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CONSCIENCISM ON:

SELF-INDUCED DEVELOPMENT

EDITORIAL

THE GHANA TRADES UNION CONGRESS

THE startling disclosures made about the running of the Ghana Trades Union Congress by the National Secretary and the prompt action he has taken to eradicate these evils show the maturity of the trade union movement in Ghana. It is no sign of weakness. This is not new in the history of trade unionism.

Quite recently the Teamsters' Union in the United States was cleaned up and its General Secretary sent to jail. The British T.U.C. has a case history of misappropriation of union funds by its leaders. Its very set-up is aptly described as an anachronism in the modern world; and its leaders can only maintain it by subordinating progressive policies of trade unionism to anti-social ones.

A similar thing has happened in the Soviet Union. On March 4, 1920, Lenin wrote an article in the PRAVDA saying that the workers organisations were badly organised and suggested that they could be re-organised by being merged with the Party's supervisory commissions.

The Ghana Trades Union Congress has demonstrated sufficient example in the use of criticism and self-criticism.

We must say, however, that the fundamental point about criticism and self-criticism is not whether the critic feels better for "having got it off his chest" or whether the subject of criticism feels worse for having his vanity hurt, or—in the case of self-criticism—whether he feels good because he has said: "I was wrong". What matters is not whether anyone FEELS better, but whether he is better, that is, whether he has learnt his lesson and as a result works more faithfully.

The aim of criticism is to help ourselves towards better work. If a trade unionist who is hard-working and devoted has yet made a serious mistake, a BALANCED criticism attempts to evaluate the positive as well as the negative aspects, the strengths as well as the weaknesses of his work. In demonstrating where he is wrong, this evaluation tries to preserve and strengthen his good qualities, for these are the only basis from which to overcome the weaknesses.

Criticism and self-criticism are therefore not luxuries: they are the very meat and drink of any vital movement.

As we wrote sometime ago, the application of criticism and self-criticism is necessary so that a movement must constantly estimate its work and correct its mistakes. Through this system, a movement should make an objective estimate of the work being done and set about correcting mistakes.

The Ghana Trades Union Congress by agreeing to open a new page, has accepted to play the role of the stable reliable core of the Party. It has agreed to take to a new style of work which must be closely related to the fundamental problems of increased industrial and agricultural output and raised labour productivity.

By agreeing to fight all the unhealthy symptoms and manifestations by word and by deed, the Ghana Trades Union Congress has taken a new road that will restore its power, creativity and militancy.

The new leadership of the Ghana Trades Union Congress must reflect collective activity. In Ghana today the dangerous elements to trade union leadership are the chatterboxes; men with inflated egos who are possessed with vaulting and

SEVEN out of eight people in Africa now live under regimes that are politically sovereign. This means that although the issue of freedom for the remaining one eighth of Africa's population remains urgent, the centre of gravity of the African Revolution has shifted to the problems of development.

Development in this context should not be equated merely to putting up a few factories and laying down new roads. It is all-round development at a quickened tempo serving the economic, social and cultural needs of the people.

When we face up to the problem of development in this sense it at once becomes clear that the requirement is not merely building bridges and erecting factories. The sort of development we have in mind involves the prior and more fundamental problem of the strategy of development.

Africa must decide on the best path of development. For without such a clearly formulated strategy of development, we run the risk of achieving growth without prosperity, of creating wealth without securing well-being.

There is a very real danger that haphazard and piecemeal approach to the setting up of factories and power plants, to the building of roads, schools and hospitals could achieve development while destroying independence.

GREATEST CONTRIBUTIONS

We could become wealthy nations in terms of the inventory of material production but a poor nation in terms of the living standards of our people.

The light thrown on the strategy of development for Africa is one of the greatest contributions of philosophical consciencism to the African Revolution. On page 113 of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's latest book, 'Consciencism', we read:

"In order that development may not be glibious, philosophical consciencism insists that account must be taken of the material conditions of the territory involved, as account must also be taken of the experience and consciousness of the people whose redemption is sought. A people can only be redeemed

parverse ambitions; men who pretend that there is nothing they cannot do and yet lack the ability or intelligence to work and run things systematically and efficiently and to finish what they have begun.

The Party—the Convention People's Party—is a powerful force. It has undertaken the great historic task of transforming Ghana into a modern industrialised state in which the exploitation of man by man will be no more. It means that valuable as all sections are in the fight for its aims, the working people, represented in the Ghana Trades Union Congress, must form an essential core of its vanguard. The working people have everything to win by the achievement of the socialist aims of the Party and so they should fight hard for it and remain undefflected.

It is our belief that the way is now open for the forward march of the working people of Ghana.

by
JULIUS SAGO

by lifting themselves up, as it were, by the strings of their boots. In these circumstances development must be socialist. It is only

animated by the highest aspirations of the African people.

All this notwithstanding, contrary views do exist on what path development in Africa should and can take.

And each view reflects a distinct ideology.

The present tussle in the Organisation of African Unity between functional and political unity is at bottom a controversy over the path of

dream of establishing neo-colonialist empires in Africa) insist that the primary stimuli for Africa's development must come from the capital-exporting countries, viz. themselves. Many African leaders and scholars share this view, for these argue that Africa lacks both the capital and the technical skills needed for development.

It is this viewpoint that animates all aid programmes drawn up by the advanced capitalist countries and meant to help the emerging nations. Some of these schemes operate directly from the donors to the receivers. Among such are Overseas Development Plan of the European Common Market, the U.K. and U.S. aid programmes.

Others come in by an indirect route using an international agency in the process. Examples of this are assistance through U.N. agencies; British SCARP and U.S. 'Alliance for Progress'.

The weaknesses of this approach to development in Africa are glaring and many. The initiative for development rests not with the country in question but with foreign interests. These foreign interests are guided, not by the welfare of the country and its people, but by the dictates of business ethics—namely the search for high rates of profit. Because of this foreign initiative, the volume of investments is beyond the control of the country under study. Hence the rate and pattern of development are also outside the control of the recipient country.

Another fatal weakness of the foreign initiative theory of development is that it cannot even serve as a temporary, stop gap tactic. Its starting point is the lack of investment capital within the given country. But because incoming investments seek super profits which have to be largely exported back to the source of the investments, no apprecia-

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Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, great philosopher, statesman and political strategist.

...ence and consciousness of the people whose redemption is sought. A people can only be redeemed

a socialist scheme of development which can ensure that a society is redeemed, that the general welfare is honestly pursued, that autonomy rests with the society as a whole and not in part, that the experience and consciousness of the people are not ravaged and raped."

It will be admitted that no stronger or more lucid theoretical statement of a strategy of development for Africa exists anywhere else in the writings of contemporary African leaders. Non-African works either are vague and nebulous because the underlying idea is to exploit Africa's riches for the use of non-Africans or defend the socialist path of development merely as an aspect of their ideological battle with capitalism and imperialism. The point of view of 'Consciencism' is founded on the historical circumstances of Africa. It is

development. This tussle reflects deep ideological differences. And it seems pretty obvious that no major advance could be made in resolving this conflict until the ideological issues are squarely met and thoroughly thrashed. All Africa is inevitably engaged in a big debate which would determine the course of history on this continent for many decades.

ORIGIN OF DEVELOPMENT

The first issue in this big debate is the origin of the major stimuli to development. Should the new states of Africa depend primarily on external or internal sources for the wherewithal of all-round development? In the final analysis, this issue reduces to the accumulation of capital for development purposes.

The former imperialist masters (and the new ones who

In Next Issue

'THE SPARK' carries an important article on Labour movements in Africa.

A CORRESPONDENT WRITES ON

ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

as an instrument of democracy and progress under socialism

IT is all too often maintained by some Western political theorists that the one-party system is dictatorial.

These social theorists argue not cogently enough, of course, that it is only the bi-or multi-party system that makes for the forces of democracy. The fallacy in this trend of thinking needs no stressing.

There is now a hue and cry in most of the developing nations in Africa for one National Party. One state after another in Africa is increasingly realising the need and the overall political sense in adopting this system.

The tendency of certain Western political theorists to describe the one-party system in general and those in Africa in particular as necessarily dictatorial instruments springs from the tendency to set Western ideas and ways of life as the norm around which any other development should revolve, thus looking at Africa, as it were, through the coloured and biased eyes of the West.

It is at bottom, unscientific and sociologically void, for it disregards the fact that societies differ from one place to another and also that every society has its own unique problems which can largely be solved within that particular social milieu.

One-party system need not be dictatorial. The critic of the one-party system especially in Africa, ought to distinguish most clearly between the one-party system in a Socialist state and the same system in a Capitalist or neo-colonialist state.

It is because of this facile generalization and the fallacious arguments often indulged in by some Western political theorists that the SPARK is today devoting pages two and three to an analysis of the nature and function of one-party systems with a special reference to the one-party system in Socialist Ghana.

Under this system, the masses choose between rival groups of the capitalist class. They are not allowed, largely through control of economic power by the capitalist class, to build and give full support to their own political party.

Two conclusions can thus be reached. Firstly, the individualist and competitive nature of capitalism makes the existence of rival political parties possible and even essential. Secondly, the lower classes merely choose between rival political parties of the capitalist class.

Hence, while there is freedom of choice among the capitalists, there can be no such freedom among the lower classes. The political system of capitalist society is thus a democracy for the upper classes but an unmitigated dictatorship for the masses. The masses are merely called upon to side one group of capitalists at one time or another in their fight against other capitalist groups. In the process some crumbs fall to the lot of the masses for there is a strong tendency among them to support the highest bidder. But these crumbs notwithstanding, the masses in a capitalist state are not in the position to use political power to solve basic economic problems in their own interest.

... SOCIALIST SOCIETY

In times of great national stress a fluke could occur when a party professing the interest of the common people wins political power. However, this victory is temporary and transient. For the basic economic relationships

cannot be altered in the interest of the people as long as the old state apparatus—the civil service, police, judiciary, and an army—remains intact and continues to be geared to the point of view of capitalism. The classic example of this was the Labour Government in Britain after World War II.

Let us now turn to the socialist society. Here the cardinal distinguishing feature is the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The banks, the factories, the land, foreign trade, transport, insurance etc. are vested in the entire people.

PRIORITIES

By this arrangement, the conflicting groups created by the individual ownership of capital simply do not exist and cannot exist. Everybody owns the factors of production through the state which acts as the trustee of the entire people. The reconciliation of industrial and agricultural needs or of armaments and export requirements for example do not now involve a behind-the-scene tussle by rival monopoly groups and banking interests. The adjustments are made by the people as a whole and in the interest of the entire people.

Under this set of circumstances, there is no need for two or more political parties each championing the interests of definite economic groups. Rather, the need is for competent administrators who could accurately assess the order of priorities in the needs of the people and effectively

meet these demands. The point here elaborated is that the economic structure of the capitalist society calls for a multi-party system whereas the economic structure of the socialist society makes the two or more parties an unnecessary luxury. And this has to be the case because under capitalism economic power and political power do not and cannot coalesce. On the other hand, in a socialist society economic power and political power are coterminous, both being vested in the entire people.

tion to maintain that the one-party system under capitalism (i.e. a society with economic classes) is unmitigated dictatorship. But it would be wrong and fallacious to generalise a conclusion valid in a capitalist society in a way to include the socialist society whose foundations are fundamentally different.

MAJOR CHANGES

There is however great need to emphasise and underline the point that Ghana has not adopted a one-party system without due reflection. The one-party system is being closely correlated with a socialist society. For one of the proposals which was put before the nation at the referendum was that Ghana should be a socialist society and that fact should be enshrined in our fundamental law, namely, the Constitution.

The one-party system has thus come to Ghana after three main conditions have been fulfilled. The first condition is that political power is in the hands of the entire people not in groups of the capitalist class. Secondly, the one-party is the vanguard of all the organisations of the people in the march to socialism and to nowhere else. The third condition is that Ghana as a socialist society is an entrenched clause in our Constitution. This means that it will be a gross violation of our Constitution to lend the one-party system to the service of any other type of social order.

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THE foundation of modern politics is the clash of economic interests. This does not detract from the fact that political leaders and political movements parading non-economic objectives have made brief appearance on the scene.

Nevertheless, a close scrutiny of these so-called non-economic movements reveals a deep-seated desire to conceal fundamental economic issues. Accordingly, any study of either the one-party system or the multi-party system without due reference to the existing economic relations and property systems in society is bound to be superficial. Such an exercise can be put down as a mere prattle of the platform, a skimming on the periphery without getting to the heart of the problem. The one-party or multi-party state can only be fully understood if studied against the background of the prevailing economic system.

Broadly speaking the capitalist half of the world follows the multi-party system while the socialist half practices the one-party system. This broad generalisation has of course to be corrected for the fact that many countries of the capitalist countries are governed by a coalition of several political parties. But for our purpose at this moment it is sufficient to accept the view that capitalism has the multi-party system while socialism tends towards the one-party state.

CONFLICTING ECONOMIC INTERESTS

What is the nature of a capitalist society? It is a society in which there are many classes with fundamental cleavages of interests. While in some capitalist countries only the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and workers exist, in others feudalists, peasants etc. exist in addition.

In a capitalist society, political power is in the hands of the propertied class, the employers, the owners of capital do not make one homogeneous group. They are broken up into many interest groups.

And a most important fact is that the interests of the various groups are invariably in conflict.

The bankers, that is finance capital, are divided into several groups. Some invest in industry for the home market. Others invest in industries serving foreign markets or in armament industries. Yet others invest in agriculture, in oil, in real estate, in wholesale and retail trade or in insurance and transport.

There are other forms of conflicting economic interests. Giant monopolies clash constantly with the small businessmen. Politics in the capitalist society is therefore a clash of these multifarious and conflicting interest groups. And each interest group tends to have its own political position. In time these political

positions crystallise into a few political parties which in their interplay reflect the interests of the economic groups they represent.

NEW SYSTEM

These economic groups are aware of the fact that control of or share in political power is a necessary condition for the protection and advancement of their economic interests. Political parties are therefore horizontal in nature. They represent the various interest groups that make up the capitalist or employer class. And through control of the media of mass information these political organisations set out to capture the votes of the lower (that is working) classes in their struggle for the control of state power.

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GHANA AIRWAYS—YOUR LINK WITH EUROPE

The One Party State in Ghana

THE sequence of events in Ghana after the fateful court verdict of December 9 quite easily misled many people into holding the view that the referendum was meant to adjust the constitutional provisions that govern the relationships between the President of the Republic of Ghana and the Judiciary. Such a view was incomplete and misleading.

The aim of the referendum was to adjust the relationships between the people and the judiciary. This, however, was but one part of the whole operation. The other part of the referendum—and the most important part—was to adjust the position of the people in relation to important institutions, not only the judiciary, which are connected with the daily life of our people. Furthermore, the referendum was meant to put our national life firmly and squarely within the context of a socialist pattern of society.

The question of the judiciary, even though it seems to have sparked off the whole operation in which we were engaged, was merely a part of the referendum. The heart of the exercise was to enthrone the concept of the supremacy of the people: to make it abundantly clear that such supremacy is directed to only one goal—the greatest happiness of the greatest number which can be realised only in a socialist society. Looked at from this angle the constitutional amendments relating to the judiciary were consequential in character. They were meant to mould the judiciary into an institution serving the people and not an organ of reaction standing in the way of the people.

If then we take the supremacy of the people as the starting point—we have to ask one pertinent question: Through what institutions or organs of state will this supremacy of the people express itself in reality? Seven million people cannot always gather together to take decisions on all matters affecting the people. Such a plebeian democracy was possible only when the state could be confined within the boundaries of a village or a small community. Today the size of the state makes such an approach impracticable and impossible. The supremacy of the people can no longer be expressed through a convocation of the entire people. It has to be expressed through institutions created by the people; institutions subject at all times to the will of the people; institutions given definite powers by the people and accountable to the people for the exercise of these powers conferred on them.

The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana has decided to enthrone the people. Accordingly, its first article maintains that "the powers of the

state derive from the people". By this principle, the people create the state and not vice versa. Hence the state must serve the people. This is the only reason why it has come into existence.

SOURCE OF POWER

This provision was contained in the original constitution. The proposed amendment to this article of the Constitution merely seeks to make explicit what is already implicit. It presents the people "as the source of power and the guardians of the state". Flowing from this amplification, all powers exercised by any person or any institution in our state are openly acknowledged as having as their source the people. And by setting it down openly that "the people are the guardians of the state" the new provision reserves to the people the right to see to it that the state is engaged in the fulfilment of their will. In return for this the people must protect the state against all forms of attack.

We shall deal more fully with the concept of the supremacy of the people under our Constitution at a later stage. Now we may turn to a consideration of the proposed amendments. These institutions are:

1. THE PARTY
2. PARLIAMENT
3. THE JUDICIARY

By assigning definite powers to these institutions, and by defining the relationship that must exist between them, the people make certain that their supremacy at all times is upheld and given concrete expression.

We shall deal with these institutions one by one.

First, the Party.

Under the existing Constitution, which is to be amended, the party is not seen as an institution of our state. Al-

though it was known that political parties existed in Ghana, no specific provision was made about them in the Constitution. One of the proposed amendments seeks to rectify this position.

The new provision which is to go in as article 1A of the revised Constitution contains two sub-sections.

These read as follows:—

"(1) In conformity with the interests, welfare and aspirations of the people and in order to develop the organisational initiative and political activity of the people, there shall be one National Party which shall be the vanguard of the people in their struggle to build a socialist society and which shall be leading core of all organisations of the people".

"(2) The National Party shall be the Convention Peoples' Party." ...

SIGNIFICANCE

This proposed amendment is indeed one of great constitutional and political significance. For it sets out boldly and honestly to establish a one-party system in this country.

The idea of a one-party system is not a new one. Political scientists the world over have treated the matter in their own light. Many African leaders have talked about it while others have tried to implement it. And our own National Assembly, a short while ago, adopted a resolution calling for a one-party state in Ghana.

All this notwithstanding, the current call by Osagyefo the President for a one-party system is something fundamentally different. And it is the realisation of this fact that has led the President to decide that the entire people must vote in favour of the proposal before it is incorporated in our constitution.

The one-party system demanded by Osagyefo and the people is not the dictatorial instrument of an economic group. On the contrary, it is the instrument of the people serving the "interests, the welfare and the aspirations of the people". Its purpose is to give

practical manifestation to the initiative and activity of the people. In other words, the one-party system here envisaged is meant to serve as a vehicle for giving effect to the initiative of the people, an instrument for registering the will of our people. And it gives effect to the initiative of the people by being "the vanguard of the people" and the "leading core of all organisations of the people".

What does this mean in practice? It means that the membership of the one National Party is made up of the right type of persons who have emerged by popular choice and consent, as the leaders of the thousand and one organisations created by the people in pursuit of their legitimate needs and aspirations. The one National Party is the organisation of the leaders of the people in every walk of life, an army of the thousands of people who provide leadership and guidance to the common people through their position as leaders of the multifarious organisations of the people.

Another distinguishing feature of our concept of the single national party is that it serves only one objective, namely socialism. As the proposed amendment puts it, the purpose of the one party is to lead the people "in their struggle to build a socialist society". It is important to emphasize this point that the one-party system in Ghana is inextricably bound up with our decision to build a socialist society. That is why both the one-party system and socialism have now become entrenched clauses in the revised Constitution of Ghana.

DEMOCRACY

It is therefore the bedrock of Osagyefo's views on the one-party system that it must be related to the goal of socialism. It is this that makes his concept of the one-party state quite different from the somewhat mechanical acceptance of this notion in some other circles in Africa.

What the leader of the Ghana revolution, our teacher and guide, is telling us is that the one-party system can lead to democracy, stability, and progress only when practised within a socialist society.

Under any other social order, it will inevitably lead to dictatorship. And he is proved right by any impartial assessment of the lessons of history. For in a capitalist society or in a neo-colonialist regime clearly demarcated groups control the factors of production, distribution and exchange, i.e. capital. These groups in search of profits are always in conflict with one another.

Hence they seek to control political power through the organisation of political parties. But in a socialist society, on the other hand, the means of production, distribution and exchange i.e. capital are publicly owned—owned, that is, by the entire people for whom the state acts as trustee. Economic power and political power are thus vested in one and the same group, namely the entire people. There can be no need for more than one party under such a system.

DIFFERENT CHARACTER

Another point worthy of note is that the one-party in a socialist society is of different character from the political parties in a capitalist society. It is not an instrument for the control of political power in the interest of one or other of competing economic groups. Rather, it is an organisation of the best elements among the people themselves and dedicated to the sole purpose of administering things in a way as to achieve general satisfaction and contentment. Such a party, to succeed must necessarily contain the best, the honest, and the most loyal servants of the people. That is why the amended Constitution of Ghana calls it the "core of all organisations of the people", and the vanguard of the people.

It is this notion of a one-party system, which is entrenched in the Ghana Constitution. Any other notion is alien to our belief, hostile to our interests and damaging to our aspirations.

The Constitution of Ghana stands for a one-party system that springs from the people, lives with the people and serves the people. They reject in its entirety the notion of a one-party state which serves

as an instrument of a small upper class for the oppression and exploitation of the people.

The one-party system in Ghana arms the people with all the power needed for dealing with the enemies of

socialism. It opens the way for the total triumph of our socialist revolution and, by so doing, it permits the blossoming of a new era where all are free, equal and happy because none lives by exploiting the labour of others.

ONE PARTY SYSTEM

Continued from page 2

It is important to spell out and draw attention to these three pre-conditions of the one-party system here in Ghana. For there is no doubt that some African leaders are being tempted, and more will be tempted in the near future, to resort to a one-party system in a desperate effort to hold together their tottering regimes.

In particular it must be pointed out that just as it is deleterious in a capitalist state, the one-party system is absolutely unworkable in a colonial, a neo-colonial or a national capitalist regime. South Africa, where rival political parties of the people are banned, proves that a one-party system is unworkable in a fascist, capitalist state. Angola and Portuguese Guinea validate the same conclusion as regards colonial territories. And the experiences of Sylvanus Olympio in Togoland, of Fulbert Youlou in Congo (Brazzaville) and of Hubert Maga in Dahomey prove that the one-party system cannot thrive under a neo-colonialist regime even where such a regime is propped up by force of arms. The one-party system thrives where it serves the people and not where it serves

the oppressors of the people.

One more example from the old world could be cited to illustrate this point. Both Nazi Germany and the U.S.S.R. in the late nineteenth thirties were one-party states. Whereas the Nazi party in Germany served the interests of the big monopolies and industrial finance capital, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union served the interest of the Soviet people.

The result was that even when huge portions of the U.S.S.R. were over-run by the German army, the people rose not to fight their erstwhile 'oppressors' but to fight the invading Nazis and for the return of their land to the U.S.S.R. On the other hand, when the allied and Soviet armies began to roll into Germany the people took the first available opportunity to welcome and support the liberating armies. This great contrast can be explained only by the fact that while the one-party system in Germany served a capitalist state, it served a socialist state in the U.S.S.R.

It is this difference in economic systems that the intelligent student of modern politics must always look for. For it is the nature of the economic system that will determine the democratic or dictatorial character of the one-party State.



12th AUGUST, WEDNESDAY:

GHANA: Six Regional Commissioners of Ghana, now visiting the Soviet Union, were received in Moscow by the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Mr. Boris Ponomarev.

At the end of the reception, the Commissioners expressed their conviction that their visit would strengthen Ghana-Soviet

relations.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Mr. Arthur Sylvester, American Assistant Secretary of Defence for Public Affairs, has announced that the United States Government is sending four Air Force transport with 50 paratrooper guards to the Congo.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The White-minority Parliament of Southern Rhodesia today decided to extend the white settlers' power to restrict people (mainly Africans) for further two years.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: The Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, has told Parliament that Alice Lenshina, leader of the Lumpa Church which for the past month wrought heartless bloodshed in Northern Rhodesia has surrendered to the Government. * White settlers whose strike has paralysed Northern Rhodesia's rail services for the past week today agreed to allow one train a day to carry emergency supplies from the South to the North.

The strike has also rendered troops movements impossible to combat the Lumpa sect outrages in Northern Rhodesia.

13th AUGUST, THURSDAY:

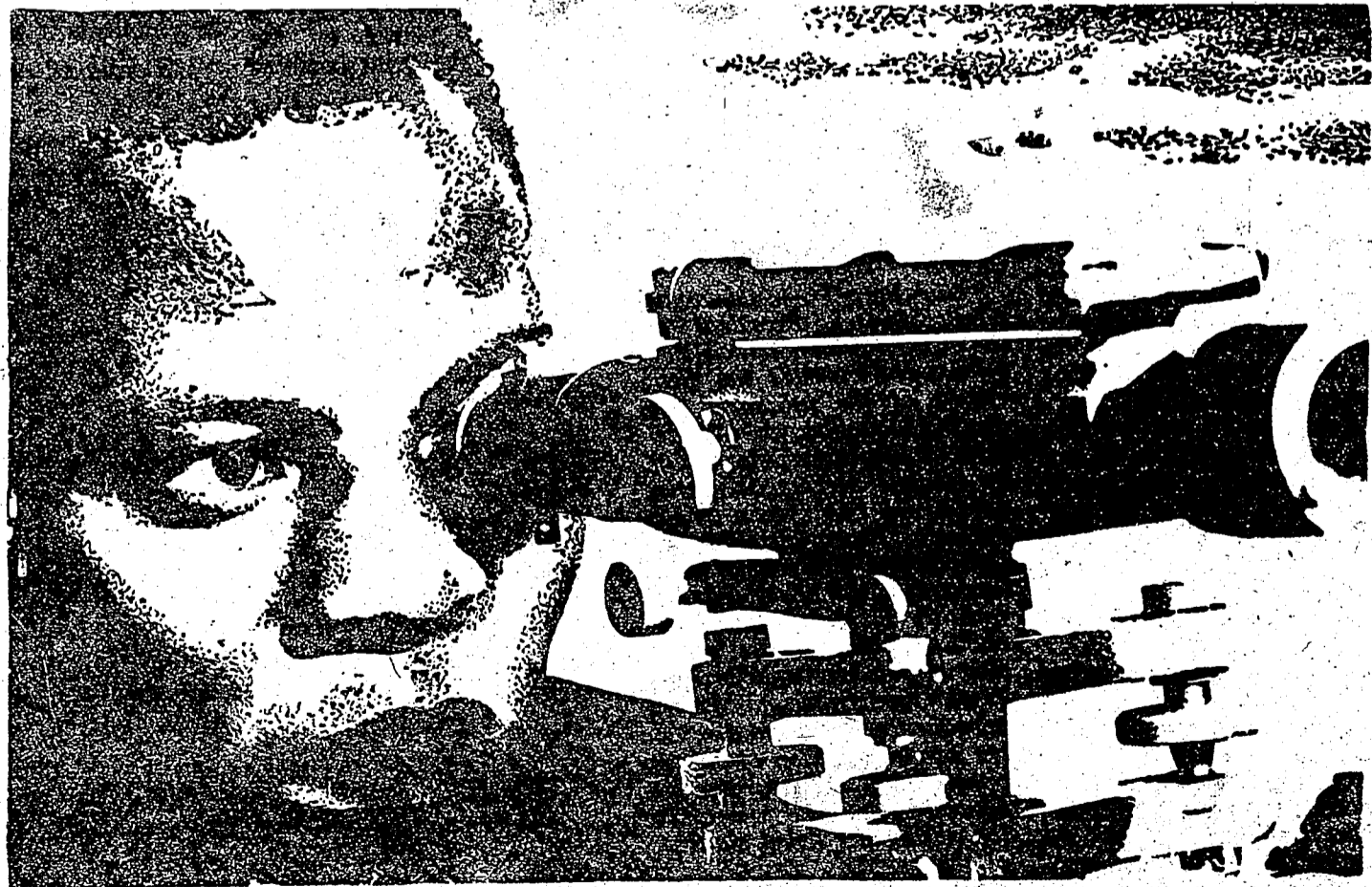
GHANA: Osagyefo the President has sent a message of congratulations to the Congo (Brazzaville) President Massemba Debat on the first anniversary of the Country's revolution which toppled the neo-colonialist regime of Fulbert Youlou.

In the message Osagyefo said the great strides made by the Congo had more than vindicated the spirit of the Congo.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The white Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Hugh Beadle, has ruled that the restriction orders imposed on Mr. Joshua Nkomo,

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The future looks bright for modern Ghana



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A GLORIOUS ANNIVERSARY

The Rumanian People's of Building

THE Rumanian people celebrate this year the 20th anniversary of their Homeland's liberation from fascist yoke. Twenty years ago, on August 23, 1944, the patriotic people's forces, led by the Communist Party of Rumania, overthrew a military-fascist dictatorship. The events of August 1944 marked the beginning of the people's revolution, a turning point towards freedom, full independence and social progress. A new chapter was opened in the country's history, a chapter of deep-going revolutionary changes which enabled the working people to set up a people's democratic system and subsequently embark upon socialist construction.

The Rumanian people meet this greatest national holiday with feelings of legitimate pride, for the results obtained in these twenty years are a developing economy and culture and an improved standard of living.

By setting up in September 1940 the military fascist dictatorship, the most reactionary circles of the Rumanian bourgeoisie and landlords betrayed the national interests, and dragged Rumania against the will of the people, into the anti-Soviet war unleashed by fascist Germany.

All patriotic forces of the country, and first of all the working class headed by the Communist Party of Rumania resolutely rose to fight against fascist dictatorship and Hitlerite war. Animated by ardent feelings of patriotism, the Communists carried on tireless, selfless activity with a spirit of sacrifice for mobilizing the masses to fight, for rallying all patriotic forces of the country.

action of the working class led to the fulfilment of its role as leader of the broad popular masses and was of essential importance for the union of all anti-Hitlerite forces.

It has been an historic merit of the Communist Party that it masterfully managed to

number of patriotically-minded generals and other high-ranking officers who participated in drawing up the concrete plans of the armed action in the capital and in various regions of the country.

The armed insurrection in Rumania started on August 23 1944 as a result of the arrest by the fascist government headed by Ion Antonescu of the patriotic fighting detachments. Voicing the people's fighting will, the Rumanian Army turned arms against the Hitlerites; Rumania declared war on fascist Germany and joined the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

By August 26, the Rumanian troops and the patriotic

for the liberation of Rumania.

The armed insurrection and turning of weapons against fascist Germany was a heavy blow dealt at the Hitlerites, frustrating their plans of organising successive resistance lines on Rumanian territory, contributing to the collapse of the entire southern wing of the German front. Referring to the repercussions of the act of August 23, the newspaper "Pravda" of August 28, wrote that "... the importance of Rumania's withdrawal from the Axis goes beyond the borders of Rumania. The foreign press aptly says that this means the collapse of the entire German defence system in the Balkans", while the London

geois-democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist stage of the people's revolution in Rumania.

Of great importance for the successful carrying through of socialist construction has been the achievement of the complete unity—both political and organizational—of the working class, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, through the unification of the Communist Party with the Social-Democratic Party and the foundation of the Rumanian Workers' Party in 1948.

Abiding by the universally valid general laws of the socialist revolution and taking into account the concrete historical conditions prevailing in Rumania, the Rumanian Workers' Party has carried on an intense creative activity, established the most adequate forms and methods of building up the new system.

On the 20th liberation anniversary, socialist Rumania is a country in continuous progress, with a complex economy and flourishing culture, entirely put in the service to raise the welfare of the working population. In only 20 years the Rumanian people, led by the Party, have changed the face of the country.

GREAT DIFFICULTIES

The road covered by Rumania in these 20 years was not at all smooth. The people had to overcome many and great difficulties owing to the hard legacy left by the bourgeois-landlord regime. The low development level of the productive forces and the important positions held by foreign capital in the country's economy kept the national income at low proportions. Although it had the necessary natural resources—oil, gas, metalliferous ores, important electric and forestry resources—that would have permitted the setting up and development of powerful industrial branches, the Rumanian industry was nevertheless insufficiently developed. The main branch of the national economy was agriculture, employing four-fifths of the country's active population.

In working out the programme of socialist construction, the Rumanian Workers' Party unwaveringly guided itself on the Leninist indications according to which the only material base of socialism is the large-scale industry, and especially the heavy industry.

"Our Party" — Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, President of the R.P.R. State Council said — "has concentrated the main efforts of the people in the decisive direction for the victory of socialism: the setting up of the technico-material base of the new system by the socialist industrialization of the country, the steady development of the heavy industry with its pivot—the machine-building industry, the equipping of the economic branches with modern technology, the introduction of automation, the continuous rise of labour productivity, the growing national income—the foundation for raising the living standard of the people".

Year after year, the main part of industrial investments has been allocated to the decisive branches, turning out means of production. Important funds were earmarked concomitantly for geological exploitation for discover-

ing and developing sub-soil wealth.

Socialist industrialization is the principal link in the harmonious and balanced growth of the entire national economy on an ever ascending line and at a rapid rate, in the full and superior use of our own resources, the steady rise of social labour productivity, intensive and multilateral development of agriculture, systematically raising the living standard of the people.

INDUSTRIAL BASIS

The socialist economy of the Rumanian People's Republic has at present a steadily developing industrial base. Between 1950 and 1962, 500 enterprises were re-tooled, modernized and developed and over 280 new factories, works and sections were built. A more judicious territorial repartition of the productive forces has been ensured. New industrial branches have been set up.

The machine-building and the metal-working industries have become the leading branches of the Rumanian economy, holding top place as far as the share of industrial output is concerned. While formerly Rumania had to import 95 per cent of the required machines and equipment, nowadays she covers some 70 per cent of the requirements of the national economy, in spite of the fact that these have risen considerably over the past. At present the machine-building industry turns out oilfield and chemical equipment, machine tools, electric motors and equipment, tractors, lorries, electric diesel locomotives, river and sea going vessels, etc. These hold an ever, more important place in Rumania's exports.

The development at a sustained rate of machine-building required the creation of a corresponding metallurgical base. In 1963 the iron and steel industry has turned out 1,706,000 tons of pig iron, 2,704,000 tons of steel, 2,400,000 tons of rolled goods and steel pipes. The present output of the Hunedoara and Resita combines exceeds, each one separately, often the entire iron and steel output of 1938 Rumania. Metallurgy is to advance further by the building of the great combine at Galati.

The country's electrification, holds an important place in socialist industrialization, in setting up and developing the technical and material basis of socialism. The thermo and hydro-electric power stations built in the years of people's power are equipped with powerful and modern aggregates totalling an installed power, which is six times that of 1938; electric energy output will this year be 12.8 times bigger than before the war. Of great importance will be the hydro-power station at the Iron Gates that will supply the two riverain countries, Rumania and Yugoslavia, with 5,000 million KWH each, annually. The crude oil and natural gas extractive and processing industry has greatly developed.

The 12,233,000 ton increase in crude oil output in 1963 has been realised on the basis of the rational exploitation of existing layers, recovery of crude oil in abandoned wells in the pre-war period, as well as by the tapping of new oil-bearing layers. Big production units have been commissioned within the crude oil processing industry, which fully ensures the internal requirement of oil products (exceeding 200 assortments); a considerable part of these products are exported to 40 countries throughout the world.

Geological research resulted in the turning to use of over 13 times bigger reserves than were ever known before.

The Party and Government have permanently paid particular attention to the chemical industry, meant to develop at a high level the country's natural resources, to ensure agriculture with chemical fertilizers, antipests and other products required in the application of modern agrotechny, to realize new raw materials and materials for industrial requirements, for extending the ranges of consumer goods.

No less than 32 chemical combines and works have been built in the years of people's power, as well as 60 new plants and sections. Concomitantly, the old enterprises have been re-organized, developed and re-tooled in conformity with the present-day requirements of technology.

Continued on Page 5

PEOPLE'S OPPOSITION

The sabotage actions organized by the workers in enterprises, on the railways and in the ports, the peasant actions against the forcible requisitions of agricultural produce, the refusal to carry out the orders of the fascist authorities, the growing hostility of the intelligentsia—all this expressed the Rumanian people's opposition to the Antonescu dictatorship, their resolve to fight for the country's liberation from the fascist yoke. The anti-Hitlerite frame of mind of the masses was increasingly growing in the ranks of the Rumanian army, where refusals to carry out orders, desertion and clashes with the Hitlerites became more and more frequent.

The struggle against the fascist yoke was carried on under the conditions of the war waged by the anti-Hitlerite coalition—the fundamental force of which was the Soviet Union—against Nazi Germany, under the conditions of the victories won by the Soviet Army which was smashing step by step the Hitlerite war machine, strengthening the people's confidence in the forthcoming final victory, stimulating the anti-fascist liberation movement. The crushing blows dealt at the fascist armies by the Soviet Army, inspired the anti-Hitlerite fight of the Rumanian people; a fight that was steadily growing, sapping the very foundations of I. Antonescu's regime of dictatorship, preparing conditions for its overthrow.

On the strength of a thorough analysis of the internal and international situation both on the political and military planes, the basic cadres of the Communist Party of Rumania headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, who were detained in jails and camps and who kept permanent touch with the Party cadres active in underground work, mapped out in the course of 1943 the strategic and tactical plan for the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship, for pulling out the country from the anti-Soviet war and for turning arms against Hitlerite Germany.

Of outstanding importance was the foundation of the United Workers' Front on May 1st, 1944, upon agreement between the Communist Party of Rumania and the Social-Democratic Party. The achievement of the unity of

promote a policy of broad alliance, to rally all the forces interested, for one reason or another, in Rumania's withdrawal from the Hitlerite war and, relying on the anti-fascist fighting mood of the people's masses to lead the broad coalition of anti-Hitlerite forces towards victory over the military-fascist dictatorship.

The king and the circles of the royal palace who saw in their participation in removing Antonescu their sole hope to escape the serious responsibility resting with them for having dragged Rumania into this war, were obliged to accept the plan of action established by the Communist Party of Rumania. This very fact meant a recognition of the decisive role played by the Rumania Communist Party in a crucial moment for the country's destiny.

The leaders of the National Peasant and National Liberal parties who for years on end had turned down the proposals put forward by the Communist Party with regard to joint actions against the military-fascist dictatorship, for fear of remaining outside development and completely isolated, agreed in June 1944 to the establishment together with the Communist Party of Rumania and the Social Democratic Party of the National Democratic Bloc.

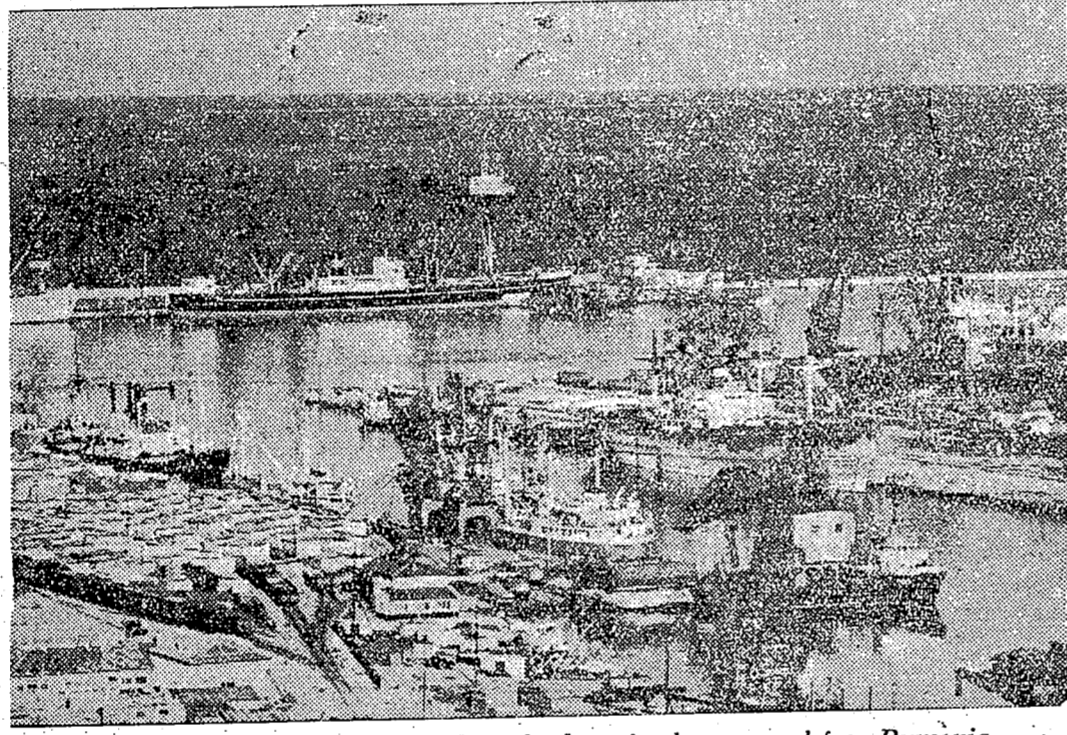
Intense activity was carried on for the military preparation of the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship. As early as the spring of 1944, the Communist Party of Rumania organized patriotic fighting units formed of Communists, of members of the Young Communist League and of non-party working people, armed and trained for insurrectionary fights. The Party succeeded in winning over for the insurrection a

fighting units had defeated the last Hitlerite resistants in Bucharest, the country's capital. Concomitantly, the fight for smashing the fascist German troops was going on in the environs of Bucharest, in the Prahova Valley, Dobrogea, Oltenia, the Brasov town area and in Banat. By August 31, the Rumanian forces had liberated the central regions, and those in the South, South-East and South-West of the country. On August 30, the population of Bucharest heartily welcomed the Soviet troops, which on August 20 had unleashed a powerful offensive at Jassy-Chisinau.

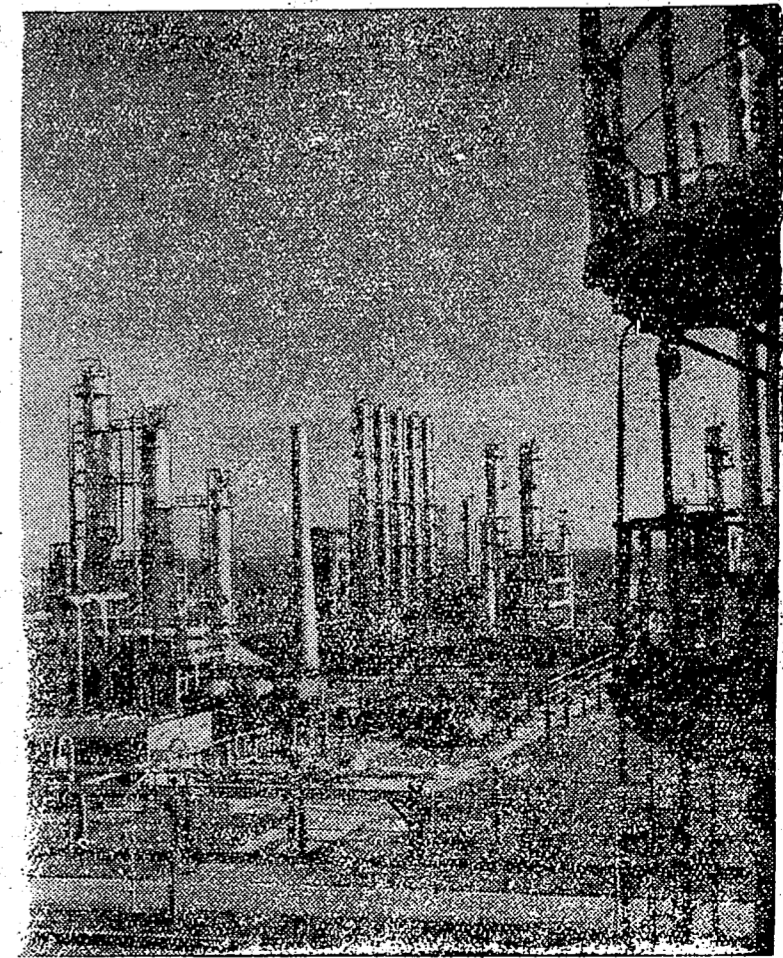
CONTRIBUTION

Shoulder to shoulder with the glorious Soviet Army, the Rumanian Army fought for the liberation of the country's entire territory and for smashing the Hitlerite armies in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, contributing to the final defeat of fascist Germany. Over 360,000 Rumanian soldiers fought in these battles. The Rumanian Army covered over 1,000 kilometres, caused the Hitlerite losses amounting to some 118,000 prisoners and a great number of killed and wounded, liberated over 3,800 localities including 53 towns, and had a share in the liberation of important cities like Budapest and Debreczen in Hungary, Svoien, Banska-Bystrica, Bratislava and other towns in Czechoslovakia.

The Rumanian-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms was built up in the heat of war waged against fascism, and the friendship cemented between the Rumanian and Soviet peoples. The Rumanian people shall always honour the memory of the heroic Soviet and Rumanian soldiers who shed their blood in the common struggle for the liberation of the country.



Evident sign of prosperity, a busy harbour in the new and free Rumania.



Continuous progress has changed the face of the country. Rumania has embarked on rapid industrialisation.

Republic on the Road Socialism

(Continued from page 4)

The Rumanian chemical industry is second to the machine-building branch within the heavy industry, turning out in less than 16 days the entire output of 1938.

Covering more than one quarter of the country's land, Rumania's forest rank her fourth in Europe after the U.S.S.R., Sweden and Finland, from the point of view of forestry stock of over 1,000 million cubic metres.

The concern shown for the forest patrimony in the years since Rumania's liberation is mirrored by its rational exploitation, in the afforestation of almost 1,300,000 hectares.

The concentration of the timber industry in big and modern industrial compounds as well as the building of specialized high capacity factories have contributed to the attainment of considerable results in the higher use of timber.

SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

Following the translation into life of the policy of socialist industrialization the gross industrial output rose by 7.4 times in 1963 over 1938. Concomitantly with the development of the heavy industry, conditions were created for steadily raising the consumer goods output. In 1963 the output of the textile industry was more than 3.5 times bigger than in 1938, of the garments industry 11 times bigger and of the leather, fur and footwear output 5.6 times bigger. The output of the food industry recorded in the same year a 3.1 times increase over the maximum level reached in pre-war years. In the first four years of the Six-Year Plan, between 1960-1963, some 15 per cent average annual rate of increase was recorded for the whole industry. Such development rates were inconceivable in pre-war Rumania. In the conditions of development at maximum rates registered in the years of the bourgeois-landlord regime, the economy would have reached the present level of industrial output as late as 1990.

A characteristic feature of the industrialization process is the orientation towards the use of advanced technology that corresponds to the latest world achievements. In this respect, attention is directed toward the all out mechanization and automation of production processes, the extension of modern technological methods. Following the results registered in the first place in technical progress, labour productivity has risen 2.9 times between 1951 and 1963 on an average per wage earner throughout the industry and in the basic branches like the machine-building, chemical and other industries higher rates have been recorded.

One of the fundamental tasks of socialist construction successfully solved is the socialist transformation of agriculture. The Rumanian Workers' Party has guided the process of collectivization of agriculture on the line mapped out by its Central Committee Plenary of March 3-5, 1949, advancing progressively and steadily in step with the peasantry's conviction of taking the road of socialist agriculture and the setting up of the necessary technical basis.

Now, after the completion of the collectivization of agriculture already in 1962 the

working peasants have joined the over 4,900 collective farms which cover an agricultural area of 9.1 million hectares. In the process of socialist transformation of agriculture the economic activity of the collective farms has consolidated year after year, commonly owned property has extended, vegetal and animal output has increased, and on this basis the incomes of collective farmers have steadily risen.

POSITIVE RESULTS

Of great significance was the powerful support given by the State to the development of the productive forces in agriculture. Between 1950 and 1961 the State allocated to this end over 23,000 million lei worth of investments of which most were destined for machines and equipment.

The correct application of the principle of material incentive of the peasantry has played an important part in the development of socialist agriculture, in raising agricultural output. The extension of the contract and purchasing system, by which the peasantry sell their products at favourable prices had positive results in the development of socialist agriculture and in raising agricultural output, in improving the supply to the population and raising the peasants' income. Compared with 1934-1938 the average grain output has risen by 1,700,000 tons in the 1956-1960 period and by 2,600,000 tons in 1961. In 1963, although the climatic conditions were unfavourable in many regions of the country a 10.4 million ton grain output has been realised, i.e. 700,000 tons more than in the previous year. In this way, the bread for the population has been ensured, as well as the fodder requirements for the animals whose number is growing as well as certain quantities for export.

The Party has systematically orientated itself towards the intensive and multilateral development of agricultural output. Just as in previous years main attention has been directed toward raising wheat and maize output decisive factor for the development of all the other branches of agriculture—firstly for animal breeding—for satisfying the demands for farm food products of the national economy and of consumption requirement.

MATERIAL WELFARE

The advancement of the economy is accompanied by the growing material welfare of the people, the fundamental objective of the economic policy of the Party and State. In 1963 the national income of Rumania was 3.3 times bigger than in 1938. On this basis it has become possible to raise the material and cultural standard of the people; real wages have more than doubled in the 1950-1963 period.

Last June, the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Council of Ministers of the Rumanian People's Republic endorsed a new decision with regard to raising the wages of all categories of wage earners, reducing quotas of wage taxes and raising the wage ceilings in relation to which State allowances for children are granted; the application of these measures will lead to a further increase of incomes which, taken for a whole year,

will represent 6,800 million lei.

The real incomes of the peasantry have increased concomitantly.

A vast drive of housing construction proceeds, up and down the country and changing increasingly the look of the towns and villages. Over 800,000 people have moved into new flats in the 1960-1964 period.

State expenditure for education, culture and health protection amounts this year to approximately 21,000 million lei, which means 1,100 lei per head of the population, compared with 665 lei in 1959.

Over 3,500,000 pupils and students attended various levels and forms of State education in the Rumanian People's Republic, in the 1963-1964 school-year. Related to the number of population, this means that one in every five inhabitants has been studying. Education at all levels is free of charge. All pupils from the 1st form up to the 8th included receive school-books completely free of charge.

Scientific research and the practical use of its results is now a state concern to which highest attention is paid.

In the field of theoretical researches, the scientific workers have directed their efforts towards the latest domains which are characteristic today of the progress of science in general, and which afford the broadest applicability in modern technology.

The country's cultural treasure-store has been enriched during these last twenty years with valuable creations of writers, painters, sculptors, musicians and actors.

INTELLECTUALS

Both old and new generations of intellectuals have merged into a single detachment of the intelligentsia linked to the people, putting all their talents and creative aptitudes in the service of socialism.

The network of hospitals, polyclinics, maternities and other establishments of medical assistance has been considerably expanded; hundreds of thousands spend their holidays annually at health resorts. The fruits of the steps taken in the field of health protection as well as the increasingly improved living conditions of the working people are reflected in the drop in general and infant mortality rate, in the lengthening of the average life expectancy from 42 years (pre-war) to 66 years at present.

Socialist democracy has developed and continues to develop steadily in the years of socialist construction, a fact expressed in the broad participation of the masses of working people in the solving of public affairs, in the elaboration and implementation of the State plans in running economic and socio-political life.

Embracing the finest representatives of the working class, of the collective peasantry and intelligentsia, mighty through the unshakable cohesion of its ranks, the Rumanian Workers' Party is closely linked to the broad masses of working people in towns and villages who regard its policy as their own cause.

The moral-political unity of the entire people, closely rallied around the Rumanian Workers' Party, its Central Committee headed by Gheorghiu-Dej, has become a powerful active force of the progress of society.

During these 20 years of tremendous development under the conditions of true freedom and national independence, the international prestige of Rumania has steadily grown. The Rumanian People's Republic consistently asserts itself as an active factor in international life, alongside of the forces campaigning for peace and social progress. Underlying its foreign policy are the close relations of fraternal friendship with the socialist countries, relations based on full equality of rights, observance of sovereignty and national interests, mutual advantage and comradely reciprocal assistance. Using all possibilities at its disposal for expanding the technical and material base of socialism, the Rumanian People's Republic unabatedly acts for the steady strengthening of economic co-operation with the socialist states, members of CMEA. At the same time, the Party and Government firmly stand in favour of strengthening and expanding co-operation with all socialist countries, for implementing the socialist international division of labour throughout the socialist economic system, as an objective requirement of the latter's development, as a lasting material groundwork of the socialist countries' unity.

CO-OPERATION

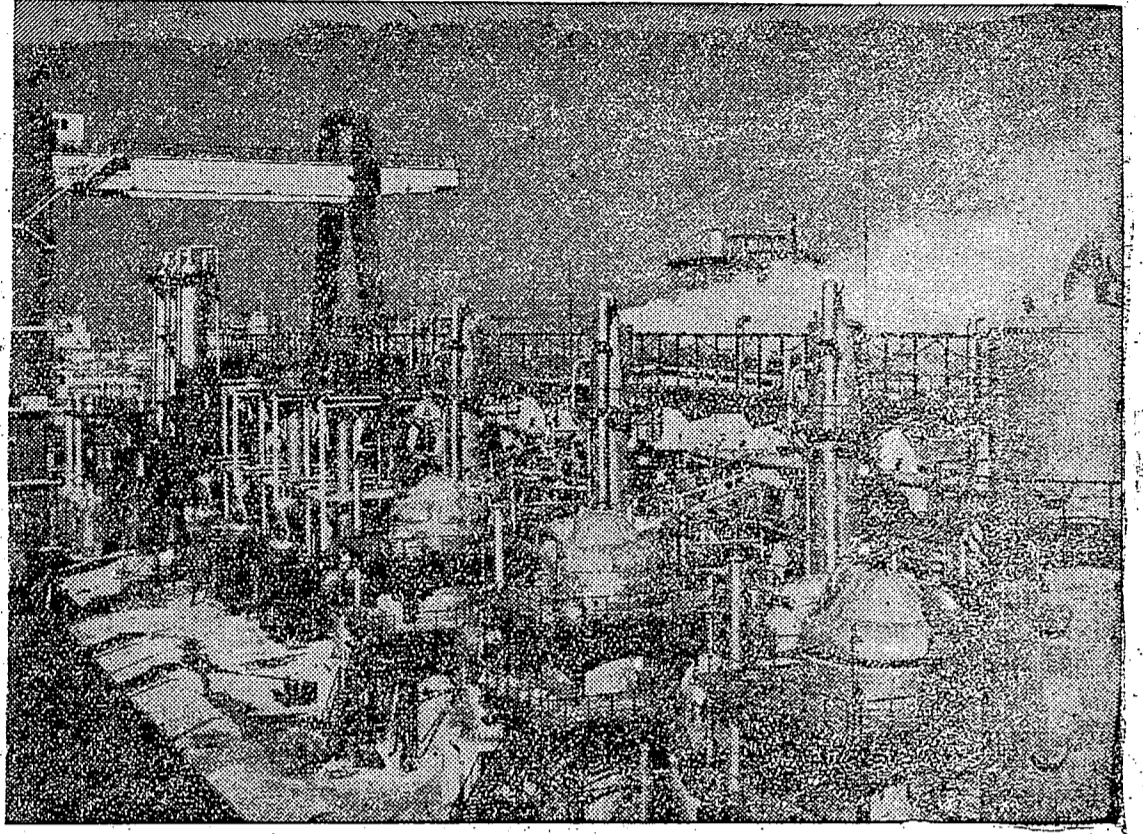
Abiding by the policy of support for the cause of national independence and freedom, the Rumanian people and Government view with great sympathy and spirit of solidarity the selfless struggle waged by the oppressed peoples for shaking off the hard yoke of colonialism and express their full adhesion to their righteous struggle. The Rumanian People's Republic grants firm support to the peoples fighting for liberation from imperialist domination, for their independent political and economic development, backs the legitimate aspiration of the peoples freed from colonial slavery for consolidating their national independence and setting up their own economy, and expands many-sided co-operation with the young sovereign states.

The Rumanian People's Republic consistently promotes a policy of developing relations of co-operation with the countries having different socio-political systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence. Joining efforts, with the other socialist countries, with all forces of peace and progress, Rumania unflinchingly campaigns for international detente, for the negotiated settlement of disputed issues between states, for thwarting the actions of the aggressive circles, for strengthening peace and friendship among nations.

LINKS

An active participant in the solving of international problems, Rumania has diplomatic, economic and cultural links with nearly 90 countries. Actively agitating for the promotion of normal, reciprocally advantageous economic relations, without political strings and without restrictions and discrimination, the Rumanian People's Republic extends its relationship with all states irrespective of their social system, considering the expansion of economic, technical and scientific links, of cultural exchanges, as a practical, direct expression of the principles of peaceful co-existence, as a particularly important means for improving the international climate, for the achievement of detente and peace in the world.

Rumania's international trade exchanges embraced in 1963 over 80 countries and amounted to a some 7 times bigger volume than in 1948. At the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, the



Further evidence of the socialist transformation and industrialisation.

constructive position of the Rumanian delegation enjoyed a lively echo among representatives of numerous countries.

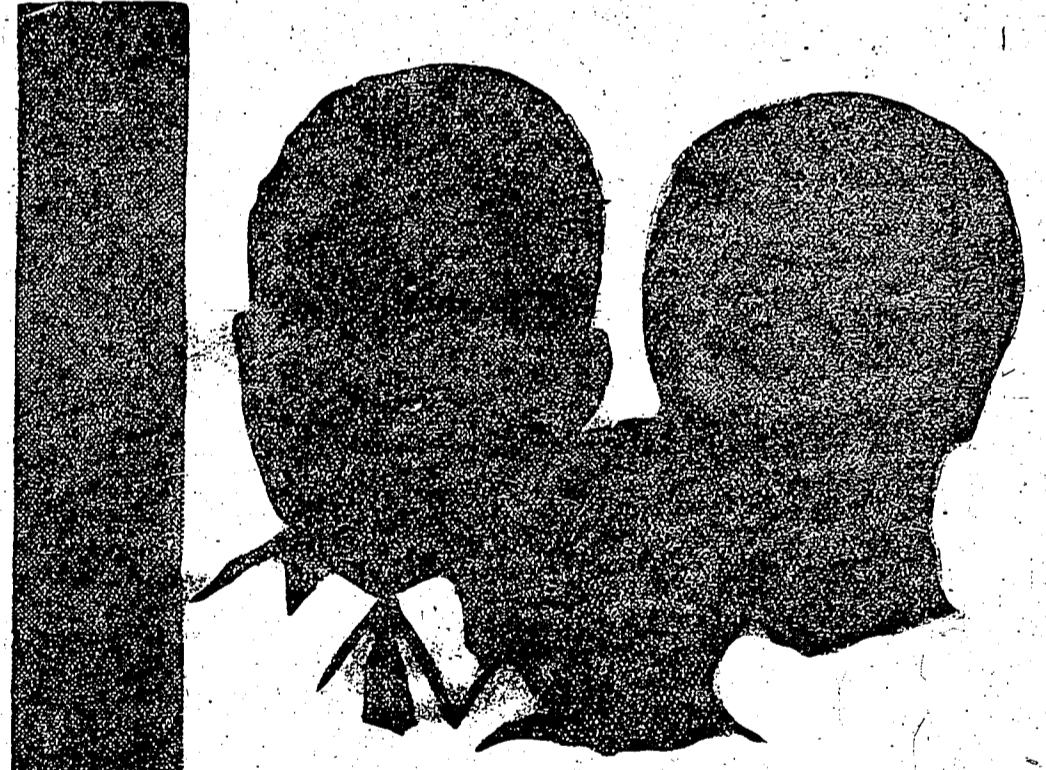
"In foreign policy"—Gheorghiu-Dej, First Secretary of the C. C. of the R.W.P. said—"our Party and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic proceed from the idea that it is the most imperative duty of the socialist states, of the world communist movement, of all those who want peace and have a feeling of responsibility for the destiny of mankind, to perseveringly campaign for the triumph of peaceful co-operation among all peoples, for exposing the

aggressive actions of the imperialist circles, for the abolition of hotbeds of war and the achievement of detente in inter-state relationship".

Exerting itself to make its own contribution to the improvement of the international atmosphere, the Rumanian Government promotes the idea of carrying through multilateral co-operation, of establishing good relations in the region it belongs to. The proposals put forward by Rumania at the latest session of the U.N. General Assembly with regard to regional agreements between states with differing social-economic systems, as well as the pro-

posals concerning the measures aimed at promoting the ideas of peace, mutual respect and understanding among nations in the ranks of youth, have enjoyed a wide echo.

Celebrating the 20th anniversary of the country's liberation from the fascist yoke, the Rumanian people, led by the Rumanian Workers' Party, proudly look back on the road covered in the socialist transformation of their country, in securing its prosperity, and unflinchingly proceed along the road opened up by August 23, putting all their creative forces and élan in the service of completing socialist construction.



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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SCIENCE EDUCATION CAPE COAST

ADMISSION OF STUDENTS

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The duration of the course will be as follows:

For holders of School Certificate—4 years (1 year for the Preliminary Course	3 years for the degree)
For holders of G.C.E. (O.L.)	do
For holders of G.C.E. (A.L.) or Higher School Certificate	3 years (for the degree)

Students who are expecting their examination results may also apply.

Applicants should state, among other details, the subjects offered for their examinations.
The closing date for the receipt of applications is 15th September, 1964.

GHANA LITERACY CAMPAIGN

by

OSEI OWUSU-AFRIYE

(Ghana Minister of Labour)

PROGRESS IN "LITERACY CAMPAIGN" IN GHANA

"An illiterate person is like one stumbling blindfolded in broad daylight", said an illiterate mother visiting her son at the University of Ghana when she found him after a tiring tour of halls and departments.

It was a most significant and pathetic statement. Abysmal poverty, rampant disease and stark illiteracy, these constitute the triune curse of Africa. By putting a person in the dark, illiteracy tends to aggravate and perpetuate the other two.

Illiteracy is at the roots of most of our troubles, for apart from its trammelling and hamstringing effects upon the individual it hampers him greatly in his efforts to make any significant contribution to our social progress.

Ghana has long realised the bane of illiteracy and has undertaken positive measures to eradicate it. The results so far have been very encouraging as the press release by Mr. Osei Owusu-Afriye, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, published below, demonstrates. What is significant about the Ghana "Literacy Campaign" is its ambitious programme for the future and the plan "not only to train people to read and write but also to try and fit such persons, when trained, into the economic, social and cultural life of the country".

GHANA'S transition to socialism requires from us a whole period of cultural advancement of the popular masses. It is our policy to intensify our efforts for universal literacy for we realise that without a proper degree of efficiency and without sufficiently training the illiterates among us to acquire the habit of reading, writing and understanding the problems of Ghana's social and economic development their effective contribution towards our socialist objective might be minimised.

You may recall that when Osagyefo addressed the Third Session of our National Assembly on 2nd October, 1962, he made mention of the Government's intention to launch a mass literacy campaign which would involve all classes of people in our community as our final great attempt to wipe out illiteracy completely from Ghana.

The need for literacy is greatly felt in Ghana today. We realise that when a person learns to read and write and is able to reckon, a great load of inferiority complex is lifted from his shoulders. He sees that progress is almost within his grasp. Once a person becomes literate, he is alive to the need for social and economic advancement. He demands better standards of housing, of communication and of cultivation, enlightened training for his children. In his village life, he begins to see at once the need to work and co-operate in the interests of the community.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The ability to read and write also helps to diminish the undesirable social division which grows up between the literate and illiterate classes in any community.

These are some of the compelling reasons for making a really determined effort to wage an attack on illiteracy. We want a literate nation and we must be determined to achieve our aim at all costs.

It is the policy of my Ministry within the Seven-Year Development Plan period to make a bold programme for the total eradication of illiteracy in Ghana.

The Government and Party recognize the need for cultural development and literacy

advancement as the imperative demands of life itself and have constantly appealed to the public and enlisted their assistance. In order to implement this policy successfully, the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development in co-operation with all the integral wings of the Party, all sections of the community, namely, Workers Brigade, Young Pioneers, Ghana National Construction Corporation, voluntary organisations such as the Churches, Commercial and mercantile firms, Red Cross, The Ghana Society for the Blind, Young Men's Christian Association, Ghana Child Care Society, Ghana Girl Guides Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Boy Scouts Association, of Ghana, Voluntary Workcamps Association of Ghana, the Ghana Cripples Aid Society, Society of Friends of Lepers, Ghana Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis and the National Council of Ghana Women, should be able to produce no less than 400,000 literates annually in order to make our estimated total of three million illiterate population become literate by the end of the Seven Year period.

Last year, however, through the joint efforts of the various agencies a total number of 199,444 learners and 22,397 voluntary instructors were registered for the literacy classes.

Mass Literacy Examinations have been conducted throughout the country. The results coming in are gratifying indeed.

Reports so far received show that a total number of 2,899 people (1,987 male, 921 female) passed the literacy examinations in the Central Region. In the Eastern Region 4,006 people (2,044 male, 1,962 female) passed. 1,678 passes were obtained in the Western Region. Results from Ashanti, Volta, Brong Ahafo, Greater Accra, Northern and Upper Regions are still being awaited.

LITERACY MATERIALS

Last year many factors militated against the achievement of hundred per cent successes. In most of the Regions the campaign was conducted at a time when the heavy rains had started. This was particularly so in the Northern and Upper Regions. The rains made regular attendances and supervisory of literacy classes difficult. Besides, there were not enough literacy reading materials at the beginning of the campaign. Adequate literacy materials are available this year in all the regions to start the campaign in full swing. Every Regional Head of Department of Social Welfare and Community Development has been given the option to start this year's campaign at a time most suitable to his particular region, taking into account the heavy rains, occupations of the inhabitants, and other local factors.

In Ashanti, Western, Central, Brong Ahafo, Greater

Accra, Eastern and Volta Regions literacy campaign began in July and will end in December. The Northern and Upper Regions began the publicity of the campaign in May this year and will undertake the actual intensive teaching from September to December. It is expected that by the end of December this year, the literacy campaign should be concluded and reports sent to my Ministry.

The arrangements we have made this year will enable literacy campaign to proceed without difficulties. It is hoped that a substantial enrolment of people can be achieved for the literacy classes.

To enable the campaign to receive due attention, it has been arranged for one Mass Education Officer to be placed solely in charge of the campaign in each Region. This officer is the right-hand officer of the Regional Head of Department in all literacy matters and he is responsible for the following duties:

- (i) Planning, organisation and implementation of all activities connected with the Adult Literacy Programme;
- (ii) The Provision of literacy kits and materials;
- (iii) Training of voluntary instructors;
- (iv) Organisation of literacy examinations;
- (v) Literacy records, reports, statistics and publicity; and
- (vi) Relations with voluntary organisations and other agencies, e.g., the Churches, the Mines, Commercial Firms, Young Pioneers, Inter-Regional Wings of the Party, etc., etc.

Apart from these departmental arrangements, the Village and Town Development Committees and the District Commissioners are actively participating in the Campaign. These Committees and the District Commissioners have been made responsible for the successful organisation of the literacy campaign in their respective villages, towns and districts. Accordingly, a scheme has been drawn up to enable all District Commissioners and Village Development Committees to "know their villages". In this scheme, a register is kept in each village showing what number is literate and what number is illiterate. Members of each Village Development Committee are expected to visit all homes, register the numbers of male and female illiterates and secure the assistance of voluntary instructors for each household.

COLONIAL MENTALITY

Most of our Secondary Schools and Teacher Training Colleges have also thrown in their lot for the success of the campaign. At week-ends, students are sent to nearby villages to teach in individual homes for about two hours. Some of the colleges showing this keen co-operation with the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development are the Techiman Training College at Abetifi; Krobo Presbyterian Training College at Odumase.

In order to achieve our objective, a conference of Mass Education Officers in charge of the literacy campaign in the regions was held at the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development at which far-reaching decisions were taken. It was emphasised at this conference that the mass literacy campaign which we have embarked upon in consonance with our Seven-Year Development Plan is not and would not follow the pattern of the

old "colonial mentality" type of literacy campaign in which people were just awarded literacy certificates with virtually no other end in view. In our present campaign our main aim is to teach the illiterate adults to become literate, and to encourage them to apply the new skill to agriculture and industry. This will be done in the following ways:

- (i) Linking literacy with Party Ideological Education. In this regard my Ministry is actively engaged in drawing up a programme to give all Principal Community Development Officers in direct charge of the Literacy Campaign in the Regions at least 3 months' orientation course at the Winneba Ideological Institute in the fundamentals of Nkrumaism, since these key officers will be directly in charge of training other officers in the Regions.

Party Ideological Education will form part of Training Programme of Voluntary Instructors and their subsequent Refresher Courses.

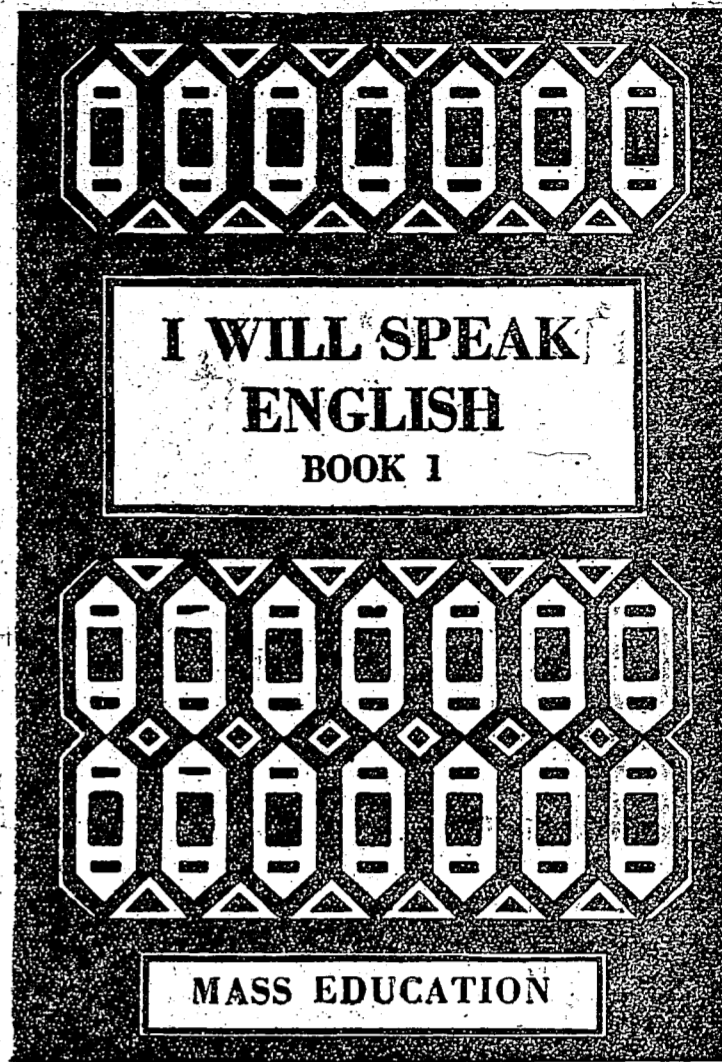
IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

All Mass Education personnel will be trained in the ideology of Nkrumaism at Regional Staff Refresher Courses so that they can be made aware of the need for linking our literacy campaigns with Party Ideological Education and to be able to participate fully in the programme.

- (ii) Closer co-operation and liaison with the Ministry of Agriculture in the development of settlement schemes now being undertaken in the Volta basin and other parts of the country.
- (iii) Training selected Mass Education Officers abroad in the Laubach technique in the art of writing suitable reading materials for newly-made literates.
- (iv) Closer co-operation with the Bureau of Ghana Languages to find more effective literature for the Literacy Campaigns. In this respect the Conference of Mass Education Officers decided to adopt the "KITWE PRIMEK"—a product of the Bureau—as the first Reader for the Advanced Literacy classes.
- (v) Working in close liaison with the Guinea Press, the Graphic, the Spark and other publishing agencies in the country in order to produce pamphlets and other publications simple enough for the new literates; so that they can read and apply their knowledge to the country's social and economic progress. Such new material for adult education must be based on Party Ideology.
- (vi) Arranging with the Press to allow at least one page of their publications for feature articles simplified and made readable for the new adult literates.
- (vii) Giving a new look to Community Development by integrating Literacy and Self-help construction projects with Industry and Agriculture, and thus raising the productivity of the individual.

Our objective is not only to train people to read and write but also to try and fit such persons, when trained, into the economic, social and cultural life of the country.

We have decided that regular meetings will be organised



One of the special English books designed for mass education in Ghana.

throughout the regions for all the integral wings of the Party. Announcements will be made in the Churches, at Party Rallies, on the Radio and in the Newspapers to inform and educate all sections of the people in this country that the mass literacy campaign, embodied in our Seven-Year Development Plan, is really a national responsibility.

In order to speed up the fight against illiteracy, we shall

continue to need the voluntary services of all public-spirited people, organisations, schools and colleges in the country, and above all, we shall continue to rely on the Press for support and publicity so that when, in December this year, mass literacy examinations are conducted throughout the country, larger numbers of our illiterates will be able to become proud possessors of our adult mass literacy certificates.

AFRICAN DAIRY

Continued from Page 3

Southern Rhodesian nationalist leader, and 85 other Africans should be set aside.

The Chief Justice, upheld last June's High Court decision that the restriction orders were invalid because the areas in which the Africans had been restricted did not permit the reasonable exercise of personal liberty.

NIGERIA: A Nigerian Federal Minister, Mr. Mbazulike Amechi, has accused Northern Nigerian Premier, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, of trying to encourage the annexation of Nigeria by the "Arab Continent".

Mr. Amechi who is in charge of Ports, said by tracing his origin to the Arab people, Premier Bello has given a clear indication of his ambition to win political power in Nigeria and convert the country into an extended Empire of the Arabs.

Premier Bello was reported to have said in Amman, Jordan, that Moslems scattered over Africa and the world should get together and proclaim their common unity.

MALAWI: A European bank clerk, Graham Watts, 21, has been sentenced to six strokes of the cane and £20 fine at Lilongwe court for causing a breach of the peace by insolently throwing objects at a portrait of Malawi Premier, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Alice Lenshina, "prophetess", leader of Northern Rhodesia's rebellious Lumpa Church sect, has appealed to her followers to return to their villages and not to attack anybody.

A Government spokesman said the appeal has been tape-recorded following her surrender to the Government and would be broadcast by radio and dropped in leaflet form over the troubled Northern and Eastern provinces.

KENYA: Addressing a press conference in Nairobi, Premier Jomo Kenyatta said one party system for Kenya was inevitable because of the country's historical past.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Co-m

menting on the sending of American troops and planes to the Congo, the *New York Times* demanded that the American people be told what their Government had in mind and how far it was prepared to go in the present Congo crisis.

The paper said the fear of anarchy in the Congo had led to the U.S. "getting itself militarily involved in still another conflict".

14th AUGUST, FRIDAY:

ALGERIA: President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria has received the Lenin Peace Prize at a ceremony at the People's Palace for his contribution to "the cause of world peace and understanding among peoples".

* The Popular Movement of Angolan Liberation has announced in Algiers that two officers and 27 men of the Portuguese Army have been killed in an ambush near the Army Headquarters in Hesanon Region (Cabinda) of Angola by the Army of the Liberation Movement.

Four trucks of the Portuguese were also destroyed during the attack.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Pretoria fascist regime's police have detained the President of the National Union of South African students, Mr. Jonty Driver.

NIGERIA: Two factories for the manufacture of illegal firearms have been discovered by the police in Ilesha.

Police sources said that a large plantation of Indian hemp has also been discovered in the area.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: In a radio interview with the *Daily News* (a local newspaper), Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Southern Rhodesian nationalist leader, declared that he and his men were "not very disappointed" at the white settler Government's decision to re-restrict them for they expected something of this.

GHANA: President Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria has in a message to Osagyefo the President said that he had been deeply touched by a message of sympathy sent to him by the Presidential Commission during the river-boat disaster on the Calabar River.

A mass education primer in Twi. Ghana educates her adults both in English and indigenous languages.

ASSIMILATION and ASSOCIATION

JEAN Suret-Canale, a French historian and militant politician has just published the second volume of his "West Black Africa". The first volume, which came out in 1958, dealt with the historical background up to 1900. This period coincides approximately with the time when the Colonial conquest was almost completed in this part of Africa. The second one gives a vivid and dramatic account of the Colonial rule in French West and Equatorial Africa from 1900 up to 1945. As the author states in his foreword, "although basically historical, this book retains however and unfortunately—an immediate significance even now, because the economic pattern of the colonial system have on the whole almost remained as they were..." A third volume, to be published later, will deal with West Africa's contemporary history, from 1945 to the present time.

The author had good opportunities of getting a first hand acquaintance with African problems and realities. Suret-Canale, participated in the second world war, as a resistance fighter and after the War was once arrested by the Nazis. He took an appointment as a professor in a Dakar Secondary School. He took an active part in the activities of the African Democratic Rally (R.D.A.) founded in 1946. In 1949, he was deported when the Colonial authorities were engaging in a policy of repression which culminated in the Ivory Coast slaughter of 1950. As a consequence of this arbitrary measure, Suret-Canale could not complete the thesis he was preparing on the Senegalese farmers.

In 1959, after Guinea's independence, Suret-Canale became the first Director of the Guinean Research Institute, and later on, the Principal of Kindia Training College. He stayed in Guinea up to 1963.

IN connection with the colonial administrative system of direct rule, the view has sometimes been put forward that it reflected an "Assimilation" political line, aimed, according to this view at "frenchizing" the colonies to such an extent that they should ultimately have become a mere duplication of French "Departments" (Regions) under new skies.

In fact, the colonial administration, authoritarian in its very principle, was basically hostile to the democratic institutions (at least democratic in their form) which the 3rd Republic had set up in France.

What was called the "indigenat" (natives' code) regime resulted in making the local population French "subjects" not in any way French citizens.

These "subjects" were liable to be sent to jail, fined or corporal punishments inflicted on them just by orders of the colonial civil servants.

The one actual meaning of the word "assimilation" could take was a negative one, that is to say it was a means of wiping out or ignoring the African political structure, and the culture of the African in order to replace them by colonial structures through the imposition of colonial educational system. This system could be called "French" of course, but was nevertheless at sharp variance with what was operating in France itself in these fields.

Nevertheless, this ambiguous view describing the colonial policy as something aimed at giving birth to an overseas France, was carefully developed and propagated. First of all, this was done for internal policy reasons. French school boys or voters, who did not know much about the colonial realities, were made to believe that the direct rule policy was the means by which the Black Africans were to be gradually upraised to a status of full-fledged French.

In some few particular areas, a few isolated measures conflicting with the general line of policy were also used to feed this delusion.

For instance, the towns of Goree and Saint-Louis in 1872, Rufisque in 1880 and Dakar in 1889 were given the status of French municipalities (and then called "commons with full rights"). In 1879, the inhabitants of such municipalities were given back the right (of which they had been deprived by the Second Empire) to elect a "General Council" and to send one M.P. to the French Parliament. Thus, they were like the inhabitants of French West Indies and Reunion, recognized as French "citizens". Yet, even the full exercise of their citizenship was for a long time put into question, while it was regarded as unequivocal for West Indians and Reunion people. But, could the Senegalese in-

habitants of the four municipalities be regarded as citizens, since they still kept their Moslem status, were polygamous, and therefore objected to the enforcement of the French Civil Code of Laws? On this question, a protracted trial had already opposed the inhabitants of a tiny island, Sainte-Marie de Madagascar, an "old" colony integrated into Malagasy after the conquest of the latter, against the colonial administration which had decided to reduce them to the condition of "subjects". With regard to the Senegalese municipalities, the question was settled only during the first World War, when their M.P., Blaise Diagne succeeded in getting Clemenceau to pass the 29th September, 1916 law which reads as follows:

"The people born in the four full right Senegalese municipalities and their descent are and remain French citizens subjected to the military duties as defined by the law of 19th October 1915".

These citizens were, of course, to be referred to as a concrete proof of French liberal policy.

On the other hand, this very fact was helpful for the colonial administration, in the sense that the latter could make use of these "citizens" against their numerous countermen who were still "subjects". The same goal was furthered by granting citizenship rights, on an individual basis to a very privileged few. Also few civil servants or important persons were freed, as a personal reward, from the restrictions of the native code (without, however, being made full citizens).

After the first World War, in order to put a brake on the claims of the Africans who had taken for granted what had been promised to them, this so-called "assimilation" policy was to be described officially as demagogic and unwelcome. Another policy, the so-called "association" policy was proclaimed. It was based on the circulars of Governors Ponty and Van Vollenhoven concerning the "races policy" and the use of native chiefs.

"The association policy," wrote H. Labouret, is based on reverence for the customs, ways of life and religious beliefs, it replaces everywhere by mutual aid the mere exploitation of native resources, the taking over of their properties and lands: It pulverises their intellectual development. At the same time, it is a realistic and wise policy, keeping up with unshakable firmness all the rights of the domination and taking into account the requirements of the latter. It doesn't intend to achieve an equality which is now, more often than not, impossible."

Actually, this so-called "association" tied up with keeping up the "rights of domination", was nothing else than the notorious horse and rider alliance. Under the disguise of reverence for customs, which, as the same

author has to admit, the bulk of the colonial civil servants did not know, for they had not been seriously studied, the colonial administration was to oppose and stop any democratic aspirations. "Customs" and "ways of life" were to be identified with the chieftainship, which, as we have already noticed has preserved only the outward semblance of the traditional chieftainship.

In fact, a few colonial theoreticians, who happened to be more sincere, or perhaps more cynical than the others, did not recoil, in the pre-1914 years, from deriding all this debate on the theme: association or assimilation, as well as the eulogies of the colonial regime described as beneficial to the colonized peoples.

For instance, Charles Regismanset, a top civil servant of the Ministry of Colonies, who had written an *Essay on Colonization*, wrote this under the ironical heading: "Is really the European colonization a progress?"

"Poor black mankind! Let us, at least, be sincere enough to recognize that, if we take so much care of you, it is only because you seem to us to constitute an inexhaustible reserve of manpower..."

"We want the African races to bring us the highest returns. We want the rubber and the ebony to appear in large quantities on Bordeaux or Le Havre's piers, we want the groundnuts to grow widely, we want palm-oil to flow in endless streams. All right. But then, what has all that to do with science, justice, bounty, and moreover, what has it to do with progress?"

"I do not wish education facilities for black peoples to be too much developed... As long as these peoples re-

by
Jean Suret-Canale

main the weakest partners, they will admit the right of the strongest. But if the strongest put down his weapons, if the black peoples understand that all these abstract matters are nothing but remarkable lies, then, they would be soon ready, as we know already through the illustration provided by the Vietnamese—to abrogate this so-called association contract, to rise up against the European tutelage and exploitation."

And, to sum up, he has this to add:

"Impracticable assimilation or hypocritical association, both systems are equally in an only too obvious a contradiction with the reality."

Another author, Jules Harmand, in his book: *Domination and Colonization*, makes a difference between the settlers colonies and what he calls the "dominations". And Regismanset congratulates him on having reckoned with the fact that, "what stands at the bottom of any colonial policy, is the strength".

Jules Harmand himself had stressed this point:

"The colonizer should not deceive himself. Despite his wisdom, his clever conduct and the efficiency of his rule, he will never inspire into those whom he intends to lead in this way after he has defeated and subjected them, the feelings of instinctive love and willful solidarity on which a nation can rest."

(SURET-CANALE, AFRIQUE NOIRE, I, II, p. 111-116.—Paris, 1964).

Footnotes :

(1) When, in 1840, Senegal's administrative system was set up, the colony included only Goree island, Saint-Louis du Senegal harbour, and a few stations along the river. Dakar was occupied only in 1857.

The King's ordinance of 7th September 1840 defined the powers of the Governor, who was to be assisted by an Administrative Council, on which the traders and merchants were represented. A "General Council" was created at St. Louis, and a "District Council" at Goree. The whole was some sort of a duplication, more or less adapted, to the French institutions on the pattern of the system enforced in the other "old" colonies (West Indies, Reunion, India).

(2) A decree of 25th May 1912 prescribed the following conditions for the "French West-African subjects to be

eligible for citizenship:

- (1) To be born and to have a home in French West Africa (A.O.F.);
- (2) to be at least 21-years old;
- (3) to be able to read and write, or to have got the Order of Honour or the Military Cross, or to have given exceptional services to France or to the colony;
- (4) to be able to prove that he has adequate means of living, and that he was of good conduct;
- (5) to have given concrete evidence of his loyalty to French interests, or to have well served for ten years in a public or private enterprise.

Thus, the colonial administration had at its disposal every means of opposing the naturalization claims to which, they were strongly opposed as a matter of principle. In this case only a negligible number of people could benefit from it.

(3) H. Labouret had to admit it, when he notes "...None of the suggestions offered to remedy the situation was regarded as bad since 1909 has ever reached its aim, as they were empirical solutions, concerning only the chiefs themselves, instead of taking into account the whole social context".

Self-Induced

Continued from page 1

ble capital formation can take place within the country in question. The problems of capital accumulation at home is therefore never solved.

The classic examples of such a state of affairs are the Latin American countries.

A variant of this strategy of development is a partnership between the government of the new state and foreign capital. Under this arrangement, the government concentrates its efforts on social services and on the provision of the infrastructure of development. Foreign capital is given a free hand in the productive sectors of the national economy.

Even this variant does not solve the problems of capital accumulation since the productive sectors, which are the main sources of investment capital, continue to yield profits largely consumed abroad. Moreover, the rate of growth in social services and the infrastructure is greatly retarded by the fact that development funds for these sectors are assembled primarily by way of taxes on the productive sectors. It is important to note here that the rate of taxes on foreign enterprises can never go too high as this would negate the *raison d'être* of foreign investments.

The control of the productive sectors of an economy by foreign interests has far-reaching effects on political power. In the first place, the men at the helm of state affairs must always dance to the tune of the foreign investors since the little economic activity there depends on these interests. A temporary cessation of activities by foreign companies could lead to such serious crisis (. . . prices, increased unemployment) that the government could be unseated.

In the second place, the pace of development in the social services and infrastructure depends on the level of government revenue. But the level of government revenue owes much to the disposition of the foreign investors who are usually in a strong bargaining position when it comes to deciding on financial policies.

In absolute opposition to the view that the primary stimuli economic development must come from external sources stands the viewpoint of "Consciencism". This view holds that the major effort must come from within the country. This view could be labelled the theory of self-induced development.

The advantages of self-induced development are too apparent to require elucidation. Two points, however, need be emphasized. The first is the absolute control this line of development vests in the state. Such control is clearly in accordance with the spirit of the revolt against colonialism just as much as the theory of externally induced development is a negation of the national revolution.

CONSCIOUS SUPPORT

The second point is that, because it demands sacrifices like the postponement of consumption in order to raise investment capital, self-induced development cannot proceed without the full and conscious support of the broad masses. The state following this path of development is thus compelled by the logic of events to give the people a big say and the decisive voice in policy-making. Put in another way, self-induced development demands and compels a truly democratic and popular approach to the formulation and implementation of state policies. It can be undertaken only where the people's political power exists *de facto* and not merely *de jure*.

POPULAR SUPPORT

An argument often employed against self-induced development is that because the capital-forming potentialities of the newly emergent state are so limited the path of depending on one's self could not yield the required amount of investment capital. This argument is only valid if we look at the problem superficially and in terms of the economic categories left behind by colonialism.

As soon as the new state settles down to a systematic dismantling of the economic structure of colonialism, on the basis of public ownership, the problem of capital accumulation becomes less frightening than it had appeared. For

example, the substitution of state banks, state trading organisations, state insurance, state shipping lines etc. for the privately owned imperialist concerns in these fields put the new state in a position to rake in at least part of the profits that formerly went to the foreign investors.

Again, the active intervention of the state in economic production makes it easier for development capital from the non-capitalist parts of the world to assist in the economic reconstruction of the new state. Here it ought to be pointed out that, because of their very nature socialist economies cannot play an important role in helping on economies which depend wholly on private enterprise.

The unavoidable desideratum of the strategy of self-induced development is a vigorous and all-out struggle against neo-colonialism. One cannot take over the "commanding heights" of the national economy from foreign interests without at the same time engaging in a vigorous political struggle against the imperialist countries involved. Thus an intensification of the political struggle against neo-colonialism becomes a condition for economic independence. The view that once political independence is won the task reduces simply to economic construction is therefore misleading and could even lead to the entrenchment of neo-colonialism.

A word of caution. It will be wrong to regard external and internal development capital as being mutually exclusive. In reality, they often exist together in the same state. The important index—the decisive factor—is the relative importance of each element in the development strategy of the new state. In other words, self-induced development does not exclude all foreign capital. It merely makes sure that the primary effort or thrust is from home while the external aid is the booster or secondary effort. When the contrary is the case, we say the strategy of development is dependence on foreign sources.

The second issue in the great debate is whether economic development in newly emergent nations should devolve on private capital or on

the state. Here again, it is not a question of the one excluding the other but of the relative importance of each sector in promoting economic growth.

One view is that this assignment should be left to the indigenous capitalists. The other view, the standpoint of "Consciencism", is that the state must boldly enter the arena of economic production and there play the leading role.

It is not difficult to see that dependence on an indigenous capitalist class is a futile exercise. In most emergent states, a class of capitalists either does not exist or is found in a very embryonic stage of development. This is the outcome of colonialism which converts the colonial territory into suppliers of raw materials, into markets for manufactured goods of the metropolitan industries and into spheres for the investment of capital from the "home" country. Thus the operation of colonialism meant the absence or stunted growth of our indigenous capitalist class.

Any attempt to encourage the growth of this class after political independence has been won leads to the emergence of a class of the "new rich" who amass wealth through their contacts with the state apparatus. The end product is a very corrupt regime alienated from the people and therefore incapable of following the line of self-induced development.

RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH

The other channel of growth for this class is partnership with foreign capital. But because the local capitalists are clearly the weaker of the two partners, reliance on the local bourgeoisie for the promotion of economic growth invariably leads to increased control by foreign interests. Hence neo-colonialism.

An added advantage of the public or socialist approach to development is that it is possible along this road "to contain and prevent the spread of those anomalies and domineering interests created by the capitalist habit of colonialism" (Consciencism p. 106).

The conclusion of our survey so far is that the most effective strategy of development in emergent African states is self-induced, socialist development. It is along this path that national independence can be consolidated and

rendered stronger.

There is, however, a concept very ancillary to self-induced, socialist development. This is the idea of an optimum zone of development. It is an important issue raised by two factors:—

- (a) the need to use the most up-to-date technology in order to gain the full benefits of large-scale production; and
- (b) the requirement that development should be self-induced.

An optimum zone of self-induced development must necessarily be a vast land mass with a big population. The vast land mass is required because a wide variety of geographical regions and geological formations is needed to yield all the agricultural and mineral raw materials on which modern industrialism depends. A big population is needed to provide the vast and expanding market for the mass produced goods of a highly technical industrial system.

Judging from the experience of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and now of the People's Republic of China, it seems that a vast land mass with a population running into hundreds of millions is needed.

We may summarise. The basic need of the emergent states of Africa is rapid, all-round development.

In order that it be self-induced, such development must proceed within an optimum zone.

The search for an optimum zone of self-induced development leads logically to the entire African continent being considered a single unit of development.

Hence continental African Unity.

Accordingly, the strategy of development set out in "Consciencism" has the following elements:—

- i. it must be self-induced in spirit;
- ii. it must be socialist in character;
- iii. it has to proceed within a framework of continental African Unity.

What is more, "Consciencism" shows that this is the only way to combine a rapid economic growth rate with national independence and the well-being of the broad masses.

The strategy is winning through as the experiences of Ghana, U.A.R. and Algeria show because "the people are the reality of national greatness."