

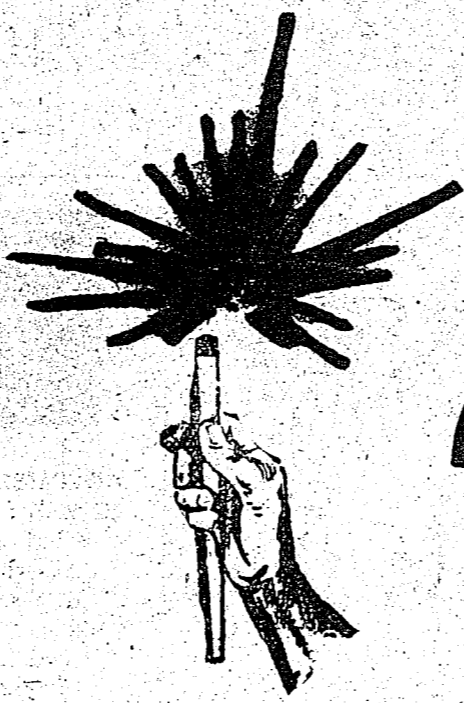
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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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TOWARDS THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETING

EDITORIAL

THE INTELLECTUAL

"GONE are the days of such shibboleths as art for arts sake, knowledge merely as an end in itself and the pursuit of truth solely for its own sake".

With these words our President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, in his capacity as Chancellor of the University of Ghana, expressed the keynote of our country's intellectual and academic life. He was conferring the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Science on the distinguished scientist, Nobel Prize Winner, Professor Dorothy Hodgkin.

This occasion, held to honour one of the world's greatest scientists, can be regarded as symbolic of the new opportunities now offered to the University of Ghana, its staff and students.

In place of the sterile, dilettante theories on 'academic freedom' to which University audiences have found themselves subjected when Dr. O'Brien, the former Vice-Chancellor held the platform, we found ourselves intellectually stimulated by the bold and confident challenge of a scientific and progressive philosophy to bring the University into the mainstream of our national life. We were encouraged boldly to rise above the old outworn and subjective views of the function of a university in a developing country and to respond in a truly humanist way to the needs of our people.

This was a gratifying contrast to the whining and meaning of the recent past. In place of the attempts to inflate minor grievances into major issues of principle, we found the positive expression of the hope which the President, the Party and the Government place on the University Community.

The degree ceremony marked two new important and welcome developments. The Chancellor returned to the University. His office and person express the essential unity of the University with the nation, and the presence of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah marked an end of the University's isolation from our national life. The tragedy of the past period is now ended.

* * *

The misuse of the position of Vice-Chancellor is over and we can look to a period of rapid developments in which the great potentialities of the University as a force for progress can now be realised. Instead of the consolidation of outworn custom and the reinforcement of the old backward looking colonial features of the University, we can see the positions of authority now becoming the source of inspiration to all those who want the University to be a force in the building of our national life and the creation of a socialist society.

We have seen in this past period, as well as in the recent "review" by O'Brien of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's latest book 'Neo-colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism', how the liberal intellectual, still living mentally in the days of Gladstone, serves consciously or unconsciously, the ends of the most open and fiercely reactionary forces.

One can occasionally feel a modicum of respect for an open die-hard reactionary, he usually knows what he is up to. It is perhaps the middle-class western liberal who is the more dangerous.

Fed on intellectual diet of philosophical s'ops, he parades his subjective judgements before the world, completely failing to understand that while he expounds his 19th century liberal views, the 20th century neo-colonialists behind his smoke-screen are hard at work looting our continent.

The alliance of liberalism and monopoly capitalism is all too reminiscent of the old story of the missionary's Bible and the imperialist's flag. While we were down on our knees praying, with our eyes shut, the imperialist masters moved in, hauled up their flags and began to rule us.

In practice even the liberal finds his philosophy impracticable. Perhaps the most sickening feature of O'Brien's struggle against our Government and President, is the strong contrast between high flown liberal sentiments about academic freedom and the

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OUR PARTY

WHAT should prove to be one of the most important events in our national life in the year 1965, is now about to take place. We refer to the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Convention People's Party on December 18th in Accra.

A revolutionary Party inspired in all its work by the scientific socialist philosophy of Nkrumaism and consequently organised as a democratic centralist Party, needs Congresses of a special type.

Our Congresses have a number of functions which, as our socialist construction develops, will increase in complexity, so that each such event must mark a new stage in the development of a socialist Ghana and in the strengthening of the unity and effectiveness of the Convention People's Party.

Delegates will meet together in a fraternal atmosphere of comradeship, to hear the reports of our work and proposals for the future. We suggest that the keynote should be embodied in the two "assessments" and "advance".

Our Congress must be a workman-like occasion in which we get down to the realities of the situation, estimating how far we have come, what our shortcomings have been, where we can record our many successes and how the lessons of both failures and successes can be applied in the future.

This means that delegates must come to Congress well informed. They must be perfectly clear as to what our present policies are and they must know what the local situation is. The delegates role is not passive in a Party such as ours but active and creative.

This is a necessary feature of the working out of the democratic aspect of our democratic centralist structure and mode of work.

CLEAR ANALYSIS

The leadership of the Party, too will come with a clear analysis of our work since the last meeting in a bold and practical policy for the present. It will command the active support of a united disciplined Party, bound by the decisions our meeting reaches. This centralism gives our Party its tremendous influence and effective-

ness. This action and interaction of the rank and file and the leadership is the guarantee of political wisdom, political health and political effectiveness. It is from this upward and downward flow of experiences knowledge and vision, that a new quality emerges to make our Party truly revolutionary and scientific.



Executive meetings do not necessarily mean or require sharp changes or breaks in policy. At present we believe that the main job of the Executive is to present not so much new departures in policy as to outline perspective of the systematic business-like and detailed application of our policies, so that they become even more effective.

The Seven Year Plan is our economic and social blueprint for advance. From delegates in agriculture and in industry, in trade and distribution, we need to hear how they have worked to operate the Plan, how the targets of the plan have been adopted, what are the practical immediate problems which can be tackled by the Congress, to help them now and how they see the future.

It is here that the work of the basic unit of the Party is so important. The

Party branch is the connecting link between the masses and the Party Leader and Government. It has the responsibility for seeing that the Seven Year Plan targets are applied to all aspects of the economic life of the area where they operate and that every member is aware of his or her responsibilities for its success.

The sum of these expe-

riences with only our own national policy and achievements. The success of the Seven Year Plan is necessary not only for the improvement in the living standards of the Ghanaian people, not only for clearing away the obstacles to the advance to socialism in our own country, but its achievement will ensure that our people can continue to play an increasingly effective part in the liberation of Africa from the political, economic and ideological domination of imperialism.

Our Executive therefore must consider the present stage of the libe-

ration movement and the most immediate and dangerous problem of the fight for the independence of Zimbabwe. We have already seen the response of our people to the call for the formation of a militia, they have shown that they understand what is at stake. Now we have to prepare them for further stages of the struggle which may call for new levels of sacrifice.

Our Party and Government will be able to congratulate themselves on their contribution to the success of the Summit

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Effective action needed

Bourguiba's quack remedy

by Our Diplomatic Correspondent

ACCORDING to President Bourguiba, the peoples of Africa and the world should confine themselves to what he termed moral and diplomatic support for the people of Zimbabwe.

In his view, the only solution to the crisis lies through what he described as co-ordinated and persevering action by the people of Zimbabwe themselves.

Speaking in Abidjan at the end of his visit to the Ivory Coast, he described the Organisation of African Unity's eleven-day time limit for the ousting of Ian Smith by Britain as "a gesture of intimidation".

Co-ordinated action by the people of Zimbabwe themselves would be of decisive importance in overthrowing the white supremacist regime. There can be no doubt that the split between the two major Zimbabwe freedom movements has played into the hands of Smith.

But to suggest, as M. Bourguiba does, that nothing can be done until co-ordinated action is achieved, and that even then it should be confined to moral and diplomatic support, is to play Smith's game.

Even Mr. Wilson goes through the motions of imposing sanctions and sending a token force, hoping in this way to forestall effective action by others.

But M. Bourguiba apparently believes that the 4 million Africans of Zimbabwe should be abandoned to the tender mercies

of the white supremacist minority who had begun to lay the foundations for their own apartheid state even before they seized power.

Now they have at their disposal one of the strongest-armed forces in Southern Africa with a total regular strength of 4,500 and a reserve strength including almost every white male of military age. In addition, there is a semi-militarised police force of 6,400, with a reserve strength of 28,500.

All this is backed up by police-state legislation which makes it an offence punishable by a fine of £500 or two years in prison or both even to listen to foreign broadcasts.

The regime's "Minister of Law and Order" can order the arrest and detention without trial of any person; the only appeal is to the "Minister" himself.

Thousands of Africans are held in jail or detention camps, while Smith's police have unleashed a reign of terror against the African townships. It is an offence even to wear a hat or carry a walking stick similar to those worn or carried by the leaders of the freedom movement.

In the face of such brutal repression, M. Bourguiba's talk of moral and diplomatic support can only be termed betrayal of our brothers in Zimbabwe.

What is needed is effective action to oust Smith now. Every hour his regime remains in power brings new suffering for the Africans of Zimbabwe.

Prosperity - For Our Countryside

THAT Ghana is primarily an agricultural country cannot be overemphasised, yet Ghana cannot afford to remain forever a producer of raw materials for overseas markets.

Hence the Government's Seven Years' Development Plan lays its greatest emphasis on the development and modernisation of industrial activity in Ghana.

The essential aim of the plan of course is to provide for the people of Ghana who are able and willing to work, not only the opportunity for employment at a high level of productivity but also to raise the living standards of people and to lay a sound foundation for the future development of Ghana as a primarily industrial country.

To this end the Government has embarked upon a number of large industrial projects

by **I. W. BENNEH**
(Minister of Rural Industries)

valent that the establishment of large-scale industrial enterprises would bring about a rapid economic growth. It was believed that the impetus would then be given for the dynamizing of all forces inherent in development.

Experience has shown, however, that the take-off cannot be forced by concentrating on any one particular point of the development process. The true basis for this take-off is the reservoir of human capacities and skills.

Osagyefo, the President,

(iii) to encourage and foster the production of handicrafts and village industries in Ghana.

The industrial projects commenced by the now defunct INDUSCO and which the Ministry of Rural Industries have taken over include a garment factory at Suhum, one bamboo factory at Manso-Amanfi and a rattan one at Asamankese (all three in operation) and thirteen others made up of four, coir fibre, two bamboo, five rattan factories and two motorcar repair

established there. The next phase of development will take the form of the initiation of new projects based on the utilization of locally available materials. In this way, it is hoped that a variety of manufactures may be established as general small-scale, rural or handicraft industries.

These will include, among others, pottery and other clay products, stone-works such as the cutting and polishing of granite, floor and table mats, charcoal production, and tex-

River Project has also been completed.

In the past the establishment of small-scale rural industries has been greatly handicapped by the lack of electricity for power, and where industries have been established resort had been made to the installation of diesel generating plants with all their attendant running and maintenance costs and problems.

With the commissioning of the Volta River Project, rural electrification would be easily achieved and one of the major obstacles which had hitherto hindered the establishment and development of industries in the rural areas would be removed once and for all, and cheap electricity would be available both for domestic



**THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING**

either not possible or are inadvisable. The establishment of small industries in the rural area serve the useful purpose of:

- (i) creating employment for people in areas where no industries exist;
- (ii) generating income for Local Council areas;
- (iii) to provide supplementary income for farming communities;
- (iv) encouraging the youth to show keen interest in our traditional handicrafts;
- (v) checking the drift of the population from the rural areas to the urban centres.

In this connection it is proposed to establish throughout the country industrial centres at appropriate points where non-urban or village craftsmen in defined geographical areas may be able to congregate in groups under large roofs to carry out full or part-time industrial activities.

This might assist in easing out the problems that would otherwise arise in craftsmen were unable to find workshops in their own homes.

We are hopeful that the period between now and the end of the Seven Years' Development Plan period would be one of great prosperity for the rural areas of Ghana.



Inspection of a sugar-cane plantation.

such as the cocoa processing plants at Tema and Takoradi, Kwame Nkrumah Steel Works, Interlocking Industrial Complex, Jute Bag Manufacturing, Footwear, Meat Processing and Textile Manufacturing, to mention just a few.

Careful observation will reveal that most of these industries have been located in urban/municipal areas because of easy accessibility to electricity supply, water, transportation facilities, etc.

The tendency therefore has been a continuous drift of population from the rural areas to the urban centres in search of employment.

In many countries the conviction was at one time pre-

having the rapid development of the rural areas of the country at heart, early this year created a Ministry of Rural Industries as distinct from the Ministry of Industries.

The new Ministry is charged with the following responsibilities:

- (i) to take over and manage all existing rural industries and projects and to further establish and develop new rural and village industrial projects, and handicraft industries;
- (ii) to establish, in consultation with the ministry of Art and Culture, shops for handicraft industries; and

workshops, all of which are nearing completion.

In formulating programme for the development of small-scale and rural industries, it is in the Ministry's plans, as a first step, to reactivate all the industrial projects of INDUSCO which are now defunct, to strengthen those now functioning and to speed up the completion of those factories still under construction and commissioning them as early as possible.

At the second stage, efforts will be made to increase the number of units in the fields already established in order that wherever suitable material can be found in the country, similar industries may be

tile manufactured from semi-mechanised processes.

Brooms, and brushes, lamp shades, mattresses and pillows. Decorative carvings, toys and children's educational play things, jewellery and black tools, leather manufactures such as sandals, hand bags and wallets are all expected to feature among the product manufactures planned by the Ministry.

One will observe that every year large quantities of fruits and vegetables are made to rot on small village farms. If these villagers are taught to process, preserve and package these small quantities of food, the total volume in the aggregate could be substantial and would help alleviate any domestic food problems.

The Ministry therefore plans to encourage and foster the processing and preservation of vegetables, edible oils, condiments, spices and carry out dehydration of suitable food-stuffs into such products as gari, starch, banana, plantain, yam and corn flour.

Throughout the length and breadth of Ghana, vegetables, fruits, and oil-seed plants are cultivated in small towns and villages and it is opportune that the Ministry of Rural Industries has been created to take care of rural industrial development.

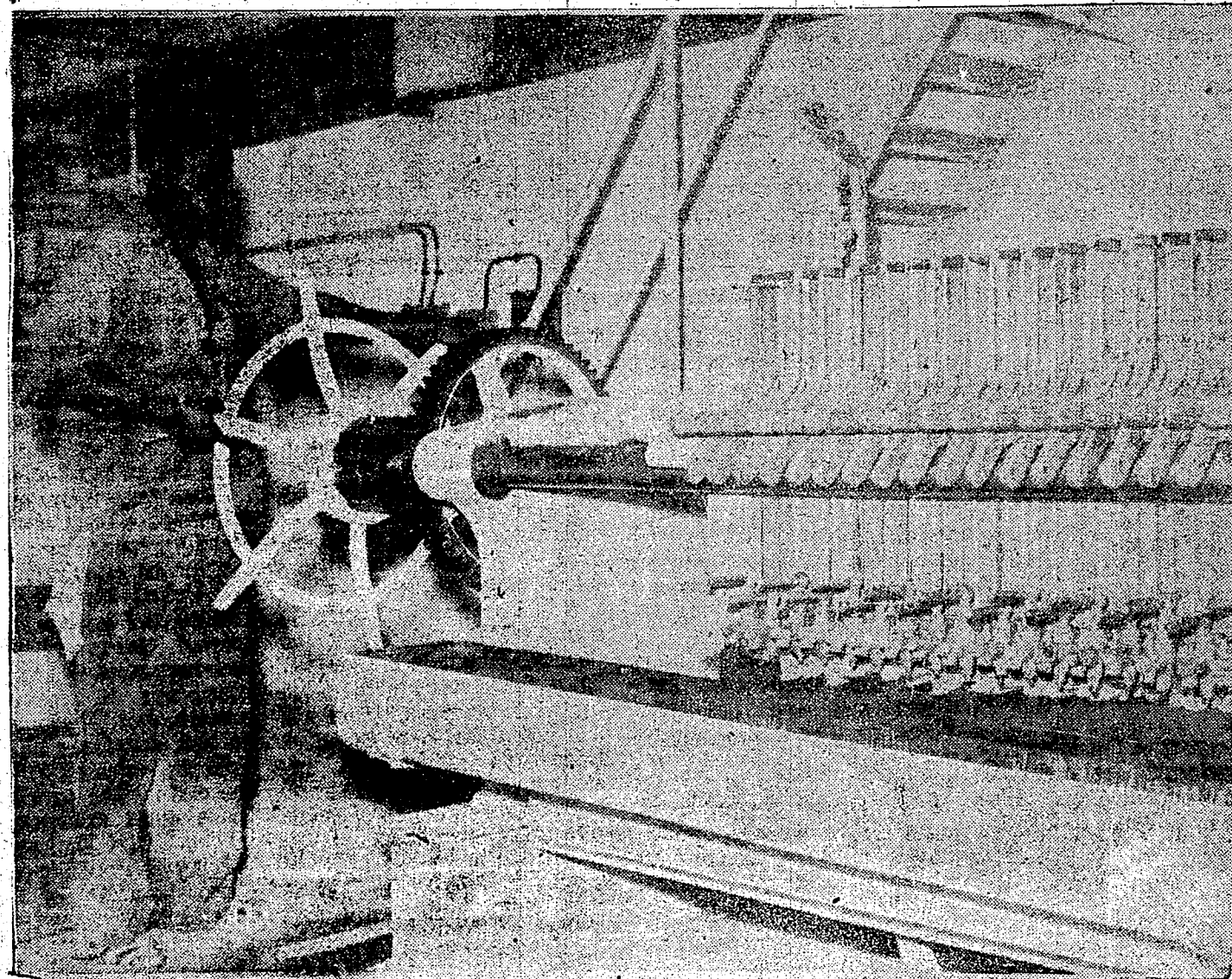
The creation of the Ministry is opportune because within a few months of its creation the gigantic Volta

and industrial use in the rural areas of Ghana.

In conveying the industries mentioned in the earlier paragraphs consideration has been given to industries in which mass production methods are



Above shows tins of palm oil ready for marketing—a product of the oil industry.



A Ghanaian operator in a Mill industry.

Rhodesia— What Next?

Continued from page 3

It is evident that the British official calculation is that the pressure of limited sanctions, with careful avoidance of any "extreme" measures such as might bring immediate democracy with an African majority, should be sufficient to rally the "moderate" elements among the European minority to displace the Smith Ministry by a Ministry willing to co-operate with Britain on the compromise terms already proposed, without establishing democratic rights for the African majority.

This dream of British policy was already expressed long ago by the *Economist* on August 22, 1964 when it said:

"The Smith threat once averted, a new Welensky Government could be very popular in Britain... the whole issue of independence could simply be shelved."

Similarly The Times editorial on November 12, in discussing whether the econo-

mic sanctions imposed could be effective to secure 'Britain's ultimate aim' concluded that:

"they can only be conducive to the aim if they are strong enough to persuade a majority of responsible Rhodesians that their leaders have made a wrong decision."

With obviously inspired parallelism of thought the *Daily Telegraph* editorial on the same day gave the same line:

"We must hope that before too long the formalities of these sanctions and the doubt and discomfort they will cause will bring the change of heart in Rhodesia that is necessary."

It is impossible not to recognise in this strategy the parallel to the similar strategy which inspired British official policy in the period of the phony war-to avoid any extreme measures which might bring revolutionary consequences, and seek to exert only sufficient pressures to replace Hitler by a "mo-

derate" German Government, possibly of Goering and the military chiefs, such as would be ready to cancel the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact and co-operate with Britain. We know what happened to that strategy.

The present British official strategy in relation to Rhodesia will end in a fiasco. With the experience of the colons in Algeria before us, to look to the "moderates" among the White settlers for the key role in displacing Smith is to indulge in a doubtful gamble for the sake of a spurious "solution" which would still keep the African majority disfranchised.

This strategy means to ignore the decisive forces which are shaping the new Africa. To expect that the pressure of limited economic sanctions will rally the majority of those settlers to get rid of Smith instead of consolidating their support around him is to fly

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The African Woman and the Struggle

by Miranda Greenstreet

IN the struggle for political independence and the economic reconstruction of our continent, the role of our women has been and is of fundamental importance and should not be underestimated.

The view that the participation of women in the organised struggle is somewhat secondary on account of their sex is reactionary and needs to be cast aside; for the very success of the movement, it is necessary for women to be regarded on an equal basis sharing with their male colleagues, the setbacks frustrations and successes.

To propound a different view is to emphasise and assist in the creation of divisive tendencies.

Women, however, because of their physiological make up and biological function need to be accorded "human" consideration, but not on this account to be treated as second class human beings.

No socialist movement can be healthy if this view is consciously or unconsciously held.

In Africa, women as far as it is possible, need to be drawn into the struggle for the development of their political consciousness and understanding is a prerequisite bolstering up and making the activity of their male colleagues not only easier but also more successful.

Where possible it is vital for women to be actively engaged in the various political organisations for this will strengthen the overall movement and make it more representative, additionally, more than ever before, the African women need to be politically alive and play an effective

part on all levels in the struggle of our continent for a brighter future.

Our women require a firm grasp of the need for African Unity, of the external forces which are struggling to prevent its realization, and an understanding of the internal socio-economic problems with which Africa is faced.

Not every African woman has the inclination or the ability to play a leading role in the emancipation politically and economically—of the people.

But in spite of this, our women need to be encouraged to contribute in some way, however slight it may be, for, in toto, a whole series of contributions have an overall important impact. All who can contribute have an automatic right to do so.

STRUGGLE FOR ALL

In the struggle for human rights and dignity it is not only men who have a right to them, but their partners as well. The liberation of our continent, means not only political freedom and economic emancipation for men, but for all toilers.

In order to stimulate, give encouragement, and above all else, to lead the African women and make her a more effective participant in the struggle, what is immediately required is for the All African Women's Association to be more effective.

Africa is undergoing revolutionary changes which will affect all aspects of our lives—political, social and economic.

In consequence the tradi-

tional socio-economic structure, its social relations and ideas are swiftly changing. This means the way of life of the 240 million Africans is changing too.

Urbanisation is rapidly expanding and with it new occupations with the resulting dependency on new ways of earning a living.

Thus, although the majority of our people are still engaged in agricultural pursuits, an ever-increasing number, although still a minority, depend more upon selling their labour in the towns and are becoming less attached to their villages and ideas and ways emanating from them.

The migrant to the town has to adjust to the vortex of an urban way of life with different social relations and ideas.

The villager too, has become less of a subsistence farmer and more dependant on the market as a producer of cash crops, while in areas where the foreigner has expropriated the land, the peasant has to a considerable extent, become a landless proletariat.

Thus traditional social relations and likewise ideas are in the melting pot.

The same is also true of the position of our women. This changing position of our women may very well cause concern.

Many perhaps desire, as is the case with all revolutions to put the clock back and return to some idyllic past which is believed to have existed, once upon a time, to recreate an imaginary social structure of an earlier undefined period which would provide a haven

from present-day insecurity and the changes that are being wrought in very basis of society.

Others, more able to face up to present day realities, are, however, prepared to accept social change as a part of existence and to utilize traditional ways and ideas which are found to fit in with the changed circumstances and reject many that are inapplicable and with them those relating to women.

Traditional African society was undergoing a process of change before the arrival of the European trader, who with his concern for profit—irrespective of the harmful effects on our mode of existence—disturbed and prevented it from continuing on its own line of development.

ISLAM'S ARRIVAL

The arrival of Islam also had an important impact. The European commercial classes by the slave trade decimated our population and severely shook the existing social structure causing chaos and continuous inter communal strife.

The ruling classes in the European states, although conflicting among themselves over the spoils inside and outside Europe, were able to go through a period of capitalist accumulation on the backs

not only of black slave labour and the Asian villager, but also by the exploitation of the labour of the European working class and peasantry.

With the decline of the slave trade as a result of the changed requirements of western capitalism, a new era of imperialism developed, which led to the establishment in Africa of European dictatorial governments and the outright rape and pillage of our continent.

Our economy was converted into one based on the cash-nexus and tied up with and controlled by the Western capitalist system.

The imperialist was not concerned with whom he exploited as long as he was able to exploit. Consequently, our men, women and children were utilized equally in this respect.

The revolt against this domination and exploitation by the African nationalist movement was, and is, primarily directed against imperialism and its defeat by the achievement of independence and socialist reconstruction.

This Revolution is not a male affair in the interests of maledom, but the overall desire of our people to put an end to imperialist exploitation and thereby to ensure the economic emancipation of our people.

Thus, to cast imperialist domination was and is as much in the interests of our women as well as our men.

Naturally, due to family commitments amongst other things, the direct participation of our women was restricted, but this does not alter one iota their inherent right to share fully in the fruits of economic emancipation.

The African women having struggled for independence, must be constantly on their guard against those forces which are at work to prevent the economic emancipation of the people.

Much will depend on the balance of social forces, external and internal, but our women can ensure to a considerable extent by effective participation in organisations the direction of the road along which our people will tread and in the process secure for themselves a position commensurate with their rights.

If Africa is allowed to go forward on the basis of capitalist development whereby the main emphasis is on individual gain—in reality the control of our continent by Western finance capitalism—irrespective of the effects on the mass of our people, the position of our women will suffer as a result.

Women, as well as our men, will be regarded as mere units of labour fit only to be exploited—as factory and mine fodder—and a division will be created in the ranks of labour.

The female sex will be paid a lower wage vis-a-vis the men and be regarded by the capitalist as a useful pool of cheap exploitable labour thereby reducing the costs of production and maximising profits which, during periods of economic fluctuation and depression—the normal lot of capitalist resentment can easily be bred between male and female workers as well as between persons of different communities.

Antagonisms and disunity are thereby created amongst the ranks of labour in order to strengthen the position of the capitalist.

In this process the status and position of women are reduced with the consequent indignities heaped upon them

whole biological problem. If women are to participate equally with men in the productive process then pregnancy should not be regarded as a disability.

When pregnancy occurs, women need to withdraw from work for a sufficient period conducive to the health of the mother and child. The mother must be able to return to work without a loss of earnings.

In order to achieve this, legislation needs to be enacted giving legal expression to it.

This is, for example, the case in Ghana and is one of the ways in which the subordination of woman as a result of child bearing is removed.

No progressive society can permit the subordination of women merely because of her biological function and be regarded as a separate part divided off from the labour force.

One idea which is harmfully propagated and exists in preventing women receiving their rights as equal human beings and ensures subordination and thereby limits her contribution in the economic, social and political fields, is the over-emphasis given to woman's function as a bearer and rearer of children.

Today, women, however, need to be encouraged to participate in the productive process which, at the same time, means not only increased productivity by counteracts isolation and broadens the outlook with the resultant impact on family life of the introduction of new ideas and ways.

However, it is not only necessary to facilitate the entry of women into productive process—to create a satisfactory social climate of opinion to assist this, but also for those women who so desire to remain permanently occupied as full-time housewives.

Increased activity outside the home may, however, affect the traditional view of family life and bring in its wake the contention that the children and home are neglected.

The extent to which women will be enabled to go outside the home to enter the productive process and neglect prevented will depend upon the facilities made available not only by the family but the state.

The introduction of modern technology here is of considerable importance because it will enable the drudgery of household toil to be eliminated while development regarding child care, nurseries and clinics, as well as canteens will limit the need for women to be full time housewives.

A serious problem arises here as a result who combine wage earning with work at home may very well have lives of hard toil of uncompensated drudgery.

Men need to be reorientated to understand that a wife who supplements the family income cannot be expected to fulfil the role of a full-time housewife.

Additionally, the very fact of giving women opportunities for securing economic independence means that the relationship between men and women must be based on an appreciation of each other's difficulties of co-operation and compromise.

The removal of conditions which lead to subjection and domination of either men or women means the release of the human beings innate potentialities for creativeness.

It is only in a socialist society that such energy of the people can be released and the attitude of condescension and derogation towards women overcome.

Women are more than mere breeders of children and should be able to contribute their maximum in all fields of activity thus helping to ensure more humane and civilised society.

There is little doubt today in the truthfulness of the view expressed by Karl Marx in 1865 that "social progress can be measured with precision by the social position of the female sex".

Our Party

(Continued from page 1)

Conference in Accra and they will also, we have no doubt consider how unity can be built yet further and how the mass movements of which we are a part can exert yet more influence so that African Unity itself becomes a process enhanced by interaction of peoples and Governments, each playing their necessary part.

Linked closely with African Unity, is the present state of international affairs. Our people and our Party are and always

have been concerned to preserve peace. The discussions and the report at our Congress will help to deepen the understanding of our people in Ghana and throughout Africa of the relation between the fight for peace and the struggle against imperialism. More and more they see that imperialism is the aggressor constantly threatening the peace of the world.

In Asia our brothers are fighting in Viet Nam for their liberation against the most powerful imperialism

in the world, the United States, and our Congress will add its voice to the growing protest against the bombing of North Viet Nam and the refusal of the American Government to conduct unconditional talks for peace.

These are but a few of the political and economic matters that need to be discussed. It is not because there are differences about these questions, about the need to build socialism, to fight neo-colonialism, to work for African Unity and for peace, that we have to discuss them, but because we must as a Party which is scientific, be prepared always to scrutinise in an objective way, our aims and the methods of achieving them.

The value of the Congress lies in this assessment. Inevitably as comrades develop their work and activities in individual aspects of the Party's work and campaigns, they tend to see only the separate parts of the work going forward, they cannot all the time familiarise themselves with everything that is going on throughout the country—only the leadership of the Party is in a position to do that. The Congress therefore offers an opportunity for the Party to see the picture as a whole. This means that the individual comrade can begin to assess the significance of his or her own work and contribution, he can learn important lessons from the leadership and the rest of the rank and file, he can be helped to see his work objectively. This process of rising above subjective assessments and narrow parochial outlooks; is one of the most important ways of cementing the unity of the Party.

Precious asset of our peoples. It is unity based on a common ideology, a common philosophy, a common loyalty to the Leader of the Party. Our Congress will strengthen common understanding, common sense of purpose and advance the unity of the Party yet further to enable it to rise to new heights in the rebuilding of our society.

In this respect the work of meeting in relation to our ideology is vital. Since the last meeting of delegates, Kwame Nkrumah has published his great books *Consciencism* and *Neo-colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism*.

In these two works we have major contributions to the ideological strengthening of the Convention People's Party. It is just as important to work to popularise the lessons, the facts and the general principles of Nkrumahism, as it is to educate our people about the Seven Year Plan. Indeed without such explanation, without such a fight for scientific socialism to become the intellectual property of the masses, the Seven Year Plan may well be in jeopardy. The ideological work of our Party, and the relation of this to our practical achievement of economic and social advance must occupy the attention of the delegates and bold plans be launched to carry further the intellectual revolution in our country. We know that the battle for men's minds is on in our continent; through ideas, through propaganda, through new theories the neo-colonialists try to deflect us from our socialist aims. The newly independent states, constantly threatened by new forms of imperialist domination, need men and women with

a scientific understanding of social change and with a scientific approach to politics.

The examples which Kwame Nkrumah sets every Party member is a model. In spite of his responsibilities of office in the Party and Government he never ceases to develop theory because he understands that this is the guarantee of correct practice. One of the most effective forms of leadership, the setting of example, the carrying through of our precepts into practical action, is exemplified in Kwame Nkrumah's methods of work. This example must be one of the lessons we renew and carry back to the Party membership as a whole.

The process of change through which our Party is travelling, is unique. Our country faces new circumstances and problems in the de-colonisation of our country and the building of socialism which, inevitably, are new. It is not only the people of Ghana who look to our Congress to carry forward our economic, social, political and ideological work, but the progressive peoples of the whole world. The liberation movements in our continent, in Latin America and Asia, the people of the socialist countries, the progressive forces within the imperialist countries see in Ghana a vital link in the anti-imperialist front. Our people repeatedly confirm by their work and enthusiasm their confidence in our Party and Leader. We are confident our Congress will measure up to their expectations and return to the country to mobilise our people for further great success in the coming period.

Long Live our Great Party.

THE SLOGAN

Equal pay for equal work is a necessary slogan for the women as well as the men, for the wage of the former is inextricably bound up with that of the working class as a whole.

There is an identity of interest in this respect between male and female which needs to be recognised. Neither one nor the other can overall improve his lot without the improvement of the other. The solution for women is the solution for all workers—abolition of exploitation.

It is in the interests of the working men as well as the working women to struggle for an industrial society which is rationally planned based on humanistic principles in which the wealth produced is distributed on the basis of social justice.

It is only in such a society that women, as well as all workers, will secure economic security, dignity and respect and the fullest opportunities to develop their capabilities and have them recognised.

Ghana is in the throes of laying the foundations of an industrial society and a Seven Year Plan has been launched with this in view. This means that it is necessary for her people to adopt ideas and ways applicable to such a society and this entails a rational view of the role of women and the home.

Women will need to participate fully in the productive process and be given opportunities to enter all possible occupational fields on all levels capable of the use of her labour equally with men, skilled and unskilled, technical, managerial and professional.

This brings into relief the



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