

THE SPARK



47

2d.

A WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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EDITORIAL

The Parliamentarian in a Socialist State

Recently we carried an editorial on the role the parliamentarian should play in a country on the road to socialism. We have been forced by the loose tongues of a few dissident elements in the Parliament of Ghana to restate our case.

IN the struggle for political freedom in Africa, the role of Parliament is to resist, obstruct and defeat colonial administrations with the sole purpose of securing constitutions that confer more and more power on the people. On the attainment of independence, Parliament serves the useful purpose of focussing the national debate on which path of development the nation should follow. And once the nation has chosen the path of socialist development, the role of Parliament again undergoes a change. Its over-riding consideration is how to accelerate and smoothen the advance towards a socialist society.

In this march to socialism, a new type of parliamentarian is needed. He must be a convinced socialist ever on the alert to defeat any moves or measures that will defeat or delay our socialist goals. He must be absolutely loyal to the socialist party and at all times an enthusiastic champion and exponent of its programme. He must serve the people by understanding them.

The M.P. who lives apart from the people, talks loosely, practices social arrogance, resorts to the issuing of threats and commands, and exploits the ignorance of the masses to enrich himself is decidedly a drawback to the socialist cause. And socialism is best served by removing such a person from Parliament.

Three sets of problems beset the life and work of the socialist M.P. First, there is the issue of loyalty to the party. Here the rule is simple and clear cut. The M.P. must be transparently loyal to his party even to the extent of suffering temporary hardships and inconvenience. And to make sure that this loyalty is real and continuous, the nation's constitution should uphold the right of recall. Under this, a parliamentarian can be recalled by his constituency organisation at any time during his term of office.

Secondly, there is the matter of serving the people. The socialist M.P. does his work by keeping the ministers constantly on their toes.

It is his duty to spot out and criticise administrative failings in the ministries, boards and corporations. He must make absolutely sure that party policies are not defeated by either civil service red-tape or inept handling. He must constantly bring home to the ministers the views and criticisms of his constituents. He must faithfully reflect the demands of his constituents in their order of priority. He must teach the people by leading a life of devotion, simplicity and honesty. He must be an active member of his party branch.

Thirdly, there is the matter of how to prevent members of Parliament constituting themselves into a privileged class. There is the very real danger that M.P.s will tend to see themselves as a special class of men placed high above the masses and dictating to them. This frame of mind is strengthened when parliamentarians can secure their reelection by making use of financial power.

In the attempt to tackle this problem, some suggest that M.P.s should not be salaried but rather should earn allowances whenever they attend meetings of Parliament. The kernel of this view is that no privileged class will arise if M.P.s (except ministers who work full-time) do not earn fabulous salaries totally unrelated to the salary structure in the country.

Others argue that nominations for elections should be done by the party headquarters in order

The Ghana Revolution:

WHITHER PARLIAMENT?

asks our Parliamentary Correspondent

IN A REVOLUTIONARY ERA, PARLIAMENT, AS THE SUPREME LAW-MAKING INSTITUTION, IS A REPRESENTATION OF THE MOST SEASONED SOLDIERS, THE MOST DEVOTED BUILDERS AND THE MOST VIGILANT PARTISANS OF THE REVOLUTION. WHERE THE OPPOSITE IS THE CASE, THE REVOLUTION IS EITHER LOST OR ABANDONED MIDSTREAM. THE PRESENT GHANA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS NO EXCEPTION TO THIS RULE OF HISTORY:

Throughout history revolutions have had their fanatical devotees as well their band wagon riders. And a favourite technique of the band wagon riders is to shout the slogans of the revolution without in any way taking a positive step towards accomplishing the objectives of the revolution. Here again the Ghana National Assembly is no exception to the general rule.

On motions, in questions and in witty dialogues, parliamentarians can banter words, play up to the gallery and generally say things without caring much about their implementation. But this light-hearted banter turns into something very serious when the business of the House touches on financial matters, more especially when it is the annual budget. For the budget reflects the determination of a government to give effect to its general programme and policies. And the enemies of the revolution approach the budget debate very much as a retreating army prepares for a last ditch rearguard action. Hence the debate on the annual budget is a pretty accurate index of the character and soul of Parliament. Once again, the Ghana National Assembly can be no exception to the general rule.

RIGHT PARLIAMENT?

The two-day debate earlier this week in the National Assembly on the 1963-64 budget has thrown into bold relief the character of our National Assembly. And this has prompted people to ask whether this is the right Parliament for the present stage in Ghana's socialist revolution.

In other words, the question is being asked whether the present National Assembly can, in fact and not in words, perform creditably and successfully the role of a vanguard institution in our march to socialism.

Before getting down to an analysis of the budget debate, two things must be pointed out and strongly emphasised. In the first place, nobody questions the right of the opposition members to challenge both the provisions of and the

political philosophy behind the budget. These men are opposed to socialism and we must recognise their right to oppose both the details and the principles of a budget which sets out boldly

role of vanguard law-makers in the struggle for the socialist revolution. However a close study of the debate seems to show that the inability to measure up to expectations relates, not just to a few members, but to Parliament itself.

ATTACKS

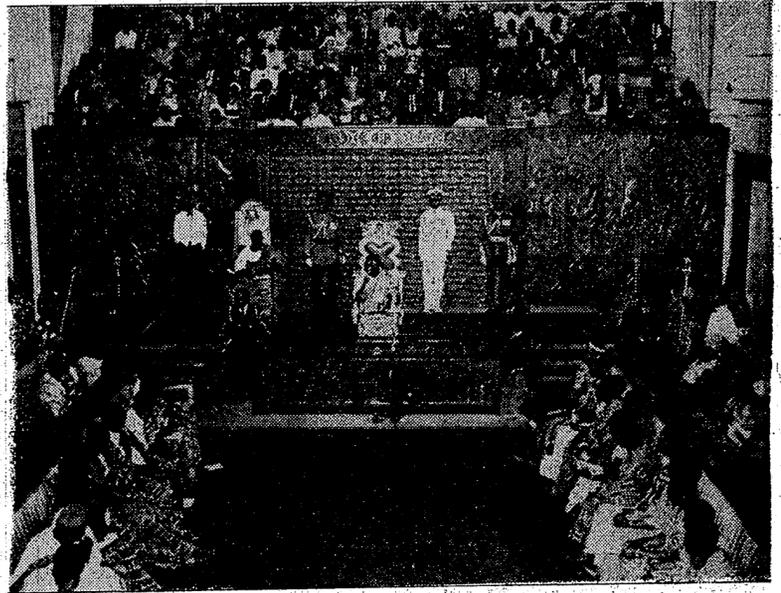
Both veiled and open attacks have been made on our objectives of a socialist society in Ghana. These

ment of revenue in an anti-socialist pattern;

6. taxes were criticised largely from the point of view of the upper classes; and

7. the suggested remedies for unprofitable state enterprises show a disregard for the concept of economic independence.

The doctrinal onslaught was conducted principally



Osagyefo emphasising a point in Parliament

to transform Ghana into a socialist society.

In the second place, the right of all members of the House, government and opposition alike, to criticise details of the budget must be recognised. But here a clear line of demarcation must be drawn. While opposition members can criticise details to the extent of rejecting the principles of the budget, the government members can only criticise the details in order to strengthen the socialist principles behind the budget.

It must be stated quite frankly that during the two-day debate on the 1963-1964 budget, some C.P.P. members went beyond bounds and thereby exposed themselves as unfit to play the

attacks were launched at least at seven distinct points:—

1. members questioned whether socialism is the desirable goal for the country and what meaning should be given to socialism;

2. there was sustained attack on the socialist sector of industry;

3. our links with socialist friends overseas were attacked;

4. carefully directed attacks were made on the socialist institutions in this country;

5. the anti-tax argument was used to seek a reduction in the volume of government expenditure and for a re-deploy-

by the C.P.P. member for Gonja East, Mr. J. A. Braimah. The keynote of his speech was that Ghana, in its drive to socialism, is "in search of a beauty that perpetually eludes". The first part of his speech (or rather the speech which he read) contained a veiled attack on the one-party state when he claimed that "the President had subscribed to the socialist view that one assured result of historical investigation is the lesson that uncontrolled power is invariably poisonous to those who possess it", adding sarcastically "let us hope that there is going to be from now on a new sense and appreciation of collective responsibility for the welfare of all."

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from THE INSIDE

Dahomey Events and the O.A.U.

PRESIDENT Hubert Maga of Dahomey has been forced to resign. He is now in protective custody in an army camp. Here in Accra the first meeting of the Defence Commission of the Organisation of African Unity set up under Article Twenty of the Addis Ababa Charter today starts its week-long deliberations. And there is a vital link between these two events.

The Addis Ababa Summit of African Heads of State and Government rightly decided that inde-

pendent African States should harmonise their defence systems. And it must be emphasised that the principal instrument for the effective harmonisation of these defence systems is clearly the army.

UGLY EVENTS

However, since the Addis Ababa Conference last May, Africa has witnessed some ugly events that cast grave suspicion on the role some armies in Africa are playing in the struggle for Africa's complete emancipation. The first was in Congo (Brazzaville) where Fulbert Youlou was overthrown. The second incident reached its climax

yesterday in Cotonou when President Hubert Maga was forced to resign. In both cases, the army played the leading role.

We are not here discussing the treachery of French imperialism which was dining and winning with Maga in Paris while laying the skids under him in Cotonou. Nor are we discussing the machiavellian ethics by which an African leader is used to set up a regime that leaves the masses uncared for and is quickly sacrificed on the pretext that the masses are un-

care

Rather, we are concerned with seeking a frank and truthful answer to the question: who controls the army in the African states, especially in the French-speaking African states? We seek an unequivocal answer because a phoney situation has arisen in which armies, led at the critical moment by a captain or a colonel or some such junior officer, easily oust the Commander-in-Chief.

FOREIGN INTERESTS

There can be no doubt

that these subalterns are merely the cats-paw of some powerful foreign interests.

It is now becoming clear for all to see that the control of these armies is far from what it should be in a truly independent country. France has control over training and direction of these armies. France provides the lion share of the army estimates. And what is more, these tiny army groups in most French-speaking African States are dependent on large concen-

trations of French paratroopers and soldiers stationed at a few strategic points in Africa.

The conclusion is inescapable that the effective control of the armed forces in most French-speaking African states is in the hands of French imperialism.

OBSTACLE

It is this hard and bitter fact that will constitute the biggest single obstacle to the work of the Defence Commission of the Organi-

sation of African Unity. How can Africans effectively co-ordinate their defence arrangements when the principal instrument for this purpose, namely the army, is largely controlled by non-African powers?

The Defence Commission must insist on independent armies which are *de jure* and *de facto* under the control of the African states. There is no alternative to this. These armies must be free from foreign control, officered by Africans and wholly maintained out of the national budget. It is only by securing this fundamental condition that we can open the door to effective, genuine and lasting co-ordination of the defence arrangements of independent African States.

Franco and 'Spanish' West Africa

FRANCO, the dwarf Spanish Dictator, is trying to set the clock back in West Africa. Recently, he has announced through the mouth of one of his henchmen that the two "Provinces" of Rio Muni and Fernando Po are going to be given autonomy.

If we did not know who is Franco we would feel inclined to cheer and to wish happiness to our comrades in Spanish West Africa. In fact, we do not need to worry about giving cheers, as the Spanish Minister of Information has been kind enough to allow us to know Franco's brain child.

This consists in repeating the vanishing trick which has given De Gaulle, his brother in arms, so much power in Africa through the establishment of neo-colonialist regimes.

Franco declares in his communique that he is going to allow the people in the "provinces" to elect representatives to their national assembly and then the Spanish Government "will select a Cabinet with a President nominated by Madrid and eight advisers" to be elected by the Assembly. There is no doubt that Franco will ensure that the people elected are his nominees.

SPANISH ELECTORAL LAW

For this he does not need to go far. According to the Spanish electoral law, fabricated by Franco, to be elected, one has to be "a Member of the Spanish fascist Party", "The Falange" and the nomination for candidates must be approved by the Government of Spain.

But why this sudden interest on the part of the Spanish Government to grant autonomy to a people who up to the present moment has been subject to the most strict paternalism? Why this sudden interest in African people who up to now had been only low cost producers of raw material for the Spanish and Western European capitalists?

The answer lies in the geographical position of the colony and in the close relation between Franco and De Gaulle. They know well that the colonies left to themselves will eventually liberate themselves and establish genuine African Governments if necessary by fighting Franco's troops and police. On the other hand, there is the fact proved by De Gaulle that it is possible to grant full

independence and nevertheless remain on the saddle. This is the eventual goal of the Franco regime.

TIES WITH SALAZAR

Franco has military and other political treaties with Salazar and he knows better than anybody the position of Portugal which will be unable to keep the war in Angola for very long, and Franco has learnt the lesson that force in Africa does not pay in defending colonialism. Sooner or later the colonial country has to go.

So here the haste to establish a beginning of autonomy which will lead later on to neo-colonialist independence. If anyone has any doubt about Franco's interest in West Africa, I would like to recommend him to examine the case of another part of West Africa where every attempt to ask for independence or even self-determination ends in a blood bath by the Spanish police and troops.

I am referring to the Canary Islands. Here we have a people, an African people, with more than a million of them living under the dictatorial conditions of the Franco fascist regime, condemned to the most abject poverty, deprived of the most elementary freedoms, being used as the providers of services for the tourists going to enjoy the "Paradise Islands" and to grow the agricultural products needed by Spain and its European partners.

The people living in the Islands have been clamouring for autonomy for many years. In Spanish prisons on the mainland are several dozens of Canary Islands people sentenced to many years of imprisonment for asking what now Franco appears to give so easily to other Africans. But the reason is easy to find. In the Canary Islands, Franco has the biggest American base in West Africa. Also he has an enormous mass of troops which provide him with the excuse to ask money from the Americans for "fighting against communism".

America has given him another mass of dollars this last week, to allow them to use the atomic bases in Spain and Canary Islands. Apart from that there is the fact that Franco still has colonies in Morocco with the approval of King Hassan, and these troops are needed to defend them against the African patriots.

ICFTU'S NEW WEAPON

JOURNALS in Britain are currently devoting a good deal of space to a new publication of the notorious International Confederation of Free Trade Unions called "Shop Stewards" which set out to inform, guide and instruct, listing the qualities which (the authors would have us believed) make a "good" shop steward. It contains a good deal of interesting material.

What stands out is the "classless" presentation: What should a shop steward be? Here is the I.C.F.T.U. answer: "impartial, fair, objective, businesslike"; "quick to grasp information and facts and to be able to use them"; "enthusiastic about union work and able to sell the idea to fellow workers"; "courageous enough both to tell a worker when he is wrong and to stand up to the management when the worker is right".

ON WHOSE BEHALF?

"Impartial, fair, objective, businesslike" but on whose behalf? Is the steward supposed to represent "impartially" the interests of the workers on the shop floor and of the directors in the board room?

"Quick to grasp information and facts and to be able to use them"? Again, with what end in view?

To be a tame tabby, producing a never-ending series of "facts" to show why workers should collaborate with the employers in productivity drives, or why wage restraint should be accepted?

Or marshalling every possible fact and argument to strengthen the workers' case for improvements in wages and living standards?

"Enthusiastic about union work and able to sell the idea to fellow workers"? Yes indeed—but what kind of union work?

Union work as the I.C.F.T.U. see it, smoothing the way for the employers, holding back the development of struggle or

union work as the pioneers saw it, ceaselessly striving to better the worker and changing the system of society?

"Courageous enough to tell the worker when he is wrong and stand up to the management when the worker is right"? Indeed a noble sentiment.

But what about steward's ability to draw those he represents into the discussion of every issue, strengthen unity in the shop and, with his fellow stewards, in the factory and with the workers of other factories, so that he can "stand up to the management" with sufficient united support to make the management listen.

"A shop steward should avoid delays in settling workers' problems. Promptness builds union morale." Yes, indeed. But what about the unions' responsibilities to their stewards when management will not agree to settle the grievances promptly?

And what about leaders who rush into print with endless epithets—"wildcats", "werewolves" "windmen"—when stewards and those they represent seek to "settle things promptly"?

The pamphlet's conclusion—"the work of shop stewards is important, difficult, and unpaid. Shop stewards need courage, initiative, and judgement as they have to act promptly on matters affecting their fellow workers' rights and interests. The training and recruitment of shop stewards is, therefore, of vital importance"—is true enough.

DESERVES BETTER

But the problem posed

deserves something better than this classless, unreal, airy-fairy treatment which has little if any resemblance to the hurly-burly of the struggle.

Compare it with a brief quote from a recent publication on "The Future of Trade Unionism".

"In workplaces where the workers are organised in a number of unions, joint shop stewards committees are necessary if a united front is to be presented to the employers; and they should be fostered and strengthened by the unions.

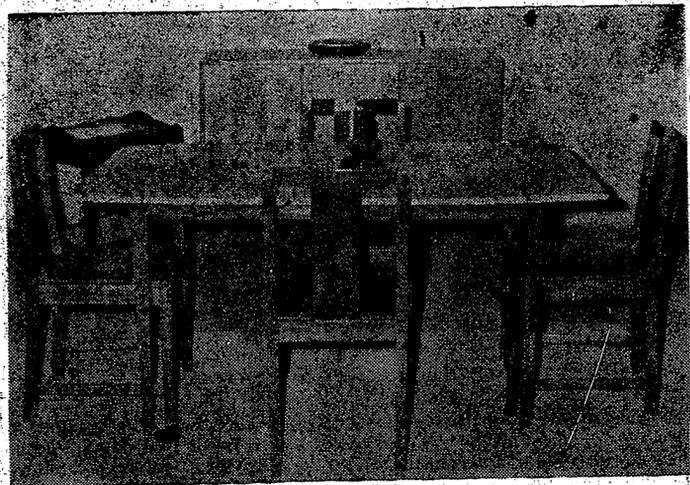
These committees should undertake all major bargaining issues arising in the plant. Workshop organisation is necessary to protect the workers against arbitrary dismissal and is able apart from national agreements, to negotiate on all varieties of welfare questions.

"Trade unions require strong workshop organisation in the form of shop stewards committees or similar bodies. In an industrial system where incentive payments are widespread and are spreading the workers' take-home pay is based not merely on rates negotiated at national level, but on incentive payments at workshop level...

"To maintain unity, ... and counter the anti-trade union activities of the capitalist press and radio, the shop stewards should ensure that workers discuss all factory problems where possible at factory or departmental as well as branch meetings;....

"Shop stewards should continually seek to convince the workers to attend their trade union branch meetings and to use their democratic rights to share in the shaping of policy and the election of committees and officials. The more this is done the more difficult it will be for anyone undermine workshop organisation".

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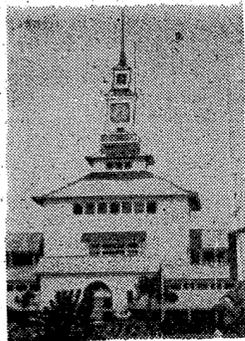
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OUR UNIVERSITIES (2)

LEGON

It is not only the physical aspects of the University of Ghana which have in the past cost much more than they should; also the maintenance of its staff, academic, administrative, and services, has totalled up in an alarming way. I am convinced that initially this sort of thing is to be expected, not only because new ground is being broken both literally and metaphorically, and so experiments are called for, but also the density of use is very low.

There are facilities which have to be provided, irrespective of the numbers making use of them. In the early days of the university, for example, an undergraduate cost about £1,000 each to maintain in the university, but now because of the rise of student numbers, university staff are becoming more realistically employed. In consequence, the average cost, but of course not the aggregate, of maintaining students there has come down. It is to be hoped that this tendency will continue and reach its optimum, when student population itself attains its optimum. Experts put that number currently at 5,000 for the University of Ghana.

The improvement in the average cost of educating a student in the university naturally creates its own

temptations; for it easily encourages the feeling that what is so saved can be legitimately expended in other directions. This feeling could in turn easily lower watchfulness in expenditure of funds.

I am suggesting that the University of Ghana has actually succumbed to such a temptation, and in view of the statements made by the University's Chancellor last week at the formal opening of the Institute of African Studies, it becomes necessary to pinpoint some of the ways in which a university can become unwary and inefficient in the use of funds.

REDUCTION

It would be an outright fallacy to represent the reduction in the average cost of a student as a saving; rather it is this reduction which represents the pro-

gressive liquidation of an anomaly. One thousand pounds a student is certainly too much!

On the other hand, there are genuine ways in which the University of Ghana can bring about considerable saving in revenue with respect to its running. A lesson can always be learnt from the policies and practices of our national Government. Food has in general taken great toll of our income, and it is in an endeavour to save both foreign exchange and purely native capital, as well as the endeavour to rationalise the dieting basis of our health, that the Government has embarked on a comprehensive agricultural programme.

When Nana Kobina Nketsia IV was Interim Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, he told us that the university was going to make an attempt to feed itself. This was an entirely laudable aspiration; for the university after all has a lavishly equipped faculty of agriculture endowed with several acres of land and several thousands of pounds.

The Minister of Agricul-

ture, Mr. Krobo Edusei, even went to the University and had the areas selected for crop-production pointed out to him. Unfortunately, the Interim Vice-Chancellor was at Legon for a year only. Nevertheless, that is no reason why the plans should not have been implemented by now. It is my earnest hope that the present Vice-Chancellor will be able to bring this plan to function without further delay.

RESEARCH

The faculty of Agriculture must be presumed in its many years of existence to have done enough crop research to be able to go into brilliant crop production. But this is a matter I shall be going into subsequently—the relation between research and application.

I am only citing food production as one possible way in which the University of Ghana can bring about considerable financial saving. I know that even now the farm already supplies meat to the University halls of residence and shops; but it does not do so in enough quantities,

Focus on SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

PART EIGHT

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

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

We continue in this issue, the series of articles tracing the progress of socialism in Ghana in the economic, social and political fields. After that we hope to follow the trend of socialism in other African countries also.

In response to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's sessional address to the Parliament of Ghana on October 15, THE SPARK is turning its search-light on the universities in Ghana. This is part two of our series.

We believe our article will stimulate discussion and help the authorities to greater activity, tightening the loose ends and putting right what is amiss.

We must emphasise that THE SPARK believes that our education must be completely in harmony with the prevailing conditions of our society.

—EDITOR

because not only do the shops still sell imported meat, university wives regularly come to Accra to buy meat and other items of food. This is only a question of the Faculty of Agriculture seriously going into food production. How can the University hope to teach our farmers to produce better food with less effort, if they are not seen to take their own medicine.

THE OFFER

I have already suggested (last week) that great saving can be achieved if our universities will accept the offer of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Sciences for the common use of architectural services. What stops them?

I am told that, in future, student accommodation will not be built on the pattern of the existing halls of residence. I am convinced that the plan to build student hostels associated with existing dining halls is an altogether sane one.

New hostels mean new roads. The cost of road building in Ghana today is terrifying; a crucial factor responsible for this is the inability, but often the reluctance, to use local materials. I am afraid that the University of Ghana has in the past been guilty of the same kind of reluctance. I am sure that someone in the University must know that there are good deposits of gravel near at hand, right by the Administrative Buildings. The Department of Geology pointed this out a long time ago and indicated that for that reason there was none but a criminal point in buying gravel from greedy contractors.

I hope that when the University of Ghana take up their road building programme again, they will remember to consult their own Department of Geology.

In a way, the University of Ghana is unfortunate. It is unfortunate because it is situated here in our capital; and whenever we think of university education, we find it natural to think of Legon. For the same reason, the shortcomings and deficiencies of that Institution are constantly before us. Shortcomings however are meant to be removed, not treasured and nursed. And to be removed, they need first to be honestly and courageously tracked down.

If one takes the quality of graduates produced, for an example, one is forcibly struck by the fact that the quality has been going

down. The Civil Service is now hampered by the lack of initiative and the required seriousness on the part of some of our recent graduates. Later on, I shall suggest some of the causes and remedies of this sad state of affairs. But I cite this to illustrate the intellectual cost of our University in Legon. At the end of a prescribed period of study, a graduate should in general be satisfactory. But this is not the case with Legon any more.

PROMOTIONS

Last week, I gladly admitted that some of the early graduates turned out from the University College of Ghana were truly remarkable, and almost all were at least adequate. Many of them have quickly and deservedly risen to positions of responsibility. An appreciable number of them not merely express or even show an interest in contemporary affairs; they have a mastery of them and have, in addition to their normal work, assisted us in ours when asked to do so. But these are very few.

And now we are apparently being flooded by graduates who are so little comparable to their ancestors that they only cause

groans in the upper reaches of the Civil Service.

This aspect of a modern university's *raison d'être* was brilliantly dwelt upon by the President last week. The university cannot merely produce people who are educated merely for the sake of being educated; just as political independence is worthwhile, not only for itself, but more important for the social regeneration and economic development which it makes possible, so must education constantly carry a reference to the society in which it is set.

Almost all the graduates of the university are absorbed into state service without specifically specialised training. This places a fair and square responsibility on our universities to ensure that our graduates have the necessary initiative to break easily and usefully into the service of the state. In the case of the University of Ghana, which is the largest producer of our graduate civil servants, it is essential that its products should be taught to have their finger on the pulse of our society, be imbued with ideals of service and profitable absorption into our society, and be encouraged to develop the initiative required to translate their intellectual skills into rewarding service.

New World

YOU have come to me
Yes, you have come to me
not to approve of my struggle and fight
but to instruct me
to live under you
to listen and obey till my dying day.

Yes, you have come to me
you have come to me
not to appraise my ancient culture
the base of your very civilisation
yes, the one that taught you how to read,
write and speak,
but now you come to me to call me a dark fool.
Because my forefathers were generous and not merciless
because when they ruled they were friendly
and did not want to use cruel strength as a tool.
Yes, my human brother
you come to me, you come to me
to enslave, to torture and deceive me
and now you want me to believe in your god.

—Romero

State Insurance Corporation

BANKING and insurance are the lifeblood of every nation. The vital nature of these are particularly true in respect to a socialist economy with its central planning. Ghana's appreciation of these all-important aspects of development is evidenced in the establishment of a state bank and the State Insurance Corporation about a year ago.

With a capital of over £230,000 being the acquired assets of the Ghana Co-operative Insurance Company, the Ghana Insurance Company and the Ghana General Insurance Company Ltd., the State Insurance Corporation started operating on 1st November, 1962. Apart from this capital asset, the Corporation inherited from its predecessors a trained technical staff which made the immediate commencement of operations possible.

Eleven months before this large-scale operation, the State Insurance Corporation had appointed NADECO its Agent and the later organisation along with some others now represents the Corporation and receive commission for business introduced to it. These Agents, however, neither write policies nor settle claims which are entirely handled by the Corporation itself. All policies formerly issued by NADECO are now to be renewed with the State Insurance Corporation.

ARRANGEMENT

The Corporation has arranged Reinsurance Treaties throughout the world which will permit it to write any type of insurance business and assume any size of risk. It has, therefore, the respect and co-operation of the worldwide insurance industry.

As a result of these arrangements, Ghana will for the first time begin to retain much of the premiums paid for insurance by its corporations and other government bodies. State Insurance has received the entire schedule of the Ghana National Trading Corporation, all shipments of cocoa from Ghana, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, and Ghana Airways. Besides, arrangements are being finalised to cover the fleet of the Black Star Line. Other institutions are also supporting the Corporation which continues to enjoy the patronage of many private firms.

NEGOTIATIONS

The new Marine Department of the Corporation is developing satisfactorily and negotiations are afoot to bring in the new fishing vessels which Ghana is putting into service. Development in the marine cargo account however, has not been entirely satisfactory, but intensive efforts are being made in this particular class of business to bring it up to the level of other marine accounts.

Progress in other departments, however, is quite satisfactory, despite the natural growing pains which a new organisation like this must experience. Much difficulty in this respect arises from a shortage of

staff which in turn is a consequence of inadequate housing. But a large office building has now been acquired by the Corporation at Rowe Road in Accra. This building will provide a modern and up-to-date head office with mechanised accounting which will ensure maximum efficiency as well as comfortable working conditions for a large staff.

NEW PLANS

The shortage of staff greatly hindered efficient service to claim settlements in the motor insurance field but with the acquisition of new premises and the introduction of new plans all the difficulties will quickly be removed, for the Corporation is aware that it must maintain a reputation for service if it is to enjoy the support of the public.

The State Insurance Corporation is utilising its premium income as much as possible to assist in the economic development of Ghana; Already, in less than a year of doing business, it has accomplished the following:—

- (a) Invested over £130,000 in Government Bonds and Treasury Bills.
- (b) Ear marked £100,000 for a loan to the Ghana Housing Corporation for a Group Scheme of low-cost housing for Ghanaians.
- (c) Scholarships and training programme for Ghanaians in insurance and other fields, both in Ghana and Overseas.
- (d) Policy Loans for Life Assurance Policyholders amounting to over £30,000.

(e) Individual Mortgages to Ghanaians and charitable organisations for new buildings.

(f) Employment for over 100 salaried employees and over 150 Agents.

(g) Established 15 Branch Offices throughout Ghana to give better service to the people.

(h) Paid over £640,000 in claims to Policy-holders.

A saving in premium amounting to £90,000 was effected for Ghana Airways solely as a result of the efforts of the Corporation which is working in close association with other businesses and private insurance companies in Ghana to contribute towards fair business practices and better trade standards. It is doing its best to keep itself fully informed on all matters affecting the public interest and welfare insofar as insurance matters are concerned.

This genuine concern for high standards, efficiency and welfare is reflected in the Corporation's internal organisation, where staff salary scales and grades have been finalised and adjustments made that weld the staff into an integrated unit. Personnel absorbed by the Corporation from the Co-operative Insurance Society have been fitted into grades according to merit and retrospective salary adjustments have been made with effect from April, 1963. The Corporation is proud to state that the standards it has adopted are equal to those enforced by the Ghana T.U.C

The Problem of Industrialisation in Africa (2)

WHILE Africa lay under the heel of colonialism it was simple enough for the rulers to ensure that industrialisation did not take place. They held the state power, they controlled the economy, they laid down the laws, they decided the policies to be followed.

But today they cannot operate in the same way. They no longer hold state power over 200 million Africans. They no longer have undivided control of the economy. They are no longer in a position to lay down laws or to decide the policies of governments. Of course, they still have influence in many states but they no longer have the direct control of affairs in their own hands.

This has compelled the imperialists to lay down a heavy propaganda barrage during the past few years 'advising' Africans against industrialisation. Thus Kenneth Bradley, in a British Government publication *Britain's Purpose in Africa* (H.M.S.O. 1959), argued that the economy of Africa 'must always be based on peasant economy'. Mr. T. R. Batten (*The Problems of African Development*) asserts that 'most parts of Africa are quite unfitted for large-scale industrial production' and that 'consequently agriculture must always be the principal source of wealth'.

The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, which has produced economic development surveys of a number of African territories, betrays a consistent anxiety that the independent African states may take it into their heads to build up their industry. Thus in its study of Tanganyika, published in 1961, it tends to decry basic industrialisation and to place the emphasis instead on agriculture. It argues that 'The scope of the domestic market is limited, and its expansion must depend primarily on the growth of agricultural absorption of a large volume of unemployed or under-employed labour through industrial expansion' (p. 233).

INDUSTRIALISATION

Even when it comes to deal with the possible development in Tanganyika of local manufactures to replace present imports, it concentrates on such things as beer, cigarettes, sugar, textiles and cement and warns that 'Machinery and transport equipment, which comprise a fifth of total imports, must clearly be excluded'.

When it comes to consider the question of expanding manufactures for export it can only think in terms of wattle extract, cashew nuts, lime juice, desiccated coconut, starch products and so forth. After all this, it is not surprising to find that in its final section, point 1 in its List of Recommendations is put as follows:

'The task of securing widespread income increase is to a major degree one of agricultural and livestock development' (p.491).

It is sometimes quite incredible to see the extent

to which the opponents of industrialising Africa push their arguments. In the report of one of the committees participating in the Convention on Social and Economic Development in the Emerging Kenya Nation, August 12 to 17, 1962, one can find it solemnly argued that to offset the decline in the prices of Kenya major exports, particularly coffee, 'the further expansion of tourism should be considered as the alternative for earning foreign exchange and that therefore substantial capital should be devoted to this purpose' (The Kenya We Want).

After this, it is not surprising to read in the election manifesto prepared by the Kenya African Democratic Union for the May 1963 elections:

ECONOMIC EXPANSION

'Kenya's greatest potential economic expansion lies in the attraction of tourists to our country.'

That KADU should be prepared to follow the anti-industrialisation policy of the imperialists will not come as any great surprise. What is more disturbing is that some of the major national parties in Africa tend to accept the advice of Western 'economic experts'.

In general, however, it can be said that political opinion in Africa is turning increasingly towards the idea of industrialisation.

by Jack Woddis

The recent report by the United Nations Economic Committee for Africa on *Industrial Growth in Africa* recognises this advance. The significant thing about this report is that it is predicated on the assumption that industrialisation is indispensable to economic growth. It points out that 'Rapid industrial expansion is... being accepted as the major means of economic growth of the under-developed countries' (p.17).

This conclusion is based on the calculation that to bring Africa to the economic level of the industrialised countries, the output of her agriculture would have to be doubled whereas that of her industry would have to be increased 25-fold.

How long will this take? On the basis of a per capita annual increase in output of 1½ to 2 per cent for agriculture and 7 to 8 per cent for industry, the UN report estimates that the transformation of Africa from an industrially backward region to an economically advanced one would take about 50 years or possibly less. Another estimate, given in *The Development Decade* (a report prepared by the United Nations Economic and Social Committee), calculates that on the basis of a per capita rate growth for the whole of the economy of 5 per cent per year, Africa, to catch up the industrialised countries, would need 45 to 60 years. If Africa were to build her industry at the rate of that taken by the countries of Western Europe during their century of industrialisation, it would take 100 years for Africa to reach present European levels.

The African people are certainly not going to let themselves be tied down to such slow 'Western type' time-tables as these. But if they are to advance more rapidly, then, in addition to making a number of radical political and social changes, they will have to abandon capitalist economic theories and draw on the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which have shown in practice that it is possible for an economically underdeveloped country to industrialise very rapidly.

THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

The Soviet Union commenced its First Five Year Plan in 1928. By 1937, after fulfilling two Five Year Plans, the generation of electric power had increased between seven and eight times, the output of iron and steel by four times, of coal by three and a half times, of oil by rather less than three times and of cement by three times. The building of the engineering industry went ahead still more rapidly. Between 1928 and 1940, the output of motor vehicles in the Soviet Union increased from 840 to 145,000, and of tractors from 1,300 to 31,600. China and other socialist countries have made similar phenomenal advances.

It was only after considerable discussion that the Soviet Union finally hammered out its policy of priority for heavy industry as the way forward to expand the whole economy, and the First Five Year Plan fully embodied this new principle. Hitherto, in world economist circles, the

theory of 'textiles first' (i.e. a slow path to industrialisation via light industry first and ending with heavy industry) held sway. The Soviet Union challenged this conception, first in theory and then in practice. Now all the socialist countries have demonstrated brilliantly in practice that a drive for basic industrialisation is the quickest way to advance the whole economy and to raise living standards.

Yet, as we have seen, bourgeois economists and advisers still work to persuade African leaders and governments away from industrialisation. Where they are driven to concede the necessity to industrialise, they try to limit it to a question of the simple processing of local raw materials; and, even when they have to go beyond this, they strive to encourage the idea that the building of heavy industry can only be an ultimate aim, the culmination of a long effort to build up the economy in stages—first agriculture, then light industry, and finally heavy industry.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

A valuable exposure of these theories has been made by Maurice Dobb in his recent study on *Economic Growth and Underdeveloped Countries* (Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1963, 3s. 6d.). Dobb concentrates his argument around the key economic question facing the newly developing countries—how can they make the most rapid economic progress. He shows absolutely convincingly that the drive for basic industrialisation is the answer. The key problem is how is the economic surplus each year to be utilised so that it promotes rapid economic growth. In many new African states much of it is absorbed by various forms of excess consumption by the upper class, by hoarding at home and abroad, by flamboyant

spending for personal ostentation, by the maintenance of unnecessarily large and unproductive bureaucracies which have been encouraged very often by the former colonial power in the final stages of its surrendering political control, and sometimes by expensive military establishment. There are also many untapped resources and forms of waste.

But the main thing which needs to be emphasised is that it is the way in which a newly developing country distributes investment between industries which make capital goods and those which make consumer goods which will determine its rate of economic growth. And if sufficient investment is made in expanding capital goods, then, however small the usable surplus may be to begin with, its rate of growth (if the appropriate political and social organisation exists to mobilise and inspire human endeavour) will develop at a staggering rate.

DOBB'S EXAMPLE

Dobb's arithmetical example is useful here. He points out that if we were to start with an investible fund growing at the rate of 2 per cent a year, at the end of 20 years it will have increased by 50 per cent, and after 100 years by only seven times. But if the growth rate can be stepped up to 10 per cent, then the initial amount available for investment will have increased two and a half times in a decade and by six or seven times in 20 years. By the end of a century, it will be in the neighbourhood of several thousand times!

Thus, once an adequate rate-growth has been achieved by ploughing back the increment, there will soon be an ample margin to increase both consumption and investment at the same time.

In other words, by making strict economies and postponing non-essential consumption for a time, one very quickly reaches a position in which it is possible to start making huge strides forward in raising living standards. Capitalist theoreticians who are anxious to delay Africa's industrialisation pretend that the policy of giving priority to investment in heavy industry means one of foregoing consumer benefits until some long distant date in the future. In reality, it is

industrialisation which will enable the raising of standards to be made most rapidly.

No one would argue that the new African states should divert 100 per cent of their investment funds to expand the capital goods sector. Part of the surplus, even in the earliest stages, must obviously go to expand consumer goods production in order to supply the needs of the growing army of workers. Social needs, such as housing, health facilities, better education and so on, must be met; they are essential to help the workers increase productivity, for it is obvious that lack of training and skill, and debilitating illnesses—grim legacies of colonial rule—are a barrier to higher productivity. For the same reason there needs to be provision for higher wages and a system of social security. But for quite a foreseeable time ahead it will be necessary for priority to be given to capital goods production to the extent that it enables the given country to achieve a sufficiently high rate of growth to enable a rapid expansion of the total economy.

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES

Of course, in explaining the need for industrialisation in one short article, it has not been possible to deal with a whole number of related problems. Consideration needs to be given to the various methods of accumulating capital within the country. Technicians and skilled workers have to be trained.

Revolutionary changes need to be made in agriculture so as to enable a quick growth in that sector, too, and to enable the new scientific methods and farm machinery to be effectively utilised. The State sector of the economy should be built up and, at a certain stage, foreign monopolies nationalised. Economic planning is essential so that the concentration of funds and resources and effort can be made on the most important sectors of the economy. Control of foreign trade and a sound trade policy will make possible the best use of foreign exchange earnings. Economic relations of one-sided dependency on the imperialist powers must be ended. Rela-

continued on page 5

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BOOK REVIEW

By Michael Harmel

A Guide to the Road Africa is Travelling

WITH "Africa: The Way Ahead" (Lawrence and Wishart, 21s) Jack Woddis completes his brilliant and authoritative trilogy on Africa.

The first two were "Africa: The Roots of Revolt" (1960) and "Africa: The Lion Awakes" (1961).

In the earlier volumes, the author was content, mainly, to analyse, describe and explain the origins, background and process of the great African Revolution which is sweeping through our continent like a tempest.

In this, the third, he looks forward to the big central problems and perspectives which face us now and in the immediate future.

He does this with the same wealth of significant detail, depth of Marxist analysis and lucidity of expression which characterise the whole series.

A mere list of chapter-headings is enough to show both the range of the book, and the fact that Jack Woddis has correctly assessed the main themes and problems facing the new Africa.

HEADINGS

Can Africa take a non-capitalist road? Neo-colonialism—the main danger.

Economic advance and economic independence. Democracy and the one-party system. Pan-Africanism and the "African Personality". Towards a united Africa, Africa and the world.

Each of these themes is of absorbing interest to all Africans, and to all who are interested in this key continent.

Each of them is discussed in a way which combines modesty with complete conviction.

This is good writing indeed; for while he scrupulously avoids the didactic tone which so irritates the reader in many books about Africa, the writer convinces of the correctness of his conclusions by sheer weight of clear reasoning, facts and common sense.

That Africa not only can take a non-capitalist road of development, moving toward Socialism, but that she must do so if our revolution is to be consummated and our people's aspirations fulfilled, is unanswerably demonstrated at the outset.

Indeed, there would be few African leaders who would care to deny it: everybody of any consequence in Africa today says he is against capitalism and is for Socialism.

But many of the theories of "African Socialism" current on our continent today have little in common with the universally valid principles of Socialism. Indeed,

as Modibo Keita, President of Mali, has pointed out:

"If we are not careful, the word Socialism will be emptied of all its meaning, and bourgeois systems of the most reactionary kind will be able to camouflage themselves under the sign of Socialism."

While correctly pointing out that Socialism in an African setting will naturally not be a mere carbon copy of Socialist development in other countries with differing conditions, traditions and historical background, Woddis dissects the weaknesses of many of the false concepts against which Keita warns.

"Neo-colonialism" is not so "new" as the name implies. That this is so, is strikingly demonstrated by Jack Woddis' excellent analogy of the states of Latin America.

INDEPENDENCE ?

Each of them enjoys formal independence with a national flag and a seat in the United Nations, yet all except Cuba are under the political and economic domination of the United States.

This chapter should be required reading for all African politicians—and for all in Britain who still believe the myth of Whitehall gracefully conceding independence to all former colonial peoples "as soon as they are ready for it."

Throughout the book, the leading theme runs like a

red thread—the oneness of the African Revolution against imperialism and colonialism unfinished, but unfolding and developing toward its consummation with ever-increasing momentum.

The consummation is the total eradication of colonialism and neo-colonialism from every corner of our Africa.

For this is the essential condition for the unprecedentedly rapid industrial and political development, along non-capitalist lines, toward a united, Socialist, free Africa, playing a powerful, progressive part in the onward march of humanity as a whole.

And already this sweeping momentum of our revolution has overtaken the

author, for by the time the book was in the press the Addis Ababa meeting of Heads of Independent African States had taken another major step, of incalculable significance, toward our goal of a united Africa.

FORESIGHT

The author foresaw this when he wrote in his "Introduction"— "... added to the normal delays associated with book publishing, one must take account of the rapidity with which developments in Africa are taking place."

All the same, I think that his chapter on African unity—and indeed some of the other chapters as well—fail to place sufficient emphasis on the need to

liberate the Portuguese colonies, "Rhodesia" and above all the slave "Republic" in the South, as a major condition for the liberation, unity and progress of Africa as a whole.

INCOMPLETE

As long as they are in the hands of the colonialists, African freedom and independence must be incomplete and, insecure, threatened by this hotbed and spearhead of colonialist

and neo-colonialist aggression.

And conversely the liberation of Southern Africa, its return to the mainland of Free Africa, will mean a tremendous reinforcement to the wealth and future strength and security of Africa as a whole.

I expect that having completed his masterly series, Jack Woddis would perhaps like to rest from his labours on Africa, or even turn his attention elsewhere.

But I predict that history will not allow him to do so.

His books are not just books about Africa, they are books for Africa—which is something, unfortunately, one can say about very few of the innumerable volumes about this continent that appear abroad.

He has already placed all of us who live in and for Africa deeply in his debt; but that doesn't mean that we are not going to demand more from him.

The Problem of Industrialisation in Africa

Continued from page 4

tions of mutual economic benefit with the socialist countries hold many advantages for African states.

In particular, on the central question of industrialisation, there is a striking difference between the policy pursued by the socialist countries and that of the imperialist powers. Whereas the latter divert most of their funds in Africa to the production and export of raw materials, the socialist countries, to the extent of their practical possibilities, are ready to build whole factories which, when completed, belong entirely to the new African states. This is of considerable help in assisting Africa to overcome her colonial economy and to become industrialised.

There is one final point about industrialisation in

Africa which needs to be emphasised. Here, in this article, we have been mainly concerned to explain the reasons for Africa's economic backwardness and the poverty of her people, and to point to the path of industrialisation as the way forward. At the moment there are 32 sovereign African states; before long there will be over 50.

ECONOMIC MADNESS

Obviously, if each of the 50 or so independent African states, some of them populated by only a few hundred thousand people, were to embark separately on its own path of industrialisation the task would be immense. Economic co-ordination, regional development, all-African planning—this is the surest way to a rapid advance of Africa's economy. To take Africa's water-power resources

as one example, these naturally fall into several key regions which could be the basis for an electric grid system, first regional and then linked up in an all-African grid. The alternative of building simultaneously over 50 hydro-electric projects, one for each state, would be economic madness. Similarly, the concentration of minerals in certain regions (copper in the Congo and Northern Rhodesia, iron ore in Liberia, Guinea, Gabon, Mauritania and other West African states, bauxite in Guinea, Ghana, the Cameroons, etc.), the suitability for some regions for livestock development, others for growing cotton and developing a textile industry—all this underlines the

importance of hastening the drive to all-African unity.

As long as different African states remain within the sphere of different imperialist economies, so long will the possibilities of all-African economic planning and development be hampered. The uprooting of imperialism in Africa is therefore essential for strengthening African unity and making possible Africa's industrialisation and speedy economic progress. And this process will be hastened if the Republic of South Africa, the continent's most industrialised state, is restored to the African people, so that it can give powerful assistance to the industrialisation of the whole continent.

THE REVOLUTION'S ON

Like starved lions
Oppressed proletariat's loose.
Hungered by oppression's reign
Poor man fights for Freedom.
Sickness, illiteracy, hunger
'Tis the fate of oppressed man.
The revolution's on
Once dumb now speaks,
Diseased cured, all men
Live in love for Freedom.
The fruitless labour of man
Has hope, fields grow plenty
Communes produce masses' needs.
The revolution's on
Once illiterate now reads,
Cultured masses move on
Socialism's road to Freedom,
Hunger is no more,
Health is all man's,
'Tis the glory of a new life;
For the revolution's on.

by Horace M. Lashley.

Tell Freedom

This is my land, Africa's mine.
Gone is the exploitation of Man.
Freedom's here: Africa's mine
And want no more 'cause I'm a Man.
Imperialist chains melted in smoke;
Expropriators have to Europe return'd,
Their parliaments have gone up in smoke,
Shaft-sinkers into primiers have turn'd.
Pure the air, sweet liberty, dynamic
Pan-Africanism, to blazes with chauvanism!
Africa, like Prometheus unchained, dynamic;
Accra, Bamako, Thaba-Bosiu scorn chauvanism.*
Merchants of death, let Africa go an' go,
She goes neither to Nato nor to hell,
While to Nato and hell you come and go.
What rot is imperialism, stench from hell!
This is my land, Africa's mine:
Gone is the exploitation of Man.
Freedom's here: Africa's mine
And want no more 'cause I'm a Man.
* Thaba-Bosiu, a mountain in Basutoland, South Africa, that served as a fortress of the Basotho people under the wise leadership of Moshoe-shoe in the nineteenth century.

by Joe Mofolo Bulane

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WHO IS J. A. BRAIMAH?

MR. Braimah was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly by the Northern Territories Council in February 1951. He belongs to the Gonja state of the Northern Territories. He was the only Cabinet Minister coming from the Northern Territories, and justifiably regarded himself as a political leader of the people in the Northern Territories. He was appointed Minister without portfolio in March 1951 and Minister of Communications and Works from 23rd June 1951, remaining in that office until 25th November 1953, when he tendered his resignation in person to the Governor.

The following day he had a further interview at which he handed a written statement to His Excellency. In view of this statement, the Governor suggested that Mr. Braimah should give a statement to the police. Mr. Braimah agreed to this suggestion and in consequence made a statement to the police on 27th November 1953, in which inter alia he admitted having accepted the sum of £2,000 in four instalments of £500 from Mr. Aksor Kassardjian, a contractor who had tendered for and obtained government contracts since 1952 for the construction of buildings and roads under the control of the Ministry of Communications and Works.

In the following paragraphs we deal with the admission of the acceptance of the sum of £2,000. Mr. Braimah states that he was approached in January 1953 by one Mamadu Wangara who told him that he was sent from Tamale in the Northern Territories by his master Aksor Kassardjian.

He told Mr. Braimah that he was instructed to solicit his assistance to secure the building contract for the Pusiga Training College in the Northern Territories, and also for the removal of two senior officers employed in a Department under his Ministry. This contract was considered by the Central Tender Board during January 1953 and was finally awarded to Mr. Kassardjian on 27th January by the Minister of Finance.

Mr. Braimah states that Mamadu Wangara told him that he had also been instructed by Mr. Kassardjian to approach some of his ministerial colleagues. Mr. Braimah says that he explained to him that the awarding of contracts was a matter for the Central Tender Board and the Minister of Finance, whilst the removal of government officers was a civil service matter, and that therefore both these requests were outside his sphere. Later in the same month when Mr. Braimah visited Tamale, Mamadu informed him that Mr. Kassardjian proposed to give him £2,000 from his estimated profit on the Pusiga contract.

The day after this conversation, Mr. Kassardjian, whom Mr. Braimah says he had never met before, called and invited him to go out for a drive. When they were alone in the car Mr. Kassardjian repeated the request for the removal of the two senior officers, and after praising Northern Territories labour, remarked that if he could get more work he would "help" (presumably by providing employment for Northern Territories labour).

ACCEPTANCE OF MONEY

Mr. Braimah says he informed Mr. Kassardjian that he had nothing to do with contracts and that the removal of civil servants was not within his control. Nevertheless, just before the car stopped Mr. Kassardjian handed £500 to him, which he accepted after a protest. Mr. Braimah says he handed this first instalment of £500 to Mamadu, who was waiting for them in his house. Mr. Braimah says that he told Mamadu "Look this thing is no good, so better give it to him or keep it." Ma-

madu kept the money for him.

Mr. Braimah further states that a few months after January Mr. Kassardjian called on him one evening in Accra and gave him a second instalment of £500. He protested saying that his only interest was to see the Pusiga College built, as it was long overdue, but Mr. Kassardjian replied: "You have done nothing for me, but I feel like giving you something." Mr. Braimah accepted the money and kept it in his house in Accra. He later took it to Tamale after sending a telegram to Mamadu, who was then at Bawku to meet him at Tamale. When they met at Tamale, Mr. Braimah told Mamadu he had received the second £500. Mamadu assured him that his master was very generous and that was how he gave his money away. When Mamadu produced the first £500 Mr. Braimah took £200 out of it and gave Mamadu £300.

PACKET

According to Mr. Braimah, the third sum of £500 was given to him in Accra when Mr. Kassardjian came to purchase materials for the Pusiga contract. Mr. Braimah was again invited to go for a drive and as they were returning to his house, Mr. Kassardjian gave a packet of £500 in currency notes to him. Mr. Braimah's explanation for accepting the third sum is "as I wanted to collect more information about his conduct, I accepted another packet which he presented to me in Accra."

Mr. Braimah is unable to state the exact date when this sum was given to him. His brother Mr. S. S. Braimah, however, says that he visited Accra between February and May 1953 and that he was in his brother's house when Mr. Kassardjian called and took Mr. J. A. Braimah out for a drive. This confirms Mr. J. A. Braimah's evidence that Mr. S. S. Braimah visited him in Accra and was in the house when Mr. Kassardjian called for him. We conclude that this evidence suggests that the third sum of £500 was given to Mr. Braimah not later than May 1953.

He did not pay any of these sums into his banking account anywhere nor did he keep it intact as far as we know. Up to May 1953, Mr. Braimah had thus accepted a total of £1,500 from Mr. Kassardjian. He says that he bought for himself a wireless set, a radiogram and some cushion covers out of this money but that he gave away the bulk of the money in gifts

and loans to persons who solicited his financial help. He sometimes paid into his banking account sums refunded to him by the persons who had borrowed from him in this way.

UNDER CUSHION

According to Mr. Braimah, Mr. Kassardjian called on him a few weeks after he had accepted the third sum of £500 and gave him a fourth amount of £500 by leaving it under a cushion in his lounge when they were alone. Mr. Braimah saw Mr. Kassardjian leaving the money and Mr. Kassardjian himself told him that he was leaving £500 there for him. For reasons which we explain in paragraphs 39 and 40 the evidence strongly suggests that the payment of this fourth sum

election to the Legislative Assembly. He says he promised Mr. Braimah £2,000 for his next election expenses because he knew that Mr. Braimah did not belong to any political party and because he was fond of him, and everyone spoke well of him: he then gave him the first instalment of £500. A few days later Mr. Braimah called and thanked him for the gift. Mr. Kassardjian had no idea when the elections would take place but he promised Mr. Braimah the £2,000 for his organisation. It is to be noted that Mr. Braimah does not claim to have formed or intended to form any political organisation for election to the Assembly. Indeed, he denies ever appealing to Mr. Kassardjian for financial help for any purpose whatsoever, or accepting money from him otherwise than in the circumstances which he has stated.

It will be noticed that in his letter of resignation, tendered in evidence by his counsel, Mr. Braimah gave as his reason for resignation that he had abus-

before us does not show that Mr. Braimah at any time used his influence improperly on Mr. Kassardjian's behalf.

IMPROPER REQUEST

The following matters make it difficult to accept Mr. Braimah's contention that he received the earlier sums without belief that Mr. Kassardjian would expect him to use his position in his interest.

- At his first meeting with Mr. Kassardjian Mr. Braimah accepted the sum of £500 after Mr. Kassardjian had made the highly improper request that he should use his influence to secure the removal of the two senior government officers whom Mr. Kassardjian considered unfavourably disposed to him.
- On the same occasion, Mr. Kassardjian sought an assurance of a continuation of employment as a contractor.
- Mr. Braimah's conduct in handling the money he received was unusual in that up to the moment of his resigna-

of the Department of Sociology, University College of the Gold Coast and Chairman of the Ghana Congress Party has given evidence that he visited Mr. Braimah one evening in May or early June 1953 and discussed with him, among other matters, tendencies such as bribery and corruption amongst people in power.

In the course of this conversation, Mr. Braimah told him that he had something in his safe to prove that there was bribery and corruption in the country. This evidence is confirmed by Mr. Braimah, except as to the date, which Mr. Braimah thought was somewhat later. It is significant that Mr. Braimah said in evidence that Mr. Kassardjian, being Mr. Niculescu's friend, might have told Mr. Niculescu of the £2,000, and that Mr. Niculescu also being the friend of Dr. Busia might have mentioned it to Dr. Busia. Mr. Niculescu is a lecturer in Economics at the University College of the Gold Coast.

AN APPEAL

According to Mr. Braimah, Mr. Kassardjian made no demand on him until two months after paying the last instalment of £500. He then appealed to him for assistance to secure a contract for resurfacing a section of road from Yamoransa to Prasu in the southern part of the Gold Coast, for which he had tendered, saying that he would give him £4,000 out of an estimated profit of £10,000.

A week or two after this, he says, Mr. Kassardjian went to him that Mr. Tranakides, another contractor, had succeeded in obtaining this contract for the Yamoransa-Prasu road, by paying the sum £40,000 to the Prime Minister; and that if he had known, he too would have offered £40,000 for it.

It is important to ascertain the date of the payment of the last £500, so far as this is possible. As has been mentioned in paragraph 39, Mr. Braimah says that Mr. Kassardjian made no demand on him until two months after paying the last instalment of £500 and that he then appealed to him for assistance to secure the Yamoransa-Prasu road contract for which he had already tendered.

According to official records this contract was awarded to G. Tranakides Ltd. on the 13th June 1953. It is obviously unlikely that the request for assistance was made later than this date. It follows that, if Mr. Braimah's recollection was not at fault, the last payment of £500 was not later than May. This accords in general with Mr. Kassardjian's evidence as to the date of the last payment. Dr. Busia's evidence recorded in the last paragraph is also consistent with this estimate of the date of the final payment.

The circumstances mentioned in paragraphs 38-40 raise the question why Mr. Braimah should have delayed so long in reporting Mr. Kassardjian's conduct. In his statement to the police Mr. Braimah, in relating his dealings with Mr. Kassardjian about the period mentioned by Dr. Busia, said that he realised that Mr. Kassardjian was

trying to "blackmail" him even when he made his statement to the police in November, Mr. Braimah said that it was worrying him that Mr. Kassardjian had now got him in his hold.

CONFIRMATION OF ALLEGATION

There was a definite allegation reported to Mr. Braimah in September 1953 by Talon-Na, one of the chiefs of the Northern Territories, and confirmed by his brother Mr. S. S. Braimah, that one Syme Kanjarga, a Convention People's Party Propaganda Secretary for the Northern Territories had said that Mr. Braimah's Ministerial Secretary, Mr. Atta Mensah, had been collecting bribes for him.

During the first week of November, Mr. S. S. Braimah who was again in Accra, informed Mr. Kassardjian that his brother, Mr. J. A. Braimah, wished to speak to him on the telephone. According to Mr. Kassardjian, Mr. J. A. Braimah invited him to come and see him the next day and when he called on him, thanked him for the good work he was doing and told him that he need not worry about all the rumours that were circulating. Mr. Kassardjian said that he could see that Mr. Braimah was "not easy", but replied that he himself was not at all worried. Mr. Kassardjian's evidence in this matter was not challenged.

Mr. Braimah did not make any report to the police until 27th November 1953, when he made his statement in the circumstances we have already described in paragraph 23. In this statement to the police and in his evidence before us he narrated the circumstances which led to a meeting in the Prime Minister's Office on 19th November 1953, at which he, Mr. Niculescu and the Prime Minister were present. He said that he had known Mr. Niculescu since 1951 and that they have been friends ever since. In September 1953, Mr. Niculescu returned from Europe and talked to him about two large foreign firms which wished to establish business contracts with the Gold Coast; after this discussion Mr. Niculescu, at Mr. Braimah's request submitted two memoranda to the Ministry of Communications and Works explaining his proposals; one of the memoranda dealt with the firm known as Siemens, and the other with the Todt group, both German engineering organisations.

A few weeks later Mr. Niculescu informed Mr. Braimah that an agent representing the Siemens firm had arrived and wished to see him. An interview was arranged, though a date was not fixed. On the 17th November 1953, the Prime Minister's Private Secretary telephoned and informed Mr. Braimah that the Prime Minister would like him to be present at a meeting in the Prime Minister's Office on the 19th November 1953, and that Mr. Niculescu would be present.

Before Mr. Niculescu was called in, the Prime Minister enquired of Mr. Braimah if he knew the purpose of Mr. Niculescu's request for the interview. Mr. Braimah told the Prime Minister what he knew about the proposals

EARLY one morning on 25th November 1953

a dishelved man clad in hausa toga ran down to the Colonial Governor of the Gold Coast and reported that he had accepted the sum of £2,000 in four instalments of £500 from Aksor Kassardjian, a contractor who had tendered for and obtained government contracts since 1952 for the construction of buildings and roads under the control of the Ministry of Communications and Works.

The man was J. A. Braimah, Member of Ghana Parliament and former Minister of Communications and Works.

A commission of enquiry was appointed for the purpose of enquiring into the allegations arising from Mr. Braimah's behaviour.

We have decided to publish a portion of the findings of the commission because we believe Mr. Braimah's shady background is not unrelated to his present role in the Ghana Parliament.

—EDITOR



DOES SOCIALISM ELUDE?

could not have been later than the end of May.

We shall now consider Mr. Kassardjian's version of these events. He admits paying to Mr. Braimah the sum of £2,000 in four instalments, the first of which was during January 1953. He denies, however, the circumstances as stated by Mr. Braimah, as well as the allegation that he had asked for assistance to secure contracts, and for the removal of the two senior officials from their department in Accra. Giving evidence in December 1953, Mr. Kassardjian said that he had known Mr. Braimah for about three years.

They first met in Mr. Braimah's house in Damongo, in connection with the future of the sheanuts industry when Mr. Braimah was Secretary of the native Authority there. He stated that they had been on friendly terms for at least eighteen months and that Mr. Braimah's younger brother Mr. S. S. Braimah had been a part-time clerk to him. Mr. Kassardjian is of Armenian extraction and unable to conduct his correspondence in English without assistance.

Mr. Kassardjian says that the first time Mr. Braimah called on him was in January 1953, and that it was on this occasion that Mr. Braimah telling him that he was a non-party man, he promised to assist towards his re-

ed the trust placed in him. In his statement to the police he also said that his conscience told him that he was guilty of receiving the £2,000. When Mr. Braimah came before the Commission however, there was a change in his attitude. He no longer blamed himself for his action but now claimed to have a special mission to bring to light for investigation a number of rumours of bribery and corruption.

A GIFT

In his evidence before us, Mr. Braimah contended that the sum of £2,000 was a gift for which no consideration was given or expected; and that he had told Mr. Kassardjian that he could not grant his request to assist him to secure contracts and to remove the two senior officials, and generally, that he could not use his position to secure advantages for him.

Mr. Braimah also stated in evidence that it was not until the receipt of the fourth £500 that he realised that Mr. Kassardjian had an ulterior motive in giving him these amounts. Mr. Braimah at no time adopted Mr. Kassardjian's version of the circumstances or reasons for the gift, though in his final address Mr. Braimah's counsel suggested that Mr. Kassardjian might have been misunderstood.

The evidence adduced

tion, he kept it secret from everybody including his family and friends, that he carried the second £500 from Accra to Tamale, and at no time paid into his bank any of these sums.

d) The large sum of £300 which he paid to Mamadu is indicative of a payment for services rendered rather than of a gift in accordance with native custom.

e) Mr. Braimah's evidence showed that he associated the gift with the Pusiga College contract, for he says that he always made it clear to Mr. Kassardjian that his only interest was in having the College finished quickly.

f) Mr. Braimah virtually admitted that he ought not to have accepted the second payment of £500. When questioned on this he said, "I accepted it waiting for the hour." When asked why in that case he used the money, he replied, "You know my position, it was through compromise; I was wavering in my mind."

g) Mr. Braimah admitted under examination that he could not explain why Mr. Kassardjian should have given him the £2,000.

Dr. K. A. Busia, Head

Continued on page 7

Who is J.A. Braimah?

Continued from page 6

and of the memoranda, and added that they were matters which were still under consideration by his Ministry. Mr. Niculescu was then called in, and to Mr. Braimah's surprise, Mr. Niculescu seemed to be very frightened when he saw him. Mr. Niculescu stated that the purpose of his visit was to inform the Prime Minister of the arrival in the country of one Mr. Ebner, an agent of Siemens, and that Mr. Ebner wished to see Ministers.

When the Prime Minister asked Mr. Niculescu why he had come to him, instead of going to "his own friend" Mr. Braimah, Mr. Niculescu replied "Braimah is not a party member; he is not a politician." According to Mr. Braimah the Prime Minister asked Mr. Niculescu why he was frightened and Mr. Niculescu replied that he was frightened because very soon the police would be investigating bribery and corruption.

Mr. Braimah said he could not understand his friend's attitude towards him and concluded that this indicated that Mr. Niculescu must have "committed himself somewhere". So when he returned to his Ministry he reported the incident to his Permanent Secretary and requested him to enquire from Mr. Niculescu the reasons for his attitude. Mr. Niculescu later called on Mr. Braimah and after discussion with him expressed regret "for any offence caused by him during the interview". We refer to this incident in more detail in paragraph 57 below.

INTERVIEW

It is important to note that neither the Prime Minister nor Mr. Niculescu confirms Mr. Braimah's statement that, at the interview on 19th November 1953, Mr. Niculescu said that the police would soon be investigating bribery and corruption or that he had even mentioned bribery and corruption. There is no reason to suppose that there was any collusion between Mr. Niculescu and the Prime Minister, since the Prime Minister, to whom the whole matter was fresh, on his own initiative invited Mr. Braimah to be present during the interview and after a brief discussion referred Mr. Niculescu to Mr. Braimah as Minister of Communications and Works for action in accordance with normal practice. Had Mr. Niculescu mentioned bribery and corruption coupled with impending investigation by the police, the Prime Minister would have remembered it. In our view the evidence of both the Prime Minister and Mr. Niculescu on this point is likely to be the more accurate.

The Prime Minister and Mr. Niculescu also do not confirm the evidence of Mr. Braimah that Mr. Niculescu was either frightened or behaved in any way to give the Prime Minister cause to believe that he was frightened. Mr. Niculescu does, however, confirm Mr. Braimah's statement that, in explaining his reasons for seeking the interview with the Prime Minister instead of leaving the matter with Mr. Braimah, Mr. Niculescu said that Mr. Braimah was not a party man and not a politician.

There is evidence which proves that Mr. Braimah was aware that his name had been associated with bribery and corruption during the months of September, October, and November 1953; he must have been very much disturbed by this. Mr. Niculescu had without warning to him substituted an appointment with the Prime Minister for one with him, concerning matters which he regarded as directly concerning his ministry. Mr. Braimah said that Mr. Niculescu's action was suspicious and he also told us that he thought Mr. Niculescu was trying to blackmail him.

Mr. Braimah stated in evidence that this meeting of the 19th November 1953 made him decide to "come out". He said that on 25th November he informed the Governor of this decision and disclosed to him his acceptance of the £2,000. He explained to us that he was afraid that if he did not do this and his acceptance of the £2,000 came to light in the course of the impending investigation, it might be misunderstood. He said his reason was "because Niculescu had come out from overseas and he was talking about two firms abroad and I was not happy in my mind and there had been allegations that agents of Ministers received commissions for transactions of contracts that they undertook for them and I thought he had committed himself and I wanted that to be known. I knew nothing about anything of that sort and that was why I decided to come out." Mr. Braimah produced £500 to the police at the time he made the statement on 27th November 1953, and said that was the last £500 which Mr. Kassardjian gave him, and that he had kept the money intact in his safe to produce as evidence that there was bribery and corruption in the Gold Coast.

So far we have been examining the evidence taken by us which appears to be relevant to the circumstances that caused the resignation of Mr. Braimah. We now propose to consider more specifically the question, "what circumstances caused his resignation?"

RESIGNATION

A number of reasons for this have been given by Mr. Braimah himself and though we do not accept his interpretation of some of the circumstances mentioned by him, yet we find that the reasons given by Mr. Braimah at different times since his resignation go a long way towards explaining it.

The first in point of time is given in Mr. Braimah's letter of resignation dated the 25th November 1953 and addressed to the Governor from which we quote:

"I have the honour to tender my resignation as a Cabinet Minister as from today. I deeply regret that I have abused the trust placed in me." When asked to explain how he had "abused his trust", Mr. Braimah said before us:

"I have told the Commission that for some time I have been conflicting in my conscience about this money. I thought I had abused the trust placed in me and I should not have received that amount; that is the explanation.

We next refer to the following passage towards the

end of Mr. Braimah's statement to the police (30th November 1953):—

"All that I have said in this statement is the truth and I have given it because the praises people begin to give me now are regarded by me that they are tearing me and my conscience tell me I am guilty of receiving the £2,000."

It has been pointed out in paragraph 34 that when Mr. Braimah later appeared before the Commission he changed his attitude, as is shown in his statement which has been produced in full at paragraph 14 of this report. He spoke then of the rumours of bribery and corruption concerning his Ministerial colleagues and himself, and said that he felt that he had a special mission to give opportunity for these rumours to be investigated so that the country could be cleaned and the rumours killed. There was no mention of abuse of trust or of a guilty conscience.

A SUSPECT

It emerges from Mr. Braimah's evidence that he became extremely uncomfortable about his position, and that this made him highly suspicious even of his friends. We have already alluded in paragraph 38 to his suspicion that Mr. Kassardjian had told Mr. Niculescu about the £2,000 and that Mr. Niculescu had repeated the story to Dr. Busia. He inferred this simply because these persons were friends, and Dr. Busia had visited him and talked about bribery and corruption. Mr. Braimah told Dr. Busia that he had something in his safe which would prove the existence of bribery and corruption. Whether this is true or was invented in order to impress Dr. Busia, whom he now suspected of knowing about the £2,000, we do not know.

Another instance of suspicion is to be found in the story of the interview between the Prime Minister, Mr. Niculescu and Mr. Braimah on the 19th November 1953. Mr. Braimah told us that he thought Mr. Niculescu was attempting to "blackmail" him.

The reason for this belief is not easy to understand, but it may be when Mr. Braimah found that Mr. Niculescu had to his surprise made a direct approach to the Prime Minister his mind immediately went back to the £2,000 and that he suspected that Mr. Niculescu might use it against him with the Prime Minister. He had not told Mr. Niculescu about the £2,000 but he thought that Mr. Kassardjian had.

As we have already mentioned in paragraph 48, Mr. Braimah's evidence that at the interview there was talk of an enquiry into bribery and corruption was denied by the others present. Mr. Braimah appears to have got the impression that there was something corrupt in his friend Mr. Niculescu's interest in a German firm engineers, concerning whom the meeting with the Prime Minister had been arranged.

AN ENQUIRY

Mr. Braimah stated in evidence that this meeting of the 19th November made him decide to come out. He said he thought there might be an enquiry in which he might be involved. The following quotation from the evidence illustrates his attitudes:— "Forbes: Did you feel that that might be a dislo-

sure of your accepting the money?"

Braimah: Yes, I feared that, and if I did not come out it might be interpreted otherwise.

Forbes: And that is what finally made you decide to come out?

Braimah: Yes.

Later when giving evidence, Mr. Braimah, when again asked whether it was this fear that had prompted him to act, said:—

"Yes, not that alone; it was also the organised telephone attacks that made me uneasy and I said that if that was the case I must tender my resignation, and that was the last thing."

With regard to the alleged "telephone attacks", it appears that on the 23rd November, Mr. Braimah had been visited by a lady who was the sister of the Secretary of a Moslem political organisation which Mr. Braimah considered was opposed to him. The lady spoke of the public esteem he enjoyed.

A few hours after she left, Mr. Braimah says, he was pestered by about twenty telephone calls within about fifteen minutes, some of the callers asking for testimonials, others asking for help to find some employment. Describing this incident, Mr. Braimah said "I could not stand it. Nobody could stand that attack." Mr. Braimah linked this "attack" with what was according to him, a long-standing grievance

that he was "not wanted in the Cabinet."

He attributed this to the circumstances that, although he was in the Cabinet, he was not a member of the party in power, and that he felt there was a certain conflict between his duty to the Northern Territories which he represented and the policy of the Convention People's Party. The body that he suspected of having organised the telephone calls is, he says, affiliated to the Convention People's Party. On this latter point, Mr. Braimah stated in evidence:—

"When my conscience started to worry me and I found that I was most unhappy in the Government because I am not a member of the Party I decided that it was time that I should come out and resign."

GUILTY CONSCIENCE

Finally, we do not doubt that from September up to the time of his resignation, Mr. Braimah had cause to be gravely worried by rumours which were circulating in the Northern Territories about his receiving bribes. We have mentioned this matter in paragraph 42. There was always a danger that his political opponents in the North would learn about the £2,000, which would have been serious for him.

It might well be that all the above matters referred to in paragraphs 51 to 61

were contributory factors to his resignation, unsubstantial and even imaginary though some of these may seem. We conclude that these together, but primarily the fear of exposure, produced in Mr. Braimah a state of mind in which he became unnerved and unbalanced.

We do not believe that this state of mind could have developed from innocent acceptance by Mr. Braimah of gifts of money from Mr. Kassardjian. The circumstances of his acceptance of large sums from a contractor who was holding and seeking government contracts and who, according to Mr. Braimah had previously attempted to bribe him and some of his ministerial colleagues, make it impossible for us to accept this version, which indeed cannot be reconciled with his earlier statements.

It may well be that at no time did Mr. Braimah intend to use his position for Mr. Kassardjian's benefit and that he repeatedly told him so, but in our view Mr. Kassardjian expected to derive favours in return for his gifts, and we have no doubt that Mr. Braimah must have known this from the beginning.

ACCEPTANCE OF GIFTS

Among the factors that tell strongly against Mr. Braimah's later version is the long delay in reporting

the gifts, after he admittedly realised that Mr. Kassardjian expected favours from him. This realisation, as we have shown in paragraph 40 must have been not later than 13th June 1953.

Another point is his inconsistency with regard to the fourth gift. At one stage he stated that it was not until two months after receipt of this that he realised that Mr. Kassardjian expected favours in return for it. Yet in cross-examination, he said that he did not accept it as a free gift and that he took it so that he could produce it in evidence.

Whether Mr. Braimah in fact realised the true nature of the gifts in May, June, or even July, the question is why he delayed until November before taking action. The answer in our opinion is that he could not satisfactorily explain his acceptance of the three earlier amounts of £500. When eventually in the curious circumstances above related he was moved by fear of exposure to make open admission of his receipt of the £2,000 he did so making a clear confession of having abused his trust.

At the same time he took the opportunity of adding to his self-accusation numerous allegations affecting his ministerial colleagues. Mr. Braimah at times attributed conduct on his part which called for explanation to his habit of compromise and vacillation. Although these possible characteristics may partially explain his conduct in this matter, they do not constitute in our opinion a valid excuse.

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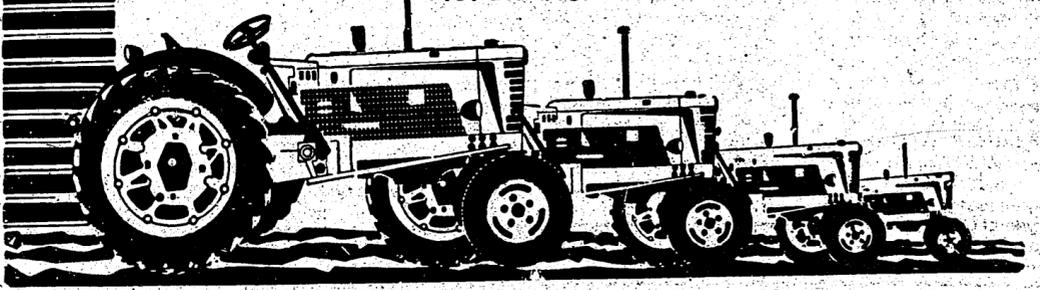
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Whither Parliament?



Continued from page 1

This C.P.P. member of parliament whose party has repeatedly declared its platform as socialism, asserts that "any ideology is a monster to someone and we are divided in our likes and dislikes, and have different views on what socialism means." He goes on to show that he understands socialism to mean the welfare state quite oblivious of the fact that the party leader has declared that Ghana "has taken to the road of scientific socialism." Mr. Braimah conveniently forgets what the leader has to say on the welfare state: "The welfare state is the climax of a highly developed industrialism. To promise its benefits in a less developed country is to promise merely a division of poverty" ("Africa Must Unite" p. 105). Yet Mr. Braimah confidently asserts on the floor of the National Assembly that "socialism of

the welfare state is the ideal and the African way of life."

Forgetting that his party has chosen socialism, Mr. Braimah calls for a new social system when he declares: "There is need for the Government to work out a system of a new and challenging kind which could combine individual freedom with a planned economy." To him socialism (by which of course he means the welfare state) is achieved through income tax, purchase tax, heredity and property tax, direct and indirect taxes with a system of family allowances.

ODD FELLOW

These taxes and allowances, Mr. Braimah should know, are commonplaces in Britain, U.S.A., France and most West European countries. All the same, nobody dares call these nations socialist. And to show that it is what obtains in these capitalist countries that he sees as socialism,

the member for Gonja East referred to 'socialism of the East' which he labelled "the extreme kind of socialism" and asserts "African socialism is different from this socialism of the East."

Mr. Braimah wants a system in which the State concerns itself primarily with the provision of social services. Even here, the social services provided must not be too high for "the economy will be saddled with a high standard of social services without the generation of sufficient economic activity to support it."

And judging from his expressed view that state enterprises are genetically less efficient than private enterprises, it is obvious that Mr. Braimah wants economic activity left principally to private capital. In short, Braimah's system is a capitalist economy providing minimal social services through taxation. Mr. Braimah could easily pass for a U.S. Senator or a conservative M.P. in Britain. He is an odd fellow in the C.P.P.

Despite the fact that it was clear that some well organised interest group, certainly not socialist, was speaking through Mr Braimah, nobody in the National Assembly made any attempt to challenge the ideological foundations of Braimah's budget speech even though this speech frontally attacked the foundations of the C.P.P. platform. Could it be that members overlooked it because they thought it was insignificant? Or is it that most members agreed with it and as such could not find an answer to it?

M.P.—A CHIEF?

Not content with letting off Braimah's anti-C.P.P. school of thought, some members went on to give some outlandish description of socialism, a description far removed from what the party has decided to pursue. Mr. Donkoh, another C.P.P. member, maintained that "in our type of socialism an M.P. is raised to the level of a chief by the people who voted for him to become their spokesman". And when the leader of the House drew his attention to the need for "members of Parliament... (to) show a sense of leadership and sacrifice" the member for Wenchi West retorted: "No. That is not in accordance with our socialism."

The anti-socialist trend in the National Assembly was clearly evident in the deluge of attacks on the socialist sector of the national economy. Making clever use of the undisputed fact that some state enterprises are not being run efficiently, C.P.P. members even went to the extent of demanding that public enterprises be wound up.

It must be pointed out, however, that some other M.P.s criticised the way public enterprises are run with a view to making them more efficient. Their motive is clear and commendable. But can we say the same about those members who want these state enterprises scrapped? Does scrapping the public enterprises not mean abandonment of a fundamental principle of socialism, viz. the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange?

A variant of the fallacious argument is that wherever state and private capital are in partnership there is efficiency. But efficiency disappears when the enterprise is entirely state run. Says Mr. Wireko (C.P.P.—Amanse East) "I think we have sunk far too much into unfruitful projects in this country and have thereby wasted our revenue... Members may not be surprised to know that when there is a joint state/private enterprise, it makes progress, but where the enterprise is hundred per cent state-owned, it always fails." These critics with the ulterior motive that state funds should be used to prop up private enterprise conveniently forget the achievements of state enterprises like Ghana Commercial Bank, to which a lady M.P. drew attention, the Fishing Corporation, the Railways and Harbours Administration, etc.

TRAGEDY

The tragedy of that part of the debate which touched on the inefficiency of state enterprises is that no determined attempt was made to get at the root causes of this inefficiency. Members rather smugly believed that inexperienced and

Western countries, Miss Lucy Anin's solution to the problem is "embassies in Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania and Rumania could be closed and bigger embassies nearby made to handle Ghana's affairs in these countries."

There was no attempt even from the government bench to answer these two attacks on links with socialist countries which are undoubtedly one of the props of socialist regimes in Ghana and elsewhere.

The fourth point of attack on socialism in Ghana was made against socialist institutions in the country. Members felt that the Ghana Farmers Council Co-operatives could not speak for cocoa farmers. Others even declared that the old system whereby cocoa purchases were in the hands of foreign firms like U.A.C., C.F.A.O., Cadbury and Fry was better.

The important point to realise here is that the attack on the Ghana Farmers Council Co-operatives is with the purpose of handing over cocoa purchases to private businessmen. It is a retreat from socialism. It is

But their "financial strategy" is a direct assault on the foundations of socialism in this country. They want the state sector of the national economy to shrink with the state paying more attention to social services. We are back to the formula of the welfare state.

ANTI-TAX CRITICISMS

We have to ask these gentlemen to explain how a high level of business is to be maintained in order that generally prosperous people could pay the taxes needed to sustain the enhanced social services and amenities they demand. Clearly, indigenous capital, unaided, is not in a position to accomplish this task. There are then three possibilities: state assistance to private indigenous enterprises or partnership between foreign and local private capital or a free hand for foreign capital. All these roads lead to a recrudescence of capitalism which is clearly a counter-revolutionary trend from where we are today.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that state support for indigenous businessmen has proved as wasteful, if not more wasteful, than state enterprise. In any case where is the moral justification to use tax payers' money in keeping private entrepreneurs in business? Such state of affairs is generally regarded as bad and immoral. It is criminal folly in a system that professes to be socialist.

Another trend observed in the anti-tax criticisms is that the bulk of it is made from the point of view of the upper classes. The complaints are against capital gains tax, 1% tax on all orders, water rate, cement tax, profits tax, income tax and purchase tax. Apart from purchase tax which falls more on the well-to-do and income tax which is weighted in favour of the lower income groups, all other taxes fall on people who are generally regarded as businessmen.

Capital gains tax is paid by speculators in property; water rate is paid by the landlord; cement tax is borne by builders and of course profits tax is paid by companies. And if the government can hold prices steady, these taxes will have to be paid by business and not by the consumers.

A clear effort was made to give the impression that the fight was being put up on behalf of the man in the street. The claim that the common man is overburdened with taxes is exploded by the fact that all incomes below £11 a month are tax free. Here M.P.s should take the President's advice and visit a few African countries to find out things for themselves. Nor does the argument of caring for dependants carry much weight in view of the almost free education system right up to university level and free medical services for children in the country.

PRICE CONTROL

A subtle argument for tax relief for the upper and business class is that many of the taxes on property, water, profits etc. would be passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices. Here the government has got to move fast and act boldly. It is necessary

to maintain an effective price control machinery. For it is only through the operation of such a machinery that taxes imposed on the well-to-do will not be passed on to the common masses.

The fact that most of the criticism of the government's tax proposals were made from the point of view of the upper classes raises a vital question. Can the Assembly, as presently constituted, be considered an effective and reliable instrument for pushing Ghana's socialist revolution forward? By this criticism, the M.P.s have demonstrated the truth that the only reliable forces in the drive to socialism are the common masses themselves. A collection of men from all walks of life could lead to a slowing down of the socialist advance or even to a counter-revolutionary trend.

It is significant that the M.P.s are already considering themselves to be above party and as the true spokesmen of the nation. When the Minister of Finance was trying to explain that the budget proposals are based on the ideology of the party, the Speaker cut in: "We are not here for a Party. We are in parliament."

DANGEROUS TREND

This indeed is a dangerous trend. Party members in Parliament are nothing more than the spokesmen of the party on which platform they were elected into the House. They are there to uphold party ideology and policies and not to create anything new or inimical to the stand of the party.

When in a revolutionary era Parliament lives seven years and has prospects of living another 3 years; when its members openly challenge the ideology of their party and the foundations of their state and clamour for a move backwards; and when its members consider themselves above their party and as the true spokesmen of the nation—the stage is set for a dangerous slide backwards into counter-revolution.

And when such a dangerous slide becomes manifest, it is the duty of the party leading the revolution to seek a new Parliament with a composition more in tune with the aims and tempo of the revolution. This reconstitution of Parliament becomes urgent when a minister remarks: "The two days' debate on the budget reveals two types of members in this House. First, there are members who may no doubt have misunderstood our ideology or who do not appear to be well versed in the ideology of the Party,—and people who know exactly what the Government are about". Surely there can be no more cogent argument for a reconstitution of Parliament than the admission that there are in it members (and they are many) who misunderstand the course of the revolution which they are supposed to lead.



17th OCTOBER, THURSDAY:

ALGERIA: Thousands of Algerians rushed to join the army in response to President Ben Bella's call for general mobilisation because of the fighting on the Moroccan border.

SOMALIA: The Somali Government reprimands students for the way they demonstrated against Ethiopia's attitude over Somali-Ethiopia border incidents.

NIGERIA: The Nigerian Government grants de facto recognition to the Angolan Government-in-exile led by Dr. Holden Roberto.

KENYA: Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's Prime Minister, in an interview broadcast in London says, "Africa must unite in order to survive—otherwise we will be crushed by other nations".

18th OCTOBER, FRIDAY:

GUINEA: African Freedom Fighters in Central Portuguese Guinea have reported killing about 60 Portuguese in an ambush.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Secretary of the African Peoples Union, Mr. George Silundika, addressing the United Nations Trusteeship Committee in New York, reveals that Southern Rhodesia is developing its institutions with South Africa. Mr. Silundika continues to say that it is also heading towards a racially segregated state.

SOMALIA: In a protest Note handed to the American embassy in Mogadishu, the Somali Government says, it considers itself "fully justified" in holding the U.S. Government responsible for "aggression" by Ethiopia.

MOROCCO: King Hassan II of Morocco had an hour's meeting with Ghana's Foreign Minister, Mr. Kojo Botsio, who delivered to the Moroccan monarch a personal message from Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana.

19th OCTOBER, SATURDAY:

SOUTH AFRICA: The Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, former Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg,

speaking at the United Nations Special Political Committee,

urges members of the United Nations to make sure that international pressure is put on South Africa to change her race policies.

GHANA: The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, Dr. O'Brien discloses to representatives of the Press and Radio that 1,500 students including 80 non-Ghanaians have been admitted at the University.

21st OCTOBER, MONDAY:

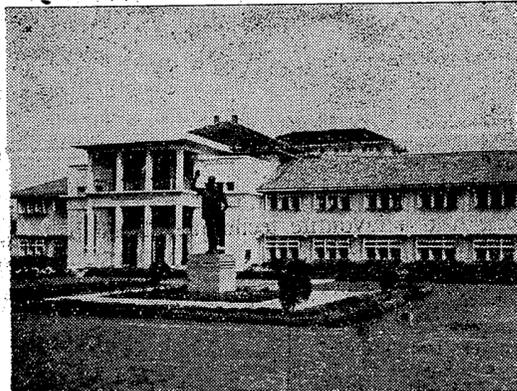
TOGOLAND: The Togo Foreign Minister, Mr. Georges Apedo Amah, tells a press conference that his country is expecting all refugees to return home and "help to build the nation". The minister says, the recent amnesty announced by President Grunitzky, is extended to political offenders outside Togo.

MOROCCO: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, postpones a visit to Paris to remain in Rome pending a mediation move in the 11-day-old Algerian-Moroccan border conflict. King Hassan II of Morocco praises the initiative and statesmanship of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah for his timely move towards the settlement of the boundary dispute between Morocco and Algeria.

DAKAR: The All African Trades Union Federation (A.A.T.U.F.) and the African Trades Union Conference (A.T.U.C.) have agreed to form a single African Trades Union Movement.

ALGERIA: Fighting has ceased at the Moroccan-Algerian border, following strong pleas for an immediate ceasefire to be followed by negotiations by some world leaders. Troops are still massed up on either side of the disputed border, but the situation is calm.

DAHOMY: Mr. Maxime Zollner of Dahomey and Secretary-General of the Afro-Malegasy Union (U.A.M.) will leave Dahomey today by air for New York to close its permanent office of the U.A.M. at the United Nations following the advice from the Organisation of African Unity to disband all regional groupings.



The Parliament of Ghana

self-seeking personnel is the sole factor. They drew little or no attention to civil service red-tape, to business manoeuvres which cripple state enterprise in favour of private enterprise, to the opposition of capitalist-minded men in authority to too rapid an advance towards socialism, etc.

In the third place, the anti-socialist trend in the National Assembly debate reflected itself in ill-concealed attacks on our links with socialist countries abroad. Mr. Braimah tries to pooh-pooh the assistance we get from socialist countries by way of low interest rates on loans and credit. "Rates of interest on loans from the Eastern countries are low, but the material and goods that we receive from them are not of good quality." He quietly accepts the higher interest rates on loans from the West and adds: "what is behind the low interest (from the East) is the fear of many". He casts insinuation on the quality of houses to be produced by the Soviet prefabricated housing industry now being erected.

HER SOLUTION

Miss Lucy Anin complains of the excess expenditure by Ghana missions overseas. She puts these excesses as follows:—
Washington £38,643.12.7
London £114,931.18.9
Peking £17,202.19.8
Even though the excess expenditure is greatest in the

counter-revolutionary both in essence and in intention.

A similar attack was launched on the Young Pioneer Movement. This was conducted by an opposition member, Mr. Osei (U.P.—Ahafo) who claimed that "there would not have been the necessity for tax increases if organisations like the Young Pioneer Movement were not established". The significant fact is that this attack went un rebutted by any C.P.P. member even though it is well-known that the increased taxes go to provide amenities of all sorts which members of parliament have incessantly demanded for their constituents.

KITE-FLYING

Let us now turn to the nature of the arguments against the tax increases. Though many members supported the taxes and the House approved the budget without a division, there is no doubt that some members endeavoured to do some kite-flying when they discussed the projected tax increases. These members sought to reduce the tax burden not by a reduction in social services and amenities provided for the people but by a cutting down on government expenditure in the public sector of the national economy. They buttress their argument with admonitions like "hastening slowly", "cutting our coat according to our cloth", "Rome was not built in a day" etc.