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Bing on
Politics and
Education
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THE SPARK



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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

No. 163 2p.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1965

EDITORIAL

Frustrated Don Quixote

AS we said sometime ago, Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien has a way of using as a platform for his views occasions whose ostensible purpose is quite different. In his attempt to review Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's new book "Neo-colonialism—The Last Stage of Imperialism" Dr. O'Brien used the occasion to vent his widely advertised grievances about Ghana and the leader. The review makes little if any attempt to relate the book, and the book's purpose to the real problems that newly developed states in Africa really face, and we suspect that Dr. O'Brien really does not care about these problems anyway, otherwise he would perhaps exercise a little more objectivity than he appears capable of at present. In writing the review Dr. O'Brien's self-conscious air of academic detachment which he donned as some don, a particularly fashionable new suit, completely deserted him. It is not a review of the book, but a malicious attack on its author.

* * *

Dr. O'Brien came to Ghana with the laurels of Kanga about his brow; he left a frustrated Don Quixote, reduced to erecting his own windmills to tilt at. In Dr. O'Brien's view, universities should stand above the problems of the day-to-day world, the ivory towers of refuge for those who disdain the common man's efforts to build a fuller, richer life.

Dr. O'Brien is a champion of that brand of "academic freedom" which finds it possible to provide a platform for the dissemination of anti-socialist ideas while viewing any attempt to popularise socialism as an encroachment on "academic freedom".

Thus during the latter part of his term of office as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana Dr. O'Brien found himself aligned with those who wished to isolate intellectuals from the main stream of our life, and who were only too ready to use any weapon to attack socialism—the freely chosen aim of Ghana's people.

Dr. O'Brien's brand of "academic freedom" was in fact highly personal. Although a guest in Ghana, he felt himself free—and indeed was free—to criticise policies approved by the overwhelming majority of the Ghanaian people, and to smear, both in private and in public, individual Ghanaians with whose views he disagreed.

But when anyone replied to his attacks or criticised him, he retreated behind a plea of "academic freedom". For Dr. O'Brien, "academic freedom" meant above all his own freedom to criticise others; it did not include the freedom of others to criticise him.

It meant also the "freedom" of anti-socialist lecturers to go on attacking socialism, but not the freedom of socialist lecturers to set out the principles of socialism.

* * *

If meant the "freedom" of libraries and bookshops to stock anti-socialist, anti-Ghanaian and even racist books; when it was suggested that in a country which had by the will of its people decided to build socialism, socialist literature should take its due place, this was in the eyes of Dr. O'Brien an encroachment on "academic freedom".

It is characteristic of Dr. O'Brien's special brand of so-called "liberalism" that he should reserve his most malicious attacks not for the enemies of African freedom and unity, but for its champions.

One of the points Dr. O'Brien raises against Ghana is that "all planning has become increasingly at the mercy of some sudden manifestation of flattery and delation".

It hardly becomes of him to accuse others of encouraging flattery when it was clear that he himself was always seen to react in a completely subjective fashion to criticism; it was never clear that he actively encouraged criticism or surrounded himself with plain speakers or critics. The contrary was thought to be the case.

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Passing Shot of a Spent Force

by Julius Sago

WHAT appeared at p.831-2 of the New Statesman of 26 November 1965 is not a review of Kwame Nkrumah's latest book Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism. It is a premeditated attack—unjustified as it is uncalled for—on the government of Ghana and on the person of President Nkrumah. The perfunctory forage into the book is merely to provide a pretext for this attack. And in pressing this attack vendetta gets the better of reason. The result is not the whetting of the appetite of a would-be reader but the self-portrait of a wounded ego.

A CREST-FALLEN

Conor Cruise O'Brien is a crest-fallen later-day colonialist intellectual. His dream of making a splash as a great administrator in the Congo ended in the public disgrace of having to leave the U.N. staff. The next exercise was to rebuild his splintered personality in Ghana by projecting himself as a great educationist of the best tradition of Western liberal thought. This effort ended in a quiet removal. His ambition of building up fame in Africa was shattered. He has to be content with an honorarium of a professorship.

It is to be expected that such a disappointed man should vent his spleen on his former associates. At the moment he directs his shafts at Ghana (rather than at the combines that rule the Congo) because such an exercise should help him settle down in his present habitat. No one can say for sure that attacks on the Congo will not come more to the fore if in the future O'Brien finds it necessary again to change his habitat.

Less than a third of O'Brien's review is devoted to the book. The rest is taken up in attacks on the Ghana Government and on the person of President Nkrumah. Even this restricted excursion into the book shows more of spleen and less of scholarship.

Nonetheless, it is useful to understand O'Brien. His consuming passion is the removal of Kwame Nkrumah from the Presidency of Ghana. To quote him,

"this might be a good idea". O'Brien here unwittingly provides the evidence (if ever more evidence were needed) for the view that his presence in Ghana served the interest of counter-revolution.

O'Brien's intellectual standpoint is the mistaken belief that the history of Africa is decided by a dialogue (often no more than mere prattle!) between various interest groups in the capitalist world, each complete with its intellectual arm, with that indefinable malleable something, euphemistically referred to as "the conscience of the western world", acting as the umpire. To him, African history is merely the enacting of conclusions arrived at by the interplay of this western conscience (often mistakenly designated "world opinion") and the various groups of monopoly finance capital. O'Brien's analysis suffers from this fatal weakness—that it relegates to the background the role of the African peoples themselves in shaping their destiny.

FINANCE CAPITAL

O'Brien's first criticism of Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism is that "this work could easily be paralleled elsewhere". He suggests the Economics Department of the University of Ghana, Legon or "any competent team for researchers". Unfortunately O'Brien does not cite a single source from which the wealth of data continued in Nkrumah's book could be obtained. It is interesting comment on his Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Ghana that the Economics Department of that institution (to which he makes reference) did not undertake this research work during his term of office. A true scholar would readily pay tribute to the copious documentation provided in the book on a matter which is so fundamental to contemporary African life.

The next criticism is that the documentation of the operations of international

finance capital in Africa "takes up 17 of the book's 118 chapters. The political aspects of neo-colonialism are compressed into an Introduction; Chapter 18 and a Conclusion".

One can almost hear O'Brien bemoaning the fact that the exposure of international finance capital made in the book is too meagre. Perhaps one index of his relationship with that phenomenon! Surely an African whose entire life (and the destiny of his people) hinges on this phenomenon has every right to lay it on thick in order to attract the needed attention. It is only the wolf that will complain about such an exposure.

In any case, there are several attempts in current literature to deny the existence of neo-colonialism and to portray "modern capitalism" as a big departure from the old capitalism that used to be. Statesmen, including a former British Premier, have denied the reality of neo-colonialism. It has thus become part of imperialism's tactic for its continued exploitation of Africa to deny the reality of its operation, viz. neo-colonialism. This subterfuge has to be destroyed. And a massive documentation of the operation of international finance capital in Africa, such as is contained in the book, is absolutely essential to this exercise.

Again, the nature and operation of these corporations manipulating the wealth of Africa provides the stage on which contemporary neo-colonialist politics in Africa is enacted. A scholar who sets out to lay bare the politics of neo-colonialism must of necessity produce irrefutable documentation on this foundation of neo-colonialist politics. A person who complains about such massive documentation is either not scholarly in his approach or is peeved that a system he represents (or from which he draws his livelihood) has been mercilessly exposed.

Nor can we appreciate O'Brien's criticism that the book does not dwell much on "neo-colonialist politico-economic pres-

ures as experienced in practice by African leaders". In the first place, it is necessary to provide a sound theory of neo-colonialism. When this has been done, the next stage would be to employ this theory in case studies of not only African but also non-African regimes of neo-colonialism.

In the second place, Kwame Nkrumah's references to the mechanics of neo-colonialism (chapter 18) are based primarily on his experience in Ghana. He draws on the experience of a few African countries e.g. the Congo, where current political events have been recorded with reasonable accuracy to permit a scholarly appraisal.

The story of the "politico-economic pressures" of neo-colonialism must of necessity be told, for each African country, by persons directly involved in that battle, a good deal of which is enveloped in darkness that is deliberately created.

"CIRCULAR LOGIC"

O'Brien's other technique in criticising Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism is to give the impression that the reasoning in the book is faulty. He terms it "circular logic". Two examples of this are given.

Firstly, "the way to get rid of neo-colonialism is to get rid of neo-colonialism, an unassailable but unhelpful proposition." O'Brien's argument is that since Africa's disunity is created by neo-colonialism, the claim to African unity as a means for getting rid of neo-colonialism is "circular logic".

This betrays his lack of grasp of Nkrumah's thesis. When the author of Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism calls for African unity he sees this as rallying together of the "surging organisations of the African peoples" which must be "closely linked with ruling parties where liberatory forces are in power". (P.254). Kwame Nkrumah thinks more of a movement of African peoples than of the formal get-together of existing African states. However, he concedes that "a partial get-together, of

African states (or a get-together of a few existing African states) would act as a catalyst in mobilising the popular forces in Africa and beyond.

To show that the formula against neo-colonialism involves putting an end to the neo-colonialist states in individual African nations (that is, that the existing states could not all be seen as the props of lasting African unity) Kwame Nkrumah calls on existing states to evolve "national plans designed to strengthen ourselves as independent nations" (p. 253). Some African states certainly cannot achieve this, and hence cannot serve as secure props for the African unity which must serve as the tool for destroying neo-colonialism. O'Brien's error lies in a mechanical concept of African unity—a mere summation of existing states.

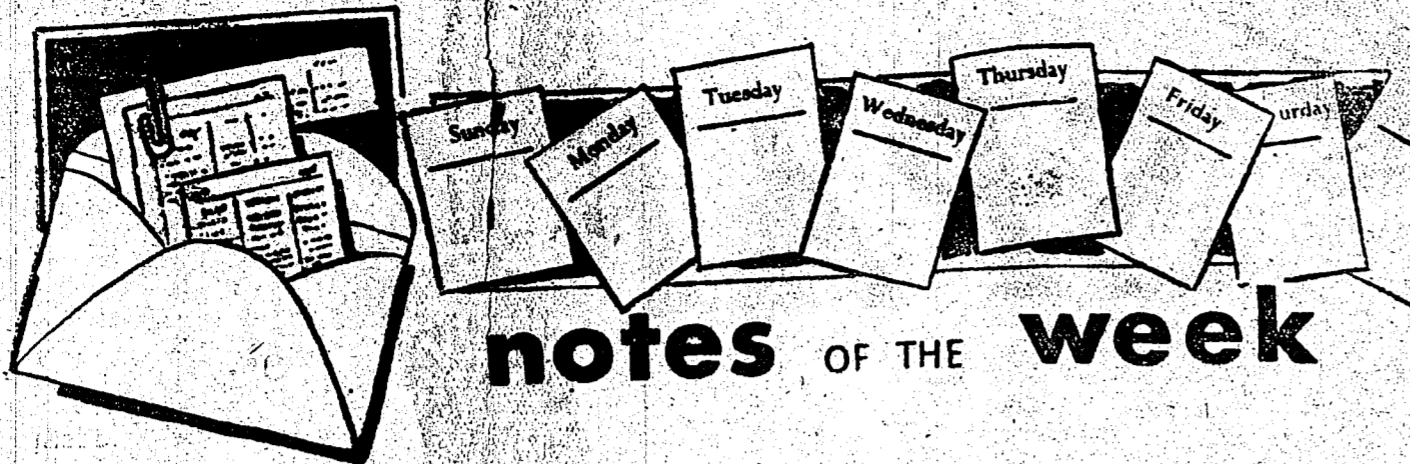
There is the added truth that the more African states can co-operate among themselves, the further can each state go in removing imperialist relations within its life.

IGNORANCE

The other example of "circular logic" given by O'Brien merely exposes his ignorance of Kwame Nkrumah's other book. He refers to the formula PA/NA = D in Kwame Nkrumah's CONSCIOUSNESS. The shattering truth, however, is that there is no such formula in the book referred to. O'Brien is therefore guilty of a very serious intellectual crime. He has vulgarised in order to debunk. The end product is a glaring disservice to his claims to both intellectualism and scholarship.

O'Brien argues that the other factor in the problems of contemporary Africa ("the deficiencies of African nationalist governments") is not referred to in Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism. This, however, cannot vitiate the argument contained in the book. The deficiencies of African nationalist governments are in large measure the direct result of neo-colonialist pressures and intrigues.

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notes OF THE week

AS we go to press, it is not known whether Britain will send a military force to Zambia in response to President Kaunda's request. Britain is said to have offered troops—but on certain conditions.

President Kaunda wants troops to protect the Kariba Dam, which supplies power for Zambia. Zambian Government spokesmen have made it clear that they held Britain responsible for safeguarding Zambia's interest in the dam and the power which it produces.

But one of the conditions which Mr. Wilson is said to be imposing on the dispatch of a military force is that it shall not cross the Rhodesian border.

But the Kariba Dam Power Station is on the Rhodesian side of the border; unless British troops cross the border, they cannot protect it.

This condition makes it clear that whatever may be the reasons for British troops going to Zambia, the suppression of Smith's rebel regime is not one of them.

This is confirmed by another reported condition which Mr. Wilson is said to be insisting upon—that the Zambia-Rhodesia border shall be closed to freedom fighters operating against the rebel regime.

This suggests that Mr. Wilson is anxious not to suppress Mr. Smith's rebel regime, but to protect it.

Mr. Smith's first reaction indicated that he sees it this way too: Rhodesia, he said, had an interest in what he called the "maintenance of law and order" in Zambia, and there was less likelihood of "border incidents" if British troops were there.

Mr. Wilson's conditions make it clear that he has no serious intention of taking effective action to suppress what he himself has termed the "illegal regime" in Salisbury, or of letting anybody else do the job either.

By sending a token British force, Mr. Wilson hopes to head off action by others, and in particular forestall the dispatch of an African force dedicated to the liberation of Zimbabwe's four million Africans.

We have already commented on reports that a number of British Army officers had indicated that they would refuse to take part in military operations against the rebel regime.

There have been no reports

of any action being taken against those officers who have thus made clear their sympathies with the rebels. Indeed, reports now suggest that similar sympathies have been voiced by R.A.F. officers.

According to the London Daily Telegraph (27.11.65), "Contrary to the usual Service custom of accepting orders from the civil power without question, there is good reason to believe that any intention to

carry out operations directed against Rhodesians will meet with serious resistance from senior officers of the R.A.F., and also from the Army."

British spokesmen have long boasted of the "non-political" character of Britain's officer caste.

The boast was never so: British officers have never been "non-political"—they have always supported the policies of Britain's ruling classes.

But now there is division among Britain's rulers between the more far-sighted sections who hope to trim their sails to the wind of change and the die-hards who still believe they can go on ruling in the old way.

So some officers, clearly demonstrating that their loyalty is to their class rather than to their country, have apparently made clear that they will refuse to obey orders.

When a reporter later reached the besieged camp, still under fire and said he wanted to photograph the bodies on the barbed wire the grimy, bearded, exhausted defenders broke into bitter laughter. They said there had never been any bodies on the wire and that they had never made the original count of ninety enemy dead.

In another example, Mohr describes how during the recent battle in the Idrang Valley the U.S. battalion commander on the field told a reporter that he had counted about 160 enemy bodies in two days—and went on to explain that it was impossible to count others under fire.

But that night, the American command Press Information Office claimed that 869 enemy bodies had been counted.

The "pressure for body-count figures" of enemy dead, said Mohr, was so great that troops had started to joke about Saigon's request for the "W.E.G." or "Wild-Eyed Guess."

Yet again we see how the war in Vietnam, based on the Big Lie of "aggression from the North" and propped up by lies about "readiness for unconditional negotiations", is daily breeding new lies—lies which the U.S. information agencies disseminate as part of their drive to prepare the way for a wider war.

Even the U.S. Commander in South Vietnam, General Westmoreland, felt it necessary to check the easy optimism which his own headquarters had done so much to foster by its misleading reports.

"When the American people read the headlines about victories", he said, "there may be a tendency for them to magnify the magnitude of these actions."

"I do believe there is a certain danger that we may be overwhelmed by a certain feeling of optimism and may lose sight of what I consider a true appraisal of the situation. . . . It involves a long conflict and we must be prepared to accept this."

Just how misleading has been the information released by official United States military press spokesmen in Saigon is disclosed in a dispatch from the *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr (26.11.65).

He recalls how when the American Special Forces camp at Pleime came under intense and prolonged siege in October U.S. military spokesmen claimed early in the fight that ninety enemy bodies had been counted and some of them were hanging on the camps barbed wire.

This report was prominently featured in several papers both in the United States and other Western countries. But,

General Mobutu's coup in the Congo marks a new ominous development in imperialism's counter-offensive in Central Africa. It also marks a new milestone on that unhappy country's road to calvary.

The 35-year-old General ousted President Kasavubu, named himself head of state for the next five years (the length of time needed to bring him to the age of eligibility for election as President) and entrusted Col. Leonard Mulamba with the organisation of a government.

The coup came at the end of two weeks of political manoeuvring during which Mr. Evariste Kimba, the choice of former President Kasavubu, had been trying to form his second "National Union" government.

The first had been voted down by Tshombe and his supporters in the National Assembly and it is not without significance that according to the *New York Times* correspondent in the Congo capital, Leopoldville, "Mr. Tshombe was said to be delighted with the coup" (26. 11.65).

According to the correspondent, Mr. Tshombe "had argued that Mr. Kasavubu was the major obstruction to political harmony in the Congo."

On the following day, the paper commented editorially that "the action of Mr. Tshombe's Congo party in halting the coup as an 'act of heroism' surely signifies its hope that its leader will be brought into the Government in some important capacity."

Congo Coup

Mr. Donald H. Louchheim, *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent in Leopoldville declared the coup to be "an attempt to close an opening to the left within the Kasavubu government" (26.11.65).

He went on: "Recently, Mr. Kasavubu had leaned on support from anti-Western and possibly Communist-inspired backers in a: clash- ing campaign to discredit Mr. Tshombe as a man of the right and a puppet of imperialism. Western diplomats had feared that unless the battle were resolved swiftly, new upheavals would sweep the Congo."

In other words, Washington was alarmed even by the limited moves in the direction of a more genuinely representative government that President Kasavubu had made, and decided that he must go on hand to do the job and keep the Congo safe for U.S. Big Business. His first remarks on taking power echoed those of successive U.S.-backed military dictators, be they in Africa, Latin America or South-East Asia:

"The Congo has lacked discipline. I will try to bring discipline to the country's political life."

Col. Mulamba, whom General Mobutu has entrusted with the job of forming a "safe" government, advanced to prominence last year under U.S. tutelage.

His defence of the town of Bukavu against the Congolese freedom fighters during the period of the U.S.-Belgian Stanleyville operation is reported to have earned him the approval of U.S. military attaches,

Extending the War

WHILE in Washington one of the largest-ever demonstrations was calling for an end to U.S. bombing and a peaceful settlement, U.S. Defence Secretary McNamara was hinting at the possibility of extending the war in Vietnam to neighbouring Laos and Cambodia, and to an intensification of the U.S. terror-bombing campaign against North Vietnam.

A note of bewilderment almost desperation—can be detected in many U.S. commentaries on the Vietnam situation.

A week or so ago, American observers were confidently predicting that the "massive application of U.S. air power" would crush the liberation struggle; victims of their own Big Lie that what is happening in South Vietnam is not a country-wide popular uprising against a puppet government and its foreign masters but "aggression from the North", they foretold its collapse as a result of the U.S. terror-bombing campaign against the Democratic Republic.

What in fact has happened has been that the fighting has reached a new pitch of intensity, with damaging defeats inflicted on the Americans and their puppets.

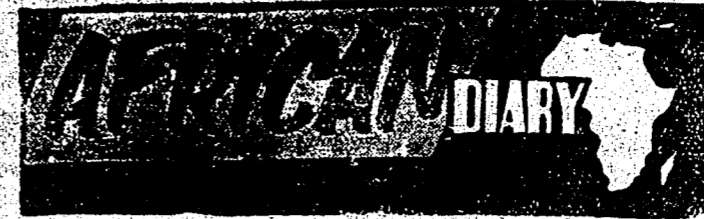
The Pentagon had hoped to win its war "on the cheap", with most of the fighting—and the dying—being done by their South Vietnamese puppets while U.S. bombers with impunity rained death and destruction on innocent Vietnamese villagers whose only "crime" is to want to choose their own way of life free from foreign interference.

Instead the American casualty lists are mounting; American commentators like James Reston find themselves gloomingly obliged to acknowledge that "we are only at the beginning of what promises to be a bleak and bloody

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

THE SPARK has always combated Dr. O'Brien's influence in Ghana and outside it and Dr. O'Brien has occasionally accused us of being unjust. We feel no cause to retract anything we have said about him or his policy. On the contrary, this performance of his confirms our worst fears about him. He links hands with the most reactionary sections of world opinion in his attack on Kwame Nkrumah. It is characteristic of the subjectivity of his reaction that he makes this attack just when Ghana is in the forefront of the campaign to stop Smith's rebellion; because of his utter lack of political sense; in spite of all his calls for toleration, for liberalism, for academic freedom, he plays the game of the imperialists and the racists. O'Brien's whole career is a monument to the failure of the bourgeois intellectual as a force for progress in our day and age. We know from our experience that he lines up on every basic issue with the old guard, because basically he fears what is new, he fears practical action, he shirks the responsibility of real commitment. The issues facing the world today of peace, of the fight against poverty, of the opening up of educational opportunity for the common man demand of broad vision capable of raising big men above the minor rebuffs and setbacks that we all encounter in our lives; mankind in its advance to a richer life for the masses will be perhaps a little harassed by the snares and traps set for it by the small minded and the petty but it will never be deflected.



NOVEMBER 6:

NIGERIA: Nigeria has been warned that the present crisis in Western Nigeria might spell doom for the country and disintegrate her if necessary steps were not taken to arrest the situation.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): The forthcoming Congo (Leopoldville) Presidential elections will be held in time for the newly elected Head of State to be sworn in before March 2 next year.

MALAWI: A bill making it possible for the Malawi Government to direct that someone sentenced to death should be hanged in public has been placed before Parliament in Zambia.

8 A SUTO-BECHUANA-SWAZI LAND: The United Nations General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee has approved a resolution paving the way for the independence of the British High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland in Southern Africa.

NOVEMBER 11:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The minority settlers in Rhodesia today rebelled against the British Government by illegally declaring themselves independence of the British Crown and forcefully seizing the territory.

GHANA: The Government of Ghana has declared that illegal and treasonable declaration of independence by the Rhodesian white settler regime "flows directly from the United Kingdoms veto of the Security Council's resolution in September 1963".

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The declaration of unilateral independence by the Rhodesian white settler regime of Ian Smith today immediately evoked worldwide condemnation.

ETHIOPIA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia has said today that he is prepared to use military force if necessary, to restore the rights and dignity of the African peoples in Rhodesia.

MAURITANIA: Mr. Mohammed Lemine Ould Hamoni has been installed in Nouakchott by President Moktar Ould Daddah as the first Mauritanian President of the Supreme Court.

ZAMBIA: Landlocked Zambia which at present imports all its coal from Southern Rhodesia will begin mining its own coal from the Nkandabewe mine for the first time next January.

BURUNDI: Mr. Leopold Bihya Burundi, Prime Minister who was critically wounded in an abortive coup last month has left Bujumbura by air for Brussels, Belgium for further medical treatment.

TOGO: Togolese President Nicolas Grunitzky has presented the 1966 Togolese budget to the National Assembly in Lome.

NOVEMBER 12:

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah, Supreme Commander of the Ghana Armed Forces, today placed Ghanaian troops at the disposal of the Organisation of African Unity for the liberation of Southern Rhodesia and called for a meeting of the O.A.U. Defence Ministers to prepare concerted plans.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Britain will not consider any major military action in the Rhodesian rebellion but might send troops on the request of the British Governor-General there.

* Sir Elwyn Jones, British Attorney-General has warned all Rhodesians that they would be committing treason if they did anything to further the end of the unilateral declaration of independence (U.D.I.).

NOVEMBER 13:

TANZANIA: The Tanzanian Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. W. S. Malecela, has replied to fascist Portuguese Foreign Minister's charge against his country and other African states that they were committing aggression against "Portuguese-held territories of Mozambique and Angola."

GHANA: Mr. Alex Quaison Sackey, Ghana's Foreign Minister, has told the United Na-

tions Security Council that the "Ian Smith clique" in Rhodesia had unshamefully committed an act of treason and rebellion.

* President Kwame Nkrumah today said in his message marking the 20th anniversary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, that it is the duty of the youth to mobilise world opinion against the destructive forces of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism and join hands with all organisations working for the promotion of progress, prosperity and world peace.

NOVEMBER 14:

TANZANIA: An agreement for a joint British-Canadian survey of proposed rail link which would give landlocked Zambia an outlet to the sea through Tanzania was signed in Dar-es-Salaam today.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The African group of states at the United Nations today presented to the Security Council, a formal proposal for the creation of a common force to end the minority white Rhodesian settlers' rebellion.

* Southern Rhodesia's Governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, today rejected racist Ian Smith's demand for his resignation because "I hold my office at the pleasure of Her Majesty the Queen and I will only resign if asked by Her Majesty to do so."

CONGO (Leopoldville): The new Congo (Leopoldville) Government headed by Mr. Evariste Kimba failed to gain a vote of confidence in Parliament today, the voting was 134 to 121, a majority of 13 against the Government.

SENEGAL: The four Senegal River States which have formed a West African Economic Group have decided to persuade ten other nations to join the group to develop the river basin economically.

NOVEMBER 15:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Ghana and six other African countries attending the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in New Zealand have called on the British Government to take "strong and immediate" action to restore law and order in Southern Rhodesia.

* The Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, has hailed Ghana's pledge to place her troops at the disposal of the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity or Britain to enforce the will of the overwhelming majority not only of the people of Rhodesia but also of peoples throughout the world.

CONGO (Leopoldville): President Kasavubu of the Congo (Leopoldville) held talks with political leaders aimed at forming a new Congolese Government in Leopoldville today following the dramatic rejection by Parliament of the administration of Mr. Evariste Kimba.

TUNISIA: President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia has arrived in Nouakchott, Mauritania, by air from Tunis today to start a month-long tour of African countries.

NOVEMBER 16:

ETHIOPIA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia has proposed an extraordinary meeting of African Heads of State and Government to discuss the threat to peace and African Unity by the illegal seizure of power in Southern Rhodesia.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Mr. Robert Gardiner has predicted that the indigenous people of Southern Rhodesia may one day take a leaf out of the settlers' book and take a unilateral action without regard to human and humane consideration.

ZAMBIA: Giant four-engined

Accules turbo-prop freight aircraft of the Lockheed Aircraft Company will soon carry out a test airlift of copper from Zambia's copper-belt to the East African coast port of Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania, it is officially announced in Lusaka today.

CONGO (Leopoldville): President Joseph Kasavubu of Congo (Leopoldville) has asked Mr. Evariste Kimba, the Parliament defeated Congo Prime Minister to form another government.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Britain was under strong fire in the Security Council today as African delegates sought stringent measures against the Rhodesian settlers' rebellion.

NOVEMBER 17:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Leader of the settler rebels in Southern Rhodesia, racist Ian Smith announced in Salisbury today that the telephone service at Government House—Rhodesian Governor's official residence—had been suspended upon his authority.

ZAMBIA: President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia today warned that unless the British troops are called in immediately to guard the Kariba hydro-electric scheme on the Zambia-Rhodesia border, he would call for help from any country.

NOVEMBER 18:

GHANA: Professor W. E. Abraham, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, Legon, left Accra by air today for Dakar, Senegal, to hold talks with officials of Dakar University.

TANZANIA: Members of the five-nation Defence Committee of the Organisation of African Unity assembled today in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, to begin an emergency meeting on the crucial Rhodesian crisis.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The outlawed racist leader Ian Smith, the rebel gangster, further today in Salisbury humiliated the Governor of Southern Rhodesia by seizing all his official cars.

* The Executive of the West African Union in London today condemned the illegal seizure of independence by the Smith rebel regime in Rhodesia, and asked the British Government to use force to bring down the rebellion.

NOVEMBER 19:

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah has declared in Accra today that the time has come for independent African States to take the initiative in their defence and that of the people of Zimbabwe following the illegal seizure of power by the Rhodesian settlers.

NIGERIA: Nigeria has joined the world-wide sanctions against the settler rebels of Southern Rhodesia by declaring today trade embargo and other measures led by race-orientated anti-African pirate Ian Smith.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: A British weekly has accused the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, of giving "aid and comfort" to the Southern Rhodesian settler rebels and discouraging those who might have restrained their leader, racist Ian Smith, from leading the rebellion against the Africans.

MAURITIUS: India has joined the countries which have expressed their opposition to the plan by Britain and the United States to set up a joint military base in the Indian Ocean, the Island of Mauritius.

GUINEA: The Guinea Republic's Ambassador to France, Mr. Nanamadou Diakite, flew out of Paris today, on the orders of French Government following Guinea's exposure of a dialectical plot against Guinea mooted by France and was to be executed by certain "French" West African countries.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Three hundred militant British Guinean young men, mostly blacks, have volunteered to fight in Rhodesia to bring down the Smith's rebel regime.

EDUCATION LEAPS AHEAD

by I. K. Chimebuah

It is more than fifty years since H. G. Wells told us that the whole world was engaged in a race between education and catastrophe. It is as true today as it ever was that unless all men and women have been properly educated so that they can develop their individual personality and meet the needs of society neither the individuals themselves nor their country as a whole will be able to achieve a decent standard of living or take their proper place in the modern world.

Here in Ghana the Party and Government, under the wise and dynamic leadership of Osagyefo the President, realize that education is the most important investment that our country can make for the future. The Party and Government have therefore, rightly put education at the head of the national investment programme and Ghana spends more on education in relation to her national income than any other country in the world.

Since the start of our political revolution there has been a considerable progress in the expansion of educational facilities and opportunities at all levels of our education system.

In 1950 the year of Positive Action there was a total of only 1,592 Primary and Middle Schools, nineteen Teacher Training Colleges, twelve Secondary Schools, five Technical establishments and only one Higher Educational Institution in the country. The total number of persons enrolled in these educational institutions was 209,190, of which 2,776 were in secondary schools, 1,777 in Training Colleges, only 266 in Technical Schools and 108 in the only higher educational institution in the country.

FIRST MEASURE

In the 1951 general election, the first of its kind in Ghana, the Party won with an overwhelming majority, and as a result our leader was released from prison to form a government under British Colonial administration. One of the first major measures taken by the new C.P.P. government was the launching of the Accelerated Development Plan for Education, 1951. This is a clear indication of our leader's realization of the role which education was to play in our struggle for total emancipation.

The Accelerated Development Plan for Education was implemented in 1952. Local and municipal authorities were assigned responsibility for providing and maintaining primary and middle school buildings and equipment except in the North where the Central Government retained this responsibility. With the implementation of the Plan, the number of primary and middle schools rose from 1,622 in 1951 to 3,736 in 1962, an increase of nearly 140%; the total enrolment was more than doubled.

It is significant to note that

this phenomenal increase in the number and enrolment of the schools resulted not so much from the opening of new schools as from the taking over into the public system of private schools which had been in existence for years but had been accorded neither official recognition nor any sort of aid by the colonial government. Indeed the colonial Education Department had done everything to discourage their continued existence short of publicly ordering their closure. Ghana owes a debt of gratitude to her public-spirited citizens who, in the face of great odds, kept burning however dimly the torch of education so that many more of our sons and daughters could receive the benefits of education.

The emphasis of the Accelerated Development Plan for Education was on primary school education, teacher training and trade and technical education. Primary education as well as Teacher Training became free so that nobody who was qualified and desired to train was prevented from entering college on financial grounds. As a result the enrolment of Teacher Training Colleges increased from 1,777 in 1950 to 2,363 in 1952. The enrolment of the Technical Schools also rose from 266 in 1950 to 866 in 1952. The number of secondary schools increased from 12 in 1950 to 26 in 1952 and their total enrolment from 2,776 to 5,033. Another significant development in education in 1952 was the opening of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology with the resultant increase in the number of students in our two institutions of Higher Education from 108 in 1950 to 710 in 1952. The total number of persons in our educational institutions in 1952, the first year of the Accelerated Development Plan, was 424,679 as against only 209,190 in 1950.

The achievements of the Accelerated Development for Education were not limited to increased numbers only. There were improvements also in the content of the courses offered, particularly at the level of elementary schools and teacher training education as well as in the structure of the education system generally and the quality of primary and middle school textbooks. The Curricula and Courses Branch of the Ministry of Education came into existence and was charged with responsibility, among other things, for providing properly graded syllabuses and suitable textbooks for the Primary and Middle Schools. Today we have well-graded syllabuses and textbooks for our primary and middle schools in all subjects of their curriculum, and many of the textbooks have been written by Ghanaians or have Ghanaian background. The Plan also re-organised the structure of the education system and introduced throughout the country the six-year primary school course

followed by the four-year middle school course. Before then primary school education was usually organised in three stages, namely infant, junior and senior schools, although a multiplicity of other patterns was followed in various parts of the country.

In order to arrest the danger of falling standards which usually attends large-scale educational expansions of this kind, the plan recommended precautionary measures in the form of in-service training for both trained and untrained teachers. Under the plan an expanded and re-organised teacher-training and the two-year Certificate 'B' course were introduced to produce teachers quickly for the primary schools in order to meet the situation in terms of the bulge in the enrolment which arose out of the introduction of fee-free primary education. In 1950 there were 144,302 children in primary schools, and in 1952 when the Accelerated Development Plan was implemented this number rose to 335,094.

The Accelerated Development Plan for Education, 1951, marks first significant stage in an impressive programme for educational development launched by the Party since coming into power. As a result of this Plan enrolment of our primary and middle schools more than doubled in one year and there were similar increases in secondary schools, technical institutions, teacher

school education were due mainly to the work of the Ghana Educational Trust, which we owe to the vision and creative mind of Osagyefo the President. The Trust opened about 28 schools during this period. The Trade Schools were developed in Technical Institutes and their enrolment rose from 2,522 in 1960 to 3,300 in 1962. By 1962, there were 6,400 students in 39 training colleges as against 4,274 in 30 colleges in 1959.

SCIENTISTS

Ghana needs trained scientists of all kinds as well as men and women with technological skill to carry through the socialist development of our country particularly in industry and agriculture. This demands that our educational programme should place emphasis on the study of science and technology. As Osagyefo the President has said: "Only the unremitting application of Science and Technology can guarantee human welfare and human happiness. Socialism without science is empty. To achieve socialism, the emphasis in our educational system must be shifted from purely literary concern

to send their children to school, and to ensure that school children derived the fullest possible benefit from their attendance at school the Party and Government introduced in 1962 a scheme for the free supply of textbooks and school materials including stationery to pupils in all primary and middle schools and in 1964 extended the scheme of free textbooks to pupils in secondary schools throughout the country. This was the fourth significant achievement in the educational programme of the Party and Government. Simultaneous with this scheme the Government also took steps to establish a State Publishing Printing Press at Tema with capacity ultimately for taking over the publishing and printing of all the textbooks and the production of stationery which had hitherto been imported from overseas for use in our schools and colleges. This Printing Press came into operation about the end of 1964.

The fifth significant stage in the educational programme of the Party and Government was the scheme for tuition-free secondary and technical education which was announced by Osagyefo the President early in 1964 and was implemented at the beginning of the present academic year. With the introduction of tuition-free, secondary and technical education in Ghana has become virtually free at every level from the primary to the university. In addition the Government has been operating since it came into power in 1951 to the present day a generous and ever-expanding scheme of scholarship and bursary awards designed to ensure that no child who is capable of benefiting from secondary and higher education is prevented from doing so on financial grounds.

MAIN PROBLEMS

The two main problems which the country has had to face in education during these years of rapid expansion are lack of adequate accommodation and qualified staff. As regards the former, from the moment the Party came into power in 1951 it wisely took steps to harness the traditional spirit of communalism and self-help which characterizes the entire Ghanaian society to the services of the country in various ways including the provision of primary and middle school buildings. The contribution of local communities in this respect still continues to be praiseworthy and augurs well for the successful implementation of the educational programme under the 7-year Development Plan.

Lack of properly qualified staff, however, is the greatest single problem the country has had to face in our endeavour to expand our educational system. The problem exists at every level. Energetic and effective measures have been taken to deal with it. At the primary level, a shortened two-year course for Certificate 'B' was introduced in 1952 to train teachers quickly for the schools. This was discontinued three years ago in favour of a straight four-year course for the Certificate 'A'. And in order to ensure that the best available candidates are selected for training the Ministry of Education has instituted a national selection examination conducted on its behalf by the West African Examinations Council. The Ministry has also opened 12 pupil-teacher centres in various parts of the country which untrained teachers attend, for periods of six weeks at a time, for briefing courses designed to lift the level of their academic and professional competence. As a general rule only persons who have completed a secondary school course are eligible for appointment as pupil teachers in middle schools. There is still a large number of pupil teachers in the schools and our programme of teacher training

TO SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

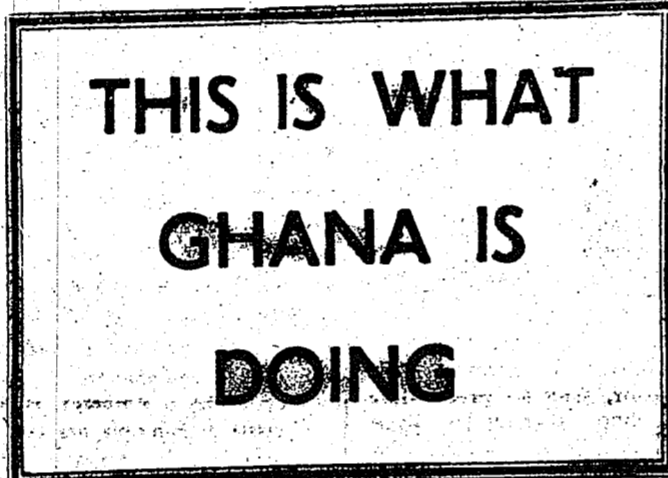
It was to facilitate increased attention being given to science and to raise the standards of science teaching that the University College of Science Education, Cape Coast was established in 1962 with the sole purpose of training science teachers for our secondary schools and training colleges. In the same year the total enrolment in our three institutions of higher education in our three institutions of higher education was 1,955 as against 1,134 in the two institutions in 1959.

THIRD STAGE

In 1961 the Party and Government launched the scheme of fee-free and compulsory primary and middle school education and in that year the number of primary and middle schools rose by 2,400 from 4,629 in July, 1960 to 7,029 in September, 1961, and their total enrolment increased by more than 250,000. This was the third significant stage in the educational programme of the Party and Government which aims at taking education to all the people. It is noteworthy that the achievements in the sphere of primary and middle education in particular were made possible by the mobilisation of the enthusiasm of our people under the Party as manifested in the provision of school buildings and equipment by Local Authorities and local communities. By 1962, there were nearly 7,000 primary schools and nearly 2,000 middle schools in Ghana and their combined enrolment was only a little short of one million children.

The total number of persons in educational institutions in Ghana from primary schools to the universities rose from only 209,190 in 1950 to 1,031,083 in 1962. Thus in ten years the Party and Government achieved a five-fold increase in the total enrolment of educational institutions in the country.

As a further encouragement to parents and guard



training colleges and in our higher educational institutions. The Plan also brought order into the structure of our education system at all levels and remodelled the curriculum and courses of instruction for both pupils and teachers.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The emphasis in the educational programme of the 5-Year Development Plan, 1959-1964 was on secondary, technical and higher education. This was the second significant stage in the educational programme of the Party and Government, and the targets of this plan were achieved in record time. In 1959 there were only 11,111 pupils in 39 secondary schools. By 1962 the number of secondary schools had increased from 39 to 74 and the number of pupils from 11,111 to 16,000. The phenomenal achievements in secondary



under the 7-year Development Plan is geared to their elimination by about the end of the Plan period.

The staff problem is acutest at the Secondary, Technical and Teacher Training levels, and we have had to supplement local supplies with considerable recruitment from overseas to sustain our expanding educational programmes.

We are extremely grateful to all donor countries for the supply of teachers for schools, colleges and universities. It must, however, be admitted that there is the need for developing countries to become masters of their own educational progress.

At the Third Commonwealth Education Conference held in 1964 in Ottawa it was recognized that "in the long run the supply of trained teachers to support the vigorously expanding educational programmes of the developing countries must be assured from within" and great emphasis was therefore laid on the advancement of teacher training programmes and the establishment of teacher training institutions in the developing countries themselves. In Ghana appropriate measures have been taken by the establishment of the University College of Science Education, Cape Coast, to produce locally the teachers we need and thereby to discontinue the expatriate recruitment as soon as possible. The degrees awarded for courses at Cape Coast University College will be teaching degrees and all the products of the University will enter and, it is hoped, remain permanently in the teaching field. The first graduates of Cape Coast passed out this June. In a few years time, teachers in adequate numbers, will flow from Cape Coast into our secondary schools and training colleges in an ever-increasing and never-ending stream.

The educational programme of the seven-year development plan constitutes the sixth and most significant stage in the development of our educational system.

DEFINITE TARGETS

The Plan sets definite targets not in terms of entry and output numbers only but also as regards the orientational content of courses and the deployment of student material and educational manpower generally.

The manpower requirements of the country had to be reviewed and provided for in terms of the vast development projects of the 7-Year Development Plan. Industry, Commerce, Agriculture and the various social services will all require vast armies of workers of all categories—research workers, technologists, scientists, technicians and a wide range of professional personnel including university lecturers and teachers, doctors and engineers etc. All these will have to come from among the children whom we see daily around us, going to or returning

from school in our cities, towns and villages. They are the teachers and university lecturers, the administrators, the doctors and engineers, the scientists, technologists and technicians of tomorrow.

The egalitarian aim of our policy of the democratisation and socialisation of education is to afford all children equality of opportunity, which means the opportunity to develop any abilities a child may have, even if these do not lie solely in the intellectual field. The needs of our economic and social reconstruction will be for a wide range of skills drawn from people of all degrees of ability.

ESSENTIAL

In a very real sense, first, the educational programme under the Plan is essential to the success of the whole Plan.

Under the Seven-Year Development Plan the primary school population is to be raised to 1,500,000 by the end of the Plan period. Great progress has already been made in this respect. The combined enrolment of the primary and middle schools is already not far short of a million and a quarter.

In 1951 when the Party came to power there was a total of only 204,263 children in 1,592 primary and middle schools. In 1964 there were as many as 1,286,486 in 9,986 schools.

The enrolment in our secondary schools which was less than 3,000 in 1951 is to be raised to 70,000 by the end of the plan period.

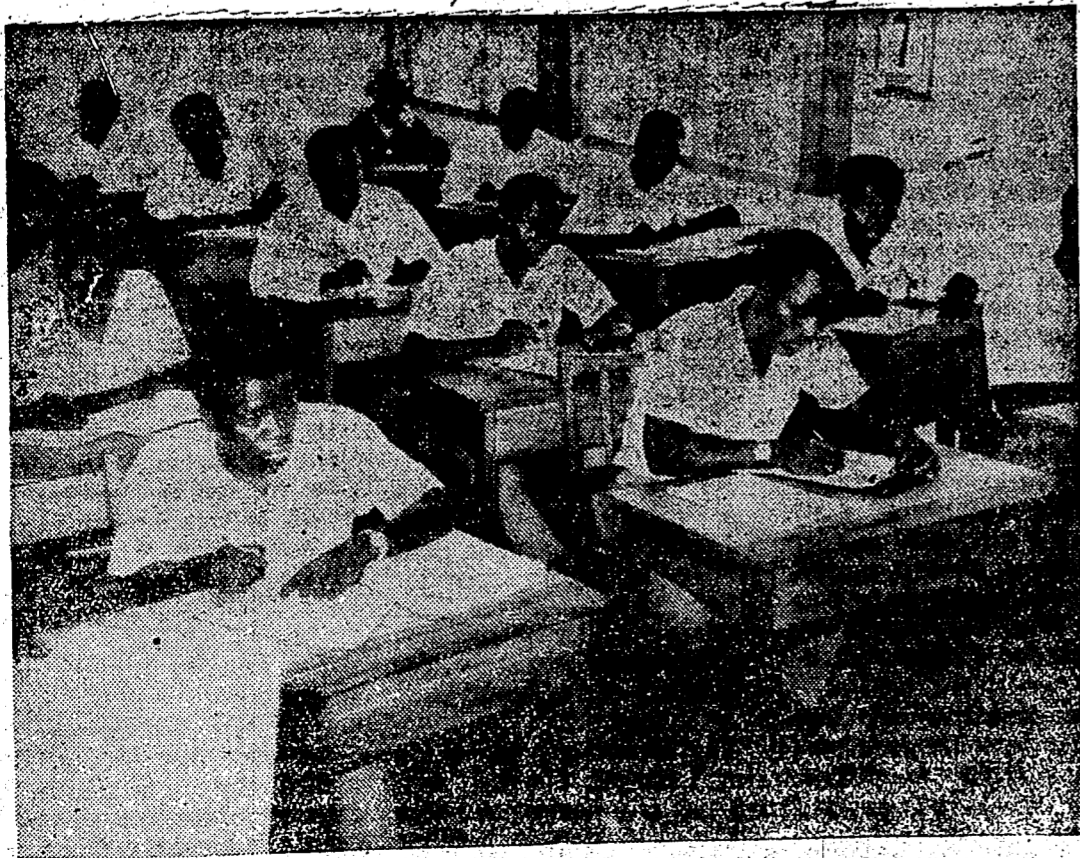
In 1964 the enrolment of our secondary schools had increased to 32,000 in 89 secondary schools from 2,776 in 12 schools in 1950.

The Plan target is to increase enrolment in the teacher training colleges to 21,000 by 1970. There were 1,777 students in 19 training colleges in 1950 and in 1964 there were 10,203 students in 47 colleges.

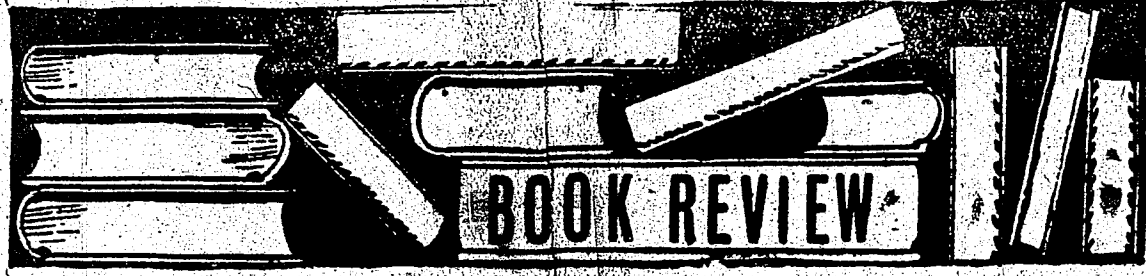
The number of students in technical schools is expected to be increased by 1970 to some 10,000. In 1950 there were only five technical schools with a total enrolment of 266 students; by 1964 there were eleven establishments including training centres, institutes and polytechnics with a total enrolment of nearly 5,000.

In 1951, there was only one University institution in the country with a total enrolment of only 108. In the academic year 1964/65 enrolment in our three universities increased from 2,500 in 1963/64 to 3,480. The plan target is to increase enrolment in our University institutions to about 25,000 regular students by 1970. A fourth university institution, a new University College of Agriculture has been planned and is due shortly to come into existence. In 1964 therefore the total number of per-

Continued on page 8



Technical training has a vital part to play in aiding the soviet development of Ghana.



Published by the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute on a three-day seminar organised by the Kwame Nkrumah Institute from August 8-11, 1964 for members of the Federation of African Students in France. 55pp.

SECOND only to the valuable work of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in its provision of full time training, is the job it has undertaken of providing short crash courses for different sections of the trades, professions and wings of the Party. We consider this kind of training as quite basic to the ideological work of the Party because it gives an opportunity to groups of people with similar interests and problems to gather together to learn about the basic features of the Party's philosophy and policy, and in the course of questions and discussions apply them to their special situation.

However heavy the pressures and demands of practical tasks on individual comrades, it is the duty of the Party to provide opportunities and give practical encouragement for each one of us to study and read and try to apply the principles of Nkrumalism to our particular field of work. In this way the quality of practical work is continuously enriched and comrades are

helped to see their work as part of the broad stream of revolutionary socialist construction.

This principle applies to everybody from members of the Government, to the youngest student entering the University, from the leaders of the mass movements to the newest apprentice entering industry.

The Ideological Institute is to be congratulated on the systematic way in which these groups are organised and gathered at Winneba for ideological education. It is inspiring to know that this continuous work will affect the work and outlook of thousands of comrades who, in turn will play their part in winning yet more people for Nkrumaist methods of work and modes of thought.

As well as the holding of Seminars with the spoken word passed from tutor to student, the Institute publishes many of the lectures which are given on these occasions, so that they can reach a wider audience.

This pamphlet *The African Intellectual in The African Revolution*, consists of a series of lectures devoted to an explanation of the ideas and philosophy of *Consciencism*, an outline of the main features of Capitalism and Socialism and an explanation of the strategy and tactics of The

Seven Year Plan.

The provision of this Seminar for students is in itself a practical example of the way in which intellectuals, in this case, young people, are being won, and have to be won for Nkrumalism, for the ideas of Scientific Socialism as applied to Africa.

* * *

Most of the lectures illustrate the main features of *Consciencism* by outlining its basic propositions about the nature of matter, and its relationship to mind and thought, and consciousness.

As is frequently and so correctly emphasised *Consciencism* takes these basic dialectical materialist concepts and applies them to African society, which is a synthesis of traditional African society, Islam and Euro-Christian forms. The ideologies of these social structures all combine in greater or lesser degrees in the mainstream of African consciousness. It is this consciousness, this existing ideology on which Nkrumaists have to work and this existing intellectual milieu which forms the point of departure for Kwame Nkrumah's creative philosophical work.

Consciencism, is philosophy with a purpose. It is designed to equip us to win continental liberation and de-colonisation.

THE AFRICAN INTELLECTUAL IN THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

This approach to philosophy is basic to scientific socialism and the papers in this Seminar quite correctly stress this feature. It is very necessary to do this for students. Many of them, even the most actively progressive, tend, because of our educational heritage to treat theory and practice as two separate and distinct compartments of human activity.

"The new situation calls on African intellectuals in all fields of learning to come forward and apply the canons of philosophical Consciencism to their studies. Be it in the natural sciences or in the field of culture both the methodology and the tenets of Consciencism will prove immensely rewarding. More especially in the social studies and in the field of culture and the arts, African intellectuals will achieve a re-valuation and enrichment of existing knowledge that will play a major part in building the new Africa. The result will be the flowering of African thought—a true African renaissance."

* * *

These words should be studied carefully and applied. We are still waiting for our Party intellectuals creatively to apply to their particular fields of work the principles of *Consciencism*. Scientific socialism is a philosophy with relevance to all fields of human thought and action and it is not sufficient to pay lip service to it, or to see it merely as the basis for a political programme, it is necessary to see it as a total world-out-

look which is the intellectual weapon we have for the transformation of society and nature.

It is perhaps relevant in this connection to discuss the very valid points made in the booklet on the question of the individual intellectual's responsibility.

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If there is a criticism to be made of the lectures printed here, it is that this aspect is not sufficiently developed. Because of our inherited elitist tradition we have to put up a constant fight against all its manifestations, most of which are almost unconsciously manifested by even our most devoted intellectuals.

It is necessary to stress the need for a new intellectual to staff our state apparatus, to solve economic and physical problems in the building of socialism, and this is well done here. We also need to stress however, the attitude of the new intellectual towards the masses and to encourage him to understand that knowledge is not necessarily verbal knowledge, that enormous resources of theory and experience accumulated by the mass of the people in their day to day lives, often lies untapped because we still have intellectuals who believe the masses have nothing to offer them.

We recommend the deep study of the passage on page 23 of the booklet.

... *Consciencism* recog-

nises the creativity of struggle. From all this we conclude that the ivory tower intellectual cannot be a soldier of the intellectual revolution which the situation in Africa demands. Nor can he be fully creative since he has withdrawn from the struggle which is the very essence of life.

We see this new attitude as the fundamental one which the socialist intellectual must fight to acquire. From this struggle the secondary features will come more easily. These features are so well expressed in the lecture that we take the liberty of quoting them at some length.

* * *

"The first is the need for ideological education among Africa's administrative cadres and corps of experts. We are all fully aware of that the new Africa will not be completely free of imperialist influences as long as its governments are advised by the former colonial masters and as long as its administrative machinery is manned either by nationals of the former colonial power or by Africans who are still wedded to the perspective of the colonial or neo-colonialist system. Here, attention is drawn to a very apt passage in *Consciencism*. At page 102 we read "It is far easier for the proverbial camel to pass through the needle's eye, hump and all, than for the erstwhile colonial administration to give sound and honest counsel of a political

nature to its liberated territories. To allow a foreign country, especially one which is loaded with economic interests in our continent, to tell us what political decisions to take, what political course to follow, is indeed for us to hand back our independence to the oppressor on a silver platter."

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

(i) The replacement of all experts the former ruling power with Africans;

(ii) giving the existing administrators a new ideological perspective; and

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

This is a succinct statement of the nature of the problem we face in the building of socialism and in the formation of socialist intellectuals. The material in the booklets is most helpful in stating the problem and in giving assistance to solve it.

We hope that will be widely distributed and studied and that the Seminar of which it constitutes a record will be the forerunner of many, many more.

In this way—the Ideological Institute is helping us to speed the momentum of the intellectual revolution taking place in our country. It is fulfilling its role in helping to create socialists without whom as the Institute's founder, Kwame Nkrumah tells us, it is impossible to build Socialism.

NAZI HANGING JUDGES AT WORK

IN this instalment of Extracts from the *Brownbook of War and Nazi Criminals* with the continued employment in West Germany of judges and State prosecutors having records of cruelty and injustice in the special courts set up by the Nazis, who are today serving in similar—often higher—positions in a wide variety of Courts in West Germany. (In that country, as in most European countries, both judges and state prosecutors are civil servants in regular Government employment).

As the *Brownbook* puts it, "Justice was one of the most cruel of the instruments used by the Third Reich" (i.e., Nazi Germany—Ed.) "In its reign of terror". Let me quote further from the book:

"It was on the basis of two of the murderous laws of 1933-4" (the period of the establishment and consolidation of the Nazi dictatorship, during which a large volume of harsh legislation was passed to give an air of legality to all the horrors to be committed in succeeding years by the Nazis—Ed.) "that the infamous 'People's Courts' and 'Special Courts', which sent tens of thousands of citizens of almost every country in Europe to the scaffold, were established.

"With the help of two of these murderous laws, the 'Decree establishing special Courts' and the 'Law to amend the criminal Law and Procedure', a whole network of exceptional tribunals was set up to terrorise the population.

"The special courts were designed to stifle all opposition to Hitler, in order to establish the 'peace of the graveyard' at home in preparation for aggression abroad. Before these courts the accused were deprived in practice of all defence rights.

"Their true character was disclosed in a decision of the Supreme Court of Germany of the 9th November, 1938, which declared that 'not only in name but also in reality they stood wholly apart from the courts which exercised normal public jurisdiction'.

"Wolfgang Idel, who is today the head of a regional court (Landgericht) in Dussel-

dorf, wrote in 1935 in his Dissertation entitled: *The Special Courts for Political Offences*, that their task was 'to extirpate the opponents of the Third Reich, particularly Communists and Social Democrats'.

"It emerges clearly from the work of these courts that their judges and prosecutors were of necessity the most case-hardened and ruthless of Fascists.

"After the attacks of Hitler Germany on its neighbours, special courts were established in practically every occupied country. By their decisions they carried into effect the extermination orders of Hitler and Hammler.

"Their worst record was in Poland, where thousands of Polish citizens were sent to the scaffold just because they acknowledged that they were Poles, or because they resisted the policy of starvation, or because they were classified as 'unworthy' under the principles of Globke's 'People's Lists'. (See note on Globke below—Ed.)

"These courts... under the conditions of 'total war' in Germany and in the occupied countries passed death sentences for every trifling offence which in civilised countries would be left unpunished as mere 'pillaging'.

"This dark chapter in the history of German justice was introduced on October 24th, 1939, by the then State Secretary of the Nazi Ministry of Justice, Dr. Roland Freisler, at a meeting of Chairmen of special courts and experts for special courts in that Ministry, in these words:

"The procedure of our criminal courts is shaped by our laws as a mighty sword to be wielded by the hands of the judges. It allows wherever necessary a departure from the norms of punishment usually regarded as appropriate, often going as far as death sentences.

"The grim balance sheet of these courts, as recorded in incomplete statistics, shows 50,000 death sentences. The courts martial passed a further 25,000 not including those of the supreme court martial.

"In the... lawyers at Nuremberg the American

court reached the conclusion that:

"the essence of the charge in this case is that the laws, the decrees, and the Draconian, corrupt and perverted national-socialist system of law, of themselves constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity, and that those taking part in the enactment or application of these laws are criminally involved as accessories in those crimes... In brief, the charge is one of conscious participation in a system of cruelty and injustice, organised by the government and extending over the whole country, offending against the laws of war and of humanity, and committed in the name of the law, by the authority of the Ministry of Justice, and with the help of the courts. The robes of the judge, concealed the hand of the murderer."

"Accordingly the Allied Control Council decreed, in fulfilment of the Potsdam Agreement:

"In order to reform the German system of justice, all ex-members of the Nazi party who took any active part in its work, and all others who were directly involved in the system of punishment applied by the Hitler regime, must be removed from their post as judges or prosecutors, and not readmitted such posts."

"In the German Democratic Republic this decree was faithfully observed. All lawyers who had been active members of the Nazi party or had taken part in Nazi legislation or administration of justice, were dismissed from the judicial service without notice in 1945, and replaced by anti-Fascist lawyers, resistance fighters, workers, peasants, and office employees.

There is not a single judge or prosecutor in the German Democratic Republic who belonged to the Nazi party. Lawyers who took part in terror trials were justly punished, as for example, Dr. Anger, prosecutor at the Leipzig special court, who served a long prison sentence in the German Democratic Republic, and on his release was welcomed in West Germany and given a post as prosecutor in Essen...

Dr. Hans Globke mention-

ed above, was an able and cruelly-minded civil servant who held high office under the Nazis, earning their special praise and earning promotion too for his work in drafting the elaborate racist legislation known as the Nuremberg Laws, which established the legal machinery for sorting out and then either sterilising or murdering everyone of Jewish descent both in Germany and in the occupied territories (the "final solution of the Jewish question", as the Nazis called it), and also in drafting the "Enabling Law" (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*) which concentrated dictatorial power in Hitler's hands.

Not content with drafting the Nuremberg Laws, Globke also wrote a long Commentary on them, and also took over a long period an active part in actually administering and applying the system of genocide which they created.

After the establishment of the West German State in 1948, Globke was not prosecuted, but was advanced to high office, becoming finally "State Secretary"—a supreme civil-service appointment of more important than that of most ministers in the office of the Federal Chancellor, Adenauer.

He used his high position to secure the appointment and promotion of many of his old associates in the Nazi terror-machine, and worked on the drafting of the "Emergency Laws" (*Notstandsgesetze*), a series of enactments designed to make it possible and indeed easy to establish a dictatorship in West Germany to suppress all democratic opposition to aggression and war.

World-wide pressure for the removal and prosecution of this remarkable person was stubbornly resisted over a long period by the Chancellor, Adenauer.

But finally, after Globke had been tried in absence by the Supreme Court of the German Democratic Republic in 1962, and convicted of crimes against humanity, and sentenced to life imprison-

ment, the pressure grew strong enough to force Adenauer, is not to punish him or even to dismiss him outright, but at least to let him retire on pension in July, 1963!

When one turns from this particular case to see more generally what has become in West Germany of many of the judges and prosecutors who served the system of cruelty and murder which went by the name of "justice" under the Nazis, one must be horrified.

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Country to the denials of the West German Ministry of Justice, over 800 lawyers from the Nazi exceptional courts are at work in that country to-day. Not one of the Nazi lawyers who share the guilt of over 100 cruel death-sentences has been prosecuted.

"These men of law, all of whom worked in the service of inhumanity, injustice, and aggression, have found their way back into the West German machinery of Government and justice, even into some of the highest positions. Turning to individual cases, we find that Dr. Josef Schafheutle, a high official in the Nazi Ministry of Justice who took a prominent part in the work of drafting many of the murderous laws of 1933-4 mentioned above, is engaged on similar work in West Germany.

For example, he drafted the first West German "Law to Amend the Criminal Law." This Law, commonly called *Blitzgesetz* (Lightning Law), is one of a substantial number of measures already passed, or intended shortly to be passed, in West Germany to lay the basis for a dictatorial regime.

These measures are not dissimilar from the laws passed under Hitler in 1933-4, although they have to be more cautiously worded and introduced than could be done thirty years ago; and it is extremely significant that several legal experts who worked on

the drafts for Hitler are now working on those for the West German Government.

The "Lightning Law" mentioned above set up special criminal divisions (chambers) in the West German courts, modelled on the Nazi special courts. As stated in the *Brownbook*:

"From the time this law of Schafheutle's came into force in 1951 up to the end of 1961—according to data given at the Eleventh Session of the West German Amnesty Committee and of Defence Council in political prosecutions; 200,000 political prosecutions were instituted in West Germany, involving in all some 500,000 West German citizens.

"Schafheutle is also responsible for the preparation of the draft of the new Criminal Code which provides inter alia for many increased penalties for, among other offences, Treason. Passages in this draft correspond in content and even in wording to the texts prepared by him in 1933..."

In the "Grand Criminal Law Commission," set up to draft not just amendments to the Criminal Code but a wholly new Code, sixteen of the twenty-three lawyers working with Schafheutle on the draft actually held office in the Nazi Ministry of Justice. Among them, to quote again from the *Brownbook*, are:—

"Dr. Kanter, former president of a political division of the Supreme Court of West Germany, who was proved guilty of grave crimes both in Denmark and in the German Democratic Republic;

"Frankel, Federal Attorney-General in 1962, proved guilty of fifty-fold murder in the German Democratic Republic, and now drawing a pension of at least Mks.2,500 a month; and "Wilkerling, former expert for political trials in the Nazi ministry of justice and now ministerial director in the Ministry of Justice of Lower Saxony..."

The *Brownbook* shows too that Hermann Hoehel, who worked as a prosecutor under Hitler, and in that position, shortly before the end of war, demanded sentence of death on a Polish citizen for having a love affair with a German

woman, is now Minister of the Interior in West Germany, and is in charge of the drafting of the Emergency Laws mentioned above.

It shows, too, that:— "Matthias Hoogen, until recently president of the legal committee of the Federal Parliament and now in charge of defence matters in the same body, has also been working hard to secure the swiftest possible passing into law of the new dictatorial laws. He was a judge of courts martial in the Nazi Air Force, and senior staff judge in the 'Kurland Army'."

From the "Brownbook" we can see something of the nature and purpose of the new *Draft Criminal Code*, which, it says strengthens greatly the provisions for political prosecutions of opinions and for proceedings against patriots and opponents of atomic warfare and of the emergency legislation. In addition, it serves directly the aggressive policies of the West German government.

For example, in the "Reasoned Explanation" given for section 3 of the draft (entitled: *The Criminal law Covers Acts Committed in German Territory*), it is stated:

"In the present position in international law, German territory comprises not only the areas within which the Criminal Code" is in force (i.e. the area of the German Federal Republic—Ed.) "but also those lying outside it to wit the 'Soviet occupation zone of Germany' (this is the description applied by West Germany to the German Democratic Republic, whose existence it insolently refuses to recognise—Ed.) "the Soviet sector of Berlin, and the other areas of Germany lying within the frontiers of December 31, 1937, at present under foreign administration" (i.e., parts of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the U.S.S.R.—Ed.)"

The meaning of these provisions is obscure at first reading—perhaps deliberately so—but when they are carefully studied they can be seen to be extremely dangerous to world peace, and equally illuminating in their disclosures of the attitude and intentions of the West German Government and ruling-class.

The myths of modern capitalism (2)

The myth of "the management Revolution"

by Ron Bellamy

DR Kwame Nkrumah's book 'Neo Colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism' exposes the way in which monopoly capitalism, driven out of its colonialist strongholds, seeks to perpetuate the imperialist relationship.

The apologists of capitalism can scarcely deny the predatory nature of the system, because for generations, the peoples of the world have suffered at its hands, especially the working people and the colonial peoples.

These apologists now try to answer the kind of exposure which Kwame Nkrumah's book typifies, by pretending that capitalism is now different.

Today we publish the second, of the series of articles by Ron Bellamy, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Economics, The University of Ghana.

The whole series deal with the views now current that the capitalist system has painlessly transformed itself into some other economic system, which is not however socialism.

In the attempt to prove this changed character of capitalism many economists obscure its essential features which persist in spite of some new forms of development.

We have asked Mr. Bellamy to examine these views which are being widely advocated in Britain, in the United States and Western Europe. We have asked him to do this because we believe that these theories of a 'transformed capitalism' have their effects here in Africa, and that they retard our struggles to build real socialism.

THE first myth, which we examined last week, stated that power over the economic life of society rested in the hands of those who owned society's means of production, but that the dangers of an oligarchic concentration of power could be (or was already being) averted by the creation of a democracy of property owners. We showed that in practice the reverse was happening.

The alternative myth—that of the so-called "managerial revolution"—does not deny that the ownership of property is highly concentrated among an oligarchy. But it contends that this is irrelevant since the control over the property has passed out of the hands of its owners.

PROPOSITIONS

More precisely (and it is very rarely stated with the precision which we shall accord it) the theory consists of four propositions.

Proposition I: In modern economies the unit of control over production is the very large company (or corporation in the USA). These corporations are owned by shareholders, large and small. These are the capitalists or owners.

Proposition II: In the 19th century the management was usually carried out by the owner-manager, the classical entrepreneur of the textbooks. In the modern large corporation management has become, with the complexity of operations, the work of teams of managers, led at the top-most levels by a Board of Directors (often called the Top Management). This team of Top Management, with whom decisive control over all production decisions lies, is legally and in theory responsible to the body of shareholders. But in practice Top Management has become a self-

perpetuating oligarchy of professional experts.

Proposition III: There is therefore 'separation of control from ownership', with control (which is what matters) out of the hands of the owners of property. The independence of the managers from the capitalists is further strengthened by the ability of the managers to finance all expansion out of profits, so that they need never be forced to appeal to the capitalists for new funds. This is the theory of self-financing, or internal accumulation.

Proposition IV: These new controllers are professional experts—lawyers, accountants, technologists, scientists, administrators—who have an outlook quite different from that of the owner capitalist. His aim was maximum profit: they have a diversity of aims, within which maximum profits may well be placed second to other goals viz. personal satisfaction in doing a good job, a sense of responsibility to the workers, or to the community, or the most rapid advance of technology. In short, they are said to have a quite different ideology. The implications of this for the wage earner have been put in New Fabian Essays by Mr. Ian Mikardo: "Divorce of ownership from management... faced the workers with a new class of professional managers who lived by the salaries they earned from their work and not from their ownership or part-ownership of the equity. In large and important sections of industry the self-reliant, dictatorial, small scale entrepreneur gave way to the hired manager or technician who was more interested in the successful exploitation of his managerial or technical skills than in the sometimes accidental fluctuations of the profit and loss account... Slowly there began to emerge a new race of bosses in the factory who hadn't quite the same urge to take unfair advantage of workers as their predecessors had." (p. 144-5).

REFUTATION OF THESE PROPOSITIONS

Proposition I. This proposition is substantially correct, but contains one very important omission: It leaves out of account altogether the financial corporations and their relations with those corporations engaged in production. We shall return to this point later, under Proposition III.

Proposition II. In some of the most famous versions (e.g. James Burnham: Managerial Revolution, New York 1941) this gains its plausibility from the slipshod way in which it is stated. At some moments the 'managers' are the foremen and technical workers closely linked with the production process; at others they are the directors who appear at a quarterly board meeting. Statements about the behaviour of the former are not, without further proof, relevant to the latter. However, there is no doubt a great deal of truth in the proposition that a large part of decision making in the modern company is done by hired employees. We shall ourselves, in our summing up, draw quite contrary conclusions about its social implications.

Proposition III. We agree that what matters is control over the means of production. The key question is whether control of them can ever be out of the hands of those who own them. Let us dismiss straight away a quite spurious point. To exercise control over some process one does not have to be there in person all the time.

What matters there is an effective chain of command or of pressure, or of incentives, so that those who own are able, in the last analysis, to impose their will if it is challenged.

Our last article demonstrated that so far as it concerns the majority (by number) of the shareholders—i.e. the small shareholders—the separation of ownership from control is almost complete. There remains the question whether the same is true of the large shareholders. The historical process by which they are supposed to have let go their grip is never described. Yet it is hard to see why, if there was something to lose they should not have put up a bitter struggle. Of course, if they have not put up any struggle because they have in fact lost nothing, then it is equally hard to see in what the "revolution" consists. For if the aim of production under the managers, and the distribution of the fruits under the managers is the same as it was under the capitalist owner managers, then it is hard to see what all the fun is about. No one would suppose that because the slave owner did not march the plantations personally, whip in hand, slavery had disappeared. The actual overseers might well themselves be slaves with some privileges. No one supposes that because the directors of Union Miniere did not personally appear in Katanga, rifle in hand, that the mercenaries were not their agents.

But the managers are said to be less subject to the capitalist their aims because the large corporation is self-financing, out of its own profits. I have not the space to give all the evidence for and against this argument. The case for it rests upon the evidence of a few years shortly after World War II when firms had on hand plenty of cash which they had been unable to spend during the wartime restrictions on investment. All the evidence in recent years is that even the biggest firms have had to borrow outside and mainly from the large financial organisations. One of the best known American Academic Studies (S. P. Dobrovolsky: Corporate Income Retention 1915-1943), National Bureau of Economic Research N.Y. 1951 p.6) concludes "no general tendency can be observed for the ration of internal to external financing... to change over the period of time examined... In other words... manufacturing corporations do not seem to have become either more or less financially self-sufficient".

In the enormous flood of mergers and take-over bids to which we referred last time, it has become clear that it is the large shareholders, and not the managers who are decisive. When ICI made a bid to buy over control of their biggest rival, Courtaulds (whose capital was nearly £300m.), the decisive factor in their defeat was the ability of the large Courtauld shareholders to mobilise enough support among their kind to refuse to sell their shares to ICI.

A final acid test who is stronger, managers or large shareholders, would be who won in a challenge of strength. Dr. Sweezy (Present as History: NY 1953) has given the example of the managing director of a Rockefeller oil company who had managed undis-

turbed for many years, but finally took a decision with which the Rockefeller family disagreed. The family holdings, and the banks with which they had influence, were mobilised, and the manager removed. That such cases are rare, except in obvious cases of incompetence, will not be surprising after our later review of managerial ideology. But cases of the converse where paid managers supposedly flout continually the interests of large shareholders should be common, if the managerial revolution were a reality. Such cases are never brought to light. That managers may ignore the interest of small shareholders is a quite different matter. To plough back a considerable part of profits and thus restrict the dividends which the small shareholder receives is not necessarily against the interests of the large shareholder. For if he controls the capital of the company it is not a matter of great moment to him whether he takes his profits out and then puts them back, or never takes them out at all.

Finally, the assertion that the top managers are not large shareholders has never been proved. Not only are all top managers encouraged to become shareholders in their own companies (though no large part of their income may come from that ownership), but among the top managers there is very much evidence to show that the largest shareholders

form a decisive proportion. The Securities and Exchange Commission (A U.S. government agency) reported in TNEC Monograph No. 29 that "control through ownership (usually minority) is the typical situation in the giant corporation... about 140 out of the 200 corporations (the 200 largest in the USRB) were more or less definitely under ownership control."

Proposition IV: It would be necessary to provide a refutation of this only if Proposition III had been decisively proven.

PROFITS

We have shown the evidence for it to be weak. However the statements of Proposition IV, taken solely on their own merits can also be shown to be false.

First, if there is not a scrap of evidence to show that so-called management controlled companies behave any differently towards profits. In the course of researches over the last five years I have read many hundreds of company reports, mostly of large companies. I would urge the doubting reader to take the Financial Times or the Economist and see for himself how frequently profits are the first things mentioned in a company's annual report, how much of the discussion about companies in the columns of the financial press is about profits, yields, rates of return on capital, and how rarely other considerations, except in so far as they affect profits, are ever discussed.

Of course it is true that the modern large corporation, employing thousands

of people, is susceptible to outside pressures. (Only those who have learned about the real world from the lifeless abstractions of some textbooks could have supposed otherwise). That does not of course prevent them from presenting the concessions they were forced to make as part of their aims. (We all know that the imperialists were only waiting to give us independence as soon as possible, and our pressures had nothing to do with it! Those who do not believe in this myth are not likely to believe the other.) But we also know that attempts are made to take those concessions back the moment the pressure is relaxed. We should not therefore confuse concessions made under pressure with a change of aim.

Nor is there evidence that managers have aims other than profits. The point has been well put by Professor Neil W. Chamberlain (in general a supporter of the managerial revolution hypothesis) when he says that the manager may not consciously make maximum profits his personal aim. He may well have as a goal his personal success as a manager. But that involves being manager of a growing and successful company. As we have shown, a company can grow only to the extent that it makes profits, or borrows from capitalists. Hence the achievements of his personal goal involve his subordination to the aims of capitalism. He also lives in an environment in which there is a predominant ethic—the rights of private property—as well as powerful legal

sanctions to protect those rights. Chamberlain concludes somewhat ruefully that it is very difficult for the manager to pursue other, socially oriented, goals wherever they conflict with the aim of private profit.

Finally all the evidence about the social background and training of top management suggests that acute internal conflicts about goals do not rend the typical manager's heart. Professor Jausig and his colleague Joslyn, followed later by the American magazine of big business Fortune, and have studied the social origins of the leaders of American business. They hardly suggest an open ladder of opportunity. Of American business leaders under the age of 50 in 1952 some 67.8 per cent were the sons of businessmen, and only 2.5 per cent were the sons of labourers (quoted in Samuelson: Economics p. 128). Copeman, later editor of the British journal the Director, made similar studies of the background of 2,000 top directors in British Industry. At the time of his enquiry (the late 1950's) the majority of his directors belonged to the age group which had passed its adolescence in times when there was no universal secondary education. Yet the overwhelming majority of his directors has had not only secondary, but university education, and a very large proportion again had been at Oxford or Cambridge (Copeman: The Managers). In short they had had the background, and picked up

Continued on Page 8

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Politics and Education

OUR word "Academic" derives from one of the less attractive characters of Greek mythology—Akademos. He was the man who told Castor and Pollux where Theseus had hidden Helen.

From the earliest times there was, just outside a city gate at Athens, a sacred grove dedicated to this Akademos. Later this grove was incorporated into what the Greeks called a gymnasium but which we would describe as a recreation ground. Here, in the year 386 B.C., Plato established a school.

This school took its name, the Academy, from the garden of Akademos. It remained in existence for 900 years—a record of scholastic continuity scarcely surpassed in the Western world until our own day.

It is one of the ironies of history that this word "academic" should now suggest theoretical study, divorced from the events of everyday life and in no way connected with practical politics.

The two greatest of Plato's works, *The Republic* and *The Laws*, are devoted to a highly political theme—the regeneration of Greek political life—and the same overriding purpose is apparent in all his other writings.

The Academy was founded, not to produce academics, but to train a new type of ruling class. What was wrong with the academic tradition, as established by Plato, was not that it was political but that it was fundamentally unscientific.

POLITICAL APPROACH

It is, however, not only out of piety and respect that I begin this lecture by an examination of the inter-reaction of politics and education in the first Academy. The political approach of both Plato and Aristotle, which coloured all their scientific and philosophical work, has profoundly influenced Western scholarship and is thus reflected in our own educational system.

"The safest general characterisation of the European philosophical tradition", wrote the famous English philosopher, the late A. N. Whitehead, "is that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato".

The founding of the first Academy marks a turning point in Greek thought. The previous so-called Ionian era of Greek philosophy and science was empirical. Public policy, it was believed, could best be determined by a study of the successes and failures of political activity in the past and, indeed, this was the avowed object of Thucydides in writing his history of the Peloponnesian war. His approach had its parallel in Ionian science.

Plato, on the other hand, and those who followed him, rejected the idea that future political action should be based on a scientific examination of society and its history.

He taught that the guide to political action was the discovery of eternal values—of a comprehensive law of nature which controlled the whole of the universe. Unfortunately the yardstick by which he measured the requirements of this universal law was the facts of the society in which he lived. This society was a slave society and Plato's natural law had therefore to provide for slavery. His argument was that slavery was justified because it followed a pattern that pervaded all nature.

Aristotle, in his "Politics", defined in a sentence Plato's position. "In every composite thing", he wrote, "there is always found a ruling and a subject factor and this characteristic of living things is present in them as an outcome of the whole of nature". In other words, since the body of politics was composed of rulers and ruled so must every other body, living or inanimate, be similarly composed of ruling and ruled components.

It is, I believe, this failure to understand the connection between politics and education that has led even such a distin-



guished classicist as Dr. David Balme to speculate, without finding the answer, why Aristotle should have made matter responsible for most irregularities and disorders in nature, particularly when such a view was a departure from the previous scientific theories of the Ionian School.

The answer is simple, if one looks for it not in Aristotle's science, as does Dr. Balme, but in his political philosophy. Since matter was the "subject factor" it was equivalent to the slave, and since slaves were unruly so then was matter.

'STIGMA'

Once slavery is accepted then it follows that anything which the slave does is ignoble since it belongs to the ruled part of society. The earlier Greek scientists made the study of techniques their starting point and they honoured as scientists the early technicians like Glaucos of Chios, the traditional inventor of the soldering iron. The leaders of the first Academy took a very different view. Xenophon who, like Plato, admired and wrote about Socrates, had this to say of the techniques—

"What are called the mechanical arts carry a social stigma and are rightly dishonoured in our cities. For these arts damage the bodies of those who work at them, or who act as overseers, by compelling them to a sedentary life and to an indoor life, and in some cases, to spend the whole day by the fire.

This physical degeneration results also in deterioration of the soul. Furthermore, the workers at these trades simply have not got the time to perform the offices of friendship or citizenship. Consequently they are looked upon as bad friends and bad patriots, and in some cities, especially the warlike ones, it is not legal for a citizen to 'ply a mechanical trade'.

Archimedes was perhaps the greatest engineer of antiquity but when he was invited to write a handbook on engineering he refused. As Plutarch explained,

"He looked upon the work of an engineer and everything that ministers to 'the needs of life as ignoble and vulgar'."

Plato's Academy would never have rewarded the inventor of a machine for pounding fufu!

ANTI-SCIENTIFIC

The anti-scientific academic attitude of Plato was not caused by his prime interest being political. It was the result of his teaching an unscientific political philosophy. Classical society of Plato's time never questioned the proposition that slavery was the basis of civilisation. This attitude finds its parallel today in Mr. Ian Smith of Rhodesia who preaches that civilisation in Southern Africa can only be preserved by racialism.

In the same way as Smith holds that any fact which points to the contrary must be, by definition, untrue, so Plato refused to consider any question whose investigation might challenge his premise that slavery was part of natural law.

Thus, in their efforts to justify slavery, Plato and those Greek and Roman teachers, research workers and philosophers who followed after him,

Lecture given by GEOFFREY BING, Fellow of the Ghana Academy of Sciences during the celebrations marking the Sixth Anniversary of the foundation of the Academy

either deliberately or subconsciously turned away from those types of study which could have stabilized the "Graeco-Roman world" and might have in classical times produced that industrial revolution which alone could have saved ancient Mediterranean civilisation.

The political content of classical academic life created a mental climate which rejected the practical application of such applied scientific discoveries as were made and, worse still, turned men's minds away from all forms of applied science, branding it as a study only fit for a slave.

Let me give two examples. The engine used for grinding grain in classical times was a small and inefficient mill worked by two slaves or sometimes by a donkey. Such a mill was only capable of dealing with about 10 lbs of grain per hour. Yet the principle of a water wheel for corn grinding was known.

There has survived a book by the Roman architect and engineer, Vitruvius, written in the time of the Emperor Augustus, and in which is described a geared water mill capable of grinding 400 lbs of corn an hour.

Nevertheless, so long as slavery on an industrial scale continued this wheel was never used to any significant extent.

It only came into its own when the slave system collapsed. For example, in the second half of the fourth century, when politically the Western Roman Empire was on the point of disintegration, we find a complex of such water mills near Arles in Southern France with a total capacity of three tons of corn per hour, sufficient to provide flour for 80,000 people. Five hundred years later the Doomsday Book listed in Southern England alone 5,624 water mills of the Vitruvian type, used not only for milling but for a variety of other purposes.

'DARK AGES'

Vitruvius had published his description of the mill 40 years before the Roman Emperor Claudius conquered Britain but the ensuing 400 years of Roman rule did not bring the water wheel to Britain.

It appeared first around A.D. 700 at the gloomiest point in the so-called "Dark Ages" when Britain was split into small warring kingdoms, and formal education was its lowest ebb.

At that time Britain was, in modern terms, a less developed country but technically speaking she was far more advanced than she was under colonialism.

This failure to make use of an actual invention finds its parallel in the failure of the academic Graeco-Roman world to apply already known scientific facts to the improvement of techniques.

Take, for example, the horse. The motive power of a properly shod and harnessed horse is about 15 times that of a man.

Since a horse costs only four times as much to keep as a slave it would have seemed clearly preferable to use it for traction purposes, but the ancient world was never able to devise an effective harness or a practical shoe.

The theoretical, mechanical and veterinary knowledge existed. They were not applied because to do so would have challenged the subconscious premise that slave labour was sufficient for all necessary mechanical purposes.

In consequence, the classical world had to manage with a horse which only developed one quarter of its potential power.

These two examples are of value. One reason for the failure of the ancient world to industrialise sprang from its inability to develop mechanical power.

Another was the high cost of transport which made mass production uneconomic, but the same story can be repeated a hundred times over.

Not only was the water mill neglected but the wind mill was unknown. Steam turbines were actually manufactured but their use was confined to stimulating miracles in the Temples of Alexandria.

BEHIND CHINA

Mankind had to wait for the Dark Ages before even such a simple labour saving device as the wheel-barrow was invented.

For all the superficial brilliance of Graeco-Roman science, the Greek and Roman worlds were far behind contemporary China and India in the application of science.

There was little acclimatising of plants or animals and no real technical advance in agriculture.

The textile industry, whose expansion must have led to discoveries in applied chemistry through the development of dyse and bleach, remained stagnant.

Use was not made of the Mesopotamian oil fields or the Dead Sea bitumen. There was no improvement in metallurgy. Despite the dependence of the ancient world on the extraction of mineral ores, no new methods of processing were discovered or applied.

The only course pursued was the use of forced labour in ever increasing quantities.

A vicious circle was thus established. Because of the low level of technique the ruling classes could only purchase the leisure necessary for comfort, culture and education by the systematic development of slavery.

Because of the existence of slavery improvements in techniques ceased to be a subject for study.

Academic support for slavery not only frustrated applied scientific research, it poisoned the world of abstract study. In order to justify slavery's existence, it was necessary to devise a philosophy to prove that it was not only morally justifiable but also inevitable and for this purpose it had to be shown as part of divine law.

Plato and the philosophers who followed him thus had even their study of the stars conditioned by their views of the social system of the world.

'IMPIOUS STUDY'

Astronomy, that is to say the science of star naming and classification, had for long been a subject of research and study in the ancient world.

Plato would have liked the stars to have proved the general rule that all nature moved in accordance with a predestined plan. He was in fact the patron of astrology, that is to say the art of discovering the divine reasoning of the stars.

The only difficulty was that in his day the irregular movement of the planets had not yet been convincingly explained.

It was only in *The Laws*, written in the last years of his life that he admits that new discoveries about the planets made it necessary to revise the view that astronomy was a "dangerous and impious study."

It is often argued that Plato's preoccupation with the stars stimulated astronomical study but the study stimulated was one designed to make astronomy respectable in the terms of Plato's preconceived political philosophy.

As Plutarch put it,

"It was only... through the brilliant repute of Plato that the reproach was removed from astronomical studies and access to them opened up for aid. This was on account of the respect in which his life was held and because he made natural laws subordinate to the authority of the divine principles".

Plato's astral theology is not the academic forerunner of Professor Lovell's Jodrell Bank. If we look for the logical continuation of his astronomical work we will find it more appropriately in Professor Waldner's column on "What the Stars say Today" in the *Daily Graphic*.

The history of the failure of classical science to apply practically the body of theoretical knowledge which it had assembled is merely one example of a general law illustrative of the connection between politics and education.

Man's progress depends upon his conquest of his environment and therefore the object of education must be to train men's minds to examine and to question the world in which they live.

During long periods of history, however, education has been, sometimes consciously, sometimes subconsciously, devoted to a very different object, namely that of teaching a minority of men how to rule the majority.

Whenever education is primarily devoted to this object it becomes a positive obstacle to learning and research. It is possible to see the working out of this law from the earliest times. Civilisation—that is to say the process by which an urban organisation was superimposed upon man's previous system of living in tiny villages of self-sufficient farmers—began around 3,000 B.C.

HOW TO RULE

From this time on there were, in various parts of the world, populous cities supported in part by foreign trade and secondary industries and politically demarcated into States.

With this civilisation came first organised education, but it was education devoted to the principle of teaching man to rule man or, to put it more politely, to train a class of administrative officers and the effect of this education was to slow down the previous rate of scientific discovery.

In the 2,000 years that preceded the founding of the first urban civilisations there were immense developments in applied science. As Professor Gordon Childe has written,

"In no period of history till the days of Galileo was progress in knowledge so rapid or far reaching discoveries so frequent"

and he lists 15 major applications of science.

There was the invention of the plough, of the harnessing of animals for motive power. There was the establishment of artificial irrigation and orchard husbandry. There were the inventions of the sailing boat and of wheeled vehicles.

In this period the production and use of copper and later of bronze was established, as was the use of bricks and of the arch.

Other discoveries included the glazing of pottery, the secret of fermenting beer and wine and the invention of a solar calendar, writing and numerical notation.

In contrast, in the ensuing 2,000 years of urban civilisation, Gordon Childe can only find four discoveries which he thinks can be put into the same category as the achievements of the preceding 2,000 years.

Taking the period from 2,600 B.C., when perhaps it

may be said organised education was first established, down to 600 B.C., he lists only the smelting of iron on an industrial scale, the invention of an alphabetic script, the devising of the Babylonian decimal system and the introduction of the aqueduct.

Further, of these four discoveries, the two most important, iron smelting and the alphabet, were made outside the centres of established learning.

So far as the Western world was concerned, the main discoveries in pure science, medicine, mathematics, and engineering were made in the first 250 years of the period and they are directly connected with the political conditions which existed in the small Greek islands and on the shores of the Black Sea.

EXPERIENCE

The empires of the first urban civilisations were based on herocratic rule. The small Greek cities had a comparatively simple political structure based on rule by the merchants and artisans, and slavery was economically unimportant.

Their citizens did not need to govern by exploiting superstition and when they turned their minds to wondering how things worked, they did so in the light of everyday experience without regard to ancient myths.

As I have shown, this period of development can be said to have ended with the establishment of the first Academy and what progress there was largely the consolidating and organising of knowledge. What followed was essentially the age of the text book.

During the remainder of this second period of 2,000 years many discoveries of applied science were made, particularly in the so-called Dark Ages after the fall of the Western Roman Empire.

These included modern harness of draft animals with shoulder collar, shafts, disposition in file and nailed shoes, to which I have already referred. They also included the invention of the present harness of the saddle horse for in classical times stirrups were unknown.

Among the other applications of applied science were the production of the mechanical saw, the forge with tilt hammer and bellows with stiff boards and valve.

Also in the same period we get for the first time glazed windows, candles and tapers, spectacles, lock gates on canals and a number of other perhaps equally important inventions. None of these, however, were developed in the established schools of learning and this is true also outside the Western world.

The development of the manufacture of steel in India, which took place during this period, likewise owed nothing to formal education.

LITTLE ATTENTION

Western scholars have, with a few exceptions like that of Joseph Needham, paid little attention to the remarkable scientific and technical progress made in China during this period. For some reason China, the most advanced nation of this time, stagnated and the cause, I believe, may in part at any rate be attributed to the conservative nature of formal Chinese education which followed on the development of the examination system for the administration originally established during the Han dynasty.

It is only when we come to the final period that is to say from A.D. 1,400 to the present day, a period of less than six hundred years do we find formal education directly connected with research and the application of science to everyday needs, but even here the political undertones had their effect and often predominately directed the trend of education.

There were in fact two parallel influences. The idea that the first purpose of education was to teach man to rule man was never wholly abandoned but, in the Western world, from the time of the Renaissance onwards, a tradition was established that the ancient seats of learning should become centres where men would be trained to interrogate nature and where scientists should seek to apply in practice the theories they evolved.

Today we remember Galileo because he was a proponent of the heliocentric theory of the universe. He was much better known to his contemporaries as a practical civil engineer and as the Professor who taught ballistics at Padua University.

The lightness of the sentence passed on him by the Inquisition—perpetual seclusion for the rest of his life and the recitation of the seven penitential psalms once a week—was due to respect, even in clerical circles, for his work on the trajectory of the cannon ball.

In the United Kingdom, the Scottish Universities were for long centres for research. Joseph Black, of Edinburgh University, who developed a theory of latent heat, also instructed to excellent purpose the University instrument maker, James Watt, whose steam engine was based on Black's theoretical studies.

Nevertheless, in the main, formal British education contributed little to the industrial revolution.

In Britain, the first industrial research laboratory was not established until 1873. The year before, the great United States steel master, Andrew Carnegie, employed a University scientist in his Pittsburgh Steelworks for the first time. In his autobiography he has recorded with relish that this was "something our competitors pronounced extravagant."

In fact, from the middle of the 19th century onwards, the spectacular achievements of Germany in chemical and electrical manufacturing were consciously based upon the research departments of the German Universities and upon the planned training of scientific technicians in technical and trade schools.

Nevertheless, the inter-reaction of politics and scientific research was particularly noticeable in Germany, as one example will show.

DARWIN

At first sight the scientific exposition contained in Darwin's *Origin of Species* would appear to have no political connotation. It is hard to see how anyone could consider it an argument for, or indeed against, socialism.

But so it came to be regarded in Germany in the second half of the 19th century. Darwin had tried to avoid conflict with religious belief by studiously refraining from pursuing his thesis to its logical conclusion. He never asserted that what was true of the origin of other species also applied to man.

A German Professor, Ernst Haeckel, looking at the question in a detached academic spirit, followed Darwin's theory to its logical conclusion only to find himself disowned by his fellow scientists on purely unscientific grounds.

"Consciousness", said one of them, "and above all those facts of consciousness that dominate our whole higher life, can never be the concern of science".

Silenced by his fellow academics, Haeckel found himself forced to appeal from the scientific world to the man in the street and thus willy nilly he converted himself into a politician.

His popular exposition of Darwinism *The Riddle of the Universe* was translated into fourteen languages and sold in hundreds of thousands of copies. Not only did Haeckel pursue science politically, but his scientific theory was accepted by the German Social Democrats into the canon of revolutionary literature.

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Mr. Wilson's Broken Promises

by A Special Correspondent

WHEN Mr. Harold Wilson was Leader of the Opposition he was most forthright in condemning the Tories for their failure to strive for "an agreed Commonwealth solution" to the problem of Rhodesia.

This is what he told the Commons over two years ago:

"We have said that no constitution is defensible which fails to allow the people of those territories to control their own destinies. We have bitterly attacked the Southern Rhodesian Constitution for that, and a Labour Government would therefore alter it—we've made that very, very plain." (March, 1963)

In its autumn session that year the United Nations had demanded the suspension of the 1961 constitution, and a new constitution based on African majority rule. Mr. Wilson then challenged Sir Alec Douglas-Home in the Commons in these words:

"Now we must ask the Prime Minister to be utterly unequivocal about this demand he has received. Already our good name has been besmirched by our handling of the Central African question. Too much is at stake for Britain's standing in Africa, in the United Nations, and in the world for him to evade this issue. Will he give a clear and specific assurance that H.M. Government will not concede independence to Southern Rhodesia until a new constitution is in force which accepts, as the present constitution rejects, the principles of democratic government? In view of the admitted inability of the Government to solve this problem... will he tell us that he will convene a Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference for the purpose of an agreed Commonwealth solution to this problem?" (November 1963)

REFUSAL

Eight months later Sir Alec Douglas-Home convened a conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, talked a great deal about "African advancement", but refused to move an inch towards a solution in Southern Rhodesia. But he was forced to include in the final conference report the overwhelming demand of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers (which he promised to consider) that

- (1) all African political prisoners be released,
- (2) the suspension of the 1961 constitution,
- (3) a new constitution based on African majority rule.

This was in July 1964. Three months later came the General Elections, as a result of which Mr. Harold Wilson became Prime Minister. One of his first declarations was against U.D.I. in Southern Rhodesia, and a strong warning that Britain would apply sanctions in this event.

In June 1965 there was another conference of Common-

wealth Prime Ministers, but Mr. Wilson refused to go any further than the Tories towards a solution for Southern Rhodesia.

Again the Commonwealth Prime Ministers urged the principle of "one man one vote", the release of African prisoners, the suspension of the 1961 constitution, and a new constitution based on majority rule. They insisted that a new constitutional conference for this purpose be held within three months, before the end of September.

In the House of Commons on June 29th Mr. Wilson reported on his discussions with Mr. Smith, and declared that:

"... if these discussions did not develop satisfactorily in a reasonably speedy time, the British Government would be ready to consider promoting a constitutional conference in order to ensure progress to independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole." (Hansard, 29.6.65)

UNSATISFACTORY

The discussions were not "satisfactory", but Mr. Wilson did nothing to convene a new constitutional conference. On the contrary, far from suspending the 1961 constitution Mr. Wilson had already committed himself to the acceptance of this constitution as the basis for independence.

This is made clear in the recent Government Blue Book on the discussions between Mr. Smith and the British Government between November 1963 and November 1965. In a letter from Mr. Wilson to Mr. Smith dated March 29th, 1965, Mr. Wilson makes clear:

"What the British Government wish to see is a peaceful transition to majority rule, the principle of which is enshrined in the 1961 Constitution." (Blue Book, p.59)

There's not a word of truth in this claim that the 1961 Constitution "enshrines" the principle of independence under majority rule. The majority of Africans are not eligible to become electors, and even if they were, under the constitution they could get only 15 seats against 50 for the white settlers.

Mr. Smith also accepts the 1961 Constitution, but has repeatedly stated on several occasions his opposition to majority rule before independence, as in this letter to Mr. Wilson:

"Since it is our determination not to accept independence under majority rule, the conclusion should be obvious." (October 18th, Blue Book, p.97)

This was a clear warning that Mr. Smith was on the brink of declaring independence for the white minority. Instead of standing up to this challenge, Mr. Wilson flew to Southern Rhodesia for further talks with Mr. Smith, in the course of which:

"He reminded the Rhodesian Cabinet this was the first occa-

sion in modern history on which the United Kingdom Government had been prepared to contemplate the grant of independence on a basis of less than majority rule." (October 29th, Blue Book, p.124)

Once again Mr. Wilson had retreated. It was no longer "majority rule before independence" but "guaranteed and unimpeded progress to majority rule" (Wilson broadcast, October 12th). In other words, it was independence before majority rule.

DECLARATION

So Mr. Smith was quite confident he had Mr. Wilson on the run! The plans had already been made to declare U.D.I. and a few days later Mr. Smith declared a "state of emergency" in Southern Rhodesia to crush any opposition to this plan. On November 11th Mr. Smith declared "independence".

In face of this open defiance what steps has Mr. Wilson taken? The Labour Government has imposed limited sanctions. These do not worry Mr. Smith. Even the *Financial Times* had to point out that:

"The British Government has not taken three steps which might have produced immediate and drastic results—it has not completely frozen Rhodesia's London balances, nor interfered with the supply of oil, nor imposed a general ban on exports." (Financial Times, 13.11.65)

In trying to frighten Mr. Smith during the talks in Salisbury Mr. Wilson told him:

"In particular, it might not take long for a restriction of oil supplies to inflict serious damage on the economy." (Blue Book, p.114)

But after Mr. Smith declared U.D.I. Mr. Wilson has done his best to argue against oil sanctions. Even after the U.N. resolution on November 20th calling for sanctions it argued it would take a long time to have "consultations" with other countries.

Equally, Mr. Wilson is opposed to the use of military force, except against "subversion" and a threat to "law and order". Since the Africans in Southern Rhodesia have no alternative but to engage in "subversion" and to destroy the "law and order" enforced by Mr. Smith, does this mean that Mr. Wilson is only prepared to use military force against the Africans?

NO INTENTION

From all this it seems clear that Mr. Wilson has not the slightest intention of taking effective steps to ensure African majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. Sanctions are limited to preserve "national unity" with the Tories, United Nations resolutions are ignored, as the Tories did. Mr. Wilson has nightmares

about the prospect of the "Red Army in blue berets" becoming part of a U.N. force in Rhodesia. In all his talks in Salisbury it was Mr. Wilson who emphasised that:

"... the fully shared Mr. Smith's desire to counter Communist influence in Africa." (October 29th, Blue Book, p.115)

Even after U.D.I. Mr. Wilson made clear next day in the Commons that on the proposed "Royal Commission" to recommend how to consult the people of Southern Rhodesia, he had conceded everything to Mr. Smith:

"On the last outstanding point which held up agreement... we made a proposal to the Rhodesian Government which

would fully meet every demand they made." (Hansard, 12.11.65)

This is how the "brave and courageous" Mr. Wilson has given in to the Fascist dictators in Southern Rhodesia!

The essence of the words used is to assert the claim that "German territory comprises today, in law, all areas which were German territory on December 31st, 1937."

RECOVERY

This claim, regularly, emphatically, and insidiously put forward officially by West Germany and supplied to West German schools, and displayed on a huge "background curtain" at the annual conference of even the West German Social Democratic Party—implies beyond doubt that the fixed policy and in-

tenation of West Germany is to recover and add to their country all the territories of the present German Democratic Republic, all the vast territories of Western Poland taken into the Republic of Poland at the end of the war, substantial portions of the territories of Czechoslovakia, and a good deal of territory on the Baltic Coast around Kaliningrad (formerly Königsberg) now forming part of the Soviet Union.

It is clear that West Germany cannot carry out any of these intentions without going to war—and indeed starting a Third World War; and it is too tragically clear that she is openly preaching and preparing for such a war, with the connivance of the rulers of U.S.A. and Great Britain.

Let me add one more com-

ment from the *Brownbook* on the insignificance of the Emergency Laws:—

"It is not surprising that the Emergency Laws resemble Hitler's legislation for dictatorship and for forced labour—the peace of the graveyard at home to achieve the aims of the aggressive foreign policy. What else was to be expected from the legislators of Fascist Germany, who are serving the interests, today as they did yesterday, of the aggressive armament monopolies?"

There follow in the book a large number of special examples, and a long catalogue, which show that over 800 lawyers with bad Nazi records are now employed in West Germany as ministers, high civil servants in ministries of justice, high judges, or public prosecutors.

Passing Shot of a Spent Force

Continued from page 1

For example, corruption in Africa's public life is directly traceable to neo-colonialist manoeuvres to gain and retain vantage points in the life of the new African nations. And many of the stringent actions of the few African states (like Ghana) which are local in their opposition to imperialism are provoked by neo-colonialist manipulations and machinations using economic and financial interests and employing some intellectuals in public administration or in educational institutions.

O'Brien's attacks on the Ghana Government centre on alleged falling standards in the public service, inefficient public enterprises, the charismatic personality of President Nkrumah and the futility of the demand for African unity now. Incidentally this is the stock in trade of all counter-revolutionary arguments used against Ghana. There is nothing new in them except perhaps the venom with which the case is presented.

Even though these criticisms fall well outside the subject matter of the book supposed to be under review, a few comments are needed.

The public service of Ghana is undergoing a rapid expansion both quantitatively and qualitatively. The expanse of public administration is now many times larger than it was on the attainment of independence. This is to be expected in a regime dedicated to meeting the legitimate needs of the people—needs that in one century of colonial rule had been ignored. In addition, public administration has had to branch out into entirely new fields, e.g. into economic enterprises. The strain on available manpower resources has been tremendous.

A complicating factor has been the perspective built into most public servants reared in the colonial era.

The qualitative change in the administration instrument has imposed severe strain on old concepts of civil service. These servants who found the change too severe have had to leave. But the leeway is being made up by the greatly expanded output of university graduates. The departure of some of the old-time civil servants should

be traced more to the lack of patriotism in these persons and less to a changing administration, an administration which of necessity has to change in order to be of meaningful service to the people.

NEW ADMINISTRATION

What has been said about public administration generally applies with even greater force to the public economic enterprises. This field of administration is entirely new to Africans. And our lapses here should be seen as evidence of the strains and stresses of growth rather than as proof of ingrained incompetence. In any case, some of our public enterprises have already chalked up successes, though we are bent on improving on this. I refer the reader to the Ghana Commercial Bank, the Railways and Harbour Administration, the Black Star Shipping Line, and several manufacturing enterprises. Our greatest weakness is in agriculture. This we admit openly. But even here not enough has been allowed for capital investments that take upwards of ten years to yield their full returns.

There is a psychological reason for O'Brien's vilification of Ghana's public service. To endeavour to show that the service had deteriorated to the point that has "proved increasingly difficult for people

of sense and integrity to work effectively" helps O'Brien to rationalise his departure from the Ghana public service. This of course proves that O'Brien is a man of "sense and integrity!"

The charismatic personality of President Nkrumah is one of the props on which the new nation of Ghana is built. It is not mere personality worship.

It is the most practical way of providing the new ship of state with a stable keel. If a young nation cannot anchor itself down to a few basic concepts and rules of practice, there is an air of drifting which is most injurious to national evolution. And these principles must be crystallised in a person with whom, as a result of his personal efforts and sacrifices, the broad masses associate their yearnings for a better life. This is absolutely essential to an evolving social order. Its importance is apparent even in periods of national emergency, like in times of war.

SMOOTH PROCEDURE

The firm establishment of Nkrumaism (which defines the concepts and rule of practice of the evolving new African nation) will permit Ghana's growth to proceed smoothly both during and after Kwame Nkrumah's life. It is the surest way to combine

growth with stability in the new nation. And every great nation in the world today had a "one-time" or the other employed the same strategy. The enemies of the present regime in Ghana and the charismatic personality of Kwame Nkrumah precisely because they would not like the regime to last.

REAL INTEREST

In asserting the futility of 'African Unity Now', O'Brien merely mocks at Africa and hence shows where his real interest lies. He knows that imperialist interests are strongly present in Africa. He knows that in many African states imperialism has succeeded in setting up puppet governments that serve its interests. He knows further that such African states are being used to obstruct African unity from within the Organisation of African Unity. His evaluation of the balance of forces on the African continent. We cannot quarrel with him on this score. Africa must rather gird her loins for increased activity in the anti-imperialist struggle.

But O'Brien's forecast is likely to be short-lived. For we still have in our midst today persons (among whom are distinguished intellectuals) who laughed at us during the anti-colonial struggle using the refrain "self-government"? "Not in our life-time!"

Education Leaps Ahead

Continued from page 3

sons receiving instruction at all levels of education in Ghana was nearly 1,400,000 as against only 269,190 in 1950. There will be further substantial increases with the taking over in October, 1965 of private secondary schools, 15 commercial schools and six private technical institutes and the opening of about 34 new Teacher Training Colleges.

Moreover, it is not only for the education of the young that our Government has provided but also for the further education of the older generation and for the eradication of the legacy of illiteracy which we inherited from our colonial past. In a message on the occasion of the inauguration of the Workers' College in December 1963, Osagyefo stated:

"In Ghana where our primary aim is to create a dynamic socialist society, we must provide conditions for the full development of the potentialities of every individual."

Our national investment in education is great and adequate to fulfil the urgent needs of our fast developing country. Our people, who are united in their tremendous enthusiasm for education and willingness to make the necessary sacrifice, can therefore expect a commensurate return on our educational investment that is second to none. For we are investing in the lives of men and women. We are investing in their productive capacity and service to the state. We are investing in the happy homes and families that they will build. We are investing in the contribution that they will make to the culture of our country. We are investing in ideas and beliefs of our revolutionary socialist society.

The ultimate purpose of education is to produce good men and women "who know something well" and can do something well. And the primary responsibility of the educator and the teacher is to find the best way of doing

this. The judgement of many eminent educators, past and present, who have given the matter their attention is that the only way to achieve the best results is to make the pupil or student familiar with the excellent and the sublime. Our social philosophy of education must, therefore, seek to hold before the student the vision of the best men and the most desirable society, a vision powerful enough to inspire and to stir to noble thought, action and conduct. As educators and teachers it should be our consuming purpose to hold before the youth of Ghana the life and work and teaching of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the greatest teacher of all time who has enriched the world from the coffers of his genius, as the most sublime that Ghana and Africa have known and his vision of a socialist Ghana and a political union of Africa as the most desirable social order that will make for the greatest happiness of the greatest possible number.

Myths of Modern Capitalism (2)

Continued from page 5

the ideological outlook, of the capitalist and professional classes. In our times, when the growth of large scale organisation makes increasing demands for more, and better trained, managers, the net must inevitably be cast a little more widely. But the nature of the training rarely includes as critical an examination of certain basic economic concepts as would be an essential part of any university course in economics. One well known textbook on management tells the young manager that the principle of wage payment should be a fair days wage for a fair days work.

WHAT LIES BEHIND THE MYTH?

Every myth reflects reality in a distorted and there-

fore untruthful way. But it none the less reflects it. There are important implications for future economic and social development contained in the real changes which the myth distorts.

What is wrong with it, where its principle lies consists, is in asserting that the aim of capitalist production has changed. It has not changed. The control, through ownership, is still in the hands of the minority of large capitalists whose aim is the maximum of private profit.

But a very real change has taken place. From the standpoint of the organisation of production, the development of technology, and therefore of man's control over his material environment the large capitalists have ceased to play any role. All these tasks are performed by people who

work for wages and salaries, and are employees. From the standpoint of production the large capitalists are without function, they are parasitic.

All modes of production require organisation and organisers. The extremely complex division of labour which characterises modern economies requires even more than did its predecessors. The 19th century owner-manager performed a double function. He organised production, even took part in it himself—both essential functions. He was also an owner of capital and an exploiter of wage labour. This is not an essential function. The 20th century large capitalist has lost the first function, that of organiser. He retains only the function which from the standpoint of society is parasitic, namely of exploitation.