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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETING TOWARDS THE

### EDITORIAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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WHAT should prove to tiveness. be one of the most im-1965, is now about to talk

losophy of Nkrumaism and scientific. consequently organised as a democratic centralist Party, needs Congresses of a special type.

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

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

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

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

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

### **CLEAR ANALYSIS**

The leadership of the the decisions our meeting see the future. reaches. This centralism gives our Party its tremen- of the basic unit of the

portant events in our action of the rank and file masses and the Party Lead- achievements. The success national life in the year and the leadership is the er and Government. It has of the Seven Year Plan is quarantee of political wis place. We refer to the dom, political health and meeting of the Executive political effectiveness. It Committee of the Con- is from this upward and to all aspects of the ecovention People's Party on downward flow of ext - nomic life of the area inglaway the obstacles to December 18th in Acra: riences knowledge and where they operate and A revolutionary Party vision that a new quality that every member is inspired in all its work by emerges to make our Party aware of his or her resthe scientific socialist phi- truly revolutionary and ponsibilities for its success.

the responsibility for seeing that the Seven Year Plan targets are applied



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

The Seven Year Plan is our economic and social blueprint for advance. From delegates in agriculture and in industry, in trade and distribution, we need to hear how they Party too will come with a have worked to operate clear analysis of our work the Plan, how the targets since the last meeting in of the plan have been ada bold and practical opted, what are the practure, his branch, his contripolicy for the present. It tical immediate problems will command the active, which can be tackled by support of a united disci- the Congress, to help operation going on under plined Party, bound by them now and how they

It is here that the work

Executive meetings to riences will bring before not necessarily mean or Congress a sharp awareness of what our work has meant in the lives of the ordinary men and women in our country, who as Kwame Nkrumah so often reminds us are the creators of new societies.

### BASIC UNIT

In turn the Leader of the Party who is in the position to have a continuous picture of developments throughout the country since the last meeting and since the launching of the Seven Year Plan. He will be able to present an all round picture of Ghana's development so that each delegate will be able to see his bution as part of the total of a vast and revolutionary the guidance of Kwame Nkrumah and the Part which he leads.

The Convention Peodous influence and effec- Party is so important. The ple's Party is not however

This action and inter- necting link between the own national policy and necessary not only for the improvement in the living standards of the Ghanaian people, not only for clearthe advance to socialism in our own country, but its achievement will ensure that our people can continue to play an increasingly effective part in the liberation of Africa from the political, economic and ideological domination of imperialism.

Our Executive there-success of the Summit fore must consider the present stage of the libe-

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

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

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### Effective action needed

### Bourguiba's quack remedy

by Our Diplomatic Correspondent

peoples of Africa and the world should confine themselves to what he termed moral and diplomatic sup- power. port for the people of Zimbabwe.

as co-ordinated and perse- and a reserve strength invering action by the cluding almost every white people of Zimbabwe them- male of military age. In selves.

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

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

But to suggest, as M. Bourguiba does, that no- terror against the African thing can be done until co- townships. It is an offence ordinated action is achie- even to wear a hat or carry, ved, and that even then a walking stick similar to it should be confined to those worn or carried by moral and diplomatic sup- the leaders of the freedom port is to play Smith's movement. game.

through the motions of iming a token force, hoping in this way to forestall effective action by others.

But M. Bourquiba appaned to the tender mercies cans of Zimbabwe.

ACCORDING to Presi- of the white supremacist dent Bourguiba, the minority who had begun to lay the foundations for their own apartheid state even before they seized

Now they have at their disposal one of the strong-In his view, the only rest-armed forces in Southsolution to the crisis lies ern Africa with a total through what he described regular strength of 4,500 addition, there is a semimilitarised police force of 6,400, with a reserve strength of 28,500.

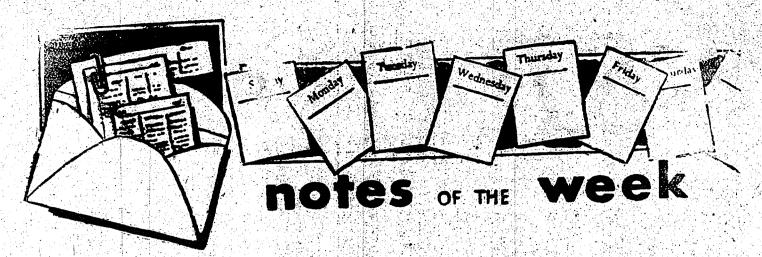
All this is backed up by police-state legislation which makes it an offence punishable by a fine of £500 or two years in prison or both even to listen to foreign broadcasts.

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

Thousands of Africans are held in jail or detention camps, while Smith's police have unleashed a reign of

In the face of such brutal Even Mr. Wilson goes repression, M. Bourguiba's talk of moral and diplomaposing sanctions and send- tic support can only be termed betrayal of our brothers in Zimbabwe.

What is needed is effective action to oust Smith rently believes that the 4 now. Every hour his regime million Africans of Zimba- remains in power brings bwe should be abandon- new suffering for the Afri-



WHILE U.S. spokesmen threaten new moves to extend the war in Vietnam by stepping up the terror bombing and by military action against Vietnam's neighbours, U.S. policy is aggravating the already grave threat of nuclear war in Europe.

U.S. Defence Secretary Mc Namara (the "whizz kid" who not so very long ago was as-suring the world that the war in Vietnam would be over and U.S. troops on their way home by December, 1965) has announced that 5,000 nuclear warheads are currently stored in Europe and that this mumber is to be increased by 20 per cent.

The U.S. and its N.A.T.O. ally Britain want to press ahead with plans for the creation of a N.A.T.O. nuclear force in which West Germany will get a finger on the nuclear trigger.

Such moves are completely incompatible with any international agreement to step the spread of nuclear weapons. They are also incompatible with genuine efforts to secure disarmament.

In an attempt to call a halt to the nuclear arms race that is a constant source of tension, Poland, a country which was one of those which suffered the most grievously during World War Two, has renewed its call for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe.

When previously mooted the proposal secured the support of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, obstacle to its own nuclear access to nuclear control. ambitions.

Editorial

to see changed.

of Ghana.

to our people.

So the Western Powers, afraid of offending Bonn, which they see as a reliable ally in the cold war, likewise refused to consider it seriously.

The Polish delegate to the United Nations has now, following Mr. McNamara's announcement regarding U.S. plans for a 20 per cent increase in the stockpile of American nuclear warheads, repeated his country's plea for agreement before it is too

weapons are trained, are being asked to accept at face value the assurance that a combination of physical and electronic checks prevents unauthorised use of these warheads, some of which are already mounted on West German weapons", said the delegate, Mr. Bogdan Lewandowski.

Poland, he said, could not accept that these arrangements were foolproof. This state of affairs reinforced the arguments in favour of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe.

West German official spokesmen — including the West German Foreign Minister himself—have in recent months made it clear that unless they get a finger on the N.A.T.O. nuclear trigger through the creation of some form of joint force, they will go ahead with plans to acquire their own nuclear weapons.

The United States and Britain have so far succumbed to this blackmail by Bonn. but it was rejected by a re- and have shown every sign of venge-seeking Western Ger- readiness to give the revengemany which saw it as an seekers in West Germany

There are, however, some

(Continued from page 1).

sordid order of the battle with its delaying tactics,

character assassination, the exercise of patronage

and the control of the academic 'political' machine

to obstruct the policies of the Party and Govern-

ment. It is noteworthy that when the Ghanaian Press

took up the battle against O'Brien, copies of these

journals became less accessible to readers, in the

University Library. While those newspapers from

abroad who attacked us were openly displayed, our

own press was relegated to the more remote and less

accessible corners of the library, a situation we hope

In his book, 'Neo-colonialism—The Last Stage of

Imperialism' which Dr. O'Brien purports to have re-

viewed recently, and 'Consciencism', Kwame Nkru-

man has stressed that at this stage of the emergence

of newly independent states one of the most import-

Although, we remember, O'Brien participated in

the ceremony introducing Consciencism, one of its

main points appears to have eluded him, namely

that imperialism is fighting a reaguard action by try-

ing to win men's minds for its ideas. In this way real

By his attack in his recent "review", and by reprint-ing his speech on Academic Freedom in his own

latest publication, O'Brien has lined up in the ideo-

logical counter-offensive against Ghana in particular

The second important development marked by the

Honorary Degree Ceremony was that the first Doctor

of Science degree was conferred by the University

One of the negative effects of the past struggle

was that urgent reforms which won the support of

members of the University were held up. Among

these was the rapid development of the science

faculty. Increasingly, the Government and the Party is emphasising the need for the expansion of our

scientific work and the number of scientists. Now we

can look to this to be reflected in the work of the

University. The struggles about imaginary grievances

are ended and the University can begin to increase

its part in the real struggle against poverty, ill-health

and economic under-development. It can become

a major force in Ghana's creation of a life rich in

material and cultural values and freely available

and against a progressive philosophy in general.

ant weapons of neo-colonialism is ideology.

independence can be impeded.

signs of a more rational approach. A non-aggression pact between N.A.T.O. and the Socialist countries' Warsaw Pact Organisation—a proposal put forward many times in the past by Warsaw Pact members, but invariably contemptuously dismissed by the N.A.T.O. powers—was suggested at an officially spon-

sord White House Conference

on International Co-operation.

even at such a meeting, great concern was expressed regarding U.S. policy in Vietnam.

ARK.

American policy has in recent months become more aggressive: Dominica, Vietnam and now the further build-up of nuclear warheads in Europe are among the outstanding manifestations of this new belligerence, which constitutes an ever-present It is significant also that threat of nuclear world war.

## "We, the Eastern Euro-Still Appearing Verwoerd

PRITAIN continues its Japan. policy of appeasement of apartheid. Lord Caradon, the British U.N. representative, has once again rejected the African states demands for South Africa.

Lord Caradon argued that on legal and practical grounds there could be no comparison her own oft-repeated assuranbetween the economic sanctions Britain is taking against Rhodesia (and which, be it noted. Britain claims will be effective) and the enormous operation which would have Africans. to be undertaken to make similar measures against South Africa effective.

One thing, however, is clear: there can be no effective sanctions against Rhodesia unless there are also effective sanctions against its sympathetic southern neighbour, South Africa.

But Britain, and also the United States and France. abstained when the U.N. Special Committee this week voted overwhelmingly for full economic sanctions against South Africa.

As the report submitted by the Liberation Committee to the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity in Accra earlier this year, undertaken by the African states to defeat of the Verwoerd regime has been brought to nought by the rapidly growing trade between Britain, the United States, West Germany, France and

Not only is British trade and investment in South Africa steadily increasing (Lord Caradon admitted that British investments in the Republic economic sanctions against now total some £1,000 million).

Britain is also, despite United Nations resolution and ces, still supplying ammunition to the South African Navy, ostensibly for "training" purposes. She is also providing military training for South

The American stake in apartheid is likewise increasing and despite Washington's assurances that an arms embargo is in force, U.S. firms have supplied aircraft to Verwoerd's police.

France has become the major supplier of arms to South Africa, while another NATO Power, Italy, is helping Verwoerd establish his own warplane industry.

West German trade with South Africa is likewise increasing rapidly, and West Germany is collaborating with the Verwoerd regime on

atomic and rocket research. Japan, another country whose trade with South Africa has shown a steep increase make clear the sacrifices during recent years, has unashamedly declared her intention to go on trading with Verwoerd, joining the West European NATO powers in their defiance of U.N. resolutions calling for a complete embargo.

## The Key to Progress

established Science Museum, Kwame Nkrumah re-affirmed his faith in the role that science can play in the building of a richer, fuller life. for Ghana, for Africa and for the world as a whole.

The aim of the Science Museum is to arouse the scientific curiosity of the general public, especially the young people, to develop scientific awareness and to stimulate scientific imagination.

The Museum's first, provisional Exhibition Hall will shortly mount its first exhibition dealing with electric power; attention will be focused on such developments as the Akosombo Dam and the benefits they can bring.

Kwame Nkrumah's visit to the Science Museum followed his earlier expression of faith in the role of science in our revolution—his cutting of the sod to mark the start of the work on Ghana's new "Science City" on the outskirts of Accra.

At that ceremony he declared that "no real social programme is possible today without a material basis, and this material basis can only be created through the applica-

tion of science and technology. "The pace of our socialist development", he went on, "will be determined, among other factors, by the prompt application of new scientific discoveries to our everyday

In capitalist society the

BY his visit to the newly- advances of science are used to swell the profits of the few who own the factories and other means of production; for the common man they all too often mean either an intensification of labour or the threat of unemployment.

> It is only in a socialist society that the advances of science can be applied in a planned manner, in the interests not of the profits of the few but the welfare and prosperity of the majority.

Indeed, it is only through the application of the latest achievements of science that socialism can attain its aim of an abundance of food and other material goods. As Kwame Nkrumah has expressiyely declared, "socialism without science is empty." In pre-independence days,

Scientific research concerned mainly the products which interested the foreign exploiters of our country's natural resources, while even the training of science and mathematics

science was neglected.

teachers was neglected.

Much has already been done: all over Ghana research workers are at work, studying how best to develop our country's resources. But much still remains to be done, and it is institutions like the Science Museum which can fire the imagination of our young people so that they too will take their place in the fight to push back the horizons of knowledge.



NOVEMBER 20: GHANA: The Soviet Union has backed a proposal by Ghana that member states of the United Nations should submit to the U.N., reports of on legislative, judicial and administra-

tive measures in their own

countries to liquidate racial discrimination.

BASUTOLAND: Basutoland Congress Party has accused the British Protectorate Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, who arrived in London today for constitutional talks, of wanting to link up with apartheid South Africa.

GABON: The late Dr. Albert Schweitzer's hospital in Lambarene, Gabon, will be modernised and developed, it has been announced in Strasburg, France.

CAMEROUN: The East Cameroun Provincial Legislative Assembly has unanimously elected Dr. Simon Pierre Tchougui as Premier.

NOVEMBER 21:

NIGERIA': Six hundred and thirty-four people have been arrested in the Ikija area of Western Nigeria for curfew offences and 183 others for hooliganism between November 5 and 15, according to a police spokesman in Lagos.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): Mr. Victor Nendaka, Interior Minister in the Congo (Leopoldville) Government, has confirmed that four Belgian Officers in the Congolese Army had been arrested on charges of engineering a plot to overthrow the Government of the Republic.

U.A.R.: The United Arab Republic's Agriculture Minister, Mr. S. A. El-Kishen, has requested the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation's help in improving productivity of large expenses of desert and

dry land in the Near East SOUHERN TRHODESIA: The United Nations Security Council at a session in New York has adopted a draft resolution calling on member states of the world Organisation to impose economic sanctions on Southern

Rhodesia including oil embargo.

NOVEMBER 22:

GHANA: The All-African Trade Union Federation has made a representation to the French Confederation "Generale du Travial" (C.G.T.) in Paris in connection with the recent

mysterious abducation of Mr. Ben Barka, a Moroccan nationa-\* Professor A. Riad Tourky,.

United Arab Republic Minister of Scientific Research arrived in Accra by air today to attend the sixth anniversary celebrations of the Ghana Academy of Sciences. GUINEA: The Guinea Government is to close down her embassy in Paris, France.

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah has sent the people of Lebanon fraternal greetings, wishing them continued prosperity and happiness.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Iranian Prime Minister, Amir Abbas Hoveida, announced in Teheran today that the National Iranian Oil Company had been instructed to stop the supply through all channels.

NOVEMBER 23:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Rhodesian white settler police shot dead an African in Bulawayo today as more than 2,000 Africans staged a big demonstration in protest against the seizure of power by the white settler rebels led by arch-racist Ian Smith.

ZAMBIA: Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, has said in Kampala that troops of the Ian Smith's rebel regime are

threatening Zambia and the four million African majority in Rhodesia while Britain talks of sanctions.

GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah speaking at the sodcutting ceremony marking the beginning of constructional work on Ghana's first "Science City" today declared that national prestige and recognition could not be divorced from scientific and technological advancement of a country, saying that the pace of our socialist development by the prompt application of new scientific discoveries to everyday life.

\* President Nkrumah today expressed the hope that qualified Ghanaian students abroad should pay heed to the several appeals made to them and return home to help in the task of national reconstruction.

NOVEMBER 25: CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): President Joseph Kasavubu of Congo (Leopoldville) was today ousted in a military coup de tat led by the Commander-in-Chief of the Congolese Army, Lieutenat-General Joseph Mobutu.

DAHOMEY : The majority Democratic Party of Dahomey has passed a vote of non confidence in President Migan Apithy of

Dahomev. GHANA: President Nkrumah has once again urged Britain to use armed force against the white settler rebels in Southern Rhodesia, pointing out that even Christ had to use whip to drive the wicked money changers

from the temple. NIGERIA: Nigeria's Aviation Minister and former Foreign Minister, Dr. Jaja Wachuku, has been expelled from the National Convention of Nigerian Citizens according to a party statement issued in Enugu, Eastern Nige-

SOUTH WEST AFRICA: The International Court of Justice sitting at The Hague, Holland, has announced that it would give its decision next Monday on South-West-Africa's request for an on the spot inspection of conditions in South-West-Africa.



### Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien

THE appearance in the 'New Statesman" of 26 November, 1965 of a so-called review by Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's latest book-"Neo-Colonialism: the last stage of imperialism", reminds one of the late English Comedian Tommy Handley who made the weekly B.B.C. Comedy programme "It's that man again".

Where Tommy Handely achieved fame for his undoubted service to his country, Dr. O'Brien has made himself a laughing stock to the African people and all progressive people everywhere (including his own Ireland) for his ridiculous antics and effusions against Ghana and its illustrious leader Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. My first reaction on reading Dr. O' Brien's diatribe was aha, "It's that man again".

For a man who was a former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana where he was accorded all the honour and the privileges befitting his high office, by the people of Ghana and their Government and by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah personally, his latest tirade against Dr. Nkrumah is further evidence of Dr. O'Brien's moral bankruptcy and intellectual dishonesty.

fact that in his book "Neoto read Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's beginners. This is a very apt

"Towards Colonial Freedom" which he wrote in 1942 and published in October, 1947, Dr. O'Brien would have discovered that the first two chapters of this masterly analysis of imperialism are devoted to the economic basis of colonialism and imperialism.

It is precisely because most

African leaders have not paid sufficient attention to this very important aspect of neo-colonialism, that Dr. Nkrumah quite rightly devotes the greater part of "Neo-Colonialism" to an expose of the giant financial monopoly Corporations that are eating out the economic vitals of Africa. Dr. Nkrumah's critics both in the United States of America and Britain have not accused him of inaccuracy, or distortion of facts, on the contrary they are very angry because Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's facts are incontrovertible and correct, hence their outburst of violent rage. It's left to Dr. O'Brien to write an apologia for the neo-Colonialists in his usual mixture of half-truths, and venting of his spleen against a selfless and dedicated African leader who has fought and is still fighting to make not only Ghana but all Africa politically and economically independent and united.

Dr. O'Brien takes umbrage Dr. O'Brien bemoans the at what he calls personality cult, because the Ghanaian Colonialism—The Last Stage people acknowledge and of Imperialism", Dr. Kwame acclaim Dr. Kwame Nkrumah Nkrumah concentrates too as a hero which he undoubtemuch on the economic basis dly is. Carlyle in his wellof Neo-Colonialism. If Dr. known book on heroes and O'Brien had taken the trouble hero-worship, calls great men

description. A great man is precisely a beginner because ie sees further than others and desires things more strongly than others.

Human history as a process expresses laws but does not proceed independently of man. History is made by men who set the problems of progress and solve them in conformity with the historical conditions of the epoch. A' great man is great precisely, because he possesses qualities which make him most capable of serving the great social needs of his time, needs which arise as a result of general and particular causes. He solves the problems thrown up by the preceding process of the development of society. He points to the social and political needs created by the preceding social relationships, he takes the initiative in satisfying these needs. He is a hero. He is a hero not in the sense that he can stop or change the natural course of things. but in the sense that his activities are the conscious and free expression of this inevitable and unconscious course. In the sense that only an individual can be the manifestation of the totality of the individuals of a nation.

Herein lies the significance of Kwame Nkrumah, herein lies his power, this is the significance of this colossus, herein lies his greatness. The strength of an outstanding individual like Kwame Nkrumah lies in his contact with the masses, with the people. His strength lies in his ability to organise the masses, in his ability to foresee the cause of historical progress. Kwame Nkrumah understands the laws of social development, he values the confidence of the people and from this derives his greatness. This profound understanding of the thinking and feeling of the masses enables him to influence and direct the masses to achieve more and more victories in the sharpened struggle for the Socialist reconstruction of Ghana, for the total liberation of Africa and for the realisation of genuine and effective African Unity. Hence Kwame Nkrumah is making history, he has never waited for history to be made.

BANKOLE AKPATA ACCRA

7th December, 1965,

# Rhodesia--W/hat

and national independence against an open police state of racial suppression is not cellor, Lord Gardiner, went to merely the cause of the oppressed Rhodesian people. It can be no separate concern of Britain alone-although the first responsibility rests on the British people, in view of the for their release. constitutional position, to compel their Government to

It is the common cause of all the peoples of Africa, of all the peoples of the world, and of all supporters of freedom against racialism.

In any comments written within a couple of days of the coup it would be premature to endeavour to measure yet the full world-wide consequences which will follow from this blow of reaction, or the forms which the further development of the battle will

### GO FORWARD:

But this much is certain. The battle will go forward until the final victory of the forces of freedom. The interests of African freedom and of world peace demand the unconditional defeat and destruction of the racialist regime in Rhodesia.

But the real responsibility for the shameful racialist coup in Rhodesia on Armistice Day, 1965, does not rest primarily with the bigoted or indoctrinated majority of the European settlers.

The real guilt needs to be placed squarely where it belongs, with British imperialism, and with the political leaders of British imperialism, acting on behalf of some of the wealthiest and most powerful British monopolies entenched in Rhodesia.

It was the Tory Government in 1923 which, with Labour acquiescence, established the anomaly of a so-called "self-governing colony" Southern Rhodesia in the interests of the settlers, that is, in practice self-governing in respect of the White settlers and colonial in respect of the African 95 per cent deprived of rights.

It was the Tory Government in 1953 which, again with practical Labour acquiescence, imposed the arbitrary and indefensible and unworkable "Central African Federation" to hand over what were then the colonies of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to the tender mercies of the Southern Rhode's ian racialists, against the overwhelming and out-spoken opposition of. the Africans of all three territories.

When the Central African Federation broke down, and independence had to be conceded to Zambia and Malawi, it was the Tory Government which began the endless negotiations with Smith and the Rhodesian Front to seek to find a figleaf formula to cover the reality of racialist "independence" with hopes and promises for the future-negotiations which the Wilson Labour Government continued on the same basis laid down by Home, playing into the hands of Smith and his plotters to prepare their coup.

### NO FORCE

From the outset of the interminable negotiations Harold Wilson, while making a great show of stern words that a unilateral declaration of independence would be treason, simultaneously explained no less emphatically that he would on no account take the normal consequent action against treason, and that, while he was busily engaged in sending massive troops and planes and warships to 'Aden or Malaysia to quell into submission any non-Whites who dared to challenge the rule of Britain, in the case of Rhodesia, if the rule of Britain were overthrown by White racialists, he would guarantee beforehand not to use force against them.

This preliminary tip-off was of course the green light for Smith which made the rest of

THE battle for elementhe wordy palaver meaningtary democratic freedom less. When the Mission of the Commonwealth Secretary Bottomley, and the Lord Chan-Rhodesia for ten days in February, 1965, the African nationalist leaders were in detention. There was no protest from Britain or demand

> Instead, after they had heard from Smith his intention to declare his racialist dictatorship with or without Britain's consent, Bottomley returned to announce in Parliament that Britain would not use force against him.

"Reporting to Parliament yesterday on the results of the 10-day mission to Rhodesia, the Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, said flatly that there will be no attempt by the present British Government to use military means to force through constitutional changes and bring about African majority rule" (Guardian,

"Labour Monthly," a British progressive publication which consistently champions the anti-imperialist cause. Although they have in some respects been overtaken by events, we believe the analysis they contain will be of interest to our readers. The crossheads are ours.

force only against Africans, but never on the side of de-Bottomley, to "bring about African majority rule"

### PLAIN HINT

Smith took the plain hint passed him by Wilson on November 1st. On November 5th he established his state of emergency to complete his iron grip on Rhodesia. On November 11th he carried out his

Faced with the manifest and now indisputable failure of the prolonged and futile negotiations, which only gave Smith and his gang time to complete is better to spin out the profor Smith. The subsequent bitter com-

We here reproduce the "Notes of the Month" from the current issue of

plaint of Wilson in Parliament on November 12 after the blow had fallen, that he had been let down by Smith; that he had conceded every pos sible point to Smith until there was nothing left to concede ("I proved beyond any reasonable doubt that every point they had made was fully dealt. pitiful satisfaction that he was glad to think that Mr. Smith at any rate agrees with the claim that I have done everything any man could do"; his disillusioned lament over his "heavy heart" that "reason had left the scene" and that Smith must have been all the time, even while they conducted on the phone "almost a friendly conversation", in reality "hellbent" on evil courses—all this recalls nothing so much as Chamberlain's lamentation in Parliament and in his broadcast on September 3, 1939, that he had been let down by Hitler; that he had done everything to make possible for Hitler "a peaceful and honourable settlement"; that on this "sad day" of "a bitter blow" for him all he had worked for had "crashed into ruins"; that "no word given by Hitler could be trusted" any more; and that they were confronted

### PHONY WAR

with "evil things".

There followed then the phony war . .

Warnings of the course and consequences of Appeasement, and demands for action in time, were not lacking in the thirties. Nor have they been lacking in the years preceding the Rhodesian coup.

It was already in September 1963 that Britain vetoed the resolution of the African States in the Security Council on what was then Southern Rhodesia; but the Assembly in November passed the same resolution by 73 votes to 2.

It was in the summer of 1964 that the United Nations delegation came to London and reported back that its members were "disagreeably surprised" to find that the United Kingdom Ministers

"constant concern for the possible reactions of the White settlers if an attempt were made to implement United Nations resolutions, whereas they were not in the least concerned about the possible reaction of the four million Africans in Southern Rhodesia if they continued to be denied the most elementary rights."

The U.N. delegation condemned the British Govern-

It called on the British Government to release political prisoners, repeal all repressive and discriminatory legislation, remove all restrictions on African political activity, and convene a constitutional conference.

The report of the delegation was endorsed by the U.N. Special Committee on Colonialism by 20 votes to nil with three abstentions, and the issue was forwarded to the

the United Nations before the explosion was the resolution of the Assembly on Novemout" the negotiations (Prince ber 5 for "all necessary measures, including military force' to suspend the consti-

when he recommended: "It tution, release political prisoners, and convene a constimocracy or, in the words of cess of the solution; a few tutional conference based on years here or there do not adult suffrage with a view to matter") meant buying time establishing democratic independence.

The decisions of the United Nations, to which all political parties in Britain love to profess loyalty as the supposed heet-anchor of their foreign policy, were thus sufficiently lear. Had they been carried out, the coup could never have

taken place. Even more explicit were the warnings and the calls for dewith on terms that must be cisive action in time from all satisfactory to them"); his the African states. The Commonwealth Premiers' Conference in June of this year almost broke down on the question of Rhodesia; and a single communique was only adopted in the end on the basis of recording separately that the "responsibility" lay with Britain, but that "the British Prime Minister was urged by other Prime Ministers" to take action "within three months" to convene a constitutional conference with free participation of all political leaders in order to establish democratic independence on a basis of majority rule.

### O.A.U. RESOLUTION

In October the Conference of the Organisation of African Unity at Accra recorded the unanimous resolution of the leaders of the 28 independent African states represented, calling on Britain to suspend the Rhodesian constitution immediately; to use force if necessary and to convene a constitutional conference of representatives of the entire population.

The resolution further recommended all member states "to use every possible means, including armed force, to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence" if Britain failed to take the necessary measures to stop it; and also recommended member states to "extend immediate assistance to the Zimbabwe (Rhodesian) people with a view to establishing a majority government". This was three weeks before the coup.

But the most sinister parellel with the Appeasement of the thirties, far more significant than any incidental fleeting analogies, is the underlying motive for Britain's resistance to the repeated calls equally of the African states and of the United Nations.

### **ANTI-COMMUNISM**

The reason which led the dominant British statesmen of the thirties, despite their recognition of the rivalries of interests of British and German imperialism, to back Hitler. to assist his rearmament, to gloss over the evils of fascism, and to connive at his successive aggressions (even while always "deploring"them) was their deep-seated anti-Communist and anti-Soviet obsession, which led them to see all the time the Soviet Union and not Nazi Germany as the main danger, until the remorseless judgement of the event finally brought the collapse of all their calculations and compelled them to accept with eagerness the alliance which they had so long rejected.

Similarly Harold Wilson. with that deep-seated anti-Communist and anti-Soviet obsession which has always ever since 1917 distorted the judgement of the top ranks of Labour's leadership in all questions of foreign policy, has revealed more and more clearly with every utterance that he has seen the problem of Rhodesian recialism and the African states, with his vain attempts to square both, not as primarily a problem of the African struggle for freedom, but in terms of the cold

that in his speech in Parliament on November 12, immediately following the racalist coup and open treason, he should paint before his hearers in vivid terms the horrors, not of the real sufferings of the millions of Africans under the heel of a racialist dictatorship, but of a hypothetical picture of "the Red Army" marching into Africa. Thereby was revealed the mentality which underlay Munich. But those days belong to the past.

Next?

Similarly Rhodesia is now lescribed in British Governhent statements as having come since Smith's State of mergency "a police state".

### **OUTRAGEOUS**

But Rhodesia was already a police state for years before, and was described as such by constitutional authorities ever since the notorious Law and Order (Maintenance) Act of 1960.

Not only the denial of political rights to the African majority, but draconian legislation and decrees to crush African political organisation had gone on for years.

Yet the British Government which, whenever African orother states protested, replied that it alone had responsibility for Rhodesia as its own internal affair, refused to intervene or insist even on the right of existence of African national organisations.

The African National Congress was banned. When the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act was introduced in 1960, its provisions were so soutrageous that the Federal Chief Justice, Sir Robert Tredgold, resigned in protest, describing it as "evil and a threat to the rule of law" and declaring:

"It will remove any lingering vestige of doubt whether Southern Rhodesia can properly be called a police state... it outrages every basic human right".

That was already in 1960, not 1965. The National Democratic Party, successor to the African National Congress, organised an unofficial referendum on the 1961 Constitution, and recorded nearly 500,000 against.

### Z.A.P.U. BANNED

Thereupon the National Democratic Party was also banned. The Zimbabwe African People's Union (Z.A.P.U., which took its place, called for the boycott of the 1961 Constitution of African enslavement.

There upon Z.A.P.U. was also banned, its leaders arrested, and an amendment passed. to the Unlawful Organisations Act to forbid any organisation being formed to replace

Such was Harold Wilson's "rule of law" before November 11, 1965, against which the British Government refused to take action.

Now, when at last, despite all the concessions and entreaties by Wilson, which only gave Smith time to complete his mobilisation, the break has been made, not by Wilson, but by Smith.

Wilson has been forced to make a stand. But what kind blem is seen, not primarily of stand? Certainly a great outward show of sternness is made. Smith is declared guilty of treason. His government is declared to be deposed and no longer a government, but a group of private citizens unlawfully assuming the rights of a government, and therefore enemies of the Queen.

Relations are broken off and High Commissioners are recalled. Rhodesia is excluded from the sterling area, from imperial preference, from aid and credit facilities; extensive trade bans are imposed, including on tobacco and sugar.

But the more these stern measures are examined in practice, the more a fog of ambiguity descends upon them. Smith and his Ministers act of rebellion against the Crown....Actions taken to give effect to it will be trea-

Thus it was characteristic arrest them? Not a hint. The law lays down with some precision what is required to be done with subjects committing acts of rebellion and treason. The law is ignored.

The denunciation is purely verbal, and is obviously not intended by Wilson to be treated seriously in a legal sense, nor is it so regarded by Smith.

The Governor of Rhodesia duly proclaims Smith's Government illegal. The proclamation rings round the world -everywhere except in Rhodesia. In Rhodesia it is excluded from being broadcast; the Rhodesian Herald is forbidden to print it. So for Rhodesia it is just some words which disappear into the air.

A government cannot be displaced unless it is replaced by another government. But no other government has so far been set up by Britain. For a government to be effective requires force to maintain itself. And Britain has expressly excluded the use of force.

The African national leaders have set up an alternative government (unfortunately with a rival at the moment; this has still to be sorted out), But Britain refuses to recognise it.

So the public officials and citizens of Rhodesia are solemnly exhorted by Wilson to refuse to obey the illegal regime.

### NO ALTERNATIVE

But they are not given an alternative government to obey. For the Governor in isolation, who has not even the means to communicate with the citizens of Rhodesia, cannot function as an alternative government.

The situation of a "Governor" who cannot govern, and a non-existent "government" which is supposed not to exist and in fact does govern, is fit only for Alice in Wonderland. There is about all this an unmistakable sniff of the phony war.

As for the economic sanctions, all the expert financial comment has tended to stress their limitation rather than their severity.

"In imposing financial as well as trade restrictions on Rhodesia, the British Government have not gone to the ultimate extreme in either case. They have not actually frozen the London sterling balances and other assets owned on Rhodesian account, nor have they gone to the lengths of an oil embargo" (The Times, 12.11,

There are some indications that the Government is deliberately holding oil sanctions in reserve as a possible trump card to play in order to defeat the demand of the African and socialist majority in the United Nations for more positive action to bring down the racialist dictatorship in Rhodesia and win the fight for African liberation.

### U.N. MAJORITY

In other words, as every statement of Government spokesmen has again and again made clear, the proin terms of defeating Rhodesian white racialism, but interms of circumventing the African and socialist majori-

ty in the United Nations. When angry Tory questions demanded why the Foreign Secretary was being sent to call for an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council on Rhodesia, Wilson's answer was to say, not that this was necessary because the issue was of international concern, but "because if we do not, somebody else will".

Heath, supporting Wilson, declared: "The problem will be to avert excessive action by the United Nations".

But will economic sanctions alone, especially of the present limited variety, or even are declared by Wilson to be, if extended, bring down the guilty of treason. ("This is an racialist dictatorship in Rhodesia?

All experience throws doubt upon such a proposition.

sonable".) -- Continued on page 4



"Smith was boasting of the success..."

were opened for Smith to act. Premier Wilson went further. On November 1, that is, within a few days of the coup, in an interview on Panorama, he handed out to Smith, whom he called "a great leader", the indispensable guarantee required by Smith for his action.

"I think it would be wrong to use force to try and get a constitutional solution. The only conditions in which I could foresee force being used would be if while we still had responsibility — a s s u m i n g no U.D.I. or anything of that kind-there was an outbreak of disorder, murder, subversion, whether it came from African or European extremists. In those circumstances we would certainly have to consider that." So he recognised conditions in which he might use force while Smith was building up his plot, throwing African leaders into prison and esta-

blishing his reign of terror. Not against Smith. Britain would use force against "subversion"—of course impartially, whether it came from either side; "whether it came from African or European extremists".

### IN POWER

But the "European extremists" were in power. They were exercising a White racialist dictatorship. A dictatorship does not conduct "subversion" against itself. The only "subversion" could come from the Africans struggling against the dictatorship.

Thus, under a transparently hypocritical cover of pretending that he might use force against "subversion" from either side, he was in fact declaring that he would use

This meant that the gates their illegal preparations, Wilson and his Labour Ministers now seek to excuse themselves by claiming that they succeeded by spinning out the endless interchanges in delaying the unilateral declaration independence and thus gained time.

> This plea remarkably recalls Chamberlain's similar apology for Munich, after its breakdown had come obvious and war had followed, that he had succeeded in buying time. But of course the advantage went to Hitler.

### ADVANTAGE TO SMITH

And in the same way the advantage went to Smith. Indeed, already in a speech on August 27th this year Smith was boasting of the success of his technique in outmanoeuvring the Labour Govern-

He referred to the "incredible remarks" made by Bottomley that "Britain had averted a unilateral declaration of independence by Rhodesia last October". On this Smith commented:

"I can only say that if the British Government seriously believed we were on the edge of taking independence last October I am agreeably surprised at how effective our technique at bluffing the rest of the world has been. We knew at that time we were not ready."

Precisely. Prompt action could have scotched the plot, compelled the release of the African leaders and the convening of a constitutional conference before Smith had had time to mobilise his forces.

The technique of "spinning Philip's phrase in his speech at Edinburgh on July-2nd

had shown

ment's attitude as

"a flagrant denial of its responsibilities to protect the interests of the majority and a deplorable refusal to discharge its obligations under the Charter and under the resolutions of the General Assembly".

Security Council. The final warning call of

# Prosperity—Formatily an agricultural country cannot be overent metal, yet Ghana cannot second to remain forever a producer of raw materials for overseas markets.

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

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

has embarked upon a number of large industrial projects

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

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

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

Osagyefo, the President,

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

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

The next phase of develop-ment will take the form of the initiatiion of new projects based on the utilization of locally available materials. In this way, it is hoped that a variety of manufactures may be established as general

established there.

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

small-scale, rural or handicraft

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

and problems.

River Project has also been

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



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

creating employment for people in areas where no industries exist;

generating income for

Local Council areas; to provide supplementary income for farming communities;

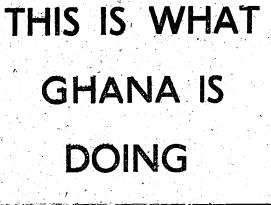
encouraging the youth to show keen interest in our traditional handicrafts:

checking the drift of the population from the rural areas to the urban

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

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

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



areas of Ghana.

In conveiving the industries

mentioned in the earlier para-

graphs consideration has been

given to industries in which

mass production methods are

tile manufactured from semi- and industrial use in the rural mechanised processes.

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

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

The Ministry therefore plans to encourage and foster the processing and preservation of vegetables, edible oils, condiments, spices and carry out dehydration of suitable foodstuffs into such products as gari, starch, banana, plantain,

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

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



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



Inspection of a sugar-cane plantation.

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

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

The tendency therefore has been a continuous drift of nopulation from the rural freas to the urban centres in tearch of employment.

In many countries the conviction was at one time preof the rural areas of the country at heart, early this year created a Ministry of Rural Industries as distinct from the Ministry of Industries.

The new Ministry is charged with the following responsibi-

to take over and manage all existing rural industries and projects and to further establish and develop new rural and village industrial projects, and handicraft industries;

to establish, in consultation with the ministry of Art and Culture, shops for handicraft industries; and

workshops, all of which are nearing completion.

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

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

## Rhodesia - What Next?

Continued from page 3

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

African majority. This dream of British policy was already expressed long ago by the Economist on August 22, 1964 when

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

Similarly The Times editorial on November 12, in discussing whether the econo-replace Hitler by a "mo-

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

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

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

"We must hope that before too long the formalities of these sanctions and the doubt and discomfort they will cause will bring the change of heart in Rhodesia that is necessary." It is impossible not to re-

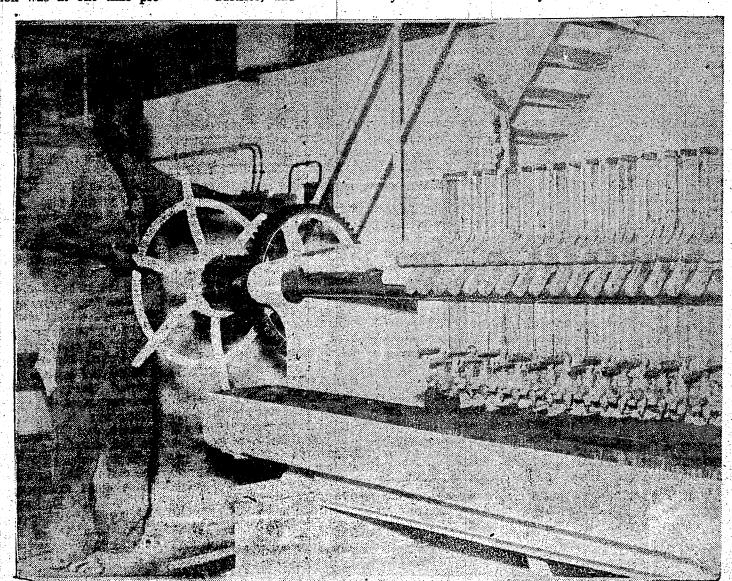
cognise in this strategy the parallel to the similar strategy which inspired British official policy in the period of the phony war-to avoid any extreme measures which might bring revolutionary consequences, and seek to exert only sufficient pressures to

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

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

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

(Continued on page 5)



A Ghanajan operator in a Mill industry.

# (with which we agree) of the entire of the expitalist country enlarged state interconnin economic life; and a picture (with which we agree) that this orientation towards neo-in the attempt to prevent any a picture (with which we agree) that this orientation towards neo-in the attempt to prevent any colonialism and cold war. alteration in the share of the change from

## 1. The Myth

IN his recent exposition of Schonfield, Director of the Royal Institute of International affairs (Chattam Houce) and former ecomic editor of the London liberal paper "The Observer", has criticised the point of view we have expressed in the last two arti-° this series:

socialist reformers, as we. as the right wing ideologies of business, have tended to exaggerate the lasting importance of the property relationship...

The important discovery of the post war period is that ownership is of itself much less important than either revolutionary proletarian or conservative bourgeois philosophy alleged. It has become clear that these two agreed about altogther too much." (Modern Capitalism. 1965. p. 379).

Professor Galbraith in both his American Capitalism; and in his Affluent Society has advanced the concept of "countervailing power" to suggest that other forces have arisen to offset the power of the concentrations of property. In his view the contervailing forces are other, and rival concentrations of private economic power, (so that there is an element of mutual cancellation). the growth of trade unions and other forms of organisation of the people, and above all, there is increased state intervention

in the economy. Mr. Strachet, a well-known theorist of the British Labour Party, advanced in his Contemporary Capitalism the view that the key change in modern capitalism was the growth of democracy, in the form of trade unions and working class political parties and that a new balance of forces with a new popular bias and predominance of the views of the people had changed capitalism into a more acceptable form of economy.

### A. INTERNAL BENEVOLENCE

Mr. Schonfield has given a more detailed sketch of the essential features of his new post-war capitalism (op. cit. p. 65-66):

"I shall try to identify the characteristic institutional features of the economic order which has gradually emerged in post war capitalism . . . there are differences between the key institutions and economic methods of one country and another. The differences are often the subject of sharp ideological cleavages. Yet when the total picture is examined, there is a certain unformity in the texture of these societies. In terms of what they do, rather than of what they say about it, and even more markedly in terms of the pattern of their behaviour over a period of years, the similarities are striking...

"1 There is a vastly increased influence of the public authorities on the management of the

economic system; "(2) The preoccupation with social welfare leads to the use of public funds on a rising scale, most notably to support people who do not earn ... characteristic of the post war period is the steady advance of social welfare measures over wide areas of the Western World ....

"(3) in the private sector ... competition tends to be increasingly regulated and controlled ... Governments have encouraged forms within an industry to evolve agreed policies on the basis of their common long

range interests; "(4) It has now come to be taken for granted, both by governments and by the average person in the Western capitalist countries, that each year should bring a noticeable increase in the real income per head of the

population; "(5) the characteristic attitude in large scale economic can monopoly capitalism. management, both inside government and in the private sector, . . is the pursuit of intel-

lectual coherence." Throughout all this economic writing is present a pic-

ture (with which we agree) of greatly enlarged state inter-vention in economic life, and also a picture (with which we modern capitalism, Mr. profoundly disagree) that this represents interference with the rights of the private concentrations of economic power, the monopolists in the interests of the community.

In African countries (at least the English-speaking ones) large numbers of the present civil services, and generations of students at school and in the university, have studied the subject "British Constitution".

They have been subjected to a systematic exposition of the view that the state is neutral in economic and political life, that it represents the interests of the community (i.e. the majority), and that according to which political party in a bior-multi-party system obtains a parliamentary majority, the organs of state adapt themselves impartially to the service of that majority.

This aspect of the myth we shall call the Myth of the Neutral state. Since the state is held to be advancing the interests of the majority, it follows that it must also be benevolent.

### B. EXTERNAL **BENEVOLENCE**

In external affairs, the state is held to represent the interests of the majority. Hence when it goes to war it does so in defence of the people's

interests. Similarly when it imposes trade restrictions or supports this or that activity of its businessmen abroad. This viewtary, Mr. Bevin, when he jus-

those who had elected him. from spokesmen of the British Labour Government, the cry has come that we must protect "our" interests east of

And yet Mr. Schonfield can discuss Modern Capitalism with barely a mention of Britain's role as a world banker and overseas investor, and Mr. Strachey's Contemporary Capitalism left the foreign economic and political policy about the nature of the state. of Britain to a second book, The End of Empire.

Professor Galbraith is more

honest and realistic. "A society must also ensure its own survival . . . his is another area where circumstance, and in this instance at an almost terrifying speed-has been undermining the conventional wisdom . . . The Soviet Union has revealed a breath-taking series of advances . . . It has become evident that our failure to match this achievement was the result of a failure to concentrate the requisite resources upon the desired ends . . . But whatever the paths to survival, the problem is the same. Were the Russians to disappear from the world, or become overnight as tractable as church mice, there would remain vast millions of hungry and discontented people in the world. Without the promise of relief from that hunger and privation, disorder would be inevitable. The promise of such relief requires that we have available and usable resources. The requirement is of course more urgent in a world in which different economic and political systems are in competition" (The Affluent Society pp.274-5).

As we shall show, the "we" whose interests East of Suez are to be protected are not the British people, but the oil monopolists; that 'society' which (a la Galbraith) is to 'seek its own survival' is the economy and profits of Ameri-

### II THE REALITY

THE myth of the Neutral State, in which the apparatus of state is used impar-

tially to assist now this, now that, section of the community, but or balance always to assist the majority, is perhaps the most powerful and prevalent political myth of modern capitalist societies where the outward forms of democracy

No African will suppose that the state apparatus of Verwoerd or Smith is used to further the interests of the majority; though numbers of people in Britain or the U.S.A. who are full of praise for the 'democracy' of western capitalism show a marked lack of affection for its extension elsewhere, and a marked enthusiasm for various kinds of 'paternalistic" dictatorship (though they avoid the unpleasant word) in areas where this can still be maintained.

The view of scientific socialists has always been that in class divided societies where there was exploitation of one class by another, the machinery of state, whatever its outer forms, represented the rule of the minority over the majority.

### VIEWPOINT

This viewpoint has received a general exposition in Lenin's State and Revolution. No one could read Kwame Nkrumah's writings and retain the view that the state under colonialism or neo-colonialism was or point was expressed by an for that matter under capitalearlier Labour Foreign Secre- ism neutral as between different interests or represented tified British military inter- the interests of the majority. vention in the Middle East on. It is surprising that when the ground that he was protect- so many students have studied ing the oil which belonged to the British Constitution in our universities, there are no Often in recent months, copies to be found in our libraries of a well documented and scholarly Marxist work on the British State (Harvey and Hood: The British State, London 1958).

Perhaps Dr. O'Brien's wellknown advocacy of the fearless pursuits of truth and his well-known essays on the relations of state and university, might have led him to make sure that his hearers had studied all points of view

If and when he defends academic freedom (e.g the right of Marxists to teach in his own American university) in his present home as vigorously as he did here, he will find the reactions of the American establishment more in accord with Marxist than liberal analysis. But perhaps he does not intend to make the experiment.

In our time the ruling class in the developed capitalist countries is the group of monopolists in industry and banking who have been rightly called the finance oligarchy.

The basis of their power in property ownership we examined in the first article of this series. Lenin referred to the state under conditions of competitive capitalism as the "executive committee of the capitalist class".

### FINANCE OLIGARCHY

In our times, those of imperialism, where the finance oligarchy is the dominant. economic force in the internal and external relations of the imperialist countries, the state becomes the executive commit-

tee of finance capital. From reading Mr. Schonfield's description of Britain in the post war world and its essential features (see quotation in our opening paragraphs) one would never suppose that Britain had any overseas investments or if she had that they were important.

In contrast to Mr. Schonfield and Mr. Strachy and other exponents of the new thinking, British Marxists have always stressed the quite central role played by imperialism in the British conomy.

by RON BHELAMY

When Mr. Streety and others were heading the end of imperialism, Kwame Nkrumah wrote but was unable to find a commercial publisherfor his work Towards Colonial Freedom, at almost the same time British Marxist whose review of Neo-Colonialism was recently published in The Spark, Mr. R. Palme Dutt issued The Crisis (1949).

### THE FACTS

What are the facts? An official British government estimate in 1964 put the total of Britain's overseas investments at about £11,000m. The annual rate of investment during the years 1952-57 was running at about £350m.

The Radcliffe Committee in 1958 commented on "a steady rise over the past five or six years from about £250 to roughly £400m per annum. A large part of private investment is in the oil industry."

By way of a crude comparison (I would not claim it as more) it can be calculated (from Professor Morgan's The Structure of Property ownership in Great Britain 1960) that the assets of all public and private companies operating in Britain were in 1955 about £20,000m. Corporate income from property abroad was in 1961 (before payments of foreign taxes) £1,138m, a figure which had hardly varied for three years. (HMSO: National Income.

and Expenditure 1962) The Board of Trade Survey of Company Assets, Income and Finance in 1960. shows that of the twenty largest companies, 18 had overseas subsidiaries, and one , was owned abroad; of the next twenty largest, 14 had subsidiaries abroad and one

was owned abroad. Mr. Strachy and others have tried to argue that since foreigners (mainly American) have assets in Britain, and Britain's total debts abroad outweigh her foreign assets, Britain is no longer an impe-

rialist country. I may only suggest that it has never been noticed that a money-lender who was himself squeezed by a still larger money-lender became thereby automatically benevolent-indeed, the contrary.

### CAPITAL ACCUMULATION

For the more he has to pay out, the greater his pressure upon his own debtors.

They have also argued that an income from overseas investments even of £1,000m gross is small in relation to a national income which runs at twenty-five times that figure. But in relation to the profits of the relatively small number of large companies who own the overseas assets, £1,000m is far from negligible.

Since most people are not shareowners, the sum is not to be shared out among the whole population and their income is therefore irrelevant.

Further in relation to the annual capital accumulation, which helps to determine the competitive economy of the British economy against its imperial rivals, and to the sources of foreign exchange which assist in the maintenance of the City of London as a world banker (which earned the City itself £185m in 1963. The Times 32.65) £1,000m is a very sizeable addition indeed, since total capital formation in Britain for all purposes is not more than about one sixth of national income, and the part available to the private monopolist sector is smaller still.

What of the internal policies and effects of state mono-

This has to be paid for internally in money, in lives, and in the reduction of resources available for advancing the

general social welfare. Indeed, the welfare state might be more correctly called the welfare state. Not only is the balance of payments (and therefore economic independence) wrecked by uncontrolled overseas investments and large expenditures for overseas military adventures, but the committal to N.A.T.O. produces for Britain a total arms bill of almost £2,000m each year.

While the monopolists draw the profits from overseas, the people pay for the costs of maintaining imperialism. It is true, as we shall discuss in the next article, that a small minority besides the monopolists derive some gains of income and privilege from imperialism.

### MONETARY TERMS

But with the growth of new nation states, with the increased difficulties and costs of maintaining imperialism, it is doubtful whether the country as a whole gains anything, even measured in narrow monetary terms.

But from the standpoint of state monopoly capitalism, this is not the important factor. It is the monopolists who make the gains: it is the people who pay. For various reasons it has in part been concealed from them how much they are paying.

Second, as Mr. Schonfield has argued, it is said that there has been a big extension of social services. This is true in Europe, though not in the

United States. It has also been accompanied by a big increase in contributions from the mass of

the people. The myth of the "income revolution" whereby through measures of public finance we are all said to be becoming more equal has been exploded by Professor Titmuss of the London School of Economics.

After the most careful and so far unchallenged study made since World War II of official statistics Titmuss concluded that there is "no evidence to support the conclusion that Britain has become, or is becoming a more equal

society" The Economist of 20th June 1965 pointed out

"As an increasing band of economic thinkers and social reformers is pointing out, the improvements in both general living standards and equality of opportunity have done astonishingly little to diminish inequality of wealth, which in the end is the source of all inequalities '. . . On the surface Britain has for many years been taxing inheritance more penally than any other country . . . the trouble is that the loopholes are so enormous as to have transformed death duties into an accountant's joke, a tax on those ignorant of the law or suspicious of their families."

### MIRACLE ECONOMY

In West Germany, Mr. Schonfield's estimate confirms what we have written in an earlier article in The Spark on the Miracle Economy,

True, the West German government taxes away an even higher proportion of the national product than does the government of Britain (33.9 per cent compared with 27.6 per cent).

But: "a large part of the burden falls on the working class, and rates of taxation on middle-class (earned) incomes are also heavy." (p.265) "Special tax benefits went to the favoured basic industries-steel, coal and iron ore mines, and eeletric power plants . . . The tax rates had to be high. They were. The large company and the businessman with a big income were the most eager beneficiaries of the concessions," (p.282).

national income in favour of the working people.

Not only are attacks made measures to break the bargaining power of the trade unions, while no more than gentle exhortation—without action—is made against monopolies and monopoly pro-

### NOTICEABLE INCREASE

In short, atever gains have been made in the standard of living of the mass of the people has been small compared with the great growth in productive power of labour and the even greater potential productive power of modern technology.

Those gains are not something given free by a benevolent state. They are gains for which the people have had to fight every inch of the way, and which they maintain only by vigilance and organisational strength.

Yet there has been by comparison with previous periods, what Schonfield calls "a noticeable increase in the real income per head of popula-

This should not be exaggerated. In the richest capitalist country for most of the post-war period real earnings for each hour worked have not risen much more than 1 per cent per year, and some 40 per cent of the population are living around what is officially regarded by the U.S. government (given the productive capacity of the country) as subsistence level.

### INCREASED OUTPUT

A great deal of whatever gains there have been are dependent upon continued full employment and upon an increase in the proportion of the population especially women at work.

Family income has risen much faster than income per worker: Few economists would doubt that part of the advances of the 1950's were due to temporary factors, and that the uncertainties facing full employment are much greater in the 1960's.

Indeed in the United States the general predictions for a recession this year (on top of a level of unemployment which is very high by standards of Western Europe) were falsified only by the increased arms spending for the Vietnam War. More workers may avoid unemployment, but more will be killed.

Finally, how a capitalist world market in which numerically most of the customers (in the developing countries) are becoming poorer can find profitable sales for its increased output other than in the next article.

In all the capitalist coun- war, a great and unsolved tries there is state intervention contradiction of modern capi-

The change from laissezfaire to state intervention has been presented by the supporters of capitalism as well as on the social services, but those who claim it no longer everywhere, under the cry of exists to represent a fundainflation, are being introduced mental change in the ature and therefore in the beh viour and consequences of the modern economy of Western countries.

One over-enthusiastic Biltish Professor may now regreet his description of Britain as having passed through the stage of capitialism and socialism and being well on the way to communism.

But such are the ridiculous positions which result from confusing the label on the bottle with its contents. Students of Neo-colonial sm will be familiar with the falsa syllogism which goes as follows: Imperialism is the same things as colonialism. Colonialism has been abolished. Therefore there is no imperia-

### STATE INTERVENTION

Those who speak of State Intervention, or Etatism, as the essence of the new Stage in the internal affairs of Western countries are guilty of the same mental trick. Capitalism is the same thing as laiss-zfaire (absence of state intervention). Laissez faire has gone. Therefore capitalism

has gone. Colonialism and neo-colonialism are two stages of imperialism, the latter developing out of the former in response to victories of the antiimperialist forces in the world. Laissez-faire and monopoly capitalism (including State Monopoly capitalism) are two stages of the same system of capitalism.

Yet there remain the crucial question: Why, if this state intervention represents the attempts of monopoly, of mance capital to retain its privileged positions at home and abroad, at the expense of, and oppression of, the peoples of the world, have the peoples of the developed countries been persuaded to accept this new stage as some benevolent welfare state?

Why have there been, as Dr. Nkrumah has put it "those still all to few, yet growing instances of support for liberation and anti-colonialism inside the imperialist world itself"?

Since "unity is the first ! ... requisite for destroying neocolonialism" we must examine what are the historial condi tions which have enabled imperialism to divide a large section of the people from participation in the struggle for national liberation, and what are the prospects for and actions required for changing

those conditions. This will be the theme of

## Rhodesia— What Next?

(Continued from page 4).

in the face of experience. To base all calculations on economic sanctions alone as sufficient instrument, even if extended to include oil sanctions, is to ignore the role of South Africa, which has maintained relations with the Smith regime, and against which Britain has refused to impose eeconomic sanctions in accordance with the recommendations of the United Nations.

The question of Rhodesia cannot finally be separate! from the question of South Africa and of the Portuguese colonies.

The fight to end racial servitude and win democratic freedom in these territories is of the world,

a common fight. Smith's action has in the end only sharpened the battle.

It is a common battle of all the African peoples, as pro-claimed already by all the independent Lirican governments, with support of all the progressive peoples of the world, of the socialist nations, the newly independent states outside Africa, and of all who support these common antiimperialist aims in the imperialist countries.

No manoeuvres can sidetrack this common battle. But it is the vital interest of the British labour movement to play its full part in this common fight which is of such decisive importance for the future, not only of Africa, but

## African

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

The view that the participation of women in the organised struggle is somewhat secondary on account of their sex is reactionary and needs Not every African woman sharing with their male colleagues, the setbacks frustrations and successes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to be cast aside; for the very has the inclination or the success of the movement, it ability to play a leading role is necessary for women to be in the emancipation politicalregarded on an equal basis ly and economically—of the people:

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

### STRUGGLE FOR ALL

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

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

more effective. Africa is undergoing revolutionary changes which will -political, social and econo-

In consequence the tradi-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Woman Struggle

by Miranda Greenstreet

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

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

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

### ISLAM'S ARRIVAL

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

tinuous inter communal strife. The ruling classes in the European states, although conflicting among themselves over the spoils inside and outside Europe, were able to go accumulation on the backs people.

not only of black slave labour and the Asian villager, but ilso by the exploitation of the abour of the European work-

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

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

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

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

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

Naturally, due to family commitments amongst other

things, the direct participation of our women was restricted. but this does not alter one iota their inherent right to share fully in the fruits of economic emancipation. The African women having

women as well as our men.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### THE SLOGAN

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

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

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

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

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

Women will need to parti-

cipate fully in the productive process and be given opportunities to enter all possible capable of the use of her labour equally with men, skilled and unskilled, technical, managerial and professional. This brings into relief the

Thus, to oust imperialist domination was and is as much in the interests of our whole biological problem. If women are to participate equally with men in the productive process then preg-. nancy should not be regarded as a disability.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Our Party

(Continued from page 1)

Conference in Accra and preserve peace. The disthey will also, we have no doubt consider how unity can be built yet further and how the mass move- of our people in Ghana ments of which we are a and throughout Africa of part can exert yet more influence so that African Unity itself becomes a process enhanced by interaction of peoples and Governments, each playing their necessary part.

Linked closely with African Unity, is the present state of international affairs. Our people and their liberation against the

have been concerned to cussions and the report at our Congress will help to deepen the understanding the relation between the fight for peace and the struggle against imperialism. More and more they see that imperialism is the aggressor constantly threatening the peace of the world.

In Asia our brothers are fighting in Viet Nam for our Party are and always most powerful imperialism

in the world, the United States, and our Congress growing protest against common philosophy, a politics. the bombing of North Viet Nam and the refusal

the political and economic matters that need to be discussed. It is not hacause there are differences about these questions, about the need to build socialism, to fight reocolonialism, to work for African Unity and for peace, that we have to discuss them, but because we must as a Party which is scientific, be prepared atways to scrutinise in an objective way, pur jims and the methods of achieving them.

The value of the Congress lies in this assessment. Inevitably as comrades develop their work and activities in individual aspects of the Party's is to educate our people work and campaigns, they tend to see only the separate parts of the work going forward, they cannot all the time familiarise themselves with everything that is going on throughout the countryonly the leadership of the Party is in a position to do that. The Congress there- the relation of this to fore offers an opportunity our practical achievafor the Party to see the ment of economic and picture as a whole. This social advance must ocmeans that the individual comrade can begin to assess the significance of his or her own work and con- ther the intellectual revotribution, he can learn important lessons from the leadership and the rest of men's minds is on in our the rank and file, he can be helped to see his work through propaganda. objectively. This process through new theories the of rising above subjective assessments and narrow parochial outlooks, is one of the most important dent states; constantly ways of cementing the

unity of the Party. Party Unity is the most need men and women with

precious asset of our peo- a scientific understanding These are but a few of and advance the unity of the Party yet further to enable it to rise to new heights in the rebuilding of our society.

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

have major contributions to the ideological strengthening of the Convention People's Party. It is just as important to work to popularise the lessons, the facts and the general principles of Nkrumaism, as it about the Seven Year Plan. Indeed without such explanation, without such a fight for scientific socialism to become the intellectual property of the masses, the Seven Year Plan may well be in jeopardy. The ideological work of our Party, and cupy the attention of the delegates and bold plan; be launched to carry furlution in our country. We know that the battle for continent; through ideas, neo-colonialists try to deflect us from our socialist aims. The newly indepenthreatened by new forms of imperialist domination.

ples. It is unity based on of social change and with will add its voice to the a common ideology, a a scientific approach to common loyalty to the The example which Leader of the Party. Our Kwame Nkrumah cets of the American Govern- Congress will strengthen every Party member is a

ment to conduct uncondi- common understand in c, model. In spite of his rescommon sense of purpose ponsibilities of office in the Party and Government he never ceases to develop theory because he understands that this is the quarantee of correct practice. One of the most effective forms of leadership, the setting of example, the carrying through of our precepts into practical action, is exemplified in Kwame Nkrumah's -methods of work. This example must be one of the lessons we renew and carry back, to the Party membership as a

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

Long Live our Great Party.

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