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Front Page Comment

WE STILL DISAGREE

DR. O'Brien has a way of using as a platform for his views occasions whose ostensible purpose is quite different. Earlier this year we were treated to a discourse on Academic Freedom. On the occasion of the launching of Dr. Nkrumah's new book 'Consciencism', he discoursed on philosophy, Marxism, and humanism, in order apparently to accuse his opponents of 'facile dogmatism', 'arid and dehumanised character of some European Marxist writing' (why European in deed?), 'crude and summary interpretations and violent language'. For someone who objects to violent language in others, that is not a mean performance in a five-minute speech. We think our five thousand words contained rather less. And, after all The Spark

was indeed devoted to Osagyefo's book, whose message is Positive Action. We have no quarrel with passion as a stimulus to action in a forward direction.

OUR DISPUTE

But what we disputed in WE DISAGREE and what we still dispute is whether Dr. O'Brien's passion for Academic Freedom, interpreted as the Right to Dissent, is, at this stage in Ghanaian history, a stimulus to forward action. For doing this, and for producing arguments in support of our thesis we are accused of all the vices listed above. We are in essence, dogmatic and anti-humanistic! How different we are from Osagyefo and from the founders of Marxism! May we say how happy we would be if this

Our reply to Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien's attacks on The Spark at the launching of Osagyefo's Book "CONSCIENCISM" on the 2nd of April 1964

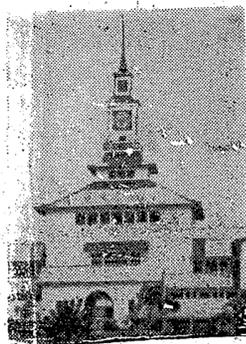
fortunately we are forced to a different conclusion—that this is a cloak donned momentarily the better to attack us.

By implication we suppose we are also accused of lack of respect for learning. Those who have leisure and facilities might care to compare Dr. O'Brien's version of Mencius' dissent from feudal exploitation in China with the somewhat less heroic version contained in the Encyclopaedia Britannica or the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

"RIGHT TO DISSENT"?

In relation to Socrates we spent some few lines in a long article, and did not claim to have given a rounded assessment of the positive and negative elements in his philosophy. It is, however, worth noting that generations of British colonial administrators educated on Plato at Oxford do not seem to have been so moved by Socrates' assertion of the right to dissent as to allow the assertion of that right by the people whose territories they administered. Prempeh was after all exiled to the Seychelles for twenty-five years. Perhaps early tears shed over Socrates had dried up their humanity. Or perhaps they were misled by the most prominent Platonist of the day into believing that 'Socrates is nowhere represented to us a free thinker or a sceptic' (Jowett's Plato Vol. ii p. 107).

Be all that as it may, our case did not, and does not, rest on one



particular example. What we denied were O'Brien's two assertions (a) that universities had always been centres of progressive thought, this feature being guaranteed by the assertion of the rights of their teachers and students to dissent; (b) that there was some threat to academic freedom in the Government's and Party's attitude towards the University of Ghana.

What we asserted was that despite manifestations of dissent (tolerated when they could be ignored, attacked and restricted when they could not), the ideas which the universities had disseminated throughout history had been the ideas of the dominant class. (This is not to say at all, and we did not say, that those ideas were always against progress).

RULING CLASSES AND IDEAS

If this is "summary, crude, arid dogmatism", then we revel in our good company the Marxist Engels, whom O'Brien so approvingly quotes (missing out the first materialist half of the quotation) and

who was one of the partnership who wrote that 'the ruling ideas of an epoch are the ideas of its ruling class'. And clearly we merit Dr. O'Brien's accolade as 'Flexible, discriminating' Nkrumacists. For does not Kwame Nkrumah write (Consciencism p. 57): "In societies where there are competing ideologies, it is still usual for one ideology to be dominant. This dominant ideology is that of the ruling group'. Perhaps Dr. O'Brien should apply Engels' strictures about those 'who think they have fully understood a new theory' a little more critically to himself.

OBLIGATION TO CONTRIBUTE

But let us consider a second point. The epigram to Nkrumah's book, at least the half quoted with approval by O'Brien, stresses that the economic factor is not the only one. We could not agree any more. If we had not thought that ideas were important in social development (incidentally it was an "arid European Marxist" who wrote that 'once an idea has laid hold of the mind of the mass of the people it becomes a material force') we should hardly have opened WE DISAGREE with reference to the Seven Year Plan and the role of the universities in it. It is just because the ideas left over by the colonialist past of Africa are a barrier to the material and ideological process of "decolonisation and development" that Kwame Nkrumah

has written "Consciencism" at this time. It is because there are certain ideas residual in the minds of some African intellectuals which can retard the full development and application of their skill for the benefit of the African Revolution that we were so concerned to discuss not the "Right to Dissent" (which appears to be Dr. O'Brien's version of academic freedom) but the "Obligation to Contribute". The obligation to contribute means, for intellectuals, not the right to sit on the sidelines and watch while the rest of society tries to carry through the process of decolonisation and development; but the obligation to be a partisan in the struggle against those ideas and practices both within and without the country which retard economic, political, social—and therefore "human"—advance.



"...The obligation to contribute in the struggle against ideas retarding 'human' advance".

The Legacy of Greece p. 327). It is the humanism of the freedom fighter who because he loves Africa, hates imperialism who, because he loves life, takes it if need be and gives his life; it is the humanism of the heroes of peaceful construction in Ghana who, because they love freedom, accept the strict discipline of co-operative labour. To hate because you love, to give and take life in the struggle for life, to take freedom from Verwoerd to give it to Africa, to win economic freedom through disciplined work, to see the flowering of one's own intellect only through the flowering of the intellect of all, this is the vital, often harsh dialectic of the struggle for humanism in the real world. If the humanism of the study does not reflect this it is a poor thing indeed. To preach humanism without accepting the necessary means to liberate humanity is to use 'vague, mellifluous phrases.'



A victim of "vague, mellifluous phrases"?

is a newspaper whose aim is not only to explain and argue, but to move people into action. But we will forgive Dr. O'Brien his passion, for passion is necessary to action, and the evening

means that Dr. O'Brien is a marxist, or that he agrees with the application of scientific socialism to African conditions. For then we could discuss on the basis of agreed assumptions. Un-

Third Anniversary of Kwame's Dawn Broadcast

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHERISHED CUSTOMS OF OUR FATHERS, WHEREBY ADVICE IS SOUGHT OR GIVEN AT EARLY DAWN, I HAVE COME TO THE MICROPHONE THIS EARLY MORNING TO SHARE SOME THOUGHTS WITH YOU IN A HOMELY CHAT.

Four years ago we achieved independence and set out on a new road to nationhood. On the 1st of July, 1960, we consolidated this political achievement by setting up the Republic as an expression of our sovereign will. That day marked the real beginning of the life of our nation and settled upon us responsibility not only for the development and reconstruction of Ghana, but also for the faithful duty of assisting other African territories to achieve their freedom and independence.

This responsibility casts upon all Ghanaians an obligation to protect the national stability we have so ably created and to guard ever jealously the solidarity of our nation. For this reason I have been rather unhappy about reports which I have received since my return from the United Kingdom: and this has led me to speak to you this morning to examine the matters forming the subject of these reports, and to discuss them openly and sincerely.

While I was away certain matters arose concerning the Trades Union Congress, the National Assembly, the Co-operative Movement and the United Ghana Farmers' Council. These matters created misunderstandings and led to some regrettable demonstrations.

I do not think that at this stage of our national life, when all our efforts should be concentrated upon building a first-class nation, we should allow petty misunderstandings and squabbles to divert our attention from our great and worthy aims and objectives.

BUILDING SOCIALISM

What was the cause of these unfortunate circumstances? Some Parliamentarians criticised the Trades Union Congress and the other wing organisations of the Convention People's Party. The officials of these organisations objected to the criticism and made counter-criticisms against certain Parliamentarians and this started a vicious circle of imputations and recriminations. This is clearly unfortunate. I have taken certain steps, and I hope that no occasion will arise to cause a recurrence of a similar situation.

The Convention People's Party is a great brotherhood. Its strength is embedded in the unity of its membership and since both sides to this unfortunate dispute are members of the Convention People's Party, I wish to examine the situation and look deeper for the causes of this incident.

I have stated over and over again, that members of the Convention People's Party must not use their Party membership or official position for personal gain or for the amassing of wealth. Such tendencies directly contradict our Party Constitution which makes it clear that the aims and objects of the Party, among other things, are the building of a socialist pattern of society in which the free development of each is the condition for all—a pattern or society consonant with African situations, circumstances and conditions.

I have explained very clearly this socialist structure and have on many

occasions elaborated the five sectors into which our economy may be divided. These sectors are: First, the State Sector, in which all enterprises are entirely state-owned. Second, the Joint State-Private Sector, which will incorporate enterprises owned jointly by Government and foreign private capital. Third, the Co-operative Sector, in which all enterprises will be undertaken by co-operative organisations affiliated with the National Co-operative Council. Fourth, the Private Enterprise Sector, which will incorporate those industries which are open freely to foreign private enterprise. And Fifth, the Workers Enterprise Sector.

I have had occasions to emphasise the part which private enterprise will continue to play in our economic and industrial life. A different situation arises with Ghanaian businessmen who attempt to combine business with political life. Being a Party Member of the Assembly—and much more, being a Ministerial Secretary or a Minister—means that the persons who take up these positions owe a duty to those who have elected them or who have given them their positions with confidence. To be able to maintain this confidence, therefore, they should not enter into any type of industrial or commercial undertaking. Any Party Member of Parliament who wishes to be a businessman can do so, but he should give up his seat in Parliament. In other words no Minister, Ministerial Secretary or Party Member of Parliament should own a business or be involved in anyone else's business, Ghanaian or foreign.

PARTY AIMS AND OBJECTS

In spite of my constant clarifications and explanations of our aims and objectives, some Party Members in Parliament pursue a conduct in direct contradiction of our Party aims. They are tending, by virtue of their functions and positions, to become a separate social group aiming to become a new ruling class of self-seekers and careerists. This tendency is working to alienate the support of the masses and to bring the National Assembly into isolation.

Members of Parliament must remember at all times that they are representatives of their constituencies only by reason of their Party membership and that on no account should they regard constituency representation as belonging to them in their own right. In other words, constituencies are not the property of Members of Parliament. It is the Party that sends them there and fights for them to become Members of Parlia-

ment. I am sure that from now on all Parliamentarians will be guided accordingly in their conduct of representing the Party in Parliament.

When I look at the other side of the picture, I must say that some Trade Union officials have now and again indulged in loose talk and reprehensible statements which do no good either to the Party, to the Government or to the nation. This is not the time for unbridled militant Trade Unionism in our country. Trade Union officials must shed their colonial character and their colonial thinking. The approach of the Trade Union Congress to our national issues should be seasoned and constructive in accordance with our present circumstances.

RUMOUR-MONGERING

Let me now turn to some other causes which I consider plague Ghanaian society generally and militate against undisturbed progress. A great deal of

THE Dawn Broadcast for the first time took the spotlight off the openly reactionary intellectual, traditional and middle class elements that opposed the Ghana revolution and instead focused it on a class of 'new rich' within the folds of the C.P.P. It also served to underline the fact that Dr. Nkrumah's declaration for socialism was not a mere slogan meant to catch votes but a driving philosophy of life to which the leader had wholly and passionately dedicated himself. He meant to achieve socialism, not just to talk about it. He had thrown in his lot with the people and refused to use the people through promises never meant to be fulfilled as a mere ladder for climbing into power.

The Dawn Broadcast exposed the 'new rich' within the C.P.P.—those who had grown wealthy thanks to their position in the state machinery—as a big, if not the biggest, obstacle in the nation's drive to an abundant life for all.

These men had to fight back. For them the revolution that brought political independence was enough. The second revolution meant to destroy capitalism and put socialism in its place left them cold and bitter. Although they were enemies of imperialism during the first revolution, these men suddenly became the conscious and unconscious allies of imperialism during the second revolution. For with imperialism they share a common dread for socialism and a common desire to see capitalism thrive. The full text of the broadcast is reproduced. —EDITOR

rumour-mongering goes on all over the country. "Berko said that the Odioro informed Asamani that the Ohene said he paid a sum of money to a Party official to become a Paramount chief." "Kojo said that Mensah told him that Kweku took a bribe;" "Abina stated that Ekua said that Esi uses her relations with Kweku to get contracts through the District Commissioner with the support of the Regional Commissioner and the blessing of a Minister in Accra.

So, day after day, night after night, in all types and manner of wild allegations and rumours are circulated and they are always well sprinkled with: They say, they say, we see, we see, akee akee!

Many members of the Party and of the public are guilty of this conduct. I have directed that in future, any allegations or rumours so made or circulated against any person must immediately be brought before the Central Committee of the Party for investigation.

One of the most degrading aspects of Party conduct is the tendency on the part of some comrades to go round using the names of persons in prominent positions to collect money for themselves. Equally degrading is the tendency on the part of some persons in pro-

minent positions to create agents for collecting money. This is a shameful and highly criminal tendency which must be crushed in the most ruthless manner.

May I take this opportunity to stress an essential point. Statements which may be regarded as Government policy statements are those which I make myself personally and those which are clearly stated in the text to be the official policy of the Government.

In recent months people in Ghana and abroad have frequently been confused and Government's policies made uncertain as a result of unauthorised statements which have been made by persons employed by the Government, or quasi-Government bodies. Often these statements have conflicted with the Government's policies, and although they have been corrected subsequently by the Government, much harm has been done, and confusion and suspicion have resulted.

In spite of the freedom of speech which can rea-

sonably be allowed in such cases, I consider that firm action should, in the national interest, be taken. From now on, therefore, no public statement affecting Government policy will be made by any Minister, Ministerial Secretary, Member of a Government Corporation or Institution, Government official or any other person employed by the Government, unless that statement has first had Presidential or Cabinet approval. It is my intention to take strong disciplinary action against any individual who infringes this procedure.

PATRONAGE AND NEPOTISM

I am aware that the evil of patronage finds a good deal of place in our society. I consider that it is entirely wrong for persons placed in positions of eminence or authority to use the influence of office in patronising others, in many cases wrong persons, for immoral favours. I am seeing to it that this evil shall be uprooted no matter whose ox is gored. The same thing goes for nepotism, which is, so to speak, a twin brother of the evil of patronage.

At this point, I would like to make a little divergence and touch upon Civil Service red tape. It amazes me that up to the present many civil servants do not realise that we are living in

TOWARDS GREATER EFFICIENCY

In order to promote greater efficiency in the machinery of the Government, I have decided to reorganise slightly the existing ministerial set-up. In view of the increasingly important part being played by Ghana at the present time in the African liberation movement I have de-

cid to create a Ministry of African Affairs, as distinct from the present Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This new Ministry will be responsible for all African matters, including the present duties undertaken by the Bureau of African Affairs and the African Affairs Centre. It will also liaise with the All-African People's Secretariat and the All-African Trades Union Federation.

The Ministry of Labour and Co-operatives and the Ministry of Social Welfare will be abolished. Ministerial responsibility for Labour, Social Welfare and Community Development matters will be undertaken by the Ministry of Education which will therefore be known as the Ministry of Education, Labour and Social Welfare. The staff of the Co-operative Department will be seconded to the National Co-operative Council to assist the Council in the supervision and co-ordination of co-operative activities throughout the country. Responsibility for Consumer Co-operatives, Agricultural Co-operatives and Industrial Co-operatives will be undertaken by the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Development Secretariat, respectively.

Let me say a few words about the purchase of co-

coa. The reports I have received so far indicate that the statement made in Parliament some time ago by the Minister of Labour and Co-operatives that a State Buying Agency would be established by the Government and that this Agency would control the purchase of cocoa throughout the country, has not been favourably received by the farmers. After careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that this proposal, which was announced to Parliament, is perhaps not the best way in which we can handle this important matter of the purchase of cocoa. It is of the utmost importance that the arrangements for the purchase of our cocoa, which is not only the source of livelihood for the majority of people in this country, but also of such utmost importance to our economy, should be as simple and efficient as possible. I have therefore instructed that the United Ghana Farmers' Council, which embraces all the farmers of Ghana, should be given the sole responsibility for organising the purchase of all cocoa produced in Ghana on behalf of the Cocoa Marketing Board.

I am assured by the United Ghana Farmers' Council that they have made all the necessary arrangements and are prepared to undertake the purchase of cocoa as from the main crop this year.

FINANCIAL SAFEGUARDS

A satisfactory safeguard in respect of this matter has been provided in an arrangement which I have directed for the auditing of the accounts of the United Ghana Farmers' Council, by the Auditor-General. By this arrangement the accounts of the United Ghana Farmers' Council, all public corporations, the Trades Union Congress and all other bodies concerned, shall be audited by the Auditor-General who shall have the same powers in relation to them as are conferred upon him by the Constitution in relation to Government accounts.

As I said at the recent Civic Luncheon arranged in my honour at the Ambassador Hotel by the Accra City Council, I am very anxious that the city of Accra should be developed as quickly as possible in view of its increasing international importance. In order to speed up this process, I have appointed a Special Commissioner for Accra Development, who will be responsible to me, through the Minister of Works and Housing, for the rapid implementation of all public works in respect of the city of Accra and the general development of the city.

In particular, he will be concerned with the development within the city of Accra, of parks, children's playgrounds, public swimming pools and other such amenities, and also with the construction of streets and slum clearance schemes and of a sewage system. I trust that the Special Commissioner will receive the full co-operation of the

Accra City Council and the people of Accra in this most important assignment.

I have recently been alarmed at the amount of travelling abroad which is undertaken by Ministers, Ambassadors, Ministerial Secretaries and civil servants of all ranks. In many cases it is clear that approval is sought from no one before the journeys concerned are made. In future, travelling abroad, unless approved by Cabinet, will not be paid for by Government. The cost of any journeys which are undertaken without this approval will be surcharged to the persons concerned. I have also directed that instructions should be given to the Heads of all Public Boards and Corporations, to ensure that no officers of these Boards and Corporations travel outside Ghana at Government expense without my specific approval or that of the Cabinet.

THE MASSES AS SOURCE OF STRENGTH

Ghanaian Ambassadors take their children with them when they proceed to their stations, at the expense of the Government. I am taking steps to discourage this practice, for it seems to me that on psychological and other grounds, it is better for these young children to begin their education at home.

At any rate this practice cannot be justified on financial grounds. In future, ambassadors and foreign service officers will not be allowed to take their children abroad unless such children are below the age of five years. The procedure will apply equally to civil servants and other Ghanaian public functionaries serving abroad.

Let me now come back to the Party. It is most important to remember that the strength of the Convention People's Party derives from the masses of the people. These men and women include those whom I have constantly referred to as the unknown warriors—dedicated men and women who served the party loyally and selflessly without hoping for reward. It is therefore natural for the masses to feel some resentment when they see comrades whom they have put into power and given the mandate to serve the country on their behalf, begin to forget themselves and indulge in ostentatious living. High Party officials, Ministers, Ministerial Secretaries, chairmen of statutory boards and corporations must forever bear this in mind. Some of us very easily forget that we ourselves have risen from amongst the masses. We must avoid any conduct that will breed antagonism and uneasy relations. Let us always keep in mind the fact that constant examination and correction are necessary for maintaining the solidarity of the Party. The aim of all correction, however, must be to build and not to destroy. The Central Committee proposes to issue instructions shortly on the duties and rights of party members.

Continued on page 4

Trade Unionism in the New Phase

This week is the 3rd anniversary of the Dawn Broadcast. "The Spark" has decided to examine the functions of all the integral parts of the Convention People's Party. We start this week with a critical examination of Trade Unionism in the new phase by Mr. S. G. Ikoku, a Senior Lecturer in Applied Economics at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba.

Next week we shall examine specific problems and shortcomings of the Ghana Trade Union Congress.

—EDITOR

THE Trade Union is an institution of the industrial age. Its purpose is to serve the interests of its members who are workers. These workers, however, are but part of the society. Hence the trade union is a social institution. This fact gives us an important corollary. The trade union must work in a way and serve interests that harmonise with that of society.

By
S. G. Ikoku

This harmony is one part of the story. There is another part to the story. The trade union is not just a social institution that acquiesces in whatever social environment it finds itself. It is an instrument for helping on the emancipation of the working class. And since the emancipation of the working class does not start and end with the factory but owes much more to what happens outside the factory, the trade union is very much concerned with the social and political environment in which it finds itself.

This environment can be positively favourable, merely accommodating and definitely hostile to the idea of the emancipation of the working class. Accordingly the trade union becomes an instrument of consolidation and progress along a chosen line of development or an instrument of combat, depending on whether the society is favourable or hostile to the idea of the emancipation of the people.

Under capitalism, and hence under colonialism and neo-colonialism, the dominant idea around which society is organised is the exploitation and subjugation of the workers in particular and the masses in general. Here, the trade union is an instrument of combat, forming itself into a sort of bridge linking the organised labour with the socialist ideology for the emancipation of the masses.

Under socialism, however, the picture is quite different. Society accepts and organises itself around the idea of men free and equal and entitled to the good things of this life. The role of the trade union undergoes a corresponding transformation. It is now an instrument for expanding the material base on which the

prosperity of all depends as well as an instrument concerned with the equitable distribution of the fruits of labour.

These two extreme cases, capitalism and socialism, are quite clear to all of us here. Similarly, the role of the trade union in both cases is equally clear.

TRANSITORY SOCIETY

Unfortunately for us here in Ghana and in many parts of Africa, we are neither here nor there. We have left the shores of capitalism but we still have not arrived on the shores of socialism. We are still on the way. Our present society is a transitory one. And, as you will all agree, there is very real danger of the ship of state going off course while it is on the high seas. There is need therefore for very accurate compass readings to be taken, for a dogged forward movement along this compass direction. This is the only way to make sure that we arrive at our destination in the shortest possible time and with the least possibility of mishap on the way.

Ours is a mixed economy in which the State sector (i.e. the socialist sector)

exists side by side with the private sector (i.e. capitalist sector). It is a society in which elements of both socialism and capitalism exist in juxtaposition. This co-existence of the elements of the two systems is not intended, in our case, to be a permanent and lasting feature. For us, the present mixed economy is transitory. And it is the clear intention of our leader, confirmed by the expressed will of our people, that this mixed economy should move on to a fully socialist economy within a generation or two.

Look at it another way. Ours is a mixed economy. But it is also a planned economy. And the goal, the objective, of the planning is socialism.

This then is the character of the society in which we operate today. Its basic features could be summarised as follows:—

1. Economic backwardness to be overcome only through industrialisation and modernisation and diversification of agriculture;
2. Existence side by side of public and private sectors in the national economy;
3. Economic progress is to be achieved through centralised and over-all planning covering both the public and private sectors of the national economy;
4. The national effort towards socialism is to be mobilised and directed by one national political party, the Convention People's Party.

Under such a system, the

main features of which have been described above, there are bound to be frictions of all sorts—in the formulation of policy, in the execution of agreed policy, in mental attitudes, in personal and public relation etc.

This is the environment in which our trade union movement is called upon to operate. We must fight for the workers we represent within the framework of the society just described. We have to fight for the workers in a way to smoothen and accelerate the passage unto socialism. We must be able to discern and correctly evaluate issues as they crop up. For while some matters constitute an obstacle to our forward advance, others are merely a controversy about the best way of moving forward. If we stick to the concept of trade unionism in the colonial era, we shall be backward looking and guilty of dogmatism. If we rush too far ahead and try to emulate trade unionism under a fully-fledged socialist society, we shall be living in the clouds and guilty of adventurism. If, on the other hand, we seek to exploit the frictions and difficulties of the movement to secure ends different from or hostile to our clearly defined goal of socialism under the leadership of the C.P.P. we shall be guilty of opportunism.

CLOSE RELATIONSHIP

Having set out the guide lines of a new trade union movement suited to our present circumstances, we could now get down to details.

The starting point must be the relation of the movement with the peoples' political power as crystallised in the C.P.P. It is wholly wrong for the movement to adopt a purely economic attitude to all problems. At the present stage in our revolution the working class cannot cloud its mind with myopic economism. We must see that there is close and organic relationship existing between the trade union movement and the political party of the socialist revolution. It is wrong to lose sight of this fact. It is criminal folly to deny it.

The workers must know that even the fight for bread and butter, as it is sometimes put, has political conditions fundamental to its success. We need political power in order to secure legislation that guarantees working conditions and workers' right to organise trade unions. We need legislation to back and compel the smooth working of the



The burden of Working Class Leadership rests with them

arbitration machinery. We know that political action can bring improved living conditions for the workers through effective price control, welfare schemes (like cheap and hygienic housing), social services (education, health) and taxation meant to extract from the rich something which could be used in the improvement of conditions for the needy.

In these circumstances the fight for higher living standards for the people is an important and urgent problem with both economic, social, and political aspects. The trade union movement has got to see the raising of standards of living not only as an end in itself but also as a means to an end. It is a means to higher production which alone can serve as the secure foundation on which we can build our socialist society. Once we see this as the basic strategy of our time, we are in duty to ourselves and to the socialist revolution for which we have already made tremendous sacrifices.—we are in duty bound to remould our trade union movement to meet the needs of the times. This calls for important adjustments in ideology (or more appropriately in our interpretation and application of the socialist ideology), in tactics for winning our goals, and in our organisation.

I shall consider these three aspects of necessary adjustments one by one. But before I proceed I would like to make it clear that I am not here to pontificate. In fact no one can pontificate. For we are trying to negotiate a piece of ground quite new to us. Our experience of colonial days no longer meets the situations of today.

Nor can we apply mechanically what we read about trade unionism in advanced socialist countries. Our circumstances call for a new mind, a resilient mind which can make adjustments to meet new situations without abandoning principles.

I now turn to consider the ideological problem or more appropriately the interpretation and application of socialist ideology to trade unionism today. The first to bear in mind is that the trade union movement is not identical with the people's movement. The trade unions are but a part, even though an important part, of the people's movement. Hence the trade union movement must discover its proper place and play its correct role in the people's movement. Its duty is to mobilise the workers for increased production. In the pro-

cess it will be necessary to fight for higher wages, better working conditions, a safeguard and a raising of living standards etc. The important point however is that of the relation between the two duties. We must see increased production as the condition for higher wages, better working conditions, raising living standards and not the other way round.

In this battle for progress, the trade union movement must see itself as pulling in the same direction with our national party. It must see itself as operating under a general staff made up largely by political leaders who constitute the leadership of our national political party. It must see itself as a detachment of a large army of the people engaged in building socialism.

INEVITABLE ADJUSTMENT

I must here emphasise the point that historical experience has shown that not infrequently the place and role of the trade unions in the people's drive to socialism are at times improperly understood. Serious mistakes and painful adjustments are usually the consequences of such enormous views.

The commonest and most serious error is to see the trade union movement as the vanguard of the socialist revolution. This view leads to damaging criticisms of the party and soon creates a state of mind in which the trade union leader sees himself as contraposed to the political leader. No doubt, the temporising, the vacillations and the self-seeking of the political leaders often induce this state of mind among trade union leaders. At times, the root of this wrong idea is the opportunism and over-ambition of the trade union leaders themselves.

To explain how it might arise is not to justify this wrong view. And it must be pointed out here that where this view that contraposes the trade union movement to the political party on the wrong premise that the trade union movement is the same thing as the people's movement for socialism, could lead to a negation of socialism. For once we are driven to overstate the trade union case vis-a-vis the party, we very easily slip backwards into syndicalism. And no where in the world has syndicalism succeeded in building socialism. The one example on the continent of Africa which egoistic trade union leaders are wont to cite, namely Guinea, merely

serves to illustrate my point.

Let us now consider the tactical adjustments made necessary by our present circumstances. Here, we have to admit outright that the trade union movement is compelled to follow a policy running as it were on two parallel lines. In the public sector of the economy, we have to adopt the attitude of owners, of production, managers constantly engaged in raising output, eliminating bottlenecks, maintaining industrial harmony and tending machines most carefully. In the private sector, we have to pay attention to productivity and production but not to the same degree as in the public sector. Here we still have to extract from the employer every penny that we can squeeze from him. And we must see to it that the private entrepreneur conducts his business in a way to fit in with what the development plan stipulates. We can therefore extract as much as we can with only one proviso, that the production targets set for private industry under the development plan are fulfilled.

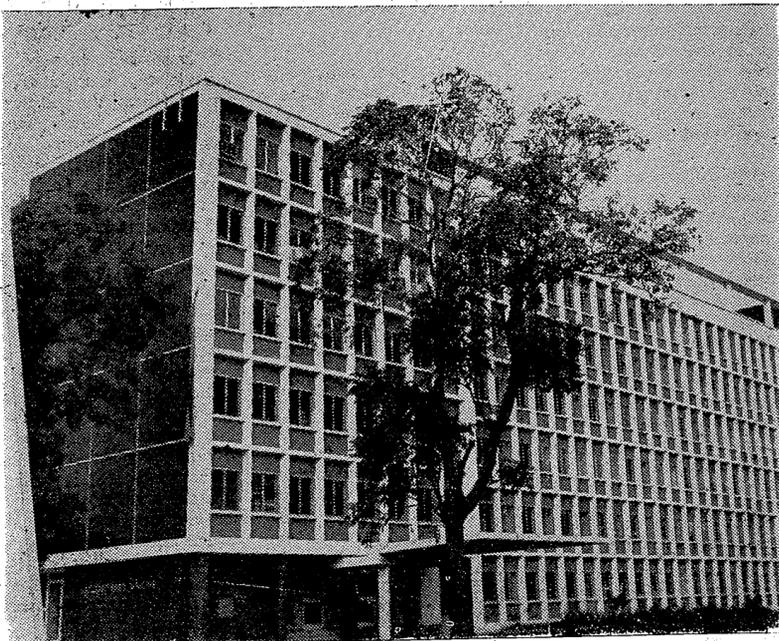
In general, the trade union movement must accept and popularise the view that rising standards for the workers are not achieved only through wage increases. We must accept this view because a general wages stabilisation policy is a condition for carrying through the 7-Year Development Plan. (Here we have to understand what a wages stabilisation policy means. It does not do away with wage increases. Wages may go up here and there in order to give fair remuneration to the workers. But it precludes a general wage rise.)

We have to accept this view that wages are not the only route to rising living standards because it is true. You are living witnesses to the fact that often in colonial days a general salary revision not infrequently plunges the workers into greater hardships because prices, rents and all those items that go to make up the cost of living shoot up in an unending spiral.

Our workers and people generally must be made to know that living standards could be more effectively raised in the following ways:—

1. effective price control especially of the basic necessities of life (food, transport);
2. a steady expansion of free social services, like education, health etc.

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The edifice of the Party's faith in the working class of Ghana

Unity of Action for Common Goal

by
A. VLADIMIROV

AT the present stage of historic development when the struggle for freedom and independence brings ever more tangible results the united and co-ordinated actions of progressive forces throughout the world are acquiring great importance. Every freedom-loving person knows that it is necessary to consolidate the successes achieved, prevent the restoration of colonial and imperialist regimes and to abolish the colonial system in general.

Correct understanding of the correlation of force in the international arena, joint action with all those who are able in our atomic era to curb an imperialist aggressor, support peace and the national and sovereign rights of the peoples, are facilitating the successful accomplishment of these tasks.

WANING FORTUNES OF IMPERIALISM

Only some 50 years ago, imperialism—a system of oppression and ruthless exploitation of peoples—reigned supreme in the world. On the eve of the First World War 77 per cent of the globe's territory and 69 per cent of its population fell to the colonies. Now the sphere of colonialism's political domination has been reduced to 7.6 per cent of the globe's territory and 1.5 per cent of its population.

These striking changes have taken place in a short period of time, and the 1917 Socialist Revolution in Russia marked their beginning. As a result, imperialism suffered an irreparable loss and a large breach was made in its for-

trass, for a state occupying one sixth of the globe had fallen away from it.

Capitalism ceased to be an all-embracing system. The working people of the multi-national Soviet state have done away with imperialist and semi-colonial oppression, set up a free and independent state. Since then imperialism has been opposed not by separate unco-ordinated actions of the supporters of freedom and independence, but by a whole state of a new type that has taken the path of peace and progress.

The appearance of a socialist state has radically changed the historic process. Formerly the destinies of hundreds of millions of people depended on the clashes between the greatest imperialist powers, which solved their contradictions by means of war, by violence, plunder and exploitation of the colonial population as well as the working people at home, at the price of blood and human lives. Now the imperialists have met with a resolute rebuff on the part of the USSR whose policy of peace, economic development, international co-operation and support of the people's national liberation movement is an exact antithesis to that of militarism and colonialism.

After the victory of the Socialist Revolution in Russia therefore, the epoch's main contradiction has been solved in the struggle of the new developing socialist world and progressive mankind against the old, capitalist system that is outliving itself. "Development is the struggle of opposites"—this is the law of dialectics according to which society is developing. At the present stage of humanity's progress the competition of the two opposites—the socialist and the capitalist systems—is the source of the changes that are taking

place. It is only natural that rising socialism plays here the part of the main driving force.

RISE OF SOCIALISM

Everybody knows that the socialist system has been set up after the Second World War during which imperialist fascist Germany, being the most reactionary force of the capitalist world at the time and having occupied the whole of Western Europe, attacked the USSR. The socialist state together with the other peoples who rose in arms against fascism, gained the victory. A number of countries of Europe and Asia have dropped away from the imperialist system. Capitalism ceased to be the only system in the world since there appeared the world socialist system which began to develop rapidly. Now the socialist countries account for 35.5 per cent of the globe's population and roughly 26 per cent of its territory. While in 1917 less than three per cent of the world's industrial production fell to the share of socialism, in 1962 it rose to 37 per cent. Socialist economy in general is characterised by high rates of industrial development. By 1962 industrial production in socialist countries had grown eight times as compared with 1937, while in the other countries—2.6 times. From 1958 to 1962 the annual increment in industrial output in the socialist countries topped 13 per cent as against 4.3 per cent in the non-socialist countries.

AFRICAN LIBERATION

The growth of the economic might of the socialist system has a decisive influence on social life, directing it into the path of peaceful development, facilitating in every way the liquidation of all forms of social

and national oppression, and defending man's freedom and his rights. The period of setting up and consolidating the socialist system was marked by remarkable successes of the national liberation movement on all continents.

In the past 10-15 years 34 states in Africa alone have gained their political independence. All in all, over 34 countries, big and small, succeeded in breaking away from the clutches of colonialism in this period of time. These remarkable changes have taken place in conditions of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems and with the active support rendered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to the national liberation movement.

Could imperialism "grant" freedom to its colonies at its own free will? History has shown that the colonialists possess all necessary means to suppress the liberation movement (now they have even nuclear rocket weapons) and would never agree to lose their fabulous profits and important strategic positions. What force can make them yield to the pressure of the national liberation movement? This force is the united actions of the anti-colonialist and socialist forces, the consistent and reliable support of the whole of the socialist system. During the most critical periods of the national liberation movement when imperialism made attempts to restore its "rights" by force, to intimidate and force peoples to their knees, the USSR and the other socialist countries resolutely sided with these peoples, prevented aggression and, together with the other peace-loving forces, barred the way to war.

The outcome of the Ca-

graphic example of a wise solution of the controversies. Who could in the present conditions, defend revolutionary Cuba against the aggression of the militarist circles of the mightiest capitalist power, possessing thermonuclear weapons without disturbing the people's peaceful life? Fidel Castro gave the answer to this question when he visited Moscow in January, 1964. "We receive", he said, "invaluable and practically unlimited aid from the Soviet Union and the whole

of the socialist camp. As a result, all the attempts to stifle our revolution have ended in failure."

Having entered the third stage of its general crisis capitalism is no longer a dominating system and cannot determine social development. At the same time socialism is gaining in strength and the ranks of its supporters keep growing: Cuba in America, Algeria, Ghana, Mali and many

other countries in Africa and Asia have chosen the socialist way of development. The forces of the socialist system keep growing all the time and together with the progressive forces throughout the world are imposing their will on imperialism in the solving of the most important problems of today and the most vital of them—that of peace—in the interests of humanity.

DAWN BROADCAST

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Coming to the integral organisations of the Party, I consider it essential to emphasise once more that the Trades Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers' Council, the National Co-operative Council and the National Council of Ghana Women, are integral parts of the Convention People's Party, and in order to correct certain existing anomalies, the Central Committee has decided that separate membership cards of the integral organisations shall be abolished forthwith.

PROPERTY ACQUISITION

The membership card of the party will be the only qualification for membership within these organisations, namely, the Trades Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers' Council, the National Co-operative Council and the National Council of Ghana Women, and no other member-

ship card other than that of the Convention People's Party, shall be recognised by these bodies. In all regional headquarters, provision will be made for the Central Party and these integral organisations to be housed in one building. This is necessary for effective co-ordination and control. Also the separate flags used by these organisations will be abolished and replaced by the flag of the Convention People's Party.

At this stage, I wish to take the opportunity to refer to an internal matter of the Trades Union Congress. It has come to my notice that dues of 4s. per month are being paid by some Unions, whereas others pay 2s. monthly as membership dues. I understand that this position is causing some irritation. I have therefore instructed, after consultation with the Trades Union Congress officials, that

union dues shall remain at 2s. per month.

Finally, I wish to state that in considering remedial measures, I have found it necessary to direct that a limit be imposed on property acquisition by Ministers, Party officials and Ministerial Secretaries in order to enable them to conform to the modest and simple way of life demanded by the ideals and principles of the Convention People's Party.

Countrymen: Our mission to Ghana and to Africa and the unique personality of our Party as a vanguard of the African liberation movement impose upon us increasing responsibility, not only to set our own house in order but also to set very high standards from which all who seek to emulate us shall draw devotion and inspiration in their own struggles.

TRADE UNIONISM IN THE NEW PHASE

(Continued from page 3)

3. an improvement in the quantity and quality of housing thus bringing down rents; and
4. the expansion of employment opportunities.

Under a planned economy, where allocations of resources must be made in advance and to a degree that makes massive changes midstream, inadvisable and wasteful, trade union leaders must realise that they serve the workers they represent and the socialist revolution best by paying more attention to these other routes of arriving at a rising living standard for all.

ORGANISATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

We can now touch briefly on the organisational adjustments needed in the trade union movement by our planned mixed economy. Here I have to confess that I consider myself incompetent. I shall not therefore go into the details of trade union organisation which in any case you know best but to draw attention to a few points which are of some significance.

Firstly, in the factory. We all know what obtains at this level in the privately owned business or firm. But we are somewhat at sea as to what the relations

at this level should be in the public enterprises. Clearly, there are three elements here. There is the trade union branch; then, the factory management, and finally the party branch. Accordingly there is a triangle of control at the factory, state farm or work site. What is the ideal relation between them? It seems to me that the management must have the final say about organising production though it will be wise always to enlist the active co-operation of the trade union branch and the party branch. It is absolutely wrong for the management to bring the party branch under its control and through this means dictate to the trade union or even ignore and destroy the trade union branch. The trade union branch on its part should fully represent the workers in the factory, on the state farm or at work sites; see to their welfare requirements; and handle the important matter of mastering working techniques and increasing productivity. The party branch, for its part, should concentrate on creating and maintaining a healthy atmosphere in the work place, in educating the workers on state policies and on reporting back accurately to the Party on the state of production and

workers' morale. The trade union branch must elect its leadership in the factories, state farms and work sites.

At the trade union level, we must see to it that the union leaders are democratically elected by the union members. This is a crucial requirement. For once the workers feel that their trade union leaders are not of their own choosing, it becomes a bit difficult to elicit worker's opinion, arouse workers' enthusiasm and establish strong discipline within the movement.

When we reach the T.U.C. level, the problem is not so easily solved. Here, there are two crucial problems:—

1. How are the TUC leaders to be elected? and
2. What relationship must exist between the TUC leadership and the Party?

SOCIALIST ORIENTATION

In dealing with the first problem, there are two possibilities: We may allow the trade union movement to elect the TUC leaders. Or we may call on the Party to select these leaders. The first line looks beautiful but it runs the risk of handing the trade union leadership to elements that do not

understand the socialist revolution. The second line secures the activists of the Party in trade union leadership but runs the risk of creating a caste of trade union bureaucrats completely oblivious of the needs of democracy in the movement because they rely less on genuine popular support and more on inner party intrigues and manipulations to remain at the top. Clearly there is room for a good deal of experimentation. Perhaps the final solution will come after years of trial and error. All I can say here is that in an effort to reconcile trade union democracy with correct socialist orientation, a solution may be found in allowing the movement to elect its leaders even at the TUC level but to give the Party the power to set up a small panel (3 at most) of leading vanguard activists to liaise with the trade unions and make sure that trade union action is in accord with the general line of the Party. The point of liaison should always be the Secretariat Bureau of the TUC. Where the liaison work is properly done and personal egos are not allowed to cloud our vision and sense of purpose, I believe such a formula could prove useful. The present system of sending a commander

from above benefits neither the Party nor the movement. Anti-democratic tendencies take hold of the movement. And the rank and file workers lose faith in their leaders and look upon the Party with cold abandon.

LEADERSHIP

My final point is to place before you the need for a gradual and conscious change in the composition of trade union leadership. Our colonial experience where factory, mine and agricultural workers were either few or were not allowed easily to form trade unions meant that the most active elements in the trade union movement often came from office workers. The disparity in education also had a lot to do with it. As a result, a high percentage of our trade union leaders have come from what is often called the white collar workers. This is our own version of the labour aristocracy in the advanced capitalist countries. I only need to say here that this phenomenon is not peculiar to Ghana. It is common to all African countries and I make bold to say all countries just emerging from colonialism.

These trade union leaders who spring from among

the white collar workers have ceased to be as important as they used to be. For with the spread of factories, construction sites, state farms all over the country, the manual and industrial worker has become more important in the composition of the working class. And history teaches us that these industrial elements are the greatest fighters for working class causes.

An additional reason why we must take them seriously now is that the 7-Year Development Plan depends much more on the industrial workers. And if we must get his support, and elicit his enthusiasm in the prosecution of the plan, it will be a great help if trade union leadership is very close to him.

My point is that the time has come when we must consider redressing the balance in the trade union movement in favour of the industrial workers to correspond with the reality of the next phase in our development—a phase in which the industrial work is becoming more important both in numbers and in importance in the production system than the white collar worker. In considering this point we must not lose

sight of the fact that the white collar worker, by upbringing, often does not understand the technical problems of production. In addition, because he is the petty bourgeoisie of the labour movement, the white collar worker is often the vehicle for the spread of reformist or adventurist tendencies in the trade union movement.

RECONSTRUCTION

I have said enough to indicate that our changed circumstances, the period of the 7-Year Development Plan when the people have endorsed socialism as the national goal and the C.P.P. as the sole national party and the instrument for leading us on to the socialist society, there is an urgent need for a reappraisal of the place and role of the trade union movement in Ghana. I have done no more than put a few ideas across. Admittedly, some of the ideas are provocative. The purpose has not been to produce a blueprint. Rather it has been to stimulate thought and provoke discussion out of which we could garner some ideas for the reconstruction of our trade union movement which the march of events has made absolutely unavoidable and extremely urgent.