensure that contractors provide a breakdown of each contract price into labour costs, the cost of materials, over-head costs, and the profit element. In this breakdown, the foreign exchange as well as local currency components will also be clearly laid down. No contractor will be awarded any further contracts until he can show clearly that he has paid his Income Tax to the full. All contracts involving the payment of foreign exchange must continue to be channelled through the Contracts Committee whose prior approval will be necessary before any contract is signed.

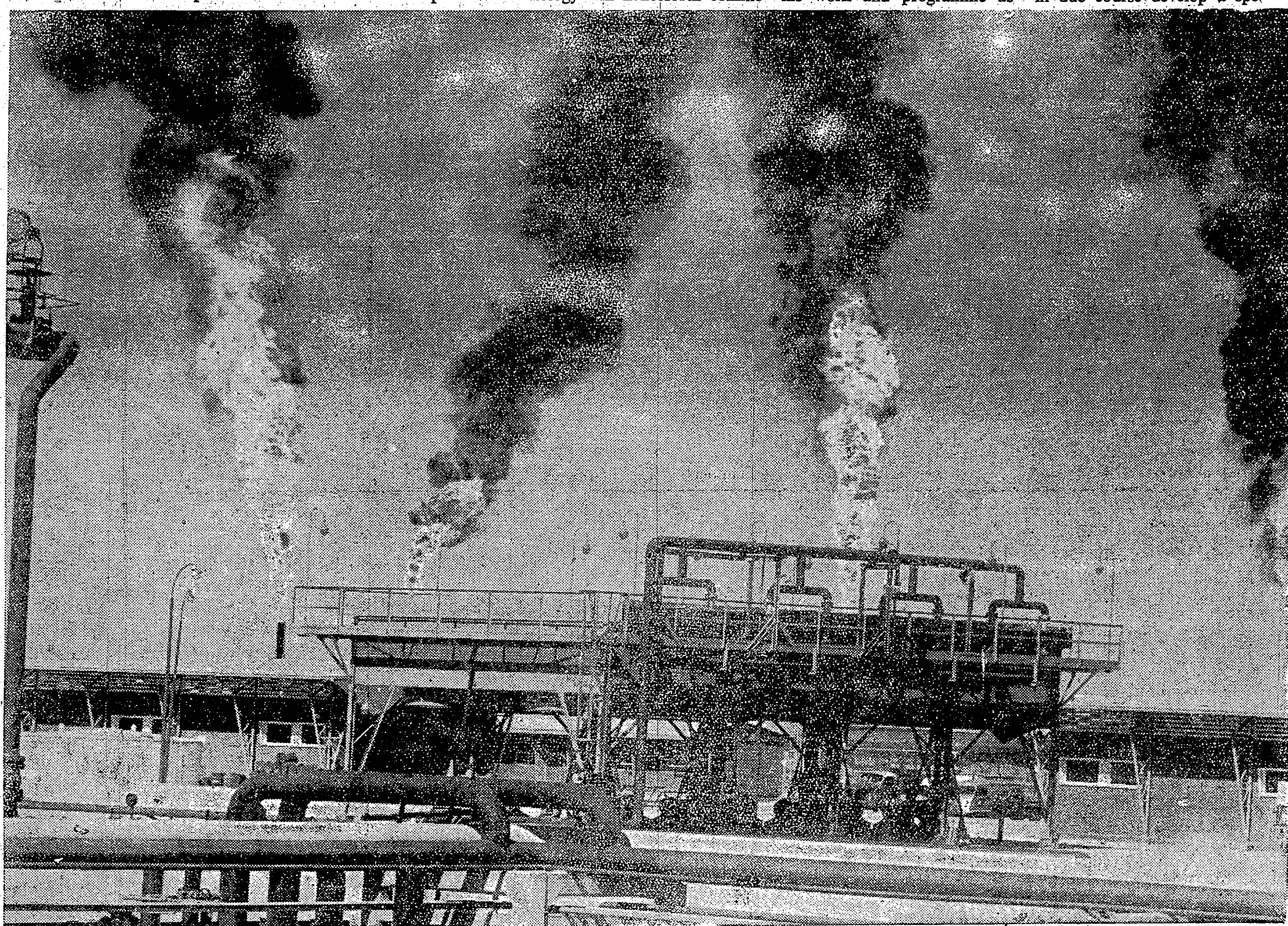
ARMED FORCES

Mr. Speaker, I want to say a few words about our Armed Forces. We wish we did not have to spend much on defence since we believe that there are other ways of solving national and international issues other than resort to war.

The role of our Armed Forces continues to be: to defend the territorial integrity of Ghana from external aggression and internal subversion and to assist in ensuring the security of the African continent within the context of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity. But to us the most important role of our Armed Forces is to assist in the execution of projects of national development.

The armed Forces provide a valuable reservoir of skilled and highly disciplined manpower and it is our intention to have this man-power fully utilized for achieving the aims of the Seven-Year Development Plan. The major aspects of this contribution are to provide industrial training of soldiers in order to increase the technical potential available to the country, and to render increased assistance in the construction of roads and building projects. For this purpose, a special construction unit of the Army Engineers has now been established. This unit will devote itself exclusively to the execution of development projects.

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TEMA OIL REFINERY

vestments Board will, this year, intensify its activities to stimulate foreign investment in Ghana. Several private investors and financiers are at the moment negotiating with Government bodies for the construction and operation of various other industrial projects in Ghana.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly: While concentrating our attention on the expansion of our economy, we are not neglecting the development of our social services. Ghana is dedicated to the policy of free Primary Education. Already we have well over one million children in Primary Schools alone. Our free primary education system continues to expand at a fast rate. By the end of the current Plan period in 1970, over one million more—that is, two million children—will have been enrolled in our free Primary Schools.

To meet this vastly accelerated increase, the Seven-Year Development Plan provides for the inauguration of a new crash programme aimed at increasing the supply of trained teachers. This programme envisages the development of nearly fifty Teacher-Training Colleges into three-stream institutions each with a student population of about 500, and the construction of ten new Teacher-Training Colleges and

its degree courses to engineering, applied science and technology. The University of Ghana has been assigned the responsibility for running degree courses in pure Science and in the Arts and the Humanities. To achieve this aim, the degree courses in Science and Arts previously run in Kumasi and Cape Coast have been transferred to the University of Ghana.

Mr. Speaker, you will be happy to know that enrolment in our universities has increased from 2,500 in 1964 to 3,480 this year. A further expansion is planned. Construction work on the necessary physical requirements for this expansion has already started. Our plan target is to increase enrolment of regular students in university institutions to about 25,000 by 1970. University education in Ghana is free and will continue to be free. It will be accessible to

approved by the Praesidium and will be free to initiate new research projects such as will benefit the country.

TRAINING IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In accordance with our policy of encouraging training in science and technology, and in order to fulfil Ghana's economic and industrial programmes, a special scholarship scheme will be implemented for students in science, engineering, medicine and technology. As from the next academic year, an increased scholarship allowance will be paid to all science students in our universities and also to pre-medical students.

Post graduate students in science studying at the three universities will also be given an increased scholarship allowance. A special State Fund will be created out of which loans will be given for post graduate and professional courses and subjects other than science.

Mr. Speaker, turning to our Housing programme. As part of our social services for our people, Government will embark this year on major housing projects throughout the country. The concrete prefabricated Housing Factory which is now being built, will begin production in June this

BULWARK OF GHANA NATIONAL ECONOMY

As I have said before, agriculture is the bulwark of Ghana's national economy and the basis of our socialist industrialisation. It is important, therefore, that high priority be accorded to Agricultural Education. The Government has decided, therefore, to establish a University College of Agriculture which will take over, co-ordinate and develop the teaching and research in Agriculture now being undertaken at the University of Ghana and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Techno-

GHANA 1965

Continued from page 1

towards eliminating nepotism in senior appointments.

Each enterprise will be set production targets and its annual balance sheet will be presented to Parliament. The nation is thus in a position to know which enterprises are efficient as well as those which are lagging behind. It should make the blanket reference to state enterprises generally as inefficient impossible; but at the same time it will bring inefficient enterprises under full public glare.

The universities and the Academy of Sciences are being re-organised in order to make them serve the national development effort more positively. Even the Armed Forces are now made to serve the nation's development programme.

The Presidential Address not only surveys incisively the problems facing us to-

day. It provides realistic solutions to these problems. In the last analysis, however, the key to the situation is the will of our people. The people must sacrifice to pay the bills of economic and all-round development. The people must put in more effort in order to raise production and productivity.

Now the people will do all this only to the extent that they have confidence in our socialist objectives and their implementation. It is therefore necessary to harness the active co-operation of the people.

The Party and Government must give the people more jobs, better and cheaper housing, more free social services. In addition the people need effective price control. They need to be teased that the feet draggers in high places will be made to give place to more dedicated socialist activists.

Such an assurance will be

given the people in the way the new Parliament is constituted. To return discredited anti-socialists to the National Assembly (whether these are openly hostile to socialism or pay lip service to it while busily promoting capitalist interests) will be to dampen the people's enthusiasm and to rob ourselves of the will to forge ahead against all odds.

The new Parliament must, in fact, become what Kwame Nkrumah describes as "a forum for the expression of views fully reflecting the spirit of our socialist revolution and of the new age in Africa". This is an inescapable condition for releasing the unstinted enthusiasm of our people thus providing a strong foundation for the inevitable call for more sacrifices.

And popular enthusiasm and ready sacrifices are attitudes basic to the success of our socialist revolution.

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In the same spirit, the Ghana Air Force is already engaged in anti-malaria aerial spraying, in aerial surveys for planned development projects. It has been used in the movement of essential supplies within Ghana to areas afflicted by floods and has already made a beginning in the establishment of a Flying Doctor Service. At the moment, some of our women are undergoing Pilot Training at the Ghana Air Force Training School at Takoradi.

Our Navy is increasing in strength and has expanded its training programme to provide skilled technicians for our mercantile marine and our fishing fleet.

We have also established a Women's Auxiliary Corps which will enable our young women to work shoulder to shoulder with the men in the service and development of our country.

Mr. Speaker, I intend to announce shortly a re-organisation of Ministries and Departments, the object of which is to increase the efficiency of the public service.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, Arti-

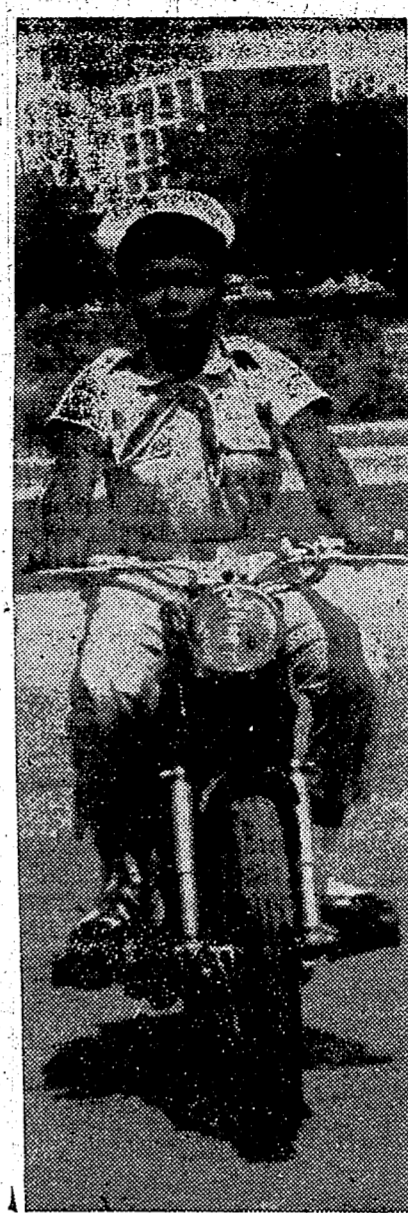
cle 23 of the Constitution of the Republic requires that the National Assembly should be dissolved on the expiration of five years from its first sitting. Under the Constitution Consequential Provisions Act, 1960, the first sitting of the National Assembly was with effect from 1st July, 1960. It follows therefore that a General Election of new Members must be held before 1st July, 1965. Arrangements have been made accordingly.

As you know, the Delimitation Commission which considered the question of Electoral Districts has recommended certain inter-regional border adjustments. The Commission's recommendations are receiving the attention of the Government.

Our new Parliament will be enlarged, and will continue to be a forum for the expression of views fully reflecting the spirit of our socialist revolution and of the new age in Africa.

Mr. Speaker, judging from the increasingly enthusiastic manner in which Positive Action Day has been celebrated throughout the country, it is clear that January 8th has become one of the most enduring and significant symbols of our national struggle for independence. Positive Action Day is significant, not only as a symbol of Ghana's struggle for independence; it also marks a great turning point in the struggle for Africa's liberation.

Ghana Looks Ahead



She rides to the future . . .

It is the spirit of Positive Action that set in motion the liberation movement in Africa. Ghana will, therefore, continue to give maximum support and assistance to the freedom fighters and liberation movements in Africa for the final and total liquidation of imperialism and colonialism from Africa.

In order to keep alive the spirit of Positive Action, and to remind us of our responsibilities to Ghana and to Africa, I have directed that as from next year, Positive Action Day will be observed as a Public Holiday.

Mr. Speaker, Members and Comrades of the National Assembly:

As I said at the beginning of this address, 1965 is a year of great expectation and promise. Let us therefore match our will and determination to the great responsibility that lies ahead. With unity, co-operation and mutual understanding we shall see the glorious fulfilment of our hopes and aspirations. As our cause is just and as our endeavours are geared to the well-being and happiness of all, let us march forward together determined to establish in our time a strong, prosperous and industrialised nation—striving after the pursuits of peace in service to Africa and mankind.

I now leave you to your deliberations and pray that you be guided by the highest interests of the Nation.

* ON OUR UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONS

In his brilliant sessional address to Parliament on Tuesday 12th January, 1965, Kwame Nkrumah outlined inter alia plans for a comprehensive University educational structure.

He said that enrolment in our Universities had increased from 2,500 in 1963-64 Academic Year to 3,480 in 1964-65 Academic Year. This depicts an increase of nearly forty per cent. He stated also that the Plan target was to increase enrolment of regular students to about 25,000 by 1970. He added that "University education in Ghana is free and will continue to be free". This phenomenal increase of 1,000 per cent to be achieved in a matter of six years' quite clearly demonstrates our socialist government's strong determination to provide higher education for "all capable of higher learning."

Thus once again Kwame Nkrumah has laid down one of his greatest plans for University education which offers the highest possible facilities and opportunities at the least cost.

By Western capitalist definition, the most efficient system of production is the one which ensures maximum profits at the least cost.

MAXIMUM BENEFITS

By this crude analogy, therefore the new University education system can be regarded as the most efficient since it offers maximum benefits to "all capable of higher learning" not even at the least cost but at no cost.

To achieve the plan target, organisation and re-organisation of the three University Institutions have been going on in recent times. An evidence of this is seen in a statement made by Kwame Nkrumah during his sessional address to Parliament. And here I quote:

"To avoid wasteful duplication in our Universities and to harness effectively all our manpower, laboratory and other resources for the task of producing suitably qualified graduates, we have re-defined the functions of each of our existing three University Institutions and assigned specific areas of study to them."

The above quotation offers all and sundry an excellent food for thought. Of course, we cannot at this decisive stage of our socialist transformation afford to lose a penny of our foreign exchange without any commensurate returns—we cannot continue to maintain here in this University and there in that University handful of

students in similar departments or faculties with an impressive number of professors and lecturers. This is unproductive and wasteful.

That is why we fully endorse Kwame Nkrumah's statement. That is why we also appeal to our professors and lecturers especially the Ghanaians, to give their whole-hearted support and co-operation to any re-organisation even if it involves change of place of residence. And that is why we might as well not countenance any intellectual immorality aimed at setting back the clock of our educational revolution.

The establishment of the Medical School at Korle Bu is another resounding victory scored by our revolutionary socialist government. The proposed Medical Centre and the

increased scholarship allowance should offer more than sufficient inducement to qualified science students to enter our Medical School.

A recapitulation of the plan for secondary education reveals a sound foundation for the successful implementation of the University plan. For elsewhere in his speech, Kwame Nkrumah announced that over 8,000 new students entered our Secondary and Technical Institutions this academic year—a fulfilled target for this academic year, in the Seven-Year Development Plan.

With a further expansion planned and fee-free secondary education to start in September this year, the students total of about 80,000 is even likely to be surpassed by 1970. And with this, our

target of 25,000 undergraduates in 1970 in our Universities will not be an utopian concept.

Fellow Comrades, Kwame Nkrumah has been working with unremitting assiduity to transform Ghana into a prosperous socialist state in which there will be peace and tranquility, political stability, economic emancipation and plenty for all.

It is therefore incumbent on each and everyone of us to make little more sacrifices—increased productivity, a little more income tax, purchasing of bearer bonds, ever much larger consumption of locally produced goods, etc. etc., in order to make the realization of our goal possible.

by Frank Essel-Cobbah.

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION (3)

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No less disastrous has been the effects of governmental land policies in Northern Rhodesia. Throughout this territory one can see eroded soil, destroyed villages and appalling poverty. Describing these Reserves, Dr. Hinden has rightly said that these have become "centres not merely of stagnation, but of deterioration."

Similar scenes are to be seen today in Southern Rhodesia, where erosion and loss of fertility by the soil is widespread. The report of the Natural Resources Board for 1954, making a plea for "plain speaking", declared that "it is no exaggeration to say that at the moment we are heading for disaster. We have on the one hand a rapid increase taking place in the African population and on the other a rapid deterioration of the very land on which these people depend for their existence."

DEVASTATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

The very devastation of the countryside throughout so much of Africa—which is itself a natural consequence of government policy of creating a land shortage and overcrowding for Africans—begins a viciously descending spiral which can only be broken by breaking the colonial system itself. Faced with impoverishment, and driven by the poll tax, the African peasant is forced to leave his rural economy and become a migrant

labourer. As a result whole villages are largely denuded of their able-bodied males. In Northern Rhodesia, for example, by 1941, 110,000 able-bodied men, including eighty per cent of the men between fifteen and thirty-five, had been taken off agricultural work (Leonard Barnes: *Soviet Light on the Colonies*, 1944).

A more recent traveller in Northern Rhodesia (*Times Educational Supplement*, 1959) says:

"I went into many villages in Northern Rhodesia hundreds of miles from the Copper Belt where only old men and women were living. All the able-bodied men... were off to the mine..."

Thus food production has been left mainly in the hands of women, children and elderly men. But traditional African agriculture involves much heavy work, including climbing of trees to lop off branches for burning to make ash for seed-beds, the construction of fences to keep out animals, and so on. Women, old men and children are unable to cope with this work. The decline becomes a catastrophe. Famine sets in. And so the agrarian crisis deepens and deepens.

Noon (in his book *Labour Problems of Africa*, 1944) says:

"The villages of Nyasaland are threatened with the collapse of their entire economic structure by the absence of as high as seventy per cent of the adult males."

He adds that "the successive stages of this cycle are the departure of men for the south, then the deterioration of local agriculture, which in another turn of the wheel

forces a greater number of males to leave the protectorate."

The 1938 Colonial Office Report on Nyasaland gave 113,500 or 27.7 per cent of all adult males as being engaged outside the colony. By 1954 the figure had risen to 160,000—so the further decline in agriculture can well be imagined.

"Whole territories," says Basil Davidson (in his book *THE AFRICAN AWAKENING*, 1955) "such as Nyasaland and Ruanda-Urundi have become little more than reservoirs of migrant labour; and their consequent impoverishment is visible for all to see. Nothing in all Africa is sadder to the heart and eye than the great native Reserves of the Transvaal and the Cape Province."

PATTERN

And this is the pattern throughout most of imperialist-held Africa. How near to the edge of catastrophe African agriculture has been forced by the land robberies and the devastating blows of the migrant-labour system which, like a giant grab, constantly dips, scoops and denudes whole villages of their manpower, is strikingly indicated by a United Nations Report in 1953 (*Aspects of Economic Development in Africa*), which says:

"...where migrant labour has been drawn from the indigenous agricultural economies in high proportions, this has often had a deleterious effect on output and on farming practices, giving rise to a vicious circle in which the

outflow of labour reduced productivity, and falling productivity increases still further the pressure on workers to seek wage employment."

It adds that "eventually a stage may be reached at which the system of migrant labour, based on the labourer's retaining his place in a subsistence agricultural community, may break down."

AGRARIAN CRISIS

So profound had the agrarian crisis become in many African territories by the early 1950's (as revealed in the Pim Report for Northern Rhodesia, the Keiskamma-hoek Survey and the Tomlinson Commission in South Africa, the East African Royal Commission on Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, and numerous other reports and studies) that the British imperialist authorities, aware that they were standing on the abyss of a complete agrarian breakdown throughout east, central and southern Africa, sought, at a late hour, to shore up the crumbling rural economy and to establish an ally for themselves in the African countryside by encouraging, on a limited scale, the growth of an African capitalist farmer class. To this end, as advocated in the East African Royal Commission Report, they strove to introduce individual title to African land in place of the traditional system of communal land tenure. By means of 'model farmers' and 'Yeomen farmers' and 'land consolidation' schemes they introduced measures to settle Africans on small plots of land to which they were given individual title.

HITLER'S GENERALS TO CONTROL ATOMIC WEAPONS

In an editorial published in the edition of August 22nd 1964, the West German newspaper "Die Welt" expounded the efforts made by certain circles in the Federal Republic to join the United States in their role of NATO-gendarme in world affairs: "The strength of the Federal Republic is needed not only for its own protection but in all

places where Western positions are endangered in their very existence. Bonn wants to be something more than a servant.—It was by no means out of the question that a partnership between the United States and West Germany "on a global basis in conflicts could have a certain military consequences." "The basic military aspect of this idea," the newspaper concluded, "is atomic partnership in the form of a multilateral nuclear force."

The same day the Danish newspaper "Demokraten" reported on a secret agreement between Bonn and Washington which is to guarantee exclusive West German-American control over atomic weapons within the MLF. The hitherto planned veto power clause is to be replaced by the majority vote clause proportionate to the sharing of costs in the MLF. Under the present cost schedule the US covers 35 per cent and the Federal Republic 32 per cent of the total. This means that the two could easily push to the wall their MLF "partners", that Washington and Bonn could at will take an arbitrary decision as to when, where and against whom the nuclear force of NATO is to be put into action. Bonn's "Defence Minister" Herr von Hassel knew very well why he recently demanded: "We have to make the American partner renounce the veto power clause. If the MLF is to be made an operational instrument from the political and military points of view, one has to replace the veto power by the majority vote..."

MULTILATERAL NUCLEAR FORCE

It is common knowledge that the NATO multilateral nuclear force project provides for the equipment of 25 rocket surface vessels, camouflaged as merchantmen, with a total of 200 nuclear missiles (range up to about 2,900 miles). For the time being West Germany is to provide captains for eight of these vessels. This would all at once give the Bonn military direct control over 64 "Polaris A 3" rockets

DEMOCRATIC FORCES

Democratic forces all over the world are increasingly ill at ease because of Bonn's efforts to attain hegemony in NATO. As early as March 3rd 1964, the London "Daily Express" had given the following warning: "The political leaders of the Federal Republic nourish the sinister ambition of employing NATO to regain the lost eastern territories. What a madness if Great Britain joined this conspiracy!" In its edition of August 21st 1964, the British Labour weekly "Tribune" stated: "Nobody wishes or needs the MLF—except the West German government which already to-day dictates the policy of NATO..."

"The multilateral nuclear force of NATO is nothing more than a starting point. It signifies only the beginning of a new development," Bonn's Foreign Minister Schroder stated recently. Where is this development—which already now causes serious apprehensions—going to lead us? Perhaps to unrestricted, exclusive control over atomic weapons for former Hitler generals? Who would guarantee that they won't use these weapons "irrespective of losses" once they have them at their free disposal?