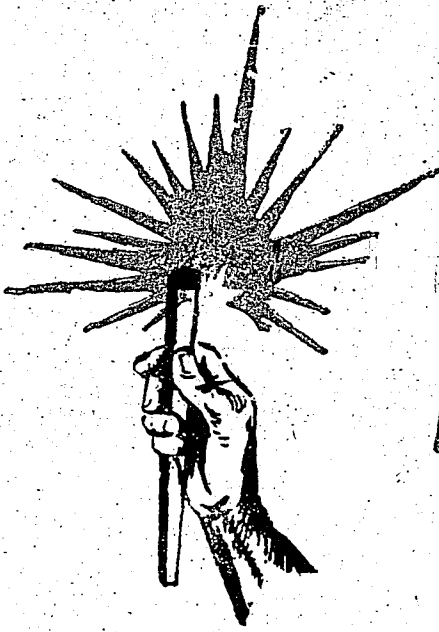


THE SPARK



A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION
(Registered at the G. P. O. as a Newspaper)

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1964

EDITORIAL

The New Offensive (3)

WE return to our study of the new propaganda offensive launched against Ghana by Anglo-U.S. imperialism. The first two studies are in our issues of September 4th and 11th.

The new propaganda drive is under the banner of African socialism and or Pan-Africanism. Whereas the slogan employed inside Ghana is Pan-Africanism, resort is had to African socialism elsewhere in Africa. The calculation here is that it should be easier to rally resistance inside Ghana to Nkrumah's advance to socialism by beating the drum of Pan-Africanism than by making use of African socialism, which term is already in bad taste in Ghana.

The personification of Pan-Africanism, to the strategists of the new offensive, is George Padmore. At least this is the view of the organ of a newly launched West German "Foundation" that makes "a special study" of African problems. Everything said about Pan-Africanism by this organ is meant to build a halo around the late Padmore in an effort to create ideological counterpoise to Nkrumahism.

This tactic is doomed to failure; because the policy of the Convention People's Party is Nkrumah's and it has been massively approved and endorsed by the Ghanaian people. It is not a partnership programme with Nkrumah and Padmore as the co-directors. Reference to "Towards Colonial Freedom", "Africa Must Unite" and now "Consciencism" will bring this contention out most forcefully. The ingenious attempts first to raise Padmore to the level of co-theoretician of the African Revolution and then to seek to split the forces of our revolution by inventing a cleavage between Nkrumah and Padmore is a complete falsification of history with no other purpose than to sow discord. It is a transparent, puerile trick to create an ideological platform for the conduct of inner-party struggle within the C.P.P.

Here it is useful to add that Padmore himself would sternly rebuke these posthumous disciples of his, if he were still with us. For though he was a faithful chronicler, an indefatigable propagandist and a competent executive of the African Revolution, Padmore never arrogated to himself the role of theoretician and leader of the African Revolution.

Now, how does the machinery of this propaganda against Ghana's socialist advance work?

Apart from sustained attacks on Nkrumah in British and U.S. press, direct imperialist propaganda effort in Africa is left to the second string nations of Western imperialism—West Germany in particular. A virulent attack is made on Ghana in a West German paper. Then it is reproduced in Switzerland. Next, Radio Monrovia carries this article in its African broadcasts. Then the same stuff is serialised in a Lagos newspaper, "The Daily Telegraph", under assumed Ghanaian names. (In fact, pen names used by the United Party of Busia and Gbedemah).

The subject matter used repeatedly, in these newspaper and radio attacks on Ghana are three. Firstly, present Ghana, these attacks allege, represents a break with Padmore who is now portrayed as the creator of Pan-Africanism. Secondly, the new men around Nkrumah are pro-communist. Thirdly, the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute has become the primary instrument in pushing Nkrumah's socialist programme to the detriment of other agencies.

The fact that these subjects are used by West German and Swiss papers, by Radio Monrovia and again by the Lagos newspaper placed at the disposal of the propaganda department of the self-exiled Ghana United Party, shows clearly that these agencies are centrally co-ordinated. And it is not difficult to see that the guiding hand is that of Anglo-U.S. imperialism.

But of great importance in this exercise is the bridgehead inside Ghana for this propaganda drive. This is to be found even within the influential circles

Continued on page

THE FIRST CENTURY

By Julius Sago

PROLETARIAN internationalism is a hundred years old. This week celebrations are taking place in Moscow and throughout the Socialist countries to mark the first centenary of the International Working Men's Association (I.W.M.A.). When on 28th September, 1864, representatives of the working class of a handful of West European countries met in London (St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre) little were they aware that they were setting in motion a mighty force that would chart the course of human history.

In contrast to the huddled atmosphere of a hundred years ago, today the flag of proletarian internationalism flies proudly over one half of the human race. And, in the other half of the world, imperialism and capitalism are reeling under the mounting pressure and unrelenting siege of the working class advance.

The achievements of the socialist system in every walk of life stand out as shining beacons of the capability of a man once freed from the constriction of greed, exploitation and avarice.

As we review the achievements of the world socialist movement in the past one hundred years, we can feel just as Frederick Engels felt on 1st May, 1890 when, reflecting on the Working Men's International Association he wrote: "True, the International itself lived only nine years. But that the eternal union of the proletarians of all countries created by it is still alive and lives stronger than ever, there is no better witness than this day."

Today the central theme in human history is the revolution against imperialism and capitalism. Everywhere the people are up in arms to enforce liberty, equality and justice. And the peoples of the colonial and former colonial areas of the world have become an integral component of this global struggle. Indeed the colonial, semi-colonial and newly emerged countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the storm centres of this world revolution.

CENTURY OF CONTINUING REVOLUTION

When, to this picture we add the revolutions that have rocked the capitalist system from the great October Socialist Revolution led by Lenin to the signal triumph of the Peoples Republic of China led by Mao-Tse Tung, we all the more appreciate Kwame Nkrumah's characterisation of our epoch as the "century of continuing revolution."

While we rejoice over the great achievements of the socialist movement in the past century, and while we brace ourselves for the big assignments that lie ahead, it is most necessary that we pay attention to the weakness in our work.

The main weakness in our work has been the watering down of our internationalism by the emergence of nationalism. Here and there we slip into this dangerous (and self-defeating) frame of mind when we project national policies as the general line of the international socialist movement.

The organisational reflection of this error is the desire to create a single centre from which to direct the entire world socialist movement. Instead of "a centre of co-ordination" for all the detachments that make up the movement, we now see emerging centres of control. Clearly, a continuance of this frame of mind could lead to the fragmentation of the world socialist movement.

The other weakness in our work is an appalling lack of knowledge of the internal mechanism of the national liberation movements of the world. As a result, there has been the tendency to embrace the facile but erroneous generalisation that the national liberation movement is automatically a component of the world socialist movement.

The centenary celebrations of the First International give us all the opportunity to re-dedicate ourselves to the principles laid down with great analytical insight by Karl Marx and his compatriots. The main points could be summarised as follows:—

1. Free, equal and principled consultation among socialist detachments in all lands. The International was "a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries and aiming at the same end" (Article 1. General Rules of the International Working Men's Association).
2. Unity at home and solidarity abroad. "All efforts aiming at that great end (emancipation of working classes) have hitherto failed from want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries" (Preamble to the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association).
3. The people must control political power. "... the conquest of political power becomes the great duty of the proletariat" (Rule 7a of the International Working Men's Association).
4. Scientific leadership of a united people. "One element of success they (the working people) possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by

combination and led by knowledge" (Marx; Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association).

The young socialist movements in Africa ought to pay great heed to the plea of Marx for knowledge. A lapse in this regard has led, and will continue to lead, many socialist revolutionaries into dangerous adventurism to the discom-

ture of the socialist movement itself.

The central point from which most errors of these socialist revolutionaries in Africa spring is the concept of the proletariat. Who are the working people in Africa today?

WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

Some African Marxists try to fit Marx's analysis of West European society in the mid-19th century into the African society of the mid-twentieth century. They are busily looking for the "two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." They forget that because colonialism meant the virtual

absence of manufacturing industries in the colonial countries, conditions were not congenial for the emergence of a large and concentrated industrial proletariat. Consequently they mistake the white collar workers who served the colonial administrative machine for this industrial proletariat. And in persisting to entrust the leadership of the socialist movement to such white collar workers, these comrades end up in enthroning what at best is middle class socialism, at worst unalloyed capitalism without the label. Both systems leave the labouring masses as exploited as ever.

Continued on page 6

World Socialist Movement

WE are happy to be offered the opportunity to participate in the celebrations of the centenary of the First International.

Though the First International was convened to express the idea of unity among the working peoples of all lands and to express the solidarity with the Polish National Struggle against tsarist Russia, its outcome today is so tremendous that our meeting here should be something more than the formal celebration of an important date.

The representatives of workers and revolutionaries from a few European countries, the leaders of the British craft unions, the Proudhonist benefit societies, patriotic democratic bodies struggling for the unity of Italy, small workers and the group of French workers who founded the International Workingmen's Association set at work the dynamic and propelling force of the unitarian consciousness of all oppressed peoples throughout the world.

The relation of the efforts of Karl Marx and the participants of the First International to the struggle of the colonial peoples is clearly expressed in the general rules which Karl Marx wrote for the International Workingmen's Association.

It is here that our interest becomes profound; for we see that in a very real sense the colonial peoples are the working class of the imperialist system in the colonies.

Flowing logically from this, there is a natural bond of solidarity between the people who were and are subjected to the colonial system and the proletariat of the capitalist countries who are the working class of the imperialist system in the metropolitan countries. It is this awareness which made us accept, as the basic condition for the success of our struggle the strong bonds of solidarity between the colonial people, the emerging countries of Africa and Asia, the working class of the capitalist countries and the peoples of the socialist coun-

Speech delivered in Moscow by Kodwo Addison, Director of Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute and Member of Presidential Commission.

understanding, based on a more realistic appraisal of the national liberation movements of Africa.

- (2) The idea that the only way forward for newly emerged African countries is automatically that of socialist development must be re-assessed in the light of recent developments in Africa. The issue is often over-simplified.

As we can see it today, there are three types of national liberation movements in Africa:

- (1) The struggle for national freedom and against apartheid in colonial countries and in countries under white minority rule.
- (2) The struggle in countries which, though formally independent, are trekking the path of capitalist development.
- (3) The struggle in independent countries which have taken the path of socialist development.

Only the third category is faced with the main problem of socialist economic construction, though it must be fully realised that to break up colonial economic relations and substitute the relations of economic independence necessarily involves major adjustments that often engender

Continued on page

(1) There must be a fuller

Independence and After (VI)

Socialism or Capitalism?

by OBOTAN AWUKU

In our last article we examined the process of growth and the measures which when taken would precipitate a stagnant economy into development. The measures were those which might be taken (with appropriate modifications) in any society, whether socialist or capitalist.

The cardinal point, however, is not just the initiation of growth but the KIND of growth and the ultimate florescence of that development. Hence the overriding importance of the model of development that may be chosen in the initial stages. In relative political terms nationalism alone is not enough; it must be backed and directed by an ideology; for it is the ideology that will determine the economic model. In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, "Practice without thought is blind, thought without action is empty".

Unfortunately this all-important question of ideology and its related growth model is all too often overlooked by most leaders of newly-independent countries who in their anxiety to entrench themselves in power grasp with avidity any seeming opportunity that will enable them to point with the finger of pride: "See, what I have done for you."

But sanity demands circumspection in the matter of seeking aids which may all too often be traps which may ensnare and any lack of foresight in this regard may not only mean that growth may be arrested prematurely but that, even more dangerously, a newly independent country may end up with a more subtle and pernicious domination under which the fruits of the land will continue to be drained out of the country while the people are left with the dregs and crumbs. This is a state of affairs which Kwame Nkrumah has aptly described as neo-colonialism.

MODELS

Some economists have attempted to present models of growth which less developed countries may adopt. These are (a) the Japanese model, (b) the Indian model and (c) the socialist model.

Appropos these they advance that where some kind of development has proceeded to an appreciable extent and a class of capitalists has already emerged, it is best to follow the so-called Japanese model. In fine the Japanese economy was transformed through a conscious effort of the government by deliberately creating an atmosphere conducive to the growth of the spirit of private enterprise and by creating a consciousness among the people that growth was necessary to national security and continued sovereignty of the Japanese state. The pursuit of private gain, therefore, was considered to be a gain to the state. But above all the state established a number of enterprises which were strategic to growth.

These were later sold to private capitalists at incredibly low prices.

About the Indian model these theoreticians are non-committal (certainly because they are plagued with doubts) about the ultimate structure that the economy will take. Nevertheless, except we are disposed to glossing over apparent facts, we cannot have much difficulty in seeing that the Indian economy is heading towards capitalism, because the private sector is fast engulfing the public sector.

There can of course be no uncertainties about the socialist model. When a country chooses the path of socialism from the beginning it must end up with being socialist.

Attention must be drawn to the fact that under prevailing circumstances newly independent countries may find it best to build socialism by the adoption of a model similar to the Indian. This is the development programme adopted by Ghana. This country's economy is divided into several sectors, e.g.

- the public sector owned and operated by the state,
- the joint state and private sector consisting of enterprises jointly owned and operated by the state and foreign concerns,

(c) foreign private sector in which investments are made solely by foreign entrepreneurs.

(d) the local private sector in which encouragement is given to local entrepreneurs in the establishment of private enterprises.

(e) the co-operative sector in which investment is undertaken through co-operative effort.

The distinguishing feature of this Ghanaian approach to development is that the ultimate aim is SOCIALISM. Therefore while encouragement in the short run is given to the non-public sector in order that it may contribute its maximum share in the task of economic development, policy is so geared as to enable the public sector to outgrow the private sector. This will ultimately lead to a natural transfer of ownership of the means of production from private hands to the Ghanaian society. It is noteworthy that this policy is in consonance with Nkrumah's philosophy of applying the fundamental principles of scientific socialism to the peculiar historical conditions of Africa.

THE CHOICE

It would appear however, that the theorizing about these particular models is unnecessary. The distinction that needs to be drawn is between capitalism and socialism and it is between these two alternatives that a country embarking upon development must choose. Here is where, reason, foresight and history must be the guides.

An obvious conclusion to be drawn from the so-called models is that government participation is indispensable to economic development. In fact it needs courage to deny that government participation has always been necessary in economic development. The persuasion of most present-day capitalist economists is not a denial of the necessity for government participation, but that this necessary evil must be relegated to the barest essentials, for after all the quintessence of capitalism is laissez-faire—let them be. If it has now become necessary to water it down, the dilution should not be overdone!

Obviously the degree of government participation will mould the ultimate pattern of the economy. In this regard the case of Japan needs further clarification. Despite the plaudits very often lavished upon the Japanese capitalist for his initiative, enterprise and industry, it is highly improbable that economic development would have begun, let alone proceeded at the rate it occurred in that country without the unprecedented enterprise shown by the Japanese government in the crucial period of the "take-off".

Japan would have developed into a model socialist country for a number of reasons, prominent among which is the fact that her modern econo-

my grew upon the old highly feudalistic structure. Japan's particular historical circumstances made the feudal class see in economic development the means of retaining power.

In the earlier capitalist developments, the state was no less an instrument of the capitalist class. But the historical circumstances were such that it was only found necessary to delimit its functions to such matters as legislation regarding the acquisition of land for enclosures and later for the construction of canals, railways etc.

ECONOMIC LAWS

Laissez-faire was the prevailing theory and this demanded the complete abnegation of government action in the Bedlam of economic activities. Its meddling in economic affairs, it was believed, would bring nothing but harm and ultimate collapse to the system.

The fortuitous publication of two theories made this notion even more plausible. The major one was the revolutionary theory of evolution advanced by Darwin. The other one was the theory of population propounded by Malthus.

Darwin's theory was epitomised in the popular phrase: "The survival of the fittest," and Nature was held to achieve her purpose of progress through unrelenting and brutal competition in which the weak was eliminated and the strong lived.

Economic laws were held to synchronize with the laws of nature; and these were considered to be sacrosanct. The economic system was believed to be sustained by the laws of supply and demand and the unrestricted competition of producers and consumers. In this chaotic welter of conflicting interests and motives, equilibrium and progress were to be found just as water progressively finds its own level.

A GAMBLE

The question is whether it worked. We might as well ask whether people ever win at the football pools? They do. But the point is that the proportion of those who win out of the millions who stake is quite a negligible quantity. It is like tossing a dice millions of times. You are bound to get six showing a couple of a thousand times.

The classical capitalist system wobbled and groped in the same blind way; and some sixes did show. Capital accumulated in the hands of a few fortunate men, new methods, new techniques, new inventions were made. But the progress was made at the tremendous cost of groans and sweat and blood of millions.

Here it must be stated at once that progress in the Soviet Union, for example, was achieved at similar, if not greater, cost of human suffering. The difference is that although Stalin must have overstepped the bounds of restraint, most of the sacrifices of the Soviet peoples was a historical necessity. The building of the first socialist state in the history of man was started in an extremely hostile world climate. Within and without, enemies worked unceasingly to make the experiment unworkable. Never-

theless, it is to the credit of the socialist system that through all the vicissitudes and sufferings, the welfare of the common people was considered to be the supreme obligation of the state which controlled the means of production.

Contrast this with the capitalist system which is motivated by the maximisation of profit at the expense of both the consumer and the worker. Those who talk of Stalin's concentration camps forget the horrors of the Industrial Revolution in England. In the sublime desire to achieve the greatest good the socialist system may feel compelled to crush the selfish minority; in the venal desire to make the greatest gain the selfish few of the capitalist system feel impelled to bleed the majority.

In the ruthless exploitation the conscience of the capitalists was salved with the scientific theory of the survival of the fittest. They were made of sterner stuff, they argued, and had the right to might and the justification to use it without scruple. Did not the Malthusian theory of population advance that that was for the good of mankind? Malthus asserted that population advanced by geometric progression, 1, 4, 16, 64, etc. while human sustenance advanced by arithmetic progression, 2, 4, 6, 8, etc.

"BOOMS AND DOOMS"

Overpopulation of the earth, he maintained, had been checked in the past by natural calamities; such as plagues, famines, earthquakes etc. It was therefore considered more enlightened perhaps to reduce the standard of living of the lower classes to the lowest minimum since any rise would cause a population outbreak.

Furthermore, dictated as it is by the profit motive, employment of labour in the capitalist system is solely governed by profitability. Hence its inherent defect of structural unemployment which has defeated solution. The mass unemployment we studied under technological dualism is as much a part of the colonial system as of the capitalist system in the metropolitan country.

An even more deleterious defect of the capitalist system was the periodic booms and dooms, the recurrent multi-cycles of overproduction and underproduction when things at some periods became superabundant and at other periods became extremely scarce.

This culminated in the Great Depression of the 30's which was so catastrophic that but for the timely occurrence of the Second World War, the system might have collapsed.

CAPITALISM AND WAR

This is a point to remember. Capitalism thrives on war. The moribund capitalist system of the nineteenth century was resuscitated by the deluge of destruction unleashed by Hitler. And one of the most important contributory factors to Japan's remarkable success at modernizing her economy was the timely occurrence of the First World War. She stayed outside it and profited by it.

This strange characteristic of the capitalist system is born of its inherent contradictions which Marx pointed out. It grows by destruction. Under the stress of war all the productive forces of the economy are marshalled together and the unemployed and underemployed factors of production are fully utilized. If there is defeat, that also gives it a golden opportunity to mobilize all productive factors in reconstruction.

The underlying reason of this fatalistic phenomenon is

that under exigencies of war, the "immutable" laws of the capitalist system are set in abeyance, and instead of the dictates of blind chance, reason is brought to bear and production and distribution are planned. In other words, capitalism cannot survive under crisis save by the methods of socialism.

This leads us to another important observation. Just prior to the Great Depression, a malignant problem that faced the capitalist system was stagnation. It was a prelude to the catastrophe (and by this we mean not the War which we know benefited the system but the Depression). It was a period when the hectic rebuilding after the First World War had been completed, and when the spirited exploitation of new lands which stimulated growth in the nineteenth century had died down.

PRESENT PICTURE

Our picture will not be complete without a close view of what the capitalist system is at present. From the woes and tribulations the protagonists of the moribund system learnt a few lessons. First and foremost they learnt with chagrin that their "natural" economic laws were not so inviolable and that if the system must continue its woeful existence, the state must take an active part in the day to day economic conflict, a sort of referee who whistles for foul plays in the life and death competition. To their factors of analysis, "C & I" therefore, was now added, albeit reluctantly, a "G".

[C stands for Consumption (demand), I for Investment (supply) and G for Government expenditure and taxation.]

The result of this innovation is that although the fluctuations still occur, they do not soar so high and dive so deep now, and so they no longer cause booms and dooms, but revivals and recessions. Nevertheless the problem is there all the same.

The problem of unemployment remains unsolved. It seems it has come to stay (at least so long as capitalism remains). There must always be in the capitalist world some people who must not eat bread, and with an increasing use of labour saving machinery (automation) and other developments aimed at maximisation of profits no longer by wage cuts but by cost reduction, it seems the army of the jobless which Marx spoke of is going to grow yet.

Stagnation is no longer a headache, but that is due in part to the fact that yet another law of capitalism, ruthless exploitation of labour, has been modified. Now the self-seeking capitalist has learnt that the worker is also the consumer and he must be paid in order that he may buy. But more importantly it is due to state manipulation through its fiscal and monetary policies.

CREEPING INFLATION

Yet the capitalist system (they often like to call it the market system) is far from seeing the end of its woes. While tragic inflation which so often accompanied the booms and led to the dooms is uncommon these days, there is now the intractable problem of creeping inflation. This some economists contend, is harmless and is (they say) one of the secrets that have solved the problem of stagnation. It therefore leads to progress.

Perhaps. But the trouble is that the reins may snap at any time and this creeping horse gallop into catastrophe. And the likelihood is great since the more dangerous kind is directly the result of the

perennial conflict between the owners of business and workers.

This then is the exact picture of the capitalist system and it looks most unattractive. Despite its foibles, it has worked for the West. It has made America the nation with the highest per capita income in the world.

Without reference to "the other America" with its millions of hungry souls, we can tell why this system simply can't work for Africa and the rest of the less developed world. But this will be the subject of our next analysis. To make our final choice easy, let us take a brief look of the antithesis of capitalism viz. socialism.

SOCIALISM

The fundamental principles of socialism are the social ownership of the means of production and the rule that production and distribution shall be based upon the axiom: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his contribution."

The contrast to the capitalist system is clear. In the capitalist economy, since the means of production is privately owned, the worker's connection with the productive process is exactly like that of any other factor of production; labour is bought and sold like land, machinery etc. The fundamental law of buying and selling is that the buyer wants it cheap and the seller wants it dear. There is at once a conflict of interests and motives. The price of labour depends upon which group is the stronger and the winner gets the money PLUS the enemy of the loser.

The worker of course is often the loser because the very nature of the system as we have seen ensures that there is always a hard core of people who are permanently unemployed. The employment of these will only mean the lowering of wages. But as is usually the case they are deprived of employment by trade union restrictions. Any how, the working class always suffers.

SOCIALIST ECONOMIC LAWS

Such antagonistic contradictions are unknown in the socialist system. Collective ownership ensures co-operation and mutual assistance. This presupposes continuously increasing productivity and rapid uninterrupted development of the processes of production.

From the collective ownership of the means of production therefore evolves some basic socialist economic laws:—

- the law of the planned, proportional development of the national economy;
- the law of distribution according to work done; and
- the law of steadily increasing labour productivity.

The implications are obvious. Conscious planning reduces waste and misuse of factors of production which means that production, unacted primarily by the desire to make the greatest profit, will be based upon consideration of all the factors available. Unemployment is therefore incompatible with socialist system. Likewise the alternations of over-production and underproduction are unknown.

In the words of Fredrick Engels, "the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of produc-

tion upon a definite plan according to the needs of the community and of each individual".

Planning makes possible the concentration of resources towards the solution of scientific and technological problems. It further ensures a high rate of production resulting in constant and rapid growth of the economy.

The comprehensive planning yielding such benefits is only made possible by the social ownership of the means of production. For the same reason, social justice is made possible. Every worker is ensured a permanent means of livelihood, and every worker is rewarded not by the whims of a profit-seeking employer but according to his contribution. As Nkrumah puts it, private affluence and social want cannot coexist in a socialist state.

The excess over the distribution of the social output belongs not to private entrepreneurs, but to the workers collectively. For the collective ownership of the productive factors demands that society as whole should control the productive process and this is done through the state, which therefore decides the proportion of that output that shall be distributed, and the proportion that shall be saved as a means of augmenting the instruments of production and hence greater future output. For development in a socialist society is governed by the same law which guided traditional African society as expounded by Kwame Nkrumah: "The free development of each is conditioned by the free development of all".

The guiding principle of state control is democratic centralism which combines centralised planning with socialist democracy. The central organs of the state give conscious guidance on main issues and leaves room for local initiative and creative activity on the lowest levels. Such a system guarantees in the words of Lenin that "the unity of essentials, of fundamentals, of the substance is not disturbed but ensured by variety in details, in specific local features, in methods of approach, in methods of exercising control." Society thus, he says further, becomes "one single office, one single factory".

Such a system ensures that the human and natural resources of the community shall be used with the highest effectiveness for the maximum good. It is no wonder then that while capitalist development proceeds intermittently and with jerks, socialist growth advances with proportionality and constancy. Nor is it surprising too that the socialist economy grows as much as three to four times faster than the capitalist economy in its heydays. Capitalist growth rate in the 19th century averaged between 3 and 4 per cent while the rate of growth in socialist economies ranges between 10 and 13 per cent and above. Again while the capitalist rate tends to level off after maturity, conscious planning ensures an ever ascending rate of growth.

The history of Soviet economic development is enough tribute to the socialist system.

There may be difficulties in planning and the implementation of plans but the problem here is perfecting a good system, while with the capitalist system we are harassed in trying to resolve insoluble problems. ("Our Choice" This will be the subject of our next analysis).

Who Still Trades With Salazar?

IT has been for some time an open secret that solemn decisions taken by the OAU, official statements and assertions made in press articles are not hiding the fact that trade is being carried on with the enemies of Africa and antagonists of African unity by some African states and professed friends of Africa. It is going on with the racist fascist regime of Verwoerd. It is going on with the murderous regime of Salazar.

The figures to that effect we hereby disclose to the world for the first time. They are official UNO figures, strongly guarded as top secret and very hard to come by, although any UNO information should be accessible to all. The rea-

son is clear.

By releasing them we are doing great harm to Mr. Salazar; for first among all else it is the Portuguese authorities who wish these secrets to remain hidden so that the game can go on.

Those African countries which are guilty by their involvement in this matter must now bear the brunt of their guilt before African public opinion.

If Africa's struggles are to succeed, a minimum of sincerity is a must. Otherwise, we shall be playing into the hands of those who wish us nothing but harm. Trade with Portugal and South Africa is suicide.

Though these figures speak for themselves, they nevertheless call for some remarks. Firstly, even though these figures are the most concrete and reliable available, they still do not give the full picture. They are mostly understatements for we know that to avoid the accusations that trade with Portugal or South Africa would certainly arouse, many countries have stopped supplying full facts about it. And, of course, neither Dr. Salazar nor Dr. Verwoerd will commit hara kiri here by releasing himself the full facts.

The responsibility is more African than that of Africa's friends, the socialist countries of Asia and Europe in particular.

Then there are the Asians of the Afro-Asian group. We have not published their trade figures here because it would take still more space. But they too trade with our enemies. In particular a country like Indonesia still retains a Portuguese colony (half of Timor Island) in her midst. Yet, Indonesia expects Africa to support her in her struggle against Malaysia.

Finally, let us note the colonial character of fascist Portugal's trade with Africa: she exports more than she imports.

This is a shameful state of affairs which makes nonsense of all our efforts. It makes us the laughing stock of our enemies.

TRADE WITH	Monthly Averages			(I) EXPORTS OF THE SALAZARIST REGIME									(f.o.b. & in Million U.S. Dollars)			
	1961	1962	1963	F	M	A	M	J	J	1963			1964			
										A	S	O	N	D	J	F
WORLD	27.55	30.58	34.74	29.07	30.96	31.10	35.19	34.92	30.30	31.74	34.83	42.58	39.82	61.03	23.71	33.44
(2) OECD COUNTRIES	16.52	19.12	21.31	17.55	18.46	18.77	20.01	21.17	18.28	18.95	21.74	27.36	24.61	38.61	15.26	20.80
(3) NON-OECD COUNTRIES:	10.98	11.42	13.37	11.28	12.48	12.28	15.11	13.70	11.93	12.71	13.03	15.08	15.15	22.25	8.44	15.28
(4) SOCIALIST COUNTRIES:	.40	.46	.53	.57	.49	.60	.54	.50	.40	.47	.78	.63	.56	.52	.49	.55
O.A.U. COUNTRIES:																
Algeria	.11	.18	.10	.25	.10	.16	.08	.18	.04	.08	.01	.23	—	.02	.02	.03
(5) Cameroon	—	.07	.02	.06	.03	.01	.01	.01	.01	—	.01	—	—	.06	—	—
(6) Congo (Leo.)	.23	.12	.17	.08	.19	.08	.06	.07	.18	.18	.28	.35	.23	.26	.06	.03
(7) Equatorial Custom U...	.10	.13	.05	.09	.05	.05	.07	.03	.08	.07	.02	.04	.04	.06	.01	.04
Ghana	.05	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(5) Ivory Coast	—	.03	.03	.13	.17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.02	—	—	—
(8) Kenya	.03	.04	.04	.04	.03	.05	.07	.03	.05	.06	.03	.05	.04	.07	—	.01
Liberia	.02	.02	.02	.02	.04	.01	.04	.03	.03	—	.05	0.1	—	.01	—	—
Libya	.05	.04	.04	.01	.05	.06	.07	.02	.09	.12	—	—	—	.03	—	—
Madagascar	.02	.02	.01	.03	.01	.01	.01	—	.03	.01	—	—	.01	.02	—	.01
Morocco	.38	.23	.34	.19	.18	.23	.64	.28	.17	.24	.13	.47	.35	1.15	.30	.35
(9) Nigeria	.21	.14	.13	.25	.21	.06	.07	.04	.12	.07	.04	.16	.27	.24	.04	.03
(5) Senegal	—	.01	.02	.13	.05	.02	—	.02	.01	—	—	—	.02	.02	—	—
Sudan	.01	.01	—	—	—	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(10) Tanganyika	—	—	.01	.01	—	—	.01	—	.01	.01	—	.01	.01	—	.01	—
Tunisia	.05	.05	.05	.07	.07	.04	.08	.09	.04	.08	.02	.08	.01	—	.06	—
United Arab Republic	.06	.03	.08	.18	.08	.17	.17	.05	.06	0.4	.04	.01	.06	.02	.06	—
Zambia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(11) AFRICA (TOTAL)	7.89	8.27	9.68	8.05	9.51	8.90	10.52	10.21	9.14	9.18	8.63	11.02	11.03	16.11	6.21	8.90
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES:																
Bulgaria	.02	.03	.05	—	.01	.18	—	—	—	.01	.15	.01	—	.20	.18	.08
(12) China	.01	.01	.02	—	.02	.01	.03	—	.08	—	—	.01	.01	.02	.04	—
Czechoslovakia	.13	.13	.15	.28	.13	.20	.24	.12	.17	.07	.17	.09	.23	.08	.19	.20
Germany (East)	.03	.03	.04	.04	.07	.02	.04	.04	.07	.05	.02	.05	.03	.01	.03	—
Hungary	.02	.04	.07	.14	.06	.13	—	.12	.06	.07	.01	.06	.20	.01	.05	.14
Poland	.10	.08	.08	.11	.08	.08	.03	.21	.10	.05	—	.11	.10	.04	.05	—
Rumania	.09	.15	.14	—	.14	—	.22	—	—	.21	.43	.32	—	.18	—	.14
USSR	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Yugoslavia	.01	—	.04	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.40	—	.07	.06	.01	—

TRADE WITH	Monthly Averages			(I) IMPORTS OF THE SALAZARIST REGIME									(c.i.f. & in Million U.S. Dollars)			
	1961	1962	1963	F	M	A	M	J	J	1963			1964			
										A	S	O	N	D	J	F
WORLD	54.47	48.88	54.25	50.29	49.10	60.88	51.80	58.28	55.92	45.41	51.23	58.73	57.55	90.39	30.33	54.65
(2) OECD COUNTRIES	39.13	35.23	38.07	34.28	34.05	42.03	35.98	41.40	41.02	33.20	34.69	42.74	42.33	66.11	22.13	38.32
(3) NON-OECD COUNTRIES:	15.34	13.65	16.17	16.00	15.05	18.85	15.82	16.88	14.90	12.21	16.50	15.99	15.21	24.22	8.20	16.32
(4) SOCIALIST COUNTRIES:	.68	.37	.38	.26	.24	.36	.30	.33	.57	.13	.14	.61	.47	.77	.06	.33
O.A.U. COUNTRIES:																
Algeria	.19	.17	.33	.39	.36	.92	—	—	.45	.47	.46	.46	.47	—	—	.88
(5) Cameroon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(6) Congo (Leo.)	.12	.03	.01	.02	.01	.02	—	.01	—	—	.02	—	—	—	—	—
(7) Equatorial Custom U...	.01	.09	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ghana	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(5) Ivory Coast	—	.01	.01	.01	.01	.02	.01	.01	—	.01	.01	—	.02	.01	—	—
(8) Kenya	.02	.01	.01	.01	—	.01	.01	—	.03	.03	.02	.01	.02	.01	—	—
Liberia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Libya	—	—	—	—	—	—	.01	.02	.02	.03	—	.02	.03	.04	.01	.05
Madagascar	.03	.03	.02	.02	.03	.01	.30	.24	.07	.44	.39	.60	.36	.28	.09	.50
Morocco	.38	.35	.38	.34	.51	.50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(9) Nigeria	.26	.07	.50	.38	.96	.89	.71	.17	1.97	.26	.41	.11	.01	.11	—	—

Continue on page 4



FOCUS ON SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

AN EXAMPLE of the Ghana Government's efforts to improve the standard of living generally of the Ghanaian people has been expressed in the creation of the "highest learned Society" in Ghana, the Ghana Academy of Sciences.

Some people might question why large sums of money should be spent on research in newly developing countries. But it must be borne in mind that for emergent nations like Ghana, there will certainly be many phases of development, where the immediate need is the application of existing scientific knowledge, and not the discovery of new knowledge. But it must be realised that even where this is true the dynamic nature of society or for that matter our present Ghanaian society calls for that sort of scientific knowledge and experience that adapts itself to local conditions.

Thus there is an urgent need for research into methods of adapting to new circumstances what is already known. The foresight of the Ghana Government in bringing into being the Academy of Sciences and the great interest it takes in its activities cannot be overstressed. It has always been the policy of the Government that to raise the standard of living generally of the people of this country needs a radical planning, in political life, economic sphere and the general social structure including scientific research and experience.

It is this ardent desire of the government for the betterment of the living conditions of the Ghanaian people that has necessitated among other institutions this seat of higher learning in Ghana. It is an action in the right direction for so many years of colonial rule in this country left the people not adequately cared for medically. Scientific method of agriculture was at low ebbs; industrialization is only now on the threshold of ushering us into a haven of plenty. These among other things are the legacy of colonialism not only in Ghana but in a more general form elsewhere in Africa! This is the price we paid even when we were exploited. These things had to be changed for Ghanaians could not and cannot live under such deplorable conditions any longer.

It needed a propitious atmosphere and a sincere dedicated leadership to effect this radical change.

And the hour had such leadership in Kwame Nkrumah and the Party.

ORGAN OF SOCIETY

The Ghana Academy of Sciences is but a little baby but growing gradually into manhood. What is this institution? What has it to offer us in this our dire need for the betterment of our standards of living? What has it achieved so far? What of the future? These are but some of the questions that might interest every Ghanaian for by its very nature, aims and functions the Ghana Academy of Sciences stands right in the centre of our economic and general social life in a way. Thus Kwame Nkrumah said at the Academy of Sciences dinner 30th Nov. 1963: "The Ghana Academy of Sciences belongs to our Society. It belongs to an African Revolution. It is one of the valuable organs for our Society and it must work to assist and improve our general welfare. The Academy can justify its status in our society only by the contribution which it makes to the progress and development of the nation."

The Academy of Sciences is the result of a merger between the Academy of Learning and the National Research Council. This merger was deemed necessary in order to obviate unnecessary duplication of efforts. The offspring of this merger—the Ghana Academy of Sciences was therefore to assume full responsibility for the co-ordination of all aspects of research and the promotion of scientific pursuits and learning.

What is the general structure of this institution? The Ghana Academy of Sciences has two divisions namely, the

sections of the Academy, which deals with the more academic and learned matters, and the Research Division, which deals with the national research aspects.

The governing body is the Praesidium, consisting of eleven Fellows of the Academy. The present President of the Academy is Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana. Other Principal officers are the two Vice-Presidents Professor W. E. Abraham of the University of Ghana and Professor Joseph Gilman, Director of the National Institute of Health and Medical Research, Accra and the Secretary, Dr. J. Yanney-Ewusi.

ORGANISATION

At present there are 35 fellows. Eligibility to fellowships of the Academy is limited to persons who in the opinion of the Praesidium, have made a significant and original contribution to some branch of science or learning. Administratively, the Ghana Academy of Sciences is organized into an Office of the Secretary, Research Institutes and Units. The Academy by direct grant also supports some specific research projects of the Universities of Ghana and individuals.

The Ghana Academy of Sciences has other organisations, research institutes and units under it. They all number 13.

They are:

1. The National Institute of Health and Medical Research, Accra.
2. Entomological and Parasitological Research Unit, Achimota.
3. Agricultural Research Institute, Kwadaso, Kumasi.
4. Forest Research Unit, Kumasi.
5. Cocoa Research Institute, Tafo.
6. Encyclopaedia Africana, Accra.
7. University of Ghana Agricultural Research Station, Nungua.
8. The University of Ghana Irrigation Research Station, Kpong.
9. Radio-isotope and Health-Physics Unit, Legon.
10. Building Research Institute, Kumasi.
11. Socio-Economic Structure of Contemporary Ghana, Accra.
12. Forest Research Institute, Kumasi.
13. Agronomy Research Station, Bunso.

From the list above it can be seen that the Ghana Academy of Sciences is a gigantic project, pervading through its various wings, the heart of the

socio-economic system of the country. It has a duty to perform. It has a vital role in the implementation of the Seven-Year Development Plan in the direction towards the socialist reconstruction of the country.

What does the Academy of Sciences intend to do for us? What are its objectives? And what has this great institution done so far to justify its *raison*

THE web of circumstances in the history of our times has inexorably patterned out the course of development which emergent nations should follow. This course is socialism. It is the only way by which a young nation can hope to build up a firm foundation for rapid development: politically, economically, socially and culturally.

It is this course of socialism which Ghana, under the inspired leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, has chosen to pursue.

In the following article, we give our readers an account of the set up and functions of the Ghana Academy of Sciences. We have also given comments on the achievements and shortcomings of the Academy so far and their bearing on the nation.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the Ghana Academy of Sciences for putting at our disposal all the requisite materials which have made the writing of this feature on the colossal Ghana Academy of Sciences possible.

d'être even within the short span of its life. The Ghana Academy of Sciences, among other things hopes to organize and co-ordinate all scientific research, both pure and applied, in all branches of knowledge.

AIMS

It aims at promoting the study of all sciences and learning. Proper standards in all fields of science and learning must be maintained and this is one of the tasks the Academy of Sciences has set about to do.

This is a gigantic task, but we do not however conceive the functions of the Academy as passive or as the mere collection and compilation of data from our Universities and research institutions. The Academy is expected to design and carry out research programmes, related to life, changes and growth of our Society. All those who are in various ways connected with the research activities of the Academy and its various wings should realize that they owe a solemn obligation to the Society from among which has sprung this enviable institution. All their efforts in changing the face of our Society both scientifically and economically should be actuated by a sense of national duty; selfless devotion and service for the betterment of the whole society. For herein lies the dovetailing of the activities of this Institution with the Socialist aspirations of our people.

Before we examine some of the activities of the Academy and its achievements so far, let us have a general look at some of its subsidiary units. First, the National Institute of Health and Medical Research. This Institute was established in December, 1960. Among other things, its objectives are the co-ordination of research work in the field of health so far undertaken by different national and international or-

ganisations in Ghana.

It also serves through its researches, as a scientific arm of the Medical Services in its planning, promotive, preventive and therapeutic activities. One of its other objectives is to serve as the nerve-centre for research into the tropical endemic nutritional and environmental diseases of Ghana. The Institute is immediately concerned with investigation of those endemic diseases which are causing heavy mortality and morbidity in the population including—especially onchocerciasis (river blindness) and genetic defects of the blood. Through post mortem examinations it is learnt that a picture is being obtained of the pattern of diseases and the major causes of death in the country. This Institute is also designed to carry out pilot projects in those aspects of

into the skin diseases of cattle which are of importance to the tanning industry.

Up to date the activities of the Unit cover parasites and other animals. A study is being made into the various viruses which cause diseases like skin diseases on animals like goats, sheep, cattle etc. Tsetse-fly as a good transmitter of animal disease is well under study—a study covering its ecology, breeding etc. is well in its advanced stages.

With the idea of canning meat occupying a prominent place in the 7-year D-Plan it is important to guard against all cattle diseases. Hence the great importance the Unit attaches to the study of the breeding, life cycle and manner of transmission of ticks which are the main transmitt-

tion), structural and foundation engineering physics and the effects of climate, habits and customs of the people on building practice.

The general need that the existing knowledge about African history, life and general culture should not only be compiled in an encyclopaedic form but also examined critically within the context of African Social life and experience led Kwame Nkrumah to establish the Encyclopaedia Africana. The object of the Encyclopaedia Africana Secretariat, an integral wing of the Ghana Academy of Sciences is to guide and co-ordinate the work of assembling, organising and publishing materials for an Encyclopaedia Africana that is authentically African in its viewpoint and at the same time a product of scientific scholarship.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

There is another project of the Ghana Academy of Sciences—the Socio-Economic Structure of contemporary Ghana.

This project which forms part of the activities of the Academy is to enable its directors to publish a book or books which would bring together and interpret the large volume of scattered materials on sociology, statistics and economics available in Ghana, but not too easily accessible to the many people who need it. The result of this three year study of the structure of contemporary Ghana which was begun in 1960 would be a publication which will cover the traditional structure of Ghanaian Society, the emergence of the modern nation and the new political structure, the demographic structure of the society and its sociological interpretations. Another volume of the publication will deal with the economic structure.

The Socio-economic interpretation of contemporary Ghanaian society is to be produced this year, and we hope it will be produced within the correct perspective of our social life devoid of all ethnocentrism for it is sometimes the practice of some Western writers to tamper an otherwise excellent piece of work with traces of ethnocentrism. We are not implying in any way, we must stress this, that this is going to be the case since the books are being written largely by Europeans and in Britain, far from it. We are only hoping for an objective scientific picture which the writers can give if they so wished since some of them have long acquaintance with Ghana and its problems.

But we feel we must say this. We wish that the greater part of this work were entrusted to (although there are only few) our sociologists and economists in our Universities and elsewhere. Here let us digress a little and point out that until recently in the University of Ghana our graduates in Economics who went in for post-graduate courses almost always chose Political Science, Government etc. without a real emphasis on pure or applied economics or statistics. This was under a particular system. With the coming however of our socialist lecturers in the Economics Department a great emphasis is placed on pure and applied economics, mathematical economics and statistics. Our readers might perhaps excuse us for this digression but it tells a story.

Now what is the relationship between the Ghana Academy of Sciences and other similar outside bodies? The

Ghana Academy of Sciences has within the short span of its life asserted itself on the international plane. Outside Africa it has a close association with the U. S. National Institute of Health and Public Health Services. This consists of a team of Scientists collaborating with the National Institute of Health and Medical Research on biomedical problems of mutual interest. There is also an agreement for scientific co-operation with the Czechoslovak Academy of Science.

AFRICANIZATION

The Academy is a member of the International Council of Scientific Unions, International Atomic Energy Agency, International Union of Geology and Geophysics, International Scientific Radio Union, International Union of Geological Sciences, International Union against Cancer, the British Commonwealth Scientific Organisation, Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux, International Geographical Union. Above all it can be said of the international reputation of the Academy that Dr. J. Yanney-Ewusi, its Secretary, is the only African member of the Executive Committee of the International Council of Scientific Unions. This is in effect the result of the recognition of world bodies of the high academic and scientific attainments of the Academy.

In Africa however the Academy is not affiliated or does not have such associations because such national bodies as the Academy in Ghana are very scarce on the continent of Africa. In this regard, Ghana has made a great headway in the establishment of this national body and should be in a position to help other African States. However the Ghana Academy of Sciences exchanges papers, ideas and other publications with academic and scientific bodies in Africa.

AFFILIATIONS

In pursuit of its Africanisation policy, the Academy has now between 45-50 scholars studying both at home and abroad so far. During the 1963-4 financial year the Academy spent £6,500 on grants for students sponsored by the Academy. Graduates who have shown great promise for advanced work are given junior fellowships by the Academy to do higher training either at home or abroad if the facilities for such training do not exist here. This is a project undertaken to speed up and increase the number of Africans in top positions in the various Units of the Academy. Here are some of the statistics of the percentage of Ghanaians in senior positions in some of its Units and Institutions.

- (1) National Institute of Health and Medical Research—less than 10%
- (2) Agricultural Research Institute—Soll Research Unit—100%, Crop Research Unit—90%
- (3) Entomological and Parasitological Research Unit—over 90%
- (4) Building Research Unit—66%

This is culled from the Academy Recorder Volume 2, No. 2. To give readers an insight into how the money voted for the Academy is used we give an example of its annual Estimates. During the 1963-64 Financial Year the government voted £1,000,000 to the Academy and this is how it was spent.

Continued on page 5

GHANA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

(Continued from page 4)

ALLOCATION OF ESTIMATES '63-64

Institute/Unit	Allocation
AGRIC. RESEARCH	
Agric. Research Inst.	189,528
Forest Research Unit	26,486
Nungua Agric. Res. Station	19,420
Kpong Irrigation Res. Station	21,030
Cocoa Research Institute	149,710
Field Trial Stations (I)	
Field Trial Stations (II)	145,512
E.P.R.U. (Animal Health)	25,329
MEDICAL RESEARCH	
N.I.H.M.R.	107,990
Psychiatric Research	1,852
Med. Research—K.N.U.S.T.	2,745
Native Herbs, Legon	3,358
OTHER PROJECTS	
Building Research Inst.	46,263
Radio-Isotope	12,401
Encyclopaedia Africana	7,283
Socio-Economic Research	
Educational Research	15,926
Bureau of Standards	5,185
Food Research Unit	12,000
	792,018
Secretariat	207,982
TOTAL	1,000,000

The question which our readers have been waiting impatiently to be answered and rightly too is this:

What has this gigantic institution achieved so far? And how does it channel the results of its research for the betterment of the whole nation?

It is a credit to the Academy of Sciences that within the short time of its birth it can boast of some concrete achievements. There are more attempts to double the efforts of the work of its various wings and much is in progress. However, the Academy can lay its hand on a few scattered results so far. Let us then examine these from some of its various Units.

First of all however, it needs be repeated that the first African ever to be elected to the Executive of the Committee of International Scientific Unions is a Ghanaian. This is in itself a singular achievement which Ghanaians should be proud of. Now what about the more concrete and visible results?

The Local Herbs Alkaloidal programme has processed some 300 plants, of which approximately 60 have been shown to contain Alkaloids. Through the creation of these new organic chemicals Ghana is making a contribution to International medical science; the Radio-Isotope and Health Physics Unit continues to take daily measurements at its various laboratories at Tamale and Legon of radioactive fallout in the air, water, on leaves and in dust. Samples from other parts of Ghana are called in for analysis as necessary.

At the University of Ghana Irrigation Research Station at Kpong, the station has been

able to supply tons of rice seeds to the Ghana Farmers' Council Co-operatives, the Ghana State Farms Co-operation, the Workers Brigade, etc. and more recently it has started a ten acre sugar cane nursery for the Ghana Polish sugar corporation.

The Building Research Institute is making a very valuable contribution to the development of an efficient building industry in Ghana. This is borne out by the many calls for expert advice made by many building firms and private contractors.

The Institute does its own research and publishes this in papers for distribution to such bodies as the Ghana National Construction Corporation and other private contractors who might need its help.

In the field of health the Medical Research Institute in conjunction with the Ministry of Health is making some headway. For instance there is a programme whereby health education is imparted to the remote areas of the country. With this intensification of Community health education the mortality rate is sure to fall.

A survey undertaken by the Medical Research Institute is going on into the causes of tuberculosis and river blindness in the Volta Basin.

In the field of Agriculture the Agricultural Research Institute has provided valuable assistance in soil and land-use survey to the Volta River Project Resettlement scheme.

With the development of canning and tanning industries in the country there is a great need for keeping proper health conditions of our goats, sheep and cattle. In this regard, the Animal Research Institute is doing a good work; the intensive research into the various viruses which cause diseases to these animals. Tsetse fly as a good transmitter of animal disease is well under study.

The Encyclopaedia Africana can also say of its achievements so far that it has reached the second phase of the compilation of the 10 volume Encyclopaedia Africana.

These in brief are some of the achievements so far made by some of the various Units of the Academy.

There is a network of effective control and supervision of the research activities of the various units. This supervision is carried out through the various annual reports (which is now going to be quarterly)

and estimates submitted by the various heads of the Institutes for the scrutiny of appointed Committees and sub-Committees, sometimes members of a particular committee pay visits to the Institutes to see to the progress of the work being done. Money voted should be spent and spent properly and according to the purpose for which it is paid for. Thus this annual (quarterly in future) scrutiny of the work of the institutes provides a machinery for the proper use of funds.

The results of researches of the various institutes are channelled to be public through annual reports, papers and articles and through symposia and lectures in schools. Findings of researches are also transmitted to the Ministries concerned for the further transmission to the beneficiaries viz. farmers etc.

PROBLEMS

The Academy has problems and this is natural. Among some of its problems are shortage of Ghanaian scientists to replace the expatriate experts and research officers. They hope to correct through the intensification of teaching science in the schools and an increase in the award of scholarships to deserving young and promising Ghanaian Scientists.

Closely linked with the shortage of scientists is the shortage of technicians in the laboratories.

There is also no effective utilisation of research results particularly in the field of Agriculture.

This the Academy is to make better through a better extension Service.

This is the Academy past and present. What of the future? This Institution should be a beacon light for the development of our country and must by its very nature and high international reputation show a good example to other African States.

It must serve and serve well with selfless devotion and truly serve the people of Ghana, it must also strive to be the nerve-centre for a possible one African Academy of Sciences. In this latter respect Kwame Nkrumah charged the Academy:

"In Africa to-day, there is a general agreement that our political independence can only be safeguarded within the framework of a union government of Africa. Our scholars and scientists have a right and an obligation to assist in the creation of this African Continental Union. It is within that

BENEATH THE SKIES OF MY AFRICA

RUSSIA has always been proud of the name of Pushkin. This poet of genius lived and wrote more than 150 years ago, but today his verses continue to reflect his warm feelings towards his fellow man. They bring joy not to Russian people alone, for the great poet belongs today to all mankind. Every year far from Russia Pushkin becomes a discovery for new generations.

Great poet as he was, Pushkin kept abreast with his times and daringly looked into the future. Pushkin's literary heritage reflects his keen interest for the countries of the West and East, their culture and history. Concern for the destinies of African and Asian peoples has left a notable trace in his biography and works.

For many years the young poet was fascinated by the story of his great-grandfather—an African. The life-story of Ibragim Petrovich Gannibal, "god-child of Peter I", was related to Pushkin in a halo of family legends.

AFRICAN DESCENT

When still a child the future poet heard much about this fantastic African and his almost fantastic destiny. Pushkin's grandmother Marija Gannibal was the first to tell the young poet that on the orders of Peter the Great the Russian Ambassador to Constantinople with the help of the vizier abducted from the Turkish Sultan's court the son of an Abyssinian prince who soon became one of his most reliable aides.

Later in the notes to his poems Pushkin wrote with pride that he was "of African origin on mother's side."

Pushkin's explanation of the Russian tzar's actions is also interesting. As many of his subjects did not wish to study and acquire knowledge Peter I decided to show to them how much a man could

union alone that the African genius can thrive in complete freedom, unshackled by imperialism and neo-colonialism.

It is hoped that one day we shall see one African Academy of Sciences with the regional branches tackling the scientific problems facing us in Africa as a whole.

KWAME NKUMAH in a recent speech reiterated his untiring exhortation that we should make "efforts to world the bases of (Africa's) rich culture and civilisation" and "set the record straight on many points of African history and culture" without romanticizing or idealizing the past. Some of these glories are the achievements of her sons. In the following short article, D. Belkin, tells of the pride of Russia in Pushkin, one of the greatest poets mankind has ever known. Africa should justifiably share in this pride; for Pushkin, by American standards was an African, because was of African descent. We are sure our readers will read this article with interest and perhaps try to know more about this great poet.

achieve even "if he was of an entirely different race". Offered the opportunity of mastering the sciences, Gannibal justified the Russian tzar. The poet admired his exploits and re-created in verses and prose the image of his great-grandfather from "far-away Africa."

First attempt to depict in Russia's literature a positive non-European character was



A. S. Pushkin, Great Russian Poet (1799-1837)

Pushkin's novel "about a young African" entitled "The Blackamoor of Peter the Great" which marked a new development of the Russian historical novel. The epoch of Peter I, so important for the future of Russia was depicted through the life-story of Ibragim.

In the first chapter the reader hears of the adventures of young Gannibal in Paris where the Russian tzar had sent him to "improve his knowledge". Here he studied at a Military school, took part in the Spanish war, and was gravely wounded. Soon after Gannibal returned to Paris with the rank of artillery captain.

The arrival of Ibragim, his are plenty of pages describing looks, intelligence, and mother wit attracted universal attention in Paris. All ladies wished to see him in their parlors,—wrote Pushkin,—and tried to intercept him; the regent frequently invited him to his merry parties.

The "young African" is described in the novel as a tractful big-hearted man. His highly developed sense of duty prevails over other feelings. The persuasions of the Duke of Orleans, love for Countess D., and talks with Montesquieu and Fontenell at evening-parties failed to prevent the "young African" from returning to Russia.

TRUE REPRESENTATION

Together with the whole gallery of Russian national characters depicted with an unparalleled vividness in Pushkin's novel the rich inner world of the "African" was given a true presentation. Through the perception of Ibragim the reader sees vividly the Russian autocrat and his court. Ibragim displays genuine sympathy with the transformations introduced throughout Russia: "Russia remained him of a vast workshop".

Pushkin described with great emotion Ibragim's marriage proposal. The fact that Peter I took an active part in choosing a bride for his dark-skinned friend shows how much the tzar treasured Ibragim.

Unfortunately the novel remained unfinished. However in a multitude of preparatory materials left by Pushkin there

the childhood of Gannibal; "Until very old,—the poet says,—he still remembered Africa, his father's luxurious life, and his 19 brothers of whom he was the youngest. He also remembered his beloved sister Lagan swimming behind the ship carrying him away."

Throughout his short life Pushkin collected data for the biography of his great-grandfather intending to publish a special book about him. He wrote that Gannibal under the canopy of a lime-tree grove

... in cool summers dreamt of his far-off Africa...

The same episode is mentioned by the poet in the first chapter of "Yevgeni Onegin", his famous poem-novel. He confessed there that his dream was also "to roam beneath the skies of my Africa." And those were more than mere words. It is known that when in exile in the South of Russia the poet intended to escape across the Black Sea, and if successful to visit Constantinople and African countries.

Pushkin's interest in Africa was not limited by biographical confines. In his creative plans and schemes one can find quite a few references to this continent. For instance, many episodes of the "Egyptian nights" could have taken place "where the dark and burning night envelopes African skies."

The poet was unable to visit countries of the East but today his books are there. With this meeting of the great Russian poet with the people of the rejuvenated continent the dream of Alexander Pushkin has come true.

Who still trades with Salazar?

Continued from page 3

TRADE WITH	Monthly Averages			(I) IMPORTS OF THE SALAZARIST REGIME						(c. i. f. and in Million US Dollars)						
	1961	1962	1963	F	M	A	M	J	J	1963			1964			
										A	S	O	N	D	J	F
(5) Senegal.....	—	.03	.01	—	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.04	—	—
Sudan.....	.01	.02	.07	—	.02	—	—	—	.06	—	—	—	.52	—	—	—
(10) Tanganyika.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tunisia.....	—	—	.10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.31	.85	—	—
United Arab Republic.....	.18	.07	.08	—	.39	.11	—	—	.06	.04	—	—	.02	.27	.06	.09
Zambia.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(11) AFRICA (TOTAL).....	8.38	7.29	9.43	9.76	9.34	12.08	10.11	7.19	8.52	6.88	9.13	9.76	9.31	14.20	5.21	11.06
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES:																
Bulgaria.....	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(12) China.....	.03	.03	.01	.01	.01	.02	.02	.02	.01	—	—	.03	.02	.01	.01	.03
Czechoslovakia.....	.09	.12	.09	.07	.04	.10	.09	.13	.04	.06	.04	.13	.08	.18	.04	.06
Germany (East).....	.03	.02	.02	.01	.01	.02	.07	—	.02	—	—	.01	.11	.05	.01	.03
Hungary.....	.01	.01	.03	—	.01	.01	.07	.01	.05	.01	.02	.08	.05	.01	—	—
Poland.....	.22	.13	.10	.06	.02	—	.14	.10	.18	.06	.07	—	.23	.09	.01	.26
Romania.....	.20	.08	.11	.13	.16	.22	—	.09	.29	—	—	—	—	.45	—	.28
USSR.....	.13	—	.03	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.39	—	—	—	—
Yugoslavia.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

NOTES: (valid for IMPORTS as well as for EXPORTS)

- Electric energy, goods imported and exported by the Portuguese War Office and sea products from the high seas are not included in these statistics.
- Belgium-Luxembourg, Netherlands, Germany

- (F.R.), France, Italy, U.K., Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Switzerland, Iceland, Ireland, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Canada, USA, Japan.
- U.S.S.R., Germany (D.R.), Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia, Finland. The whole of Africa, Asia, Americas and Oceania, except Japan,

- Canada and the USA.
- In Europe only.
- Through 1961, included with "Other Countries in Africa".
- Including Burundi-Ruanda.
- Gabon, Congo (Brazzaville), Tchad, Central African Rep.

- Through 1962, including Mauritius, Seychelles, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar.
- Through 1961 including Gambia and St. Helena.
- Through 1962, included with Kenya.
- All countries of the Continent.
- Excluding trade with the Portuguese Asian colony of Macao.

THE FIRST CENTURY

Continued from page 1

The way out of this problem is to go to the essence of Marx. It is not bourgeoisie and proletariat that is the cardinal principle in the Marxian analysis of society. Rather, the basic principle is that the motive force in any society is the conflict between oppressor and oppressed. As he puts it, "oppressor and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes." (Manifesto).

The terms bourgeoisie and proletariat come in as a result of the application of this principle to the West European society at the time Marx wrote. In the same Manifesto we read: "Our epoch, an epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses however this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonism. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat."

The duty of African Marxists is clear. We cannot take

the application for the principle. Rather, we must apply the principle—constant struggle between oppressor and oppressed leading to a revolutionary re-constitution of society—to the African society of today much in the same way as Marx himself applied this same principle to the bourgeois society of Western Europe. And this is precisely what Kwame Nkrumah has done in his latest philosophical work, "Consciencism".

CONTENDING FORCES

After a study of contemporary African society, Nkrumah tells us that the contending forces, which become the determinants of social progress, are positive action and negative action. Positive action is the sum total of the progressive aspects of the various contradictions within African society. And negative action is the sum total of all the conservative and reactionary aspects of these same contradictions.

The foundation for this approach is that African society does not revolve around one contradiction (capital/labour) as was West European society when Marx wrote. On the contrary, African society contains several basic contra-

dictions, it is "a plenum of forces in tension."

There are at least four major contradictions in contemporary African society. These are:—

1. the capitalist contradiction (labour/capital conflict);
2. the feudalist contradiction (landlord/peasant conflict);
3. the imperialist contradiction (foreign finance capital/oppressed peoples conflict both in its colonial and neo-colonial forms);
4. the cultural contradiction (traditional/Euro-Christian/Islamic African conflict).

Since positive action is the sum total of the progressive aspects of these contradictions, it becomes clear that the proletariat in Africa is an element of positive action. Consciencism does not ignore the proletariat. It absorbs the proletariat within a wider concept—positive action.

The other Marxist thinker of repute who has grappled with this problem of multi-contradictions is Mao Tse-Tung. In his analysis of Chinese society, Mao saw much more than the simple capital/labour contradiction. He accordingly analysed all the existing contradictions but in

addition tried to evaluate them. Hence, in his essay "On Contradiction", Mao writes of the principal and other aspects of a contradiction. In other words, he held that in a society with many contradictions, we must evaluate these conflicts, understand their interrelation and find out the primary, secondary and tertiary aspects. He sees all these as aspects of a contradiction.

But how realistic is it to regard these various conflicts merely as aspects of the same contradiction? Is it not better to see them as separate but interrelated contradictions? Consciencism follows the second path.

In the struggle for the new socialist society, positive action becomes more potent "by constituting itself a distinct political party opposed to the old parties by the possessing classes." This becomes a principal "lever in its struggle against the political power of its exploiters." This party improves its fighting efficiency in two ways—unrelenting ideological education of its members and constant improvement in its organisation.

In the field of ideological education, the party of positive action has to fight on two fronts. It must fight against

all ideologies opposed to socialism. In addition, it has to wage a determined war against all spurious notions of socialism. In Africa, the fight is against middle class or comprador democracy conveniently labelled "African socialism". A close scrutiny of "African socialism" reveals its negation of the principle of entrusting the struggle for working class emancipation to the people themselves. Instead, the advocates of African socialism see the primary motive force in contemporary African society as the partnership between incipient indigenous capital and foreign finance capital, in short between local capitalism and international imperialism. It is inevitable that such a concept will lead only to the people of Africa being disinherited.

In the field of organisation, the party of positive action

must build close indissoluble links with the masses. In addition, a conscious effort must be made to give leading positions in this party organisation to working class elements with a high degree of political consciousness. This honour goes to the workers because the working class is the most revolutionary force capable of pushing the revolution to "its ultimate goal: the abolition of classes."

In the circumstances, to conquer political power has therefore become the first duty of the working class". (Marx: Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association).

Once socialists in Africa take the correct compass readings, it becomes necessary to have settled views on how to move forward. On this occasion, when we rededicate ourselves to the tenets of scientific socialism, it is useful to make the point that Marx had settled views on how the forward march should be undertaken. He avers that the socialist society we seek "can be obtained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions" (Manifesto). Nkrumah takes the same stand when he declares: "revolution is therefore the indispensable avenue to socialism." (Consciencism p.74).

Proletarian internationalism is destined to win more victories in the future. But it must be based on a truly Marxist appraisal of the contemporary world.

FACILE CONCEPT

In the forward march of socialism in Africa, it has become imperative to get rid of the facile concept that our main task now is economic construction. If economic construction is to lead to the full emancipation of the people from exploitation and from want, then it must proceed under the canopy of people's political power. But in most of independent Africa, this problem of the seat of political power still has to be resolved in favour of the people.

World Socialist Movement

Continued from page 1

serious conflicts of a political nature. In the other two categories, the forces of progress must achieve political power, as a condition for their advance towards socialist development.

This fact is in line with the part of the general rule of the International Workingmen's Association which states that: "The coalition of the forces of the working people, already achieved by the economic struggle, must also serve, in the hands of this class, as a lever in its struggle against the political power of its exploiters. As the lords of the land and of capital always make use of their political privileges to defend and perpetuate their economic monopolies and to enslave labour, the conquest of political power becomes the great duty of the proletariat."

An essential condition for the total emancipation of Africa from colonial rule and imperialist influence is the struggle of our continent for political unity. This is where an important aspect of Nkrumaism emerges.

There is the erroneous impression in certain quarters that Nkrumaism is a negation of Marxism. Let us make our position here abundantly clear. Just as Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, Nkrumaism is Marxism in the era of neo-colonialism, the last stage of imperialism in Africa.

Consciencism, Nkrumah's latest work, provides the philosophical exposition of the tenets of Nkrumaism by synthesizing through a dialectical process what is best in traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa into a body of coherent thought pointing up an ideology of this new Africa.

This ideology which has come to be known as Nkrumaism is scientific socialism applied to the historical conditions and aspirations of Africa. We embrace scientific socialism, fully agree with Marxism-Leninism and accept Karl Marx as the Father of socialism.

There are, however, problems facing us in Africa which demand sympathetic consideration and close study of Marxists outside Africa. Among these are:

- (1) How best can a mass party which led the struggle for independence be converted into an ideological party leading the struggle for socialism?
- (2) How can the struggle against imperialism be conducted to its logical end without any compromise and without at the same time unleashing a world war?
- (3) What should be the structure of a Marxist party in Africa, when the proletariat, the driving force of a Marxist party, is quite small and the bourgeoisie is even smaller and largely comprador in character? In the present circumstances we preach positive action which, we think is within the prescription of Karl Marx.

We hold to the view that people who were subjected to colonial rule can be taken as a detachment of the working class of the imperialist system.

To conclude, it is essential to mention that the most important feature of our time is the rapid growth and the consolidation of the might of the world socialist system. This system demands a decisive factor in human relations. The successful economic competition of socialism with capitalism is steadily changing the balance of world forces in favour of the socialist system.

These historical lessons are not lost to Africa. We salute the socialist states, the efforts of whose working peoples have made these great achievements possible.

Africa is now moving shoulder to shoulder with the forces of progress the world over.

Long live the First International which gave birth to working class solidarity! Long live the forward march of the peoples of the world toward a new world in which man shall not be a wolf to his fellow man!

Long live the African Revolution!

The ranks of those who seem to have pitched their camp against the "newly emerged" are made up of the concealed enemies of socialism, of persons nursing a political vendetta and more especially of activists who fear to lose their vested interests.

The recent impromptu flurry on the occasion of the anniversary of Padmore's death cannot pass unnoted. And it will be interesting to know if some of these feet draggers are in touch with the embassies of those Western countries engaged in this propaganda offensive against Ghana.

The situation calls for the greatest vigilance by the Party, by state agencies, and by the people. The nation must not lose sight of the fact that the most effective weapon of the internal resistance to our socialist advance is a deliberate sowing of confusion in the minds of our people coupled with a frenzied noising of dedication to the Revolution. Our recent history provides us with ample evidence of this.

Editorial

Continued from page 1

of the Convention People's Party. That such a bridgehead exists is no surprise to any close observer of the Ghana scene today. The ferment is ever present, but occasionally it bursts into the open. Among examples of such open outbursts could be counted the Professor Abraham incident and the more recent T.U.C. clean-up episode. In both instances, furious attacks were launched on the so-called "newly-emerged". These attacks on the "newly emerged" are in reality the manifestation, conscious and unconscious, of uneasiness over Ghana's advance to socialism.

The important point here is that these attacks use precisely the same ammunition as the external enemies of Ghana, viz. a hue and cry about the new men around Nkrumah.

Book Review

Frederick Engels-Paul and Laura Lafargue Correspondence Vol. III (1891-1895)

THESE famous letters, whose discovery and forthcoming publication by Editions Sociales of Paris was announced in the August 1955 issue of "Labour" in whose pages that year, by the kindness of Emile Bottigelli, a selection appeared for the first time in print, are now fully available in English.

The Paris edition, partly in French, appeared between 1956 and 1959. The Moscow edition, wholly in English, came out in 1959, 1960 and 1963 from the Foreign Languages Publishing House, and is now published in Great Britain.

The third volume has no less than ninety pages of indexes (of books, journals and

persons) and this English edition of it contains also, as 'Afterword', a fifty-page translation of the French editor's introduction to the series. The text of this introduction, however, has been edited by Yvonne Kapp and by Andrew Rothstein, who has added a new section on the working class movement in Britain. This valuable matter, instead of being put at the beginning of Volume I, is oddly placed at p 480 onwards of Volume

III. This, however, is a very small blemish on a remarkably fine production of letters which throw so much light on working class history in the period they cover. The exceptionally low price of all these volumes, a guinea that comprises some fifteen hundred pages, should attract bargain-hunters as well as those who feel they must possess these letters.

R. PAGE ARNOT

Published by THE SPARK PUBLICATIONS, P.O. Box M.171, Accra, Ghana.



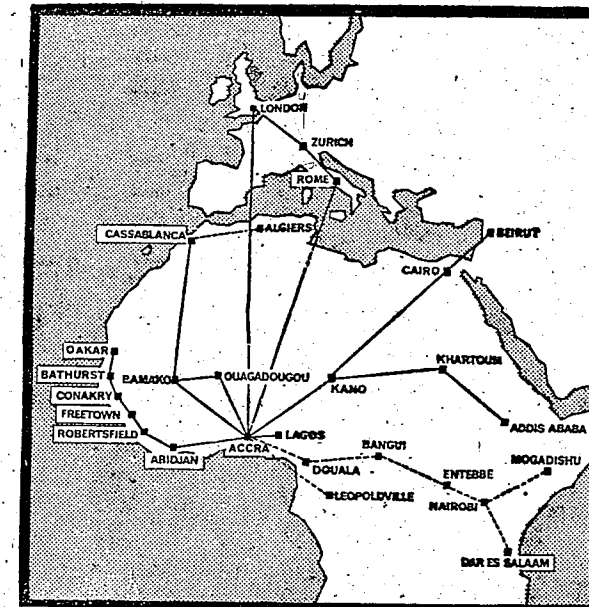
GHANA AIRWAYS BRINGS THE WORLD TO YOUR DOOR

On the GHANA AIRWAYS big jets you are only hours away from the capitals of Europe, Middle East and Africa. And you travel in supreme comfort.

It's so much quicker to use the GHANA AIRWAYS flights which link Ghana's major towns and cities.

Always keep handy a GHANA AIRWAYS timetable. Copies are obtainable from your local travel agent, or from:

GHANA AIRWAYS CORPORATION
Ghana House, Accra.
P.O. Box 1636
Telephone: 64850 (10 Lines)



FLY **Ghana Airways**

THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA

