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ON RHODESIAN  
SITUATION  
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# THE SPARK

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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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# The Convention People's Party

## Party

by Julius Sago

### 'THE SPARK' at Three

by KWAME NKURUMAH

ON the Third Anniversary of THE SPARK, I wish to extend my sincere greetings to our growing numbers of readers in all parts of the world. Their interest in and enthusiasm for our paper assures us that we are fulfilling our revolutionary responsibilities.

Without a break for three years, the SPARK has been struggling against colonialism, neo-colonialism and other forms of imperialism. It has specialised in ideological work and thought and has set in motion the intellectual revolution which is bound to dispel the doubts and confusion concerning the ideology of the African Revolution. The ideological offensive of those capitalist powers which want to re-enslave Africa is reaching new and fiercer heights. Newspapers, journals, radio, television, learned societies and journals are all being mobilised to hold up the liberation movement in Africa.

In Ghana we have taken the first necessary steps on the road to socialism. This noble task which we have undertaken requires new forms of organisation of industry and agriculture, and new educational and social developments.

We can only do this correctly if we treat our problems scientifically, if we grasp the powerful theoretical and ideological instrument for changing our society. This powerful weapon for the creation of a truly socialist society can only be used by the Party which must, on the basis of its scientific understanding, mobilise the hearts and minds and efforts of the people and lead them in the right direction.

THE SPARK is one of the Party's most valuable means of strengthening our Party and making its ideology available to growing numbers of people.

Our forth coming Party National Executive Committee meeting will mark a new stage in our country's life, and one of the most important developments which we must stimulate is a further growth of our ideological work.

May THE SPARK continue to play its part in man's mighty efforts to change the world and emancipate himself.

THE National Executive Committee of the Convention People's Party meets this week-end. This meeting will once again demonstrate the unity that exists between the rank and file and the leadership. It will demonstrate that this unity resolves around the lofty ideals of the Party which are distilled from the life and teachings of Kwame Nkrumah. It will demonstrate the great confidence reposed in the person and leadership of Kwame Nkrumah.

The meeting will take stock of the past, finding out reasons for both our successes and our shortcomings. And there is no doubt that our Party will emerge from the meeting a solid army of socialist activists, resolved to give added impetus to the revolution, and determined, at all times, to be guided by the proven ideology of Nkrumaism.

Apart from the usual survey of Party programme and government policies, the most important exercise of the National Executive must be a realistic, non-emotional, penetrating scrutiny of Party organisation. This is foreshadowed by the very significant amendments to the Party constitution proposed by the Central Committee—the expunging of "African socialism" and enthronement of scientific socialism; the indissoluble link-up of scientific socialism and Nkrumaism; the strengthening of Kwame Nkrumah's control over the Ideological Institute; the emphasis on the quality of membership, etc.

This periodic scrutiny of the Party machinery must necessarily be a constant exercise by the higher organs of the Party. For the only sure guarantee we have of our continued success in the prosecution of the socialist revolution is a strong and efficient and effective Party machinery. Comrade Kwame Nkrumah himself teaches us of the great importance of the Party in many of his writings. In 'Africa Must Unite', a book that deals mainly with the consolidation of national independence and sovereignty after the winning of formal independence we read:

"Looking back, and trying to determine the reasons for the successful outcome of our struggle for freedom, one factor stands out above all others, namely, the strength of a well organ-

nised political party, representative of the broad masses of the people (p. 54).

We must of necessity pay the greatest attention to the Party machinery because, as Kwame Nkrumah put it when speaking at Kuniakrom last week-end, the Party is "the magic wand" that brings about all our successes and achievements.

institutions in order that the same ideals should effectively be served" (Consciencism p.94).

Nearly two years ago, our Party, by overwhelming popular decision, became the only national party. This was a great and unique honour conferred on us by the entire people of Ghana in recognition of our services to them both in the past and

fact has led the Central Committee to bring forward several amendments to the Party constitution. What must be understood by all party members, more especially by the activists, is that these amendments to the party constitution are absolutely essential to the vital process of shaping the Party machinery to cope more effectively with the changed circumstances of the one party era. The democratic character of the one party era will owe a great deal to the structure and functioning of the Party machinery. This is the time therefore for sober stock-taking, and for a brave facing-up to problems. That attitude of mind that tends to gloss over everything, arguing that because we succeeded in the past no major effort is now called for, is likely to prove harmful. We need a critical but constructive attitude, on the alert against shortcomings and ready to see what is good, bettered.

ism" but also certain spurious formulas that are sold to us as such and such country's approach to socialism. Typical examples of this are what are often referred to as Israeli pattern of socialism or the Scandinavian brand of socialism. It should be well known among party activists that neither Israel nor the Scandinavian countries (nor the once co-operative province of Saskatchewan in Canada) are patterns of socialism.

#### NKRUMAISM

The Convention People's Party approves only of scientific socialism which, in its application to contemporary African conditions, we know as Nkrumaism. We must concentrate our study on Nkrumaism to the exclusion of everything else. And we must stop the infiltration of pseudo-socialist schemes copied from Israel or Scandinavia (or elsewhere) through visits of state and party functionaries to these countries. This does not mean that we cannot learn from these countries. We can. But we must be prepared to adapt their organisational patterns to suit our socialist goals here in Ghana. We must never fall into the error of equating the experiences of these countries to socialism.

In bringing the right type of ideological education to the rank and file of the Party, the Party branch has to play the key role. Seminars and public lectures must reinforce Party branch activity in the educational field. They can never be (and must never be allowed to be) substitutes for ideological work by the Party branch.

It is a pity that most of the territorial branches of the Party have not undertaken this task of party education in a systematic way. This is not always the fault of the Party branch. The non-availability of the right calibre of ideological worker tends to dampen the enthusiasm of Party branches for this sort of work. The frame of mind of branch secretaries seems to be something like this: rather than go off the rail, better not dabble in ideological issues.

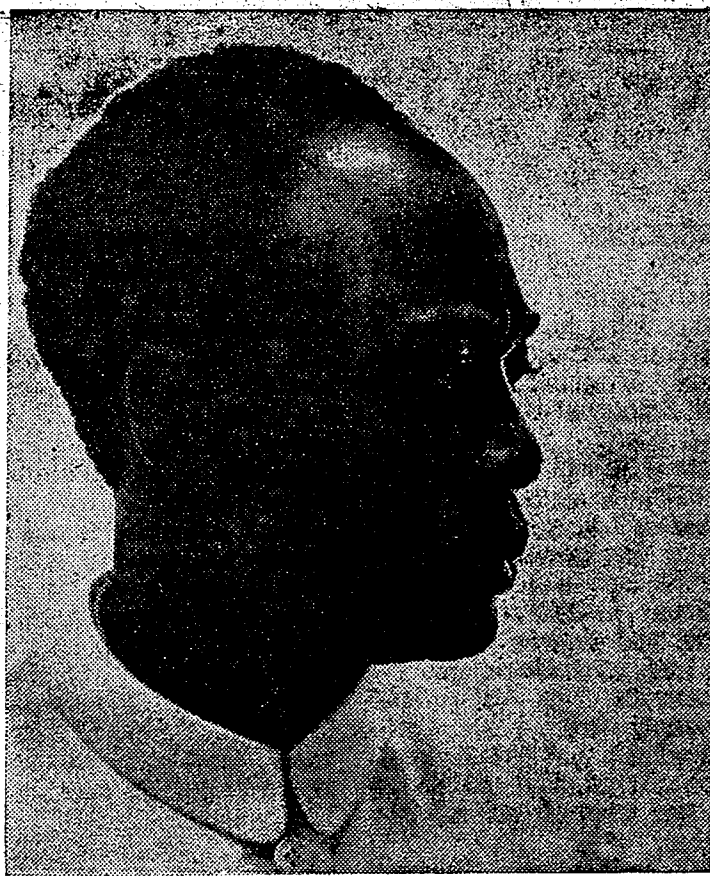
The solution to this problem lies in sending capable ideological workers to the Party branch. But this is clearly beyond the resources of the Party at

#### MONOLITHIC UNITY

A great problem facing the Party today is how to attain monolithic unity in the shortest time possible. We must operate as one solid army under a single banner (Nkrumaism) and under a supreme commander (Nkrumah). Nkrumaism must be found not just in our heads, but in our hearts too. It must be reflected in our deeds. We must think Nkrumaism, act Nkrumaism and live Nkrumaism. It is impossible to over-emphasise the need for this high degree of unity, more especially as we are in the era of the one party system and the conditions are ideal for the infiltration of the one party by negative forces acting in disguise.

In order to reach this high level of ideological unity within the Party it is necessary to pay attention to three important areas of Party life.

In the first place, we must step up ideological education among party activists and well as among the rank and file. It is dangerous to assume that all party activists are ideologically sound. The danger here is not so much the existence of non-socialist doctrines but rather the subtle acceptance of differing shades of socialism. We are called upon to banish from our mind not only the meaningless jumble of incoherent views labelled "African social-



LEADER OF THE PARTY

There is a second reason for paying constant attention to Party organisation. In our long march to socialism, as one problem is solved a new problem arises. And the nature of succeeding problems changes markedly and rapidly, at times bewilderingly. The solutions (and organisations to give effect to these solutions) are therefore changing all the time. Hence, there is the need for constant adjustment in the party machinery in order that it might the more effectively cope with problems as they arise.

#### UNIQUE HONOUR

A political party is an institution. And we must always bear in mind Comrade Kwame Nkrumah's teaching that "if ideals must be pursued through the changing scenes of life, it may be necessary to modify or replace

at the present time. It also reflects their confidence in us, with regard to the future.

This honour has meant a total recast of the political categories of this young nation. It cannot but have far-reaching consequences for our Party. Our organisation and style of work must of necessity undergo changes in sympathy with our elevation to the "vanguard of all organisations of the people" in the struggle to build a socialist society.

This fundamental change in the stature of the Party has meant certain adjustments in its organisation. In particular, it has meant a serious reappraisal of the relationship that should exist between its leading organs and key state agencies. And enough study has still to be directed to this vital area of organisation.

The realisation of this

### EDITORIAL

## We mean business

THAT is the meaning of Kwame Nkrumah's bold and noble speech to the Ghana Assembly.

Unlike the Imperialists we in Ghana, keep our word. We said we would break diplomatic relations if Britain refused to change her line, and that is what we have done.

Now is the time for others, for all good men in Africa, for those pledged to the O.A.U. resolution passed in Accra, to do the same.

Difficulties for Ghana may flow from this serious step. Even greater difficulties would result if we failed to keep our word and stand up to Wilson and Smith.

\* \* \*

Millions have died for freedom what are difficulties alongside such sacrifice? We shall be proud to face them and we shall overcome them.

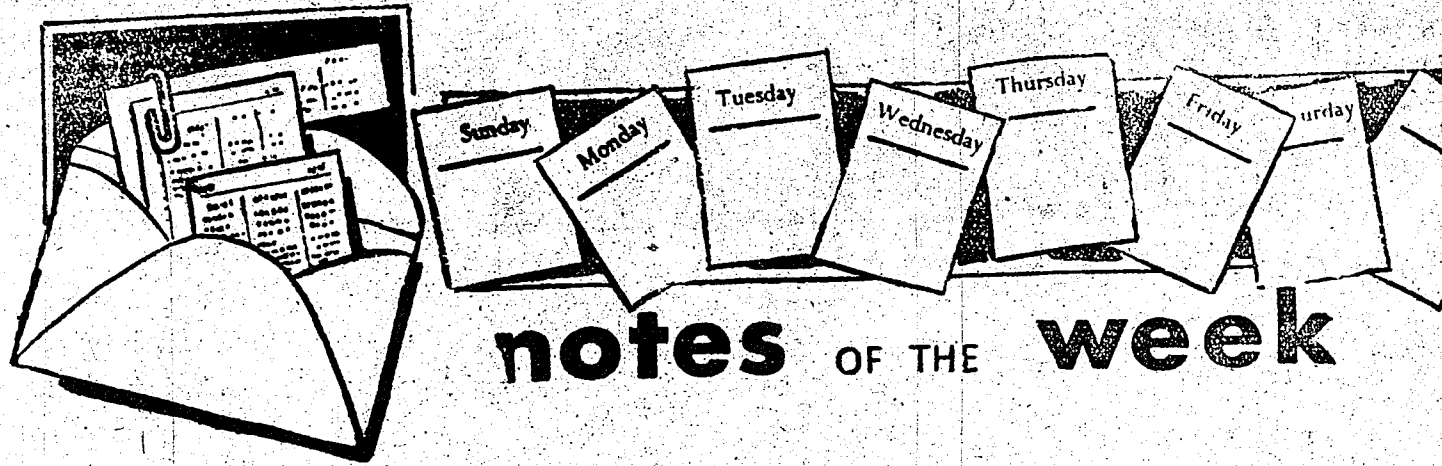
Honourably and willingly, we have fulfilled our revolutionary duty. We have carried out the first revolutionary principle... the principle of solidarity.

Now we call on our brothers, who have not yet done so, to come with us, to give support and assistance to our Zimbabwe brothers fighting for their elementary human rights.

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AS we move towards the close of the year we are seeing almost a rush of openings of new projects and economic developments which reflect the aims of the Seven-Year Plan.

The Plan aims to diversify our economy, releasing us from utter dependency on the selling of cocoa beans by the introduction of new crops and the industrial processing of agricultural products.

The opening of the Chocolate Factory at Tema is an important step forward towards this aim.

The total complex when it is completed will be able to store about half of Ghana's total cocoa bean output; this will help us to have more influence in the world cocoa market as we are the largest single cocoa producer.

At present the factory can process 36,000 tons of beans and will make chocolate, cocoa butter and cocoa powder. These products will save us foreign currency, provide us with exports which can command a higher price than beans, and lift some of the burden of dependence on foreign chocolate monopolies which up to now have exerted great pressures on our economy.

The Plan is also concerned about the welfare of our rural population and the 297,000 residents of the Swedru Agona area now have piped water. The project was discussed almost 30 years ago but never put into operation.

Now after two years construction work the dam is completed and is capable of storing 290 million gallons. No wonder there was such tremendous enthusiasm shown by the people on the occasion of the opening of the supply by Kwame Nkrumah. This will make an important contribution to the improvement of their life in every way.

As our economy grows the strains on our transport system increase too. The first concrete motorway in West Africa, has now been opened providing a 12-mile road to by-pass the centre of Accra for vehicles travelling to and from Tema.

This is only the first stretch of this splendid modern motorway which will help to improve our communications system, and lead to the linking of the port of Tema with most of the country.

The Black Star Line, which helps us to save foreign currency and makes us more independent of foreign carriers, received its 16th vessel with the acceptance of *Benya River* its latest ship.

The Black Star Line is not, as some commentators seem to think, an empty prestige project. On the contrary we have to ensure that whatever the circumstances our country is able to ship goods backwards and forwards without being subjected to outside pressures. Up to the founding of the Black Star Line, the major shipping services available to us were linked with the foreign monopoly firms which already dominated our economy.

The existence and growth of the Black Star Line is necessary if we are to win complete economic independence. The *Benya River* is a further contribution to our growing economic strength.

Many of these new projects represent large sums of money, wealth created by our people's labour. Now they constitute a real challenge to our socialist resourcefulness, sincerity and skill. Our people have paid for these productive projects, they expect all concerned in them to make them successful, profitable and inspiring examples of the realism of our Seven-Year Plan.

**SOUTH** Africa, already one of the heaviest-armed countries in Africa, is now putting the pressure on the Western countries, especially Britain, in an attempt to secure ground-to-air missiles.

Her chief bargaining counter is the Simonstown Naval Base near Capetown, which Britain uses, and also other harbours which are frequently used by N.A.T.O. ships.

The South African Defence Minister, Mr. Fouché, argued in a recent speech that South Africa could not continue to make itself a target for attack unless the West is prepared to supply the mis-

siles which Mr. Fouché claims are needed to defend South African ports and harbours.

He disclosed that South Africa is continually receiving requests from Western countries for the use of base facilities.

South Africa, he said, is prepared to grant these facilities, but in return expects the West to supply her with what he described as "essential defence equipment".

This is not the first time that the Verwoerd regime has used blackmail in order to get what it wants. It earlier threatened to close the Simonstown

base to British ships unless Britain delivered sixteen *Buccaneer* military aircraft which South Africa had ordered.

Britain's Labour Government, despite widespread protests in Britain itself, caved in, and the aircraft are now being delivered, despite the U.N. embargo on the supply of military equipment to the Verwoerd regime.

It now looks as though South Africa is resorting to the same tactic in order to get the missiles which it claims it needs for "defence" but which in fact it wants as part of its arms build-up directed against the independent African states.

The African states would take a grave view of any Western move to supply South Africa with missiles—or any other types of modern weapons—in violation of United Nations decisions.

Western spokesmen claim that they need South African bases for defence against what they term "Communist aggression".

But experience has shown that these bases form links in a round-the-world chain which has been used not for defence but in support of aggression and intervention against the national liberation movement in Africa and Asia.

They constitute a threat to the peace and freedom of Asia and Africa, and are a

constant source of international tension. They should be wound up immediately.

The Western Powers should likewise stop supplying arms to Verwoerd. Despite their oft-repeated assurances to the contrary, both Britain and the United States continue to supply military equipment to South Africa—Britain is supplying the sixteen *Buccaneer* aircraft and also ammunition for the South African Navy, while the United States has in recent months supplied helicopters for the South African police.

Another Western Power, France, has become South Africa's main source of imported military equipment; Italy is helping Verwoerd build up a military aircraft industry, while West Germany is collaborating with South Africa in atomic and rocket research.

All this, especially when seen in conjunction with the assistance which the same powers are giving to Portugal in its war of extermination against the peoples of its African colonies, is further testimony to the real nature of N.A.T.O.—not a "defensive" alliance against non-existent "Communist threats", but an aggressive alliance whose cutting edge is in no small measure directed against the national liberation movement.

## Kosygin's Plain Speaking

**RESOLUTE** opposition to U.S. policies of support for colonialism and oppression in every part of the world and firm support for the national liberation movement were the keynotes of an interview given by the Soviet Prime Minister Mr. Kosygin to "New York Times" commentator James Reston earlier this month.

"We believe that wars of national liberation are just wars, and they will continue as long as there is national oppression by imperialist powers," declared Mr. Kosygin when asked how he could reconcile peaceful co-existence and wars of national liberation.

"Take Southern Rhodesia. There will be a national liberation war there. Are the local citizens just going to say: 'O.K., go ahead and push us into ghettos and ring us with barbed wire'? No, they'll fight for their rights."

"In South Vietnam there is a national liberation war. These people do not want to be governed by U.S. puppets. If you continue to fight there," he told the U.S. journalist, "the people will go on rising up. The people will always fight against oppression for their freedom and independence."

"There is no peaceful co-existence between the slave-owner and the slave. We have never conceived of such a peaceful co-existence. In countries which have not yet freed themselves from the imperialist yoke there is colonial slavery, worse perhaps than under the Roman Empire."

The American commentator claimed that the United States is "trying to rule out all wars" and "sincerely trying to find ways of resolving grievances without any kinds of war."

"This war in Vietnam, and the war in the Dominican Republic, and others—you believe that this reflects your doctrine of peace?" replied Mr. Kosygin.

"Look at the films, objective films of women and children being killed by United

States soldiers. You are lining people up and gunning them down. You say this is your doctrine of peace?"

"I cannot agree that you have the right to kill defenceless people. That is the doctrine of the right of the strong to kill the weak. That is what you are doing."

"And everywhere you are seeking to intervene and extend the war. You have more than 100,000 troops there, and you are sending another 100,000. You see what this leads you to. No war, you say? Yet, in fact, all over the world, the United States is trying to seek its ends by military means."

"Now, just look at the world situation," the Soviet Prime Minister went on. "Everywhere the United States is lending its support to the colonialists, to the side of the oppressors, not the oppressed."

"Take Portugal. Everywhere the United States seeks to assist the colonialist nations. You want the people not to rise up for their freedom—this is out of the question."

"We in Russia rose up against Tsarism. Our sympathies and support will always rest with those under the yoke of oppression."

"Your policy of support for colonialism," the Soviet Prime Minister told the American commentator, "will cause the peoples to rise up against the United States. There is a growing feeling of hatred for United States policies because of your support for the colonialists and oppressors."

Mr. Kosygin had earlier in the interview focussed attention on the fact that the United States is likewise "doing all it can to kindle passions, to inflame tensions in Europe."

Not surprisingly, the Soviet leader's plain speaking gave rise to angry irritation in the State Department and among the apologists for U.S. policies everywhere.

But the facts cannot be denied. Throughout the world U.S. power is being used to bolster colonialism and reaction.



NOVEMBER 26 :

**GHANA** : Professor A. Raid Tourky, United Arab Republic Minister of Science Research has declared in Accra today that Ghana is in the forefront of many African States in establishing bodies at the highest level for the elaboration of national co-ordination of scientific activities and the implementation of research programmes.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE) :

Colonel Leonard Mulamba, Congo's new Prime Minister, today stepped up the pace of his cabinet-forming talks while the new President, General Joseph Mobutu, asked his army to support him in his new post.

DAHOMÉY : The National

Bureau of Dahomey's ruling Democratic Party has voted full support for its Executive Committee to oust President Sourou Migan Apathy and called for a revision of the constitution.

**NIGERIA** : Nigeria's Information Ministers have recommended speedier action in the establishment of a national new agency in Nigeria.

**ETHIOPIA** : A Conference of the Organisation of African Information Agencies is to be held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from December 16 to 18.

NOVEMBER 27 :

**NIGERIA** : President Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, has fully recovered from a prolonged infection of the lung and will convalesce in Britain before returning home, the Nigerian High Commission in London announced it today.

**DAHOMÉY** : A People's Assembly meeting in Cotonou, today dismissed President Sourou Migan Apathy of Dahomey from office, replacing him with his

Prime Minister, Mr. Justin

Ahomadegbe. **PORTUGAL** : Facist Portugal has been expelled from the International African Coffee Organisation because of her out-moded colonial policies in Africa.

**MOROCCO** : A French newsmen Philippe Bernier, has been arrested in Paris for complicity in the abduction of Medhi Ben Barke, the militant Moroccan Socialist leader, from Paris on October 29.

**GHANA** : President Nkrumah today underscored the importance of scientific planning on continental scale for the Utilisation of Africa's natural resources and advocated an All-African Academy of Art and Sciences.

NOVEMBER 28 :

**MALAWI** : Malawi's Finance Minister, Mr. John Tembo, arrived in London by air today for financial talks with the British Government.

**CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE)** : His Royal Highness Prince Assaf Wosem, Crown Prince of Ethiopia, today bid good-bye to President Nkrumah at Flagstaff House, Accra, before flying to Liberia at the end of a four-day visit to Ghana.

**GUINEA** : More than 10,000 Guinea students marched through the streets of Conakry to express their support for the measures taken by the Guinea Government and its accusation of an imperialist-inspired plot to overthrow President Sekou Toure.

**NOVEMBER 29 :** **GHANA** : The Ghana Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian Science Academy signed a Scientific co-operation agreement today at a ceremony held at the academy's head office in Accra.

**DAHOMÉY** : Mr. Tairou Congacou, President of the Dahomey National Assembly announced over Radio today that he had accepted the posts of Chief of State and Prime Minister following earlier resignations of President Sourou Migan Apathy and Premier Justin Ahomadegbe.

**CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE)** : Former President Joseph Kasavubu of Congo (Leopoldville) has said that his main concern was for national reconstruction, according to the Leopoldville newspaper "Le Courrier D'Afrique".

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA** : Ian Smith rebel regime today arrested 10 Africans arbitrarily after two fire blazes in a Salisbury industrial area.

NOVEMBER 30 :

**ZAMBIA** : President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia today presided over a special Cabinet meeting in Lusaka to discuss the British offer to send a token force to guard the gigantic hydro-electric Kariba Dam which straddles the Zambia-Rhodesia frontier.

**MOROCCO** : The Export-Import Bank of Washington has authorised its first long-term capital loan to Morocco, it was announced in Washington today.

**DAHOMÉY** : Mr. Tahirou Congacou, the Dahomean provincial President and transitional Head of Government is meeting his predecessor in the Presidential Palace at Cotonou to get a briefing on current state business today according to an official announcement.

DECEMBER 1 :

**GHANA** : President Nkrumah congratulated President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia on his determined stand against the imposition of conditions by the United Kingdom Government regarding his request for troops to guard the gigantic Kariba Dam.

\* Ghana has told the United Nations in New York that African States want the continent to be a nuclear free zone because they did not "wish to be party to the growing menace of the armament race".

**NIGERIA** : A new wave of violence has erupted in the Western Region of Nigeria, four people were killed and over 20 houses burnt in a fresh outbreak of violence which started at Ikenna, hometown of jailed Action Group leader Chief Obafemi Awolowo.

DECEMBER 2 :

**SWAZILAND** : The President of the Nkwane National Liberation Congress of Swaziland Dr. Ambrose Zwane, has accused the apartheid regime of South Africa of interference with the access of Swazis to their homeland.

**ETHIOPIA** : Four United States Congressmen have arrived in Addis Ababa from Tunis on a three-day visit to Ethiopia as part of a fact-finding tour of Africa.

**BASUTOLAND** : Britain has agreed that Basutoland can negotiate agreements directly with apartheid South Africa and other Foreign Government before it achieved independence next year.

**NIGERIA** : The Nigerian Minister of Finance, Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, has warned Nigerians against the notion that the country could use its security Printing and Minting Company to print and issue unlimited volume of money to solve the country's financial problems.

DECEMBER 3 :

**KENYA** : A Kenyan Parliamentarian, Mr. J. D. Kali, introducing a motion in the Kenya House of Representatives today called upon his Government to support President Nkrumah's constant call for the setting up of an African High Command.

**ANGOLA** : The Chairman of the Angolan Liberation Movement, Mr. Andre Kassinda, has appealed to nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation to halt the delivery of arms to facist Portugal, he said in the United Nations General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee in New York that Portuguese are using NATO weapons to kill Angolan nationalist fighters.

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## EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

This step is not the last move we shall make to bring Smith to his knees. On the contrary it must be the first of a series of determined measures which will smash this racist rebel.

When the Wilsons of this world cower behind manoeuvre and double-dealing, the Smiths of this world get too bold. It is left to us in Africa to teach them a lesson, that we shall surely do.

Military assistance to the Zimbabwe peoples, as well as every other possible form of help is now demanded to bring this terrible situation in Rhodesia to a swift end.

Today every Ghanaian walks the streets of our country feeling ten feet tall, his head high, his step more lively because he knows that His President, His Government, His Party, is in the vanguard of the liberation of Africa and human progress.

Again we extend the hand of comradeship to our Zimbabwe brothers. Side by side we will fight. Victory will be theirs and ours.

**We mean business.**



# Ghana's Agriculture on the March

FOR decades Ghana has been the foremost cocoa-producing country in the world, supplying more than a third of the world's requirements. Cocoa alone covers a total of some 4-5 million acres of land in the forest belt of Ghana. Exports of this crop recently have been as high as 560,000 tons.

While cocoa has been for decades the main crop of the country, attempts under Ghana's Seven-Year Development Plan (1963-65) are directed toward moving away from this mono-crop economy.

Ghana's national agricultural policy today under her Seven-Year Development is aimed at three main ends:

1. producing food abundantly and cheaply to meet the nutritional needs of every citizen;
2. stopping the importation of all foodstuffs that can be economically produced in Ghana;
3. producing raw agricultural materials for export as well as for domestic industries;

This policy demands an extraordinary improvement in Ghana's agriculture, a transformation of the traditional pattern of farming. It is leading Ghana into settled agriculture through mechanisation and the use of fertilizers as against shifting cultivation of bush fallow.

Thus large areas are now being cultivated under State Farms and Farmers' Co-operatives instead of the former uneconomic sizes of small peasant farms.

The purpose of the Plan which has set targets of production for all crops and livestock is to effect an increase in the level of productivity of commodities best suited to each geographical area of the country.

The strategy is to concentrate on a limited number of commodities and to apply to them all the available skills and technology. These commodities are the ones that will fulfil basic nutritional requirements as well as contribute to easing our balance of payments position.

In the grassland areas, especially in the North, the long rainy season deposits on the land a considerable amount of water which mostly disappears and is followed by a severe dry season during which crops hardly grow and livestock suffer through hunger and thirst.

With the provision of water through elaborate irrigation programmes and also mechanisation, these grassland areas, both in the South as well as

Besides growing agricultural raw materials to feed the various factories being set up under the Seven-Year Development Plan, the State Farms Corporation has also been charged to grow more food and produce more meat to feed the ever-growing population in the country at reasonable low cost.

The farms of the Corporation have also been set up as State-operated Socialist agricultural enterprise to promote the fuller utilization of the country's agricultural potentialities, in order to achieve a maximum national out-put.

It is expected that individual farmers should see in the State Farms the benefits of large-scale farming, so that they might be encouraged to plan for an effective acceptance of co-operative agricultural development.

During the past year, the Corporation made spectacular progress in all fields of production, although, much more lies ahead to be carried out for the fulfilment of the Party's programme of "Work and Happiness".

The number of farms at the end of 1964 was 105 and covered a total acreage of 50,000.

These were planted to cereals, root crops, non-appear fibre, cotton, oil palm, rubber, tobacco, vegetables and potatoes, onions etc. The harvest from the potatoes and onions was enough to scale down importation of these food items and thus make a substantial saving in foreign currency.

This year the State Farms have planned to achieve a target of 120,000 acres of cultivated land. This means a greater effort is to be made to triple the growth of all crops under cultivation, in order to ameliorate the food supply situation, and also to stimulate the industrialization programme. The following are some of the major crops:

**MAIZE:** 21,500 bags of maize were produced owing to the great demand for maize, both for human and livestock consumption; the Corporation is inter-planting all its tree crop projects with maize. This will help to increase production in the year 1965, which means approximately 14,000 tons of maize will be raised from both rotational and intercropped plots of the Corporation.

**RICE:** In view of the huge quantities of imported rice which come into the country, it is the intention of the Corporation to work out a programme whereby the large scale importation can

by **F. A. JANTUAH**  
(Minister of Food and Agriculture)

The Seven-Year Development Plan calls for the cultivation of 45,700 acres of oil palm. The production target for 1965 is estimated at 18,000 acres. This will provide 16,000 tons of oil when in full production. An Oil Palm Mill would be installed at Presea to cope with the increasing harvest from the plantation. This will be the second factory for oil palm installed by the Corporation in her plantations in the Western Region.

**RUBBER:** All efforts are being made to double the production of this crop, in order to meet the requirements of the Tyre Factory soon to be set up in the country. In 1964 about 4,000 acres of rubber were planted in the Western Region. This planting increased the total area under rubber to 10,000 acres. The target for development of rubber in 1965 alone is 10,000 acres. This will bring the total developed area of rubber of the corporation to 20,000 acres by the end of 1965. A rubber factory is to be installed at Abra. This will make it possible to process latex for the manufacturing of sheet rubber and off-grades into blanket-crepe to feed the tyre and other rubber factories.

**COTTON:** At present cotton is not considered a major crop in Ghana, whereas imports of cotton are very considerable. In order to evaluate cotton as an economic crop in Ghana, the State Farms Corporation is going in a big way to increase cotton production in the country. It has been proved that cotton will do well in the Northern and Upper Regions. In 1963 the Corporation cultivated a total of 1,050 acres of cotton which produced about 21.9 tons of ginned cotton. The total acreage was increased to 1,443 in 1964, and the yield obtained was about 300 tons ginned cotton. In the 1965 planting season, the acreage under cotton was increased to 5,150. In the light of the increases in production, it is proposed to install ginneries on the farms to boost up production to feed the proposed textile factory to be set up in the country. New areas are being explored for more farms, and at the same time to expand the existing

3,000 acres of land at Ejura for the cultivation of this crop. Arrangements are being made to acquire additional 6,000 acres at Nkoranza/Prusu; other suitable areas are being investigated in order to bring the total acreage to 12,000. This, it is hoped, could produce the required tonnage of 6,000 per annum as set out in the Seven-Year Development Plan. In 1963, the Corporation produced 51 tons of clean fibre and in 1964, 100 tons were produced. These were supplied to the Kumasi Fibre Factory.

**GROUNDNUTS:** The establishment of the Vegetable Oil Mills Corporation has necessitated an increase in the production of this crop. To increase the protein content of our diet the Corporation is leaving no stone unturned to produce more of this body-building crop. In this respect the need for increasing production has been higher than before. The acreage of the Corporation's groundnut farms at Atebubu, Ejura, Mamongo, Tono, Wa and Babile will be increased considerably to meet the demand.

In 1963, 250 tons equivalent to about 2,825 bags were produced, and by the end of 1964 about 500 tons of shelled groundnuts were



existing plantation at Nsawam is to be expanded to make it possible to increase the land under pineapples to a thousand acres by the end of 1965. The fruits would be prepared for export, apart from the large quantities that will be consumed locally.

**THIS IS WHAT  
GHANA IS  
DOING**

obtained. Two thousand two hundred and fifty tons are expected in 1965.

**BANANAS:** Before the establishment of the State Farms, the Banana industry in the country was declining due perhaps, to the fact that farmers were not encouraged by the prices offered. The 250 acres which were taken over from the former Agricultural Development Corporation at Subri in the Western Region have been expanded to about 1,000 acres. Recently, there has been an awakening of world interest in banana. The Corporation has, therefore, embarked on a programme for development of some 7,000 acres of banana at Subri, near Huni-Valley. Already 2,000 acres have been planted and an additional 2,000 will be planted by the end of 1965. About 1,000 acres of the planted area will soon come into bearing.

**POTATOES:** There was a remarkable achievement in potato production. The local production of this crop is in line with the policy of the Government to reduce, and ultimately replace imported foodstuffs with locally grown ones in an effort to save foreign currency. In 1964, 300 acres were planted to potatoes which produced 600 tons. The potatoes production for 1965 is estimated at 1,200 tons for both minor and major seasons' crops.

**TOBACCO:** It is expected that areas under existing farms totalling 650 acres in 1964 should be doubled. New farms will be established at Bodomasi, Kofase, Wiamoaso, Sekyere in Ashanti Region; Kintampo, Nkoranza, in the Brong Ahafo Region. It is hoped, by this means, production target of 450 tons envisaged for 1965 would be achieved.

**PINEAPPLES:** With the bright hope for the pineapple industry in this country, more lands have been acquired at Topiase, near Asamankese; also the

The livestock programme has also been a great success, though it is barely two years ago since the Corporation was inaugurated, the records obtained from livestock multiplication scheme have shown great increases of stock.

In the past year, the poultry farms produced 450,000 birds and 4,580,000 eggs for sale.

Three mammoth incubators with the capacity of 200,000 day-old chicks will soon be installed at Odorkor, Pokoase and Kwadaso to accelerate the production of chicks. With the installation of large incubators, the Corporation will expand the poultry industry and by the end of 1966 will produce over 2,000,000 birds, and 192,000,000 eggs for sale.

More comprehensive plans have also been drawn up to develop cattle, sheep and pig industries so that more bacon, sauges and ham can be produced.

A nucleus of dairy industry has been started by the Corporation and it is hoped that in course of time, a considerable percentage of mill and milk products consumed in this country will be produced locally.

The co-operative and individual farmers under the guidance of the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council have continued to make remarkable social and economic progress.

However, in order to give full meaning and support for all the activities of farmers in their various fields of operation which is now directly under the Ministry of Agriculture, the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council has been re-organised into 3 main sectors namely:—

1. The Cocoa Marketing Co-operative Union;
2. The Farming Co-operative Union;
3. The Livestock Co-operative Union.

Each of these Unions is managed on the national level by a committee drawn up from among the shareholding members. This move will definitely enhance effi-

ciency on our production front.

growing by the traditional method but are directed and assisted to use improved seeds as well as techniques in their farming programme. Already 13,000 acres have been cultivated. To ease the difficulty of harvesting these large tracts of rice farms, combined harvesters and binders have been bought by the Council to be let out to the farmers on a loans-in-kind basis. Fifteen rice hauling mills, each capable of hauling 30 tons of rice a day, have been ordered and are being installed in the principal rice growing areas. That will also eliminate the tiresome task of pounding the paddy rice before getting it ready for market.

**KENAF:** The Kumasi Jute Factory at the moment imports the raw jute used in manufacturing the bags from Pakistan. Kenaf, a fibre crop that can be used for bag making, is already growing wild mainly in the Northern and Upper Regions. It is now being cultivated on commercial basis by the Co-operative farmers in these regions to feed the

The difficult task of beating the crop into fibre has been met with the introduction of decorticating machines. Already 21 have been ordered and sent to the Northern and Upper Regions. Farmers near rivers in the South are now being encouraged to grow this crop in order to provide the mixture needed by the factory before our local brand can be effectively used in bag making.

**RUBBER:** The production of rubber has been confined mainly to the Western Region where rainfall facilitates its growth. Farmers in the area are doing well. Already 10,000 acres have been put under cultivation with high yielding planting material.

Other crops that are being boosted in the cocoa growing areas in an attempt to diversify agriculture and thus prevent utter reliance on cocoa for earning of foreign exchange, are Oil Palm, Citrus, Avocado pears and Cashew.

**LIVESTOCK:** Pig and Poultry farmers had an unpleasant set-back in their efforts to produce in order to meet the targets of the Seven-Year Plan. This was due mainly to the absence of day old chicks, and feeding material. Efforts are being made for local establishments to provide these essential items.

Cattle ranching on the free-range basis will give way to the pad-dock system whereby the cattle will be put in fenced kraals in which, has been grown high protein giving grass for the feeding of the animals. This will ensure regular feeding material and assist in raising meat and milk production.

To meet the financial commitments of these schemes the Government has guaranteed the United Farmers' Co-operative Council to borrow money from the Ghana Commercial Bank to the tune of £G24 million at 6½ per cent interest. Of this loan, £G15 million will be used in financing cocoa purchases, £G7 million for Agricultural Producers Co-operatives and £G2 million to Livestock Co-operatives.

The Young Farmers' League is now directly under the Ministry of Agriculture and equipped with professional staff for efficient management of the field operation of our young people, estimated to number about 20,000 in their various settlements by 1970.

Tobacco is an important cash crop with immense possibilities as foreign exchange earner. This important crop has in the time past been handled by the Food Marketing Board, acting as middleman between production units of the Ministry of Agriculture and the local manufacturers. This arrangement has been found to be unsatisfactory.

(Continued on Page 4)



A tobacco plantation under inspection

the North, can become great food producing areas.

By the end of 1969 it is provisionally estimated that some 80,000 acres of land will have been brought under irrigation for the production of rice, sugar-cane and other crops.

The two important sectors of production are the public and private. The public sector is represented by the State Farms Corporation, the Agricultural Wing of the Workers Brigade and the Young Farmers' League; the private by individuals and co-operative farmers.

The State Farms Corporation was established in 1962.

be reduced. It is hoped that when a suitable programme has been achieved, at least 50,000 acres of land will be put under rice annually. Meanwhile, the production programme for 1965 shows a target of 18,550 acres under rice with estimated yield of 16,000 tons. This will be a great increase over last year's production of 28,600 bags (about 3,064 tons) of clean rice.

**OIL PALMS:** The Oil Palm Industry is to be expanded as rapidly as possible because of the urgent demand both for food and for industrial purpose. The Corporation's target for

farms to step up production. It may be necessary in the future to introduce cotton growing to peasant farmers to increase production and also help them to increase their income.

**URENA LOBATA:** This crop is needed for the production of empty bags for the country's cocoa. At the moment the State Farms Corporation produce only a small percentage of the total consumption of the Kumasi Fibre Bag Factory, the bulk of the raw jute being imported. To cut down the imports of the raw materials, the Corporation has acquired about



# Law must change with Society

THE law and its apparatus—judges, lawyers, prosecutors, legislators, police, and prisons—are part of the machinery of government; and government is not the sort of neutral referee beloved of liberal theorists but is the organ of the ruling-class for its control and rule over the population. And a ruling-class was everywhere until fifty years ago, and in capitalist countries still is to-day, a small minority of the total population.

Inevitably, every ruling-class governs in its own interests, justifying its actions (if and when it feels it is necessary to do so at all) by its assertion that what is in its interest is best for the population as a whole.

It claims of course that it serves "Justice" and maintains "Law and Order"; but these are not absolute "ivory-tower" conceptions, based on unvarying principles and as it were divinely inspired. They in truth represent what is just and lawful and in order in the eyes of the ruling-class for the population of observe and obey.

And let it not be forgotten—it is not likely to be forgotten in Africa—that the ruling-class is very often, even to-day, of foreign and not an indigenous origin.

In that situation, what sort of law—what rules of conduct, rights of property in land or movables, rights of personal freedom, laws of succession, penal prohibitions, duties to the state, and such things—is any country likely to have?

The answer is that it will have the system of law which its ruling-class thinks it right in its own interests to have, so long as it is not so extreme as to drive the population to revolt or revolution.

## INTERESTS

To be more accurate since economic and other conditions of life, and so the interests of the ruling-class—and the composition of that class itself—are always changing and systems of law have to change with them but the actual process of change is slow, we should say that at any moment the systems of law of a country is that which a previous generation of the ruling-class found best suited to its own interests, as amended from time, with a good deal of delay, by subsequent generations to suit their interests in their new circumstances, and to be expected in due course to undergo further amendment if nothing violent arises to throw it out of its course.

Thus, at that stage of development, one can say that the system of law corresponds pretty well to the social perspectives of the ruling-class.

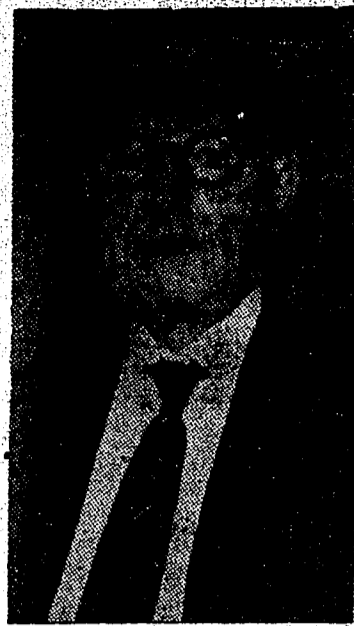
To illustrate the sort of system, and the sort of development, which we can see in history, I recall that the English ruling-class established and maintained for centuries the law that landed property could not be sold or disposed of but had to remain in the hands of the owner and descend on his death to his eldest son.

This was in order to maintain the feudal system and to provide a base for the armed forces, whilst avoiding in the interests of agriculture too great a sub-parcelling of the land.

When mercantile and industrial developments produced changes in the ruling-class, creating new forms of property, and much diminishing the importance of keeping landed proprietors in continued succession, the previous restrictions on alienation were revoked, but that their revocation came later and more slowly than they might usefully have done.

I have given thus far a relatively simple picture, common enough in past centuries, when the composition of the ruling-class and its interests changed only gradually and changes in its systems of law came equally gradually.

But nowadays changes can be more fundamental, and can come much more rapidly; revolutionary change brings complete changes of ruling-class (even if, as happened in the great American Revolution,



by Professor D. N. PRITT  
(University of Ghana)

whole economy and their ways of life are distorted.

Here, too, I may give an illustration, applicable to most of Britain's colonies, if (fortunately for Ghana) less applicable to the Gold Coast than to most of the British "Crown Colonies"; this is to be found in the practice, adopted partly to render easier the large-scale exploitation of natural resources by mining or plantation systems, and partly to facilitate the collection of taxes, whereby traditional systems of collective land-holding were abolished and replaced by individual ownerships utterly foreign to the indigenous ways of life (and with the added horror of the vesting of the ultimate title in the British government) to the confusion and destruction of centuries of custom and tradition.

## A SOCIALIST STATE

Let me now look, in the light of what I have written, at the position in which Ghana stood at the moment of independence. She had before her the greatest changes imaginable, and thus the greatest tasks and opportunities, for she was not only embarking on independence, on governing herself instead of being governed by foreigners, but she determined at the same time to build herself a fundamentally different society—a Socialist one—with different aims and a ruling-class different not merely because it was to be Ghanaian but also because it was to consist of the whole Ghanaian people.

And when she was starting her new life all she had by way of a legal system was a body of "received law" consisting of the English common law and some English amendments thereof, plus such further amendments as had been made by colonial ordinances all absolutely unfitted to her new society, her new aims, and her new ruling-class.

What had she to do? She had, in due course and without too much delay, to reshape her legal system, so that in place of imported machinery, built as I have described and imposed on her as I have described, she should have a system established in Ghana for Ghanaians by a new emerging Ghanaian ruling-class.

This could not of course be created overnight, but only slowly; but it would not be right that it should suffer unnecessary delay so long as it was done thoroughly and well.

The first essential step, which did have to be taken immediately, was to provide a new Constitution, as the basis of her new government and of all the other changes that were to be made; that was soon done, of course, but the whole body and system of the law had and has to be altered to express and to sew the new spirit; that has to be done piecemeal, but should still be regarded as urgent.

## A SLOW ACTION

There is comfort for the impatient, and perhaps too much encouragement for the easy-going in the circumstance that the U.S.S.R. and the European new Socialist countries—the Chinese People's Republic had a somewhat different history in this respect—have in fact gone very slowly about the business of completely and systematically rebuilding their laws, being content for many years, whilst remodelling their economy and society and the minds of men, to do no more with their laws—apart from their Constitutions—than to introduce many amendments.

Ghana, as I have hinted, has one even greater task, for she has determined on the replacement of a more or less capitalist economy by one definitely making the transition to Socialism; she thus has to establish, and to adjust her new system of law to, the rule of the whole people, of a majority ruling-class.

Such a transformation involves—let both the friends and the enemies of our progress to Socialism be clear on this—a changing and reshaping on the part of all of us not just of our governmental structure and of our aims and objects but also of our minds.

Those who make our law, those who administer it, and indeed also those who have to observe it, must give themselves new and better outlooks and mentalities.

They must not merely make the system of law conform to the new social perspectives, but must make themselves conform to them too. They must acquire new attitudes to their government and to their duties to it, new honesties, new values.

Among other things, they must begin to think of the government as ceasing to be the weapon of a minority ruling-class directed against the mass of the people, to be feared, disliked, and if possible thwarted, and as gradually becoming the instrument of the whole people, to be thought of as their own, to be welcomed, cherished, supported, and served by the mass of them, and disliked only by anti-social elements.

The sooner we really achieve this attitude to the government, the sooner will the government become as good as it should be.

What is the nature of the changes we must bring about in ourselves? We must of course, start with the new attitude to the government that I have just described, and serve it willingly and zealously, in the true interests of the

mass of the people, letting private interests take a lower priority, and never advocating or accepting policies which serve our own or our neighbour's private interests to the detriment of the welfare of the country.

We should never, for example, put ourselves in the position of the leading London banker who had recently to admit in a public enquiry that he had been speculating in the rise and fall of sterling currency for his own personal profit at a time when such speculation might render the financial crisis more acute and cause incalculable loss to the whole community.

He had done it, he explained, "because it made sense"; for "sense", we may read "personal profit". What we have to do to build our Socialist country is to hold that actions only "make sense" when they profit the whole community.

## ESPECIAL CARE

What next must we do?

There is plenty more; we must no longer think of public property as something that we can neglect or waste or spoil, on the ground that there is masses of it and it does not belong to us individually. On the contrary, we must give it especial care.

We must protect the property of the State just because it belongs to all of us and serves all of us.

We must protect individual property when, and only when, it is what I may call "honest" property: for example, we must protect everyone's personal property, such interests as those of the peasants in the land they cultivate, and in general all the property to

which the ordinary simple man has a right, and of which he makes reasonable and industrious use for his own socially-useful purposes, and thus in fact for the public good.

But we must take a very different attitude to the ownership of any property which by its size or its nature becomes so powerful, as is the case with many large companies, that it can impose its selfish will on ordinary citizens, exploit their labour, and make inordinate profits.

And we must be equally stern in our dealings with property which is used—or left unused—for purposes of extortion or black-marketing.

And we must no longer defend the anti-social "freedom" of powerful organisations or individuals to exploit others, to enrich themselves unfairly at the expense of the community, and to accumulate more and more wealth in order to embark on further and further exploitation and unjust enrichment.

On the other hand, we must vigorously defend the true freedom of individuals to develop their education, their talents, and their personalities, and to equip themselves to do useful and interesting work for the advantage of themselves and to the community.

It is almost equally important that we must adopt new and sterner attitudes to tax-dodging, whether it be worked by the simple if dangerous method of making false returns or by the more elaborate and more "legal" methods, highly developed in England, whereby, whenever the tax law is amended to stop the loopholes which artful lawyers and accountants have devised to help their clients to avoid paying taxes which they ought

in honesty to pay, the same artful men devise new tricks that call for more legislation.

This operation has been carried so far that one experienced technical journalist recently asserted that anyone in England who actually allowed death duties—one of the most equitable of taxes—to be recovered from his estate, however vast the estate might be, was either careless, or badly advised or unfriendly to his heirs!

In conclusion, I should add, not in any way in defence of lawyers but as a warning to all of us of the practical difficulties that beset the formulation of our new laws, that in all capitalist and pre-capitalist countries, i.e., in all countries until very recent times, lawyers have been, by the very conditions of their profession, highly "establishment-minded", i.e., strong supporters of their capitalist ruling-classes, and thus conservative and reactionary.

They are generally drawn from the ranks of the upper classes; many of them have worked directly for governments, and nearly all the rest have worked as advisers or advocates for those who can best afford to pay them, i.e., for the rich, the conservative, and often enough members of the ruling-class.

And it is just these lawyers whose technical skills and experience are needed when we come to draft laws and amendments of laws; and until the lawyers reform their minds as we all must do, we must bear in mind that they will be in varying degrees reluctant or unreliable or even actually untrustworthy servants.

They must become enthusiasts for progress before they can hope to be popular!

# Agriculture on the march

(Continued from page 3)

The Tobacco Products Corporation has been established to handle all tobacco and tobacco products in the country. This new arrangement has given a great impetus to the tobacco industry.

Last year production reached a total of three million pounds weight. This year, the Tobacco Products Corporation plans to cultivate several acres to help the production organisations in meeting the target of 3,000 tons set for the Seven-Year Development Plan.

Since the Land Planning work in the Upper Region was started in 1954 a total of 215 dams have been constructed in the Upper Region and 65 Dams and Dug-outs completed in the Volta Region.

These water conservation structures have required the movement of over three million cubic yards of earth and the total storage capacity is in the region of 15,000 acres to a depth of one foot.

The main impact of these dams and dug-outs on the people of the areas they serve has been in the provision of water for small scale vegetable gardening and the increase in stocks of animals that can be kept in the area.

These have been very well received by the people and the Ministry realises the important role they play in the life of farmers in the drier parts of the country.

If the areas below the dams could be developed scientifically for irrigation, the farmers in the area would benefit even more than they are doing now. It is the policy of the Ministry therefore to continue this dam construction, and also to site the dams so that the area below them can be developed for irrigation.

Such Irrigation projects are by their nature small and cannot in themselves make the great material contributions required of irrigation to the regional and national economies. These contributions are only possible through medium and large irrigation schemes. These, however, take time. Moreover, large irrigation

schemes are so expensive that the Ministry will have to seek outside finance for most of its large projects.

To do this comprehensive surveys, designs and feasibility reports are essential.

Preliminary Surveys by the United Nations team in the Northern and Upper Regions, have already picked on sites on the Tono River (near Navrongo), the Tamne (near Bawku) and at Lammasa and Mpaha on the future Volta Lake Shore.

The total acreage in these four projects alone makes up a total of 40,000 or nearly half our targets for the Seven-Year Development Plan. Detailed investigations on this are to begin this year. It is intended that at least one of these four projects should be started next year.

The Ministry of Agriculture is in charge of irrigation at Asutchuare a project which is for both rice and sugar cane. Two thousand acres of the irrigation work has been let out on contract and the balance of 8,000 acres is to be let out this year.

## DEVELOPMENT

Asutchuare, however, is not the only area on the Lower Volta Flood Plains, which extend from Kpong to around Tefé. The area above Asutchuare is to be developed with the help of the United Nations for a 15,000 acre project.

The area below Asutchuare is to be taken up by Nippon Koi of Japan for the Development of a 10,000-acre rice project and 8,000 acre sugar cane project. Thus the total area for development around the Lower Volta Flood Plains is 43,000 acres.

The need for more trained personnel to carry out the agricultural programme of the country has become so great that a new Division of Agriculture Training and Manpower has been formed not only to train staff to meet the needs of the various agencies under the Ministry, but also to liaise with the Universities in matters affecting the education and training of agri-

culturists, and with the Ministry of Education in deciding on the content of agricultural education syllabuses under its administration.

Three farm mechanisation schools and two farm Institutes which are joint Ghana United States Technical Aid Projects, have 100 students each; another Mechanisation School at Adidome is operated under the U.S.S.R. Technical Aid Agreement.

As an all-important measure for protecting the country from the importation and exportation of pests and diseases, the plant quarantine service which has hitherto been the responsibility of the Ghana Academy of Sciences has become a Schedule of the Ministry of Agriculture.

The Academy will, however, continue to carry out the laboratory and quarantine station work, while the Ministry will have overall responsibility for inspection and enforcement of regulations at the necessary check points.

The work of the Agriculture Wing of the Workers' Brigade is co-ordinated with the national production efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture through a standing committee on which both representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and of the Ministry of Defence will serve.

In our present agricultural revolution it is necessary that farmers should not only know how farming operations are carried out in their own localities; they must also be acquainted with what is happening in the field of agriculture in other parts of the country and also in other lands.

For this purpose, the Information and Publications Unit of the Ministry has been revitalised and the modern mobile cinema van of the Unit is being used to propagate and publicise new agricultural methods as well as to show films on agricultural topics to farmers in the rural areas.

A new division of the Agricultural Extension Service has been formed and charged with the responsibility of ensuring that all sectors of the nation's economy are mobilised to at-

tain high production and to achieve the targets set in the Seven-Year Development Plan. Ghana, for the purpose of agricultural development, is divided into 40 Districts and 8 Regions, the former coinciding with the Local Council areas and the latter with the political Regions.

The agricultural affairs of each Region and District are the responsibility of Extension Officers. The District and Regional Extension Officers are the key men of the Ministry of Agriculture in the prosecution of the Seven-Year Development Plan.

The Agricultural Plan for each district is the responsibility of the farmers themselves working through a district committee, and assisted by officers of the Ministry of Agriculture.

By the end of 1964, 10,127 people in the Volta basin who were effected by the flooding of the Volta River had been resettled on various sites. These farmers continued to be organised to produce local cash crops, export crops, foodstuffs, and livestock, and they will in due course be contributing tremendously to the nation's Seven-Year Development Plan.

Crops grown last year comprised maize (4,500 acres), tobacco (650 acres) groundnuts (480 acres) cowpeas (459 acres) oil palm (190 acres) banana (84 acres) pineapples (30 acres).

Settlers interested in livestock were given all encouragement; they sold 554 pigs and 150,000 broilers during 1964. During 1965, settler livestock farmers will market 500,000 broilers and 1,800 pigs.

Settlers interested in crop production will have acreages increased from 6,384 to 14,670 in 1965. The acreages to be planted will be as follows:—10,000 maize, 1,200 for tobacco, 1,000 for cowpeas, 1,000 for groundnuts, 900 for oil palm, 200 for banana, 120 for Avocado pear, and some 50 acres for mangoes.

Our settler farmers are much better off than they were before in their new surroundings and homes.



# 'Today Africa is Facing a Great Challenge'

THE House will recall that at the Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity held at Accra last October, it was unanimously decided that in the event of the failure on the part of the United Kingdom to use all possible means, including the use of force, to oppose a unilateral declaration of independence by the Southern Rhodesian Settlers, all members of the Organisation of African Unity would reconsider, among other matters, their diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom. In accordance with this resolution, which it became clear that the United Kingdom Government was not using effective means to quell the rebellion, the Council of Ministers meeting recently at Addis Ababa unanimously decided that all Member States of the Organisation of African Unity should break off diplomatic relations with Britain.

The decision was that if by December 15th, that is yesterday, Britain had not put down the rebellion, we of the Independent African States should sever diplomatic relations with Britain.

## BROKEN RELATIONS

The breaking of diplomatic relations is a serious step, and the Ghana Government had therefore hoped that the United Kingdom Government would take some action which might justify African States refraining from making a move which, however valuable as a protest, must have grave consequences.

Since 1963, I have continuously emphasized to the British Government the seriousness of the situation in Southern Rhodesia and the dangers it could pose for our relationship, unless it were handled firmly and effectively.

In particular, I pointed out the serious consequences inherent in the transfer of the attributes of sovereignty to Rhodesia without majority rule. I have also stressed time and again that the handing over of the armed forces which the British had built up for the former Central African Federation to a minority settler regime whose avowed policy has always been to maintain a racialist state was bound to lead to a situation such as confronts us today.

It is against this background that Ghana raised this question at the Security Council in September, 1963, and urged the Council to call upon the United Kingdom Government not to hand over these armed forces and other attributes of sovereignty to the Southern Rhodesian minority settler regime.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, all my warnings went unheeded, and my forebodings have come true. Indeed, by vetoing Ghana's resolution the United Kingdom Government actually made the present situation inevitable. History thus holds Britain responsible.

## A WARNING

It is therefore clear that my Government has taken all possible steps to let the British Government know of Africa's concern in an effort to avoid the present crisis. We have consistently urged on the United Kingdom Government policies which could have averted the present unhappy situation.

Only last Tuesday, I sent a special delegation to deliver a personal message from me to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Harold Wilson.

In that message I made it clear to the British Prime Minister that as there was no evidence that Britain was taking positive and effective action to quell the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, the Government of Ghana was in honour bound to carry out the decision taken by the Organisation of African Unity at Addis Ababa on December 3rd, this year.

I have considered very carefully a reply which Mr. Wilson sent to me yesterday. There is nothing in Mr. Wilson's letter which could justify a change in our position.

Ghana's position is that sanctions alone are inadequate, unless backed by military intervention. I am still of the view that the measures which Britain proposes to take are inadequate to deal with the situation. The United Kingdom Government shows no intention of taking military action to quell this rebellion.

The Government of Ghana has, therefore, severed diplomatic relations with Britain as from yesterday, and the United Kingdom Government has been informed accordingly.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to make it clear that the rupture of relations with Britain does not affect British business interests or individuals in Ghana, nor does it affect the services of British technical and professional personnel (including those in the Armed Forces) recruited directly by the Ghana Government or on loan to us through Technical Assistance from the United Kingdom.

## DISREGARD

If and when the United Kingdom Government succeeds in crushing the Ian Smith rebellion and solves the Rhodesian crisis in the interests of the majority of the Rhodesian people, the Government of Ghana will normalise relations.

It would appear that British policy in regard to Southern Rhodesia is to treat what is essentially an African problem as though it were exclu-

Address by KWAME NKRUMAH to the National Assembly on the Southern Rhodesian situation, 16th Dec., 1965

sively a British concern. Up to the very last moment I was hoping that the United Kingdom Government would show some response to the initiative of the Organisation of African Unity.

In all this, the British Prime Minister has gone to the utmost lengths to make every concession to the Ian Smith regime. Throughout, Mr. Wilson has disregarded the feelings of the African people in this matter.

In this connection, it is futile to talk of further Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meetings at this time, when the undertakings given by the British Government at the last Prime Ministers' Conference in London have been totally ignored.

Mr. Speaker, The Southern Rhodesian issue has brought to a head a more fundamental question affecting the interests and destiny of Africa. Upon this issue all African States must take a definite stand. I would like to clarify this point further.

By the accident of history almost all the Independent African States were once colonies of European powers and because of this the relationships and associations formed during the colonial period have continued in one form or another even after independence.

Typical of such associations is the French Community or the British Commonwealth, to which Ghana chose to belong

of her own free will after independence.

On the other hand, our policy in Africa has been based on the fundamental necessity to establish an all-African approach to the problems of the African continent. This is why I have been advocating the establishment of a Continental Union Government of Africa all these years.

The movement for African Unity has now made considerable progress and will continue to grow until it reaches its goal: a Union Government for all Africa.

It is clear, however, that the Commonwealth connection is misunderstood by the non-Commonwealth countries in Africa and is used by them as an argument for setting up other groupings which seek to foster active links with former Colonial powers.

Mr. Speaker, As you know, Ghana has participated actively as a member of the Commonwealth and had even proposed the establishment of a Commonwealth Secretariat in order to make the Commonwealth more in tune with the common aspirations of its members.

## GHANA'S MEMBERSHIP

However, Ghana's membership within the Commonwealth has made it difficult for her to pursue boldly and effectively her African objectives, namely, the struggle

against colonialism and neo-colonialism and the establishment of an All-African Union Government.

This difficulty has been highlighted by the present crisis in Southern Rhodesia, and by the inadequate manner in which the United Kingdom Government has so far handled the rebellion.

The conception of the Commonwealth was built up upon the idea that it provided a bridge between peoples of all races and of all stages of development. The manner in which events in Southern Rhodesia have been handled by the United Kingdom Government has undermined and betrayed this conception.

Mr. Speaker, In these circumstances, and in order to preserve African Unity so as to facilitate the earliest formation of a Union Government for Africa, the Government of Ghana must consider withdrawing from the Commonwealth.

To this end, we propose to hold the necessary consultations within the Organisation of African Unity as to the severance from ex-colonial powers of ties which militate against African Unity.

As I said before, African Unity and our endeavours to establish a Union Government for Africa are imperilled by African States forming links with their ex-colonial masters. Our unity can only be preserved and a Union Government achieved and

stabilised if we sever links with former colonial powers whose continuing interest in our Continent only breeds disunity amongst us.

For this reason, the Government of Ghana will place before the next Organisation of African Unity Summit Conference a resolution calling upon all member-states of the Organisation of African Unity to sever such links as stand in the way of African Unity or impede its progress, whether such links be with the French, British, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgian or what have you.

Such united action by all member-states of the Organisation of African Unity is the best means and the surest way of guaranteeing the unity and security of the independent States of Africa.

Mr. Speaker, I have taken this opportunity to make Ghana's position clear to the world and in particular to our brothers and colleagues of our Sister States of Africa. It is my view that, in the interest of African Unity, there should be no political or economic re-grouping or blocs in Africa in alliance with an ex-colonial power or any foreign power for that matter. And any economic grouping in Africa must be only under the aegis and umbrella of the Organisation of African Unity.

## ESSENTIAL MACHINERY

In pursuit of this objective the time has now come for the Organisation of African Unity to create and develop the essential machinery for African Unity, namely:

- (a) a Common Monetary Authority which will

enable us to pool our resources in order to survive the pressures which can be applied to us.

- (b) an All-African Common Market to serve our expanding economies.
- (c) an African High Command which can defend our Continent and ensure the security of the member states, and
- (d) an Executive to co-ordinate and harmonise our efforts on an all-African basis.

Mr. Speaker, The Southern Rhodesian crisis has once again exposed the weakness of the Organisation of African Unity. If, as I had proposed at the Accra Summit Conference, an Executive of the Organisation of African Unity had been established, we would now have been fully prepared to carry out the decisions of the Accra Summit Conference at the Addis Ababa meeting of the Council of Ministers in regard to the Rhodesian crisis.

If we had had an African High Command we would now be in a better position to give military assistance to our brothers in Zambia and Zimbabwe. As I have said before, military operations are a complex and difficult matter. They cannot be suddenly improvised.

If we blame Britain for not having taken steps in advance to deal with the Southern Rhodesian rebels, the African states must equally blame themselves for not having made adequate preparations to deal with such situations.

Mr. Speaker, Today Africa is facing a great challenge—in fact the greatest challenge in its chequered history. And we must act in such a way as to uphold her honour and dignity. Let no one underrate or miscalculate the strength of a United Africa.

May Providence guide your deliberations in the best interests of Ghana and Africa.

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# The Myth of Capitalism (4) by Ron Bellamy

It is true that the myths of capitalism have, in varying degrees, succeeded for a century and still succeed in persuading the working class in the developed capitalist countries that it can fulfil its aspirations within the framework of capitalism and need not join in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Today the compromisers with imperialism certainly hold the positions of leadership in (for example) the British Labour movement, and it is their ideology and their policies which dominate it. It is understandable that those in Africa who had hopes—and illusions—that the policy of Wilson would be basically different from that of his Tory predecessors should express their disgust and indignation by tarring the whole of the working class in the developed countries with the brush of Wilson. It is understandable. But is wrong. It is a point of view which marxists, whose responsibility is to see beneath the surface of events and bring out the growing trends, even though they may not at the moment be dominant, cannot accept.

There always has been, and there is today, an opposition in both policy and ideology to the compromising, opportunist, leadership of the movement. It will be a matter of pride and confidence to marxists in Africa to know that the most consistent and determined opposition has been composed of people like themselves, of scientific socialists. But it is equally a matter of realism to accept that this has been the weaker trend, to analyse why, to discover in what material economic and political conditions the opportunist trend was nurtured. If it can then be shown that those material conditions have already become less favourable, and that growing forces exist which will accelerate their disappearance, then the anti-imperialist movement in Africa can, on the one hand, be confident of an earlier victory than would otherwise be possible, and, on the other hand, distinguish better its real from its pretended allies.

## TWO PERSPECTIVES

For more than a century there has existed, first in the oldest labour movement of Britain, and later throughout the developed capitalist countries, two different and conflicting perspectives of advance for the majority of society, its working class. The first, and revolutionary, perspective argued that on the basis of ownership of the means of production by a minority, reinforced by the possession of state power by that same minority, the working population was exploited. From this exploitation stemmed all the features of capitalism—poverty, unemployment and economic crises for the masses, privileges for the minority. From this situation the only escape was for the mass of the people to take possession of the means of production and of state power.

This was the point of view of the 'extremists'. But alongside this was also an opportunist or reformist standpoint—that of the 'moderates'. (I have used the words Kwame Nkrumah applies to the two wings of the nationalist movement in colonial territories. The analogy is not a complete one. But if in an oppressed nation there can emerge two trends, one of uncompromising struggle for complete liberation, and the other of compromise and limited reforms, and it can be shown (as he has shown) that the moderates tend to be those people whose material position is such that they can find a niche of privilege within colonialism or neo-colonialism, then it will be easier to understand how two opposite such trends can arise among an oppressed class.) The opportunists argued that it was possible for working people to improve their lot constantly within the frame-

work of advancing capitalism by organisation and struggle. Such struggle was however to be struggled entirely within capitalism. There was no conception of an alternative economic system, no attempt to get rid of capitalism. The contrast between the two points of view was sharply expressed by Marx's phrase: "They inscribe on their banners the slogan 'a fair day's wage for a fair day's work' when they should inscribe 'down with the wages system'."

## REFORMISM

Reformism, or opportunism, in general was already long familiar in the working class by the second half of the 19th century. "The politics of reformism, are the politics of adaptation to capitalism: denial of revolutionary aims; substitution of the fight for reforms, not as a path to the conquest of political power and the socialist revolution, but as an alternative to the socialist revolution; attempt to soften the class struggle, and belief in a harmoniously progressively developing capitalism. Since the facts of life contradict these smooth theories, the logic of reformism, whatever the initial subjective benevolent intentions of its exponents, leads them, in sharp movements of class struggle or catastrophic world events, to place themselves openly on the side of capitalism against the working class and even to become militant agents of capitalism for the betrayal or violent suppression of the working class. (DUTT: The Internationale).

This reformism, already well established in Britain before the age of modern imperialism, reflected the position of Britain as the first capitalist world power, with vast colonial possessions and domination of the world market, and thus able to afford concessions to win over the upper sections of the working class and its leadership.

The very industrialisation of the first capitalist country provided exceptional opportunities for the development of an aristocracy of skilled workers alongside the mass of unskilled, often illiterate masses who had been driven into the towns. The aristocrat of manual labour (not unlike his mental counterpart in some developing countries) walked the streets in his top hat, despised the unskilled masses, refused to let them into his organisations or to assist them in their struggles. Thus was born the first division into two trends in the working class.

Its material base was severely shaken by the loss of Britain's monopoly as workshop of the world. The Great Depression of the 1870's began to teach the aristocrats of labour that their fate was not so different from that of their unskilled brothers. The latter, influenced by the ideas of Marxism, began to organise with the idea of ending capitalism. After its long sleep, as Engels put it, the British working class finally began to come to life as revolutionaries.

## A HALT

But the stormy developments of the 1880's and 90's, not only in Britain, but even more in Germany, where the working class had formed its own political party on the basis of marxist ideas, were brought to a halt by the development of monopoly capitalism and modern imperialism. With this development in Britain during the last quarter of the 19th century and with the rapid parallel development in the leading countries of Western Europe, especially France, Germany, Belgium and in the United States, the same type of reformism or opportunism began to become marked in varying forms in all those countries.

Thus it came about that in the most advanced capitalist countries, which first reached

the objective conditions requiring the transition to socialism, and where the modern working class movement first developed, the growth of opportunism in the upper sections and leadership of the labour movement retarded the fulfilment of the revolutionary task. "The neglect of great fundamental considerations for the sake of the momentary interest of the day this chase after momentary success, and this race after them without account of ultimate results, this sacrifice of the future movement for the present, is perhaps the result of 'honest' motives, but it is, and remains, none the less, opportunism, and 'honest' opportunism is perhaps more dangerous than any other." (Engels' letter to Kautsky in 1891).

The effects of this opportunism upon the attitude of the European labour movement is well illustrated by the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International in 1907. The marxists, led by the Russian Bolshevik party and Lenin, obtained a majority vote of 127 to 108 for a resolution which stated: "Congress considers that capitalist colonial policy by its very essence leads to enslavement, forced labour, and destruction of the native peoples in the colonial territories. The civilising mission proclaimed by capitalist society serves only as a cover for the greed for conquest and exploitation. Only socialist society will offer to all peoples the possibility to advance to full civilisation." But the very sizeable minority, supporting a so-called 'socialist colonial policy', and opposing the resolution, comprised the parties of all the main imperialist powers—Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Denmark.

## PREDATORY SYSTEM

Short term economic gains there certainly were. But monopoly capitalism was not the benevolent steadily progressing system of the reformist dream. It was a predatory system whose ruling minority fought for the division and redistribution of the spoils with every weapon, including world war. The probability of such war had been long discussed by the working class and resolutions passed that the workers of no country could benefit from such a war. But when the acid test of 1914 came, the leaderships of all the European socialist and labour parties, except the Russian Bolsheviks, supported their own imperialist governments, and in Britain, France, and Belgium they joined in coalition governments for the more effective prosecution of the aims of their imperialism. The only party to come out openly from the first against the war was the Bolshevik party.

But in every country minority groups of marxists and other militant workers and intellectuals faced violence and imprisonment as the price of their opposition. In Germany, the marxist group of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht (murdered by militarists and fascists after the war) and others (a group which later founded the German Communist Party) fought consistently against the war. In Britain, members of a small marxist organisation, the British Socialist Party, and other marxist groups (many of whom joined to form the British Communist Party after the war) formed the core of the initial opposition.

But as the imperialist war extracted its price of the ever mounting total of millions of dead, revulsion and revolt against the war spread. Strikes in Britain, mutinies in the French and German armies were the reflection in the West of the same mood which in Russia the Bolsheviks were able to mobilise for an end to the war and for the establishment of the power of the workers, soldiers and peasants. The same forces elsewhere, in parts of Germany, in Hungary, in Finland,

also set up anti-war, anti-imperialist governments.

But against them was deployed from outside the power of what was now imperialism's strongest base, where the human costs of the war had been smallest and the profits largest, the United States. Combined with the vacillation of the 'moderates' inside, this was sufficient to stem the tide of revolution. By 1923 a stabilisation on the political front had been achieved. Only in the former colonies of the Tsarist empire, that 'prison-house of nations', had colonialism been smashed. Elsewhere the capitalist and their collaborators on the labour leadership set about rebuilding capitalism at home and countering in the colonies such advances as had been made during the war and its revolutionary aftermath.

But the First World War marked a turning point. Imperialism could never be the same again. Not only had the working class and peasants in one country showed the possibility of an alternative, but elsewhere many lessons had been learned for good. New marxist working class parties legal and illegal, grew up everywhere. When they held the first meeting of their new international, it included, for the first time of any working class international, representatives from colonial and semi colonial countries—from China and Korea, from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Persia. By the end of the 1920's it had helped in the formation of marxist parties in Indonesia (1920), India (1920) Japan (1921) and Burma, Malaya, and Indo China.

Economic illusions of an endless improvement in the standard of life, especially prevalent in the American boom of the 1920's when Henry Ford was to replace

Marx as the saviour of mankind, were violently shattered by the greatest depression in history. Again, the objective conditions for the transformation to a socialist society emerged, especially in Germany. But the divisions within the working class, and especially the role played by the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, prevented the unity of the workers which already begun at the rank and file level.

The price of imperialism and the divisions it creates in the working class movement was paid in full first by the German workers, and then by the peoples of Europe especially of the Soviet Union. Workers in Occupied Europe, themselves for half a century open or tacit supporters of the oppression of others, learned for the first time on their own backs the meaning of national oppression. They too formed movements of national liberation. In every European working class movement there are alive and fighting today hundreds of thousands of men and women who were freedom fighters for the liberation of their countries, from German imperialism. This is a new factor in the history of metropolitan countries.

## ILLUSIONS

Imperialism, in its heyday, created the material conditions for the growth of illusions among the working class. Imperialism, in its decay, destroys the objective conditions for those illusions. It does not destroy them all uniformly; it may even create new ones or temporarily reinforce some old ones. There is no doubt that the comparatively rapid economic growth of capitalism since 1945 and the technical revolution, combined with

the effects of greater organised strength of the working class on the economic front, has reinforced some economic illusions.

There is no doubt that the growth of neo-colonialism has caused some temporary confusion among the politically less experienced, and created among the intelligentsia new generations of 'honest' opportunists who suppose that capitalist international organisation must be benevolent because they are international and because intellectuals like themselves appear to play a part in formulating policy.

## OBJECTIVE FACTS

But the objective facts are that imperialism is very much weaker, both internally and in its relations with the alternative system of socialism. Internally the very success of the monopolists in appropriating profits to themselves is achieved at the expense of smaller capitalists, farmers, and the mass of the people. Neo-colonialism is an attempt to achieve by economic pressure and deception what the imperialists are no longer strong enough to stop by force. If imperialism attempts to hold back the tide of popular movements everywhere, in both the capitalist and the socialist world, it requires more and more expensive arms. The arms have to be paid for. The Welfare state becomes the warfare state. If it becomes too dangerous to use the nuclear weapons, because the state power of the workers and peasants also has them, then war too has its own laws. Imperialism requires more and more bodies of its citizens to die in conventional wars. The bodies have minds. True, minds can be brain washed. But mass brainwashing requires lies on a co-

lossal scale, and the suppression of all opposition to lies. To be successful imperialism must crush democracy and free speech. Thus in our time, even while there have been new, and I believe temporary, illusions on the economic front, the ability of imperialism to offer a life of hope, security and human advance, not only to the working class, but to the overwhelming mass of the people in the developed capitalist countries, is rapidly dwindling. On every front, economic, political, scientific and cultural, it is in crisis.

These objective development offer opportunities to the anti-imperialist forces everywhere. But they do not guarantee automatic success. In Africa the weaknesses of imperialism offered opportunities for national liberation. To take those opportunities, to take all the partial opposition, for whatever reason, and weld it into a united anti-imperialist movement, required conscious action. All objectively existing divisions were used by colonialism to stop the building of that unity. There is every possibility in the centres of imperialism also to build broad anti-imperialist movements embracing the overwhelming majority of the people. Many partial and powerful movements in different spheres of life exist. What is needed above all is to unite them. Only the working class in those countries is large enough, experience and organised enough to effect that unity. It cannot do so because it is not itself united. It is disunited because the ideas of opportunism and reformism, which in our time most often take the negative face of anti-communism, anti-marxism, are dominant. Their rout, both in action and in the minds of men, becomes the prime condition for unity.

## C.I.A.'s 'Persecution Complex' By Special Correspondent

THE U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is clearly suffering from an acute persecution complex. Having suffered a series of widely-publicised failures, it is now claiming that the failures never happened and that it is all just a Soviet-sponsored smear campaign designed to discredit it.

The C.I.A.'s persecution complex finds expression in a lengthy document entitled "The Soviet and Communist Bloc Defamation Campaign" which a U.S. Congressman known to have close connections with the C.I.A. read into the Congressional Record in September this year. The document alleges that what it terms "derogatory items" criticising the C.I.A. are the work of a "Department of Disinformation" which it claims exists in Moscow.

It makes special reference to "an attack in the Ghana press and radio which attempted to tie the Agency to the death of Premier Qassim of Iraq."

It likewise cites a two-year-old front-page story from The Spark of March 15, 1963, headlined "The Secret War of the C.I.A.: The Killer at Your Door." Reference is also made to a pamphlet published in Ghana in the October, 1964 entitled The Truth about Komla Gbedemah.

All these, according to the document, are part of a Moscow-instigated campaign to create "apprehension, uncertainty and antagonism toward the United States among the uncommitted and underdeveloped nations" and to "develop the idea that through its intelligence and aid agencies, the United States is engaged in a

conspiracy to dominate the Middle East, Africa and Asia."

The first point that needs to be made is this: it is not necessary to go to Moscow to find material with which to expose the activities of the C.I.A.—the article in The Spark referred to, for example, did not quote a single Soviet source; all its quotes were from American—right-wing, anti-Soviet—sources.

More recently, we did not, for example, have to rely on Moscow to find out that the United States Government has prepared a Special Warfare Handbook for intervention in Ghana, with the help of Americans working in Ghana in the guise of "research students".

The information was given in a speech by Senator Wayne Morse, who in turn got his information not from Moscow, but from official U.S. Government sources.

So the C.I.A.'s attempt to brush it all off as a "Moscow-inspired conspiracy" just won't work. Secondly, and more importantly, there are the facts, which speak for themselves—and what they say is that the C.I.A. does seek to overthrow governments which it does not like.

It is, for example, a fact that the C.I.A. orga-

nised the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 which Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, one of the many top U.S. officials who lied about it at the time, now describes as "a disgrace and a disaster"—presumably because it failed.

It is likewise a fact, and the United States has had to admit it officially, that American agents offered bribes to the Prime Minister of Singapore.

The list of such episodes from the history of the C.I.A. could be extended

to fill a book—indeed, as many American authors have already found out, many books.

For the C.I.A. to undertake such unsavoury operations and then when they are exposed to claim that it is all a "Communist defamation campaign" is at best naive.

At worst—and very much more likely—it is just plain lying. Having been caught out in one set of lies, the C.I.A. is trying to cover up with another set.



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## 'The Spark' Celebrates Its Third Anniversary

# FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD OUR COMRADES GREET US Support for Socialism and African Unity

### BULGARIAN UNION OF JOURNALISTS

THE Bulgarian Union of Journalists and the broadest grouping of intellectuals in the People's Republic of Bulgaria send their warmest congratulations and best wishes to their colleagues of the Socialist weekly paper of the African Revolution on the occasion of the third anniversary of the paper's foundation.

We wish our colleagues in *The Spark* continued success in the future too, in holding high the banner of the struggle of the African peoples for their national liberation, for Socialism and for Peace.

### "TARSADALMI SZEMLE", HUNGARY

ON the occasion of the Third Anniversary of the foundation of your weekly, please accept our hearty comradely and fraternal greetings. Your paper fulfils an important mission. Your country won her political independence only a few years ago and works for creating a free, independent, democratic and flourishing society in Africa, able to encounter the neo-colonialist efforts of imperialism and which proceeds on the road of offering higher living standards to its members.

You set yourselves a wonderful task to direct your efforts to forming the ideals of and giving final shape to your society. You are carrying scientific socialism into effect under circumstances which in many respects differ essentially from those of its establishment and in a historical period when social and political conditions are so different from those existing at the time of the emergence of Marxism. This renders your activities not only more difficult but also more important for your country, for Africa and for the whole world alike.

We, who are working under different circumstances for the victory of socialism, for the same goal as you, follow with great attention your activities and wish you many further successes in this pursuit.

Mrs. Valerie Benke,

Editor-in-Chief  
on behalf of the Editorial Board,  
Budapest.

### "L'UNITA", ITALY

WE learn you are celebrating the third anniversary of the founding of *The Spark*, the socialist journal of the African Revolution.

Please accept our best and most brotherly wishes. We, the Italian Communists, consider the African Revolution as one of the most important forces in the general struggle against colonialism and imperialism. We are aware, as well, that Ghana and the President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah hold a front-line position in that struggle.

The staff of *L'Unita*, Italian Communist Party's daily paper and the most widely circulated paper in our country, are very pleased to have this opportunity to express how friendly their feelings are towards you, African fighters for socialism, pressmen as ourselves, as your Osagyefo Doctor Nkrumah has been in his revolutionary life, as such great leaders as Lenin himself were in their times. The press is a strong weapon for revolution, and this is specially true for *The Spark*.

Best wishes to *The Spark*, to the socialist revolution in Africa.

The Staff of *L'Unita*

### "DAILY WORKER", BRITAIN

ON behalf of the *Daily Worker* I send our warmest greetings to *The Spark* on its third birthday.

Our two journals are united by the common aims of national liberation, anti-imperialism, peace and Socialism.

We greatly value the lead which your paper gives on these questions, and the contribution it makes to the efforts not only of your people, but of all progressive humanity.

At this moment we are engaged in a major campaign to compel action by the British Government against Ian Smith and the white settlers in Rhodesia, in order to bring about immediate majority rule there.

The statements of President Nkrumah have been an important factor in securing clarity among progressive people in Britain, on the need for such action.

In Rhodesia, in South Africa, in the Congo, in Vietnam and elsewhere, imperialism and racialism are responsible for untold suffering, for the massacre of innocent people and for the denial of human rights.

Your struggle against these crimes is supported by all who stand for human dignity and freedom.

We wish you new successes in your efforts, and share your hopes for the achievement of Socialism throughout the African continent.

With warm fraternal greetings,

George Matthews  
Editor

### GHANA NATIONAL STUDENTS' ORGANISATION (GHANASO)

ON the occasion of the third Anniversary of *The Spark*, the Executive Committee and entire membership of the Ghana National Students' Organisation (GHANASO) send their sincere and comradely greetings and congratulations to the Founder of the paper, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and the Editor and general staff of *The Spark*.

If this weekly has impressed us in its comparatively short period of existence, it is because we see it as one of the few publications which put forward, on a high intellectual and analytical plane, the case for a free, united continent of Africa, organised on the basis of anti-imperialism and socialism.

The need for the formulation and dissemination of a logically consistent socialist ideology at this dialectical moment of the African Revolu-

tion cannot be over-emphasised. In fact, Osagyefo the President, has written elsewhere that every political revolution must have an intellectual revolution standing firmly behind it.

It is from this angle that we always appreciate the role that *The Spark* is destined to play in our revolution.

May the succeeding years bring more success to the paper, its staff, and its founder.

Modibo Ocran  
Secretary for Political Affairs

### "EINHEIT", GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ON the occasion of the third anniversary of the foundation of your paper, we convey to you our fraternal greetings and wish *The Spark* further success in propagating scientific socialism in Ghana.

May our joint struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for the construction of a progressive society in our two countries further strengthen the friendly relations between Ghana and the German Democratic Republic.

The Editorial Staff

### "THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST"

OUR brotherly greetings and congratulations on the third birthday of *The Spark*. All over Africa our people are in the midst of a mighty anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist revolution. Whether, as in Ghana, the immediate task is the crowning of political with economic independence and the advance to socialism, or, as in the unliberated South and the Portuguese colonies, the armed overthrow of dictatorships of foreign fascists and white racists, our goal is the same: A Free, United, Socialist Africa.

For victory in this great revolution Africa needs the leadership of our working class, closely allied with the toiling masses of rural people, and guided by the brilliant light of universally-valid scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism.

*The Spark*, inspired by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's profound application of scientific socialist principles to African realities and conditions, is doing a splendid job of enlightenment and education.

May your fighting journal go from strength to strength!

Yours in the cause of Africa,

A. Lerumo,  
for the Editorial Board,  
*The African Communist*

### "PEKING DAILY", CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

OUR WARM GREETINGS TO YOU ON OCCASION OF THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF SPARK. WISH YOUR PUBLICATION SUCCESS IN STRUGGLES TO OPPOSE IMPERIALISM OLD AND NEW COLONIALISM, SAFEGUARD AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY, DEFEND WORLD PEACE, ELIMINATE COLONIAL INFLUENCE AND DEVELOP NATIONAL ECONOMY AND CULTURE.

PEKING DAILY OF CHINA.

### THE GHANA YOUNG PIONEERS

WE, the youth of Ghana, united under the banner of the Ghana Young Pioneers doff our hats in salutation to *The Spark* on the occasion of its third birthday.

Seldom does a paper, and more so a weekly make such a great impact as has been achieved by *The Spark* in the short span of only three years.

Founded at a time when imperialism and colonialism were making its evil impact in their new disguise, neo-colonialism, felt in the newly liberated countries of Africa, *The Spark* has succeeded in fanning much inspiration and enthusiasm into the struggle for the total liberation and unity of Africa. Its guiding light has steadfastly found expression in the indomitable fighting spirit, and philosophy of its great founder, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

The fact that *The Spark* enjoys continental, nay global patronage, is an indication of the glorious esteem in which its views though ideological, are respected by all. It is a great credit on the editor and his team, but reflects greater credit still on the ingenuity of its founder in whom is epitomised the undying spirit and inspiration for the total liberation and unity of our dear continent.

We, the youth find much to digest in *The Spark*. It is journalism refined and devoid of all cheap sensationalism. It has, indeed, lived up to every letter of its title.

It is our firm belief that when Africa's cause has been fulfilled—and we are sure this will be in the not too distant future—*The Spark* will continue to spark hope and faith in the African revolution.

On behalf of the three million youth of Ghana, we wish *The Spark* all that it could wish for itself and many more years of even greater successes.

Z. B. SHARDOW, M.P.  
National Organiser

### GHANA YOUNG FARMERS' LEAGUE

IT is three years ago today since Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah founded *The Spark* to bring home to the people of Africa the humane benefits of Scientific Socialism.

Little wonder, the Young Farmers of Ghana on this occasion rejoice with the millions of admirers of *The Spark* who see it as the vanguard of the new socialist change in Africa.

The advent of *The Spark* has meant a new devastating weapon for the Nkrumaist revolution in Africa. Justified by its existence, *The Spark* has uncompromisingly laid bare the general characteristics, specific intrigues and manoeuvres of world imperialism which today, faced with doom has changed its appearance but maintains the same content by donning the cloak of neo-colonialism particularly in Africa.

Committed to the total liberation and unity of the nascent socialist Africa, *The Spark* at home has been an active friend and an effective source of encouragement to the young farmers of Ghana who today constitute the new production relations in the development of socialist agriculture in Ghana.

On behalf of the entire rural youth of Ghana we greet the Founder, Osagyefo the President and the entire staff of this revolutionary weekly.

K. SAPPONG KUMANKUMAH, M.P.  
National Organizer

### GHANA TRADES UNION CONGRESS

THE emergence of *The Spark* on the theatre of struggle of the African peoples marked a decisive turning point for the national liberation forces of the continent. It gave further impetus not only to the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle but clearly manifested the direction in which this struggle must be pursued. To all militant workers and peasants and all progressive forces of our continent, *The Spark* brought new inspiration and confidence.

Since its inception, this socialist weekly of the African Revolution has consistently torn the mask from the face of imperialism and colonialism and nakedly exposed the true nature and colour of neo-colonialism. The devastating expositions in its columns brilliantly confirms and fulfils strategy and tactics outlined and developed by its founder Kwame Nkrumah in his philosophical work *Consciencism*.

"Practice without thought is blind, thought without practice is empty." The flames which *The Spark* kindled continue to raise the consciousness of the working people of our continent and illumine the way to emancipation from political domination and economic exploitation.

It provides the ammunition for charging the revolutionary struggle of the African peoples for the overthrow of the forces of oppression and exploitation, for the establishment of a higher social formation, more just and better able to ensure rapid progress and prosperity. The correct ideological concepts unleashed with the existence of *The Spark* awakened new forces and shut the door to opportunism, careerism, and demagoguery and dealt a severe blow to those who masquerade behind meaningless phrases plastered in socialist language and designed to create confusion in the minds of the masses as to the real goals of the Revolution.

It must not be assumed that life has been very easy for such a journal. On the contrary, the reactionary forces whose interests are opposed to those of the people conceal their ideological ignorance behind all sorts of theses, aimed at justifying their counter-revolutionary activities. Despite these machinations and intrigues, *The Spark* continues to accumulate strength and to display courage in struggle. The working class of Africa, drawing on the lessons of history and the experiences gained in practical action look forward with hope and confidence to the future.

On the third anniversary of this revolutionary journal, the successes so far achieved add weight to the conviction of its founder, Kwame Nkrumah and justify the correctness of his conclusions. The fulfilment of the great possibilities of our age calls for human consciousness and human efforts. Every step along this path must steel the will and strengthen the devotion and sacrifices of the masses of the people guided by the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah, united in comradeship for total independence and complete unity, in the service of a common cause, the cause of socialism.

KWAW AMPAH  
General Secretary

### ROMANIA LIBERA, BUCHAREST

FOR the third anniversary of *The Spark* the daily *Romania Libera* is sending you a friendly and warm greeting wishing you new successes in your fruitful activity. The readers of our paper, just as the whole Rumanian people, know and appreciate the achievements of the Ghanaian people. Between the Socialist Republic of Rumania and Ghana has been established and are developing friendly and co-operative relations. The readers and the Editors of the daily *Romania Libera* on the occasion of the anniversary of THE SPARK would like to address through you their best greetings to the Ghanaian people who are fighting and working for the prosperity of their country.

ROMANIA LIBERA  
Bucharest

### NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY, MOSCOW

NOVOSTI Press Agency heartily greets and congratulates editorial board of *The Spark*, the Pan-African Weekly on the occasion of its third anniversary. From the very start *The Spark* has conducted an active struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism on the African continent and began to popularise socialism as the only correct path to freedom and happiness for all peoples. *The Spark* maintains progressive social and economic measures conducted by Kwame Nkrumah's Government and Governments of other African countries and spreads their useful experience among all African countries. *The Spark* conducts a wide campaign for closely rallying all organisations of African Unity member countries on a basis of joint action in struggle for the eradication of the remnants of colonialism and full liberation of peoples still languishing under colonial yoke. May *The Spark*'s ardent words spread throughout Africa. May co-operation and exchange of information between *The Spark* and Novosti Press Agency in name of peace and friendship between peoples grow and strengthen.

ZAKHIKOV  
First Vice-Chairman



# The Convention People's Party

(Continued from Page 1)

the present time. A compromise solution is to provide these high calibre ideological workers at the district level. And perhaps the ideal arrangement would be to bring in full-time Party district secretaries appointed by the Central Committee for their organisational as well as ideological ability. The present practice of making use of district organisers as an integral wing of the Party is unsatisfactory. It is even organisationally unsound, as it gives an integral wing of the Party an undue measure of control over party life at the district level.

The argument that the District Commissioners can help in this process is theoretical not practical. These district commissioners, irrespective of how they have been appointed, tend to operate more as state than as party functionaries. Their ideological ability is another problem.

## MONOLITHIC UNITY

The second requirement in attaining monolithic unity within the Party is to give the closest possible attention to the problem of cadre formation. There is the need for a fool proof system of selecting cadres. This system must pay adequate attention to the cadres' educational background, experience in party work, social origin, and the right personal qualities. The Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute is helping in this process. But its efforts are concentrated in the training of cadres. There is need to complement its activity with a carefully worked out system of cadre selection. And this exercise must be under the full and constant control of Comrade Kwame Nkrumah. To have Comrade Nkrumah's imprimatur on this process at all times is an absolute must at this time that monolithic unity within the Party still has to be attained.

The third requirement in the drive for unity around a single ideology within the Party is to restrain and eventually banish alien and harmful influences from the Party. The tendency of integral wings of the Party

to work with foreign influences hostile to socialism (hostile even to African nationalism) must be arrested. These foreign influences work their way into our Party through training schemes for activists within the integral wings and through business contracts with leading Party activists.

## AWARENESS

In this connection, some concern must be expressed over the degree of West German, Catholic and British influences among our youths. There is evidence that the Party activists in charge of our youth work are aware of this danger. Nevertheless, the interests of the Party demands that party control over youth work should be unchallengeable and total. The overseas training of our cadres working among our youths must be very carefully scrutinised, and controlled directly, by the Chairman and the Central Committee. The Herold treason trial has revealed that there is an attempt by some countries hostile to socialism to use Ghanaians trained in these countries as channels for anti-socialist activities.

Another area of Party life that needs attention is the integral wings. A careful examination of the work of some of the integral wings will reveal that large sections of the people are left unorganised; that the organisational principle of the Party (mass line) is not always adhered to; that in some areas arrangements for payment of Party workers give undue control over these workers to an integral wing of the Party. Why, for example, are trade unions operating in a circumscribed way in many public enterprises and government departments? Why do our young educated girls tend to escape the organisational net of the National Council of Ghana. Women? Why is control of the lower organs of the Farmers' Council mostly in the hand of the well-to-do farmers and not in those of the peasants? These are serious questions. They have great bearing on the fate of our revolution.

The third area of the Party life where attention is seriously needed is the relationship that exists between the highest Party and state organs. Under our one Party system, the President is the meeting point of both the Party machinery and the state apparatus. Theoretically and constitutionally the Party is supreme. But it is not always clear in practice whether the Party or the Civil Service holds sway over the day to day running of the affairs of the nation.

As long as Kwame Nkrumah is both General Secretary of the Party and President of the Republic, this rivalry could be kept within limits and under control. But even with Kwame Nkrumah in full control this rivalry now and again rears its head. And the dice is loaded in favour of the Civil Service, because it possesses the machinery for the collection, analysis and presentation of the data on which government policies are based. If we do not exercise great care and caution, the Party could be relegated to the role of mobilising the masses around policies originating substantially from the public service.

The danger is even greater when we remember that our public service is not very enamoured (at least in the past) of our Party ideals and objectives.

## AFRICAN REVOLUTION

A few illustrations may help bring out my point more clearly. The C.P.P. is wholly committed to the African Revolution; but the primary agencies for directing our national effort in this regard are the African Affairs Secretariat and the Bureau of African Affairs. Both are agencies of the public service, headed by civil servants and bound by civil service rules. The Party has a Bureau of Organisation which in addition handles external affairs. But no one can seriously assert that the initiative in our African policy comes from this Bureau of Organisation. It is well-known that the African Affairs Secretariat and the Bureau of African Affairs play the major role in this regard.

The story is identical with regard to economic affairs. The Party has no agency for processing economic data, for studying economic problems in order to provide the basis for the formulation of economic policies. We depend wholly on state agencies like the Office of Economic Planning, the Ministry of Finance and the State Banks. It is true that the Central Committee has to approve what emanates in the first instance from these state agencies. My point however is that the initiative comes from these agencies; and since economic development owes much to the cumulative effect of a large number of seemingly routine decisions, the ability of the Central

Committee to reverse trends in policy that are set in motion by these agencies may be quite limited.

The same situation is observed in other vital spheres of national life, e.g. in security, and the direction of publicity. The initiative lies with the state agencies. The Party control and direction come through the round about process of arguing that these state agencies are ultimately under the President.

This problem demands immediate and deep study. One line of action is to convert all the top civil servants in these key state agencies into party activists to detach them from civil service rules and routine and to bring them fully within the ambit of the Party. No doubt, the General Secretary may have this in mind as he often tells these state functionaries that they must see themselves not just as civil servants but as Party functionaries in addition. But even though their conditions of service can be altered, their Party experience (long associa-

tion, dedication, ideology, discipline) cannot be altered overnight.

A second line of action is to create a Secretariat to the Central Committee of the Party. This could serve as the general staff of the Central Committee on major matters—economy, security, African and external policy, etc. It will be the duty of this Secretariat not only to furnish the Central Committee with all data and analysis relevant to policy-making; it must in addition examine position papers emanating from the state agencies in order to ascertain their compliance with Party ideals and political objectives.

This Secretariat must not be confused with the National Secretariat of the Party from where the life of the Party is directed. The suggested Secretariat of the Central Committee will have nothing to do with party administration.

The existence of such a secretariat, manned by competent activists and directly under the command of the Chairman of the Central Committee

who must be its head, will at once establish the supremacy of the Party for all to see. And that supremacy will be felt! It will clear the mist that surrounds the existing relationships between party and state organs at the highest level, a situation which international diplomacy is exploiting to the full.

Finally, there is the question of raising the quality of Party members. The proposed amendments to the Party Constitution have placed the needed emphasis on this issue. However, more is needed. The new constitution needs to be backed up with a machinery for checking on the ideological quality of existing membership and for a regulated intake of new members.

As regards new members, it is necessary to discard the erroneous idea that ours is a "Party of everybody". The C.P.P. is a party of the positive forces in our society; and these forces are positive in terms of our declared goal of socialism. The intake of new members must

of necessity be restricted to these positive forces. A mere declaration of acceptance of Party ideology, rules and directives is not enough. We need to make sure of the social origin of new members. We need to test their sincerity in action. Accordingly a probation period is needed for all new entrants. During this probation period the applicants must be taken on hand, taught and observed in a systematic way.

Without this strict control over new admissions, without a systematic grooming of probationers before they become full members, and without a machinery for verifying the quality (ideology, political consciousness, dedication and service) of existing members, the drive for a qualitative party is doomed to failure. But this is an area where we just cannot afford to fail. For our ability to travel the road of socialism and the probability that we can attain the goal of a socialist society will increasingly depend on the quality, rather than the size, of the Party.

## African Diary

(Continued from Page 2)

**NIGERIA:** Nigeria's chief delegate to the United Nations Chief S. O. Adebayo, has said that "inaccuracy and inadequate information were among the greatest barriers to understanding between the United States and Africa."

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA:** The Organisation of African Unity Foreign Ministers at a special council meeting on Rhodesia in Addis Ababa decided that if Britain does not crush the illegal Rhodesian regime before December 15, all O.A.U. member states would break off diplomatic relations with Britain, an agency report quoting an official spokesman, reported.

**OUTH AFRICA:** The Soviet Union has accused some countries including Britain, the United States, Italy and Japan

of bolstering the apartheid regime in South Africa by their economic links with Pretoria.

**GHANA:** President Nkrumah received Mr. Marcel Lengema, special emissary of General Mobutu of the Congo (Leopoldville) in audience today. "After careful consideration of the circumstances leading to the change of regime in the Congo the Government of Ghana has decided to accord recognition to the new Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo."

**ZAMBIA:** President Kaunda of Zambia, today warned that Zambia would call on "another power" to safeguard the Kariba Dam if agreement could not be reached with Britain on the deployment of troops at the dam site.

## PNEUMANT

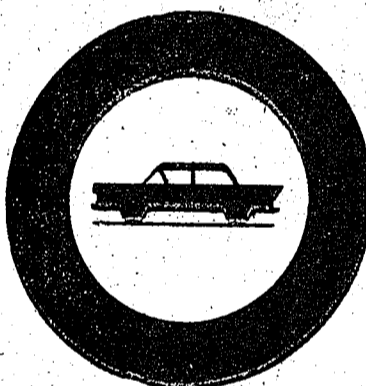
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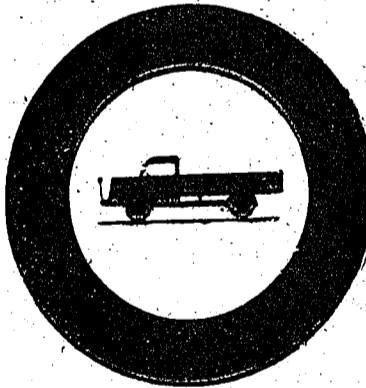
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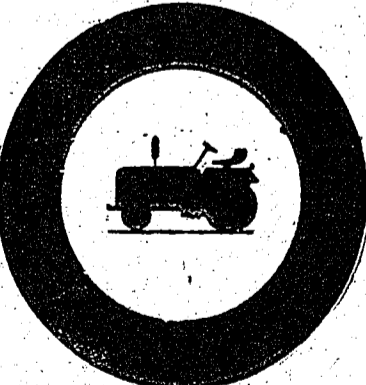
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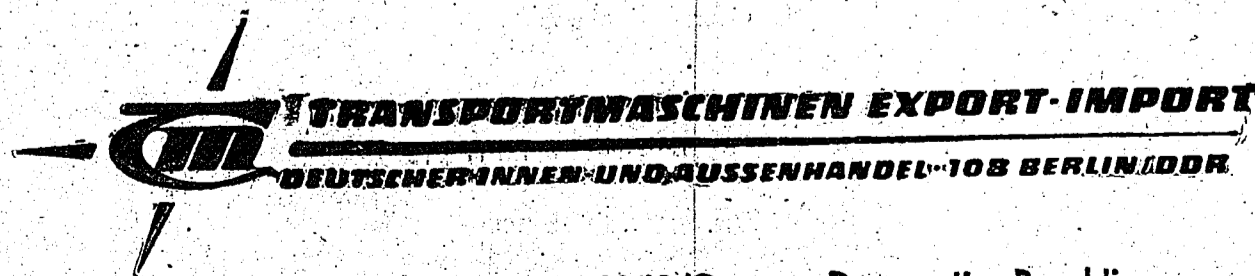
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