

SESSIONAL
ADDRESS
BY KWAME
NKRUMAH
TO NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY ON
1st FEB. 1966

(See pages 3, 4, 5)

THE SPARK



Notes of
the Week 2

Poland's
Thousandth
birthday 6

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

No. 172

5 PESEWAS

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1966

NEW ERA FOR TRADE

EDITORIAL

The Key Problem

KWAME Nkrumah's speech to Parliament (see p.3) should be closely studied. We confine ourselves here to the consideration of what we regard as the central political problem raised.

The very opening of the speech categorically asserts that political power flows from the people. It is the people who grant political mandates, it is they who, in Kwame Nkrumah's own words "are the final arbiters".

This political power of the people was stressed in relation to the military coups which have been staged in some African states. We endorse the thesis in all its implications.

This same political power of the people, must also be thought about in relation to any state institution and its personnel, established as part of the total apparatus of Government and administration.

Kwame Nkrumah was emphasising yet once more, this people's political mandate when he referred to the economic situation. He said:

"Let us remember that State property is public property, that is to say, it is property belonging to the people and for which we are all responsible. It is therefore the duty of every person who is put in charge of any State property to realise that he must guard it and protect it jealously in the interest of the Nation.

"We have made such progress towards a better life for all that anyone who neglects or misuses or misappropriates State property is undermining the Nation, and wilfully holding back our progress.

"A basic problem now facing us is to improve the efficiency of our economic administration. If we can solve this problem, all will be well with us. The policies of the Government are clear, sound and well conceived and formulated. And our people have pledged their support for these policies."

Here, we have a major contradiction in our political life. The people have opted for Socialism. The Party and Government have worked out the stages of development towards it, with well-defined policies, but lying between the people and their goal is a complex apparatus of administration, which is not yet responsive enough to these demands, which is not yet capable of playing a leading role in translating policy into reality.

If the solution were simple, we would already have discovered it and applied it. We believe the reasons are manifold and quite deep-seated and we offer some ideas, not in the belief that they are the total answer, but in the hope that they will stimulate thought and action.

We do not believe that mistakes and inefficiencies are caused by sinister forces of ill-will and sabotage. We think they arise in general from sheer lack of understanding of the real aims of the Party and Government and an inability to apply these aims to a particular job or situation.

Sometimes this unclarity is linked with a refusal to take on real personal responsibility for work, with an indifference to the very political mandate of the people to which Kwame Nkrumah refers.

Such lack of understanding arises sometimes because of the legacy of a colonial type education which is based on principles quite alien to the aims of our society. Consequently the specialist trained to apply his knowledge in one political environment finds enormous difficulties in re-adapting his techniques to the demands of a new society.

Re-education can be a powerful force in helping such people to change. We are convinced of the attractive power of socialism, of the intellectual superiority of scientific socialism and its application here, Nkrumahism, and we are confident that a deter-

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THE Abraham Commission has done a good job for the nation. By subjecting our existing trading system to a veritable x-ray, and especially by pointing up the conflicting forces at work, the report of the Abraham Commission provides a firm enough base for re-shaping the trading pattern of Ghana.

Our existing trading system is a carry-over of the colonial trading machinery into a planned economy developing along socialist lines. We have persisted with a colonial trading machinery—with minor and not clearly thought out adjustments here and there—in servicing our mixed economy that is meant to evolve into a fully fledged socialist economy. The great contribution of the Abraham Commission is that it has exposed the anarchy in our existing trading system. The situation calls for a conscious effort, at the highest possible level, to create a new and more appropriate trading system for this country.

POSITIVE MOVE

And the new trading system must reconcile our economic circumstances with our socialist perspective.

The starting point in re-shaping Ghana's trading system must be a firm decision on who controls import trade. The Abraham Commission saw this point clearly. It asserts that "it is inevitable that Ghana should by regulation and by the increasing participation of her public organs gain control of her trade". It admits that a sudden leap from joint control of foreign trade by inefficient state agencies and powerful expatriate private firms to full-scale state monopoly is not possible because of the "absence of a comprehensive and trustworthy machinery and experience to control all aspects of external and internal trade". The Commission, however, wants to see a positive move in this direction, and demands that the Ministry of Trade "must develop itself to the stage where importer firms respond swiftly to its stimuli".

In concrete terms, the new arrangement for import trade seeks to convert the existing firms taking part in it into efficient agencies of the State. This involves two decisions. The first is to cut down on the number of im-

porters by weeding out the import licence speculators and those importers who lack warehouse and distribution capacity or "cannot obtain a favourable certificate from their bankers".

The second decision is to give the state firm control over the importing activities of all importers left in the trade. This means that the volume, value, origin and phasing of imports by all importers must be agreed to and supervised by the Ministry of Trade. The physical handling of imports will remain with the importers; but, in the performance of their duties, these importers are controlled and directed by the Ministry of Trade.

RECOMMENDATION

The Commission at page 7 of its report touches on a very important principle for organising our new trading machinery. It accepts the state monopoly of imports of essential goods (exercised through the G.N.T.C.) but simultaneously calls for the use of every available "wholesale and retail outlet" in the country for getting these goods to the consumers. This recommendation has become necessary because the G.N.T.C. does not possess "the logistic talent to move large quantities of goods at short notice over a wide area". This shortcoming of the G.N.T.C. is of course temporary, and could be eliminated in time by careful study and a steady accumulation of experience on the job.

Nonetheless, the Commission raises a very fundamental principle when it states:

"We do not think that the import monopoly which G.N.T.C. has enjoyed over certain goods implied that they should also attempt to retain a monopoly of distribution, for which they are not adequately equipped".

PRINCIPLE

The principle here is that monopoly of imports could be vested in the state while distribution of the goods within the country could use both state and private trading outlets. It is a principle that can help us tremendously in re-shaping our trading machinery. The nation must see that it is fully endorsed and given effect.

by
Julius Sago

It is equally important to re-organise the distribution of local manufactures. These should be collected and channelled to every wholesale distribution outlet in the country—public and private—under the aegis of the state. The task devolves on the Ministry of Trade which must see it as complementary to its control and direction of imports of consumer goods.

The new trading system here advocated will then

when goods enter this country to the time when they are offered to consumers, the Government knows very little about what happens. The result is that the Government is hampered in the accuracy of its supervision over the movement of goods. Policies concerning the flow of goods are therefore exercised somewhat in the dark".

VESTED INTERESTS

It might be added that the Government is not fully supplied with facts and figures about goods coming from overseas. We get these facts through intermediaries in the case

of port licences. Some of these are the "sheen volume of documentation" and an "unwieldy method of violation". The report goes on: "Unfortunately we cannot exclude laziness, irresponsibility, and corruption of officials of the former Ministry of Trade as contributory factors".

Pages 17-21 of the report make lurid reading. They contain a nauseating catalogue of reeking corruption among Ministry officials.

FAVOURITISM

The Bank of Ghana made foreign exchange allocation to the tune of £16.8m available to state and joint private state enterprises, but import licences issued amounted to only £3.8m (a deliberate move to cripple the public sector of the national economy!). Private firms like J. L. Morrison, Sons and Jones (Ghana) Ltd. and Roquah Stores were on the other hand flooded with import licences. While the issue of some licences delayed five weeks and in one case eight months, many other licences were issued within seven days and even within twenty-four hours.

Imports were cut as part of government policy to keep down expenditure on consumer imports and reduce our adverse trade balances. Even drugs for hospitals were cut despite the fact that medical facilities were expanding. But side by side with this, the Commission found that "some importers managed to be issued with licences in excess of their entitlement and in excess of the reasonable. Some of the licences were over-issued by as much as 1,400 per cent. For the whole year of 1964, certain importers were over-issued in the aggregate sum of £3,520,337."

ANOMALIES

The report adds that "some of these licences were for luxury commodities, and quite a few were for commodities neither needed nor particularly wanted".

Other anomalies were also found. Licences were issued to importers of straw". What the Commission describes as "this slapdash attitude" in the issue of licences by the Ministry of Trade introduces severe dislocations in construction programmes.

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Professor W. E. Abraham,
Chairman of the Commission

have to be operated efficiently. In this regard, special attention must be paid to five main areas of activity.

INTELLIGENCE UNIT

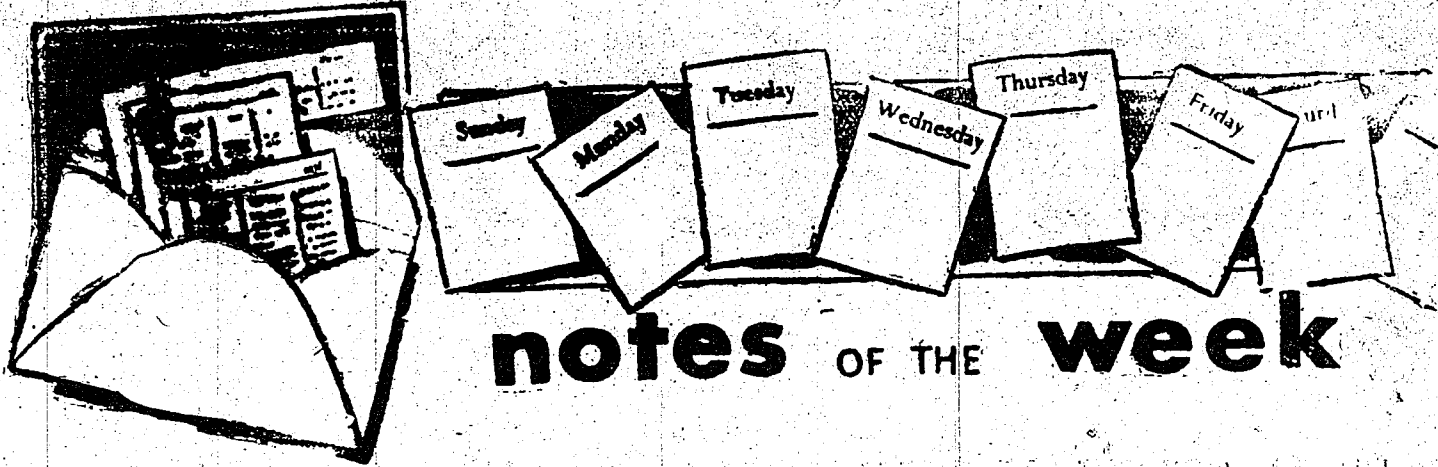
In the first place, the Ministry of Trade, now playing the role of the cockpit from which the entire trading system is directed, must arm itself with a first class research outfit. This outfit will collect and process statistics and economic data on which policy decisions could be based. It will serve as an economic intelligence unit.

The Commission "regret to say that trade statistics and data available for research and planning in this country are either non-existent or unsuitably combined. From the moment

of western countries, who themselves have vested interests in controlling our import trade.

A question of policy is whether the Research Unit should be a division of the Ministry of Trade or should exist as an extra-ministerial body. The fact that its findings should be of use to several ministries including the Ministry of Trade, and the need for it to give the public an unfiltered picture of the state of affairs constitute a strong case for the research unit being set up as an extra-ministerial body.

The second requirement in improving our trading system is greatly enhanced efficiency in the administration of import licences. The Commission complains of "administrative bottlenecks" in issuing im-



ON January 10th 1965, a few hours before his death, Mr. Shastri the Indian Prime Minister, signed along with President Ayub Khan of Pakistan, the Tashkent Declaration.

An important element of the bilateral meeting was not only the statesmanship of these two, but the role of the Soviet Government, headed by Premier Kosygin, in offering its good offices. The Soviet Government sought in fact to avoid all interference in the affairs of the two participants, and at the same time did all it could to promote its success.

The antagonisms between India and Pakistan are among the more complicated international problems. The origins of the conflict go back to the days of British rule when religious differences were fanned to consolidate imperialist domination. Such antagonism between two large countries with a total population of 600 million is a danger to world peace.

There have been occasions before when the two states have reached agreement on certain concrete issues, for instance on the use of the waters of the Indus river, but there never was a general easing of tension, and in the summer of 1965 fighting flared upon the frontier.

The basic problem underlying this flare up is the position of Kashmir, which is part of India, but whose people claim their national independence, with these claims being supported by Pakistan. The Tashkent Agreement did not provide a final settle-

ment of the Kashmir problem but it put a stop to the fighting and paved the way for the settling of outstanding problems through negotiations and discussions rather than through war.

The most significant sections of the Declaration expressed the determination of the two states to "restore normal and friendly relations between their two countries". They reaffirmed their obligations under the U.N. Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means.

The important immediate decision, which is now being carried out, was to withdraw troops to their positions held before August 5, 1965. This is to be completed before February 25 of this year.

Each Government is now pledged not to conduct hostile propaganda against the other and to work for normal diplomatic, economic and cultural relations.

The Declaration has become the political legacy of Mr. Shastri to Mrs. Gandhi, who has already declared the intention of the Indian Government of carrying out the Tashkent agreement fully.

The Declaration is an important stage in normalising Indo-Pakistan relations. Above all it is a practical example of the successes that can come from genuine negotiations. The principles of peaceful co-existence, of settling differences between states, not by war, but by negotiation, have been vindicated by the success of the Tashkent meeting.

By permitting Africa only one-eighth of the governing seats of the I.L.O., an injustice is committed against the

labouring people of our continent who are toiling to create sound and viable economies in Africa.

Ben Barka

THE Ben Barka affair, the scandal which has already led to the replacement of the chief of France's counter-intelligence service and what is described as a "reform" of the French police and secret service, this week assumed international proportions.

Morocco refused to take action on warrants for the arrest of Minister of the Interior Oufkir and two top Moroccan political police officials issued by the French Government.

Moroccan spokesmen denied that General Oufkir was involved in the kidnapping of Ben Barka, the Moroccan opposition leader, in broad daylight on a Paris street last October.

The French Government has acknowledged that senior French police and secret service officials were involved, and Georges Figon, a key witness subsequently found dead in his bathroom after allegedly committing suicide, claimed that Ben Barka had been handed over to General Oufkir, who had personally tortured and then murdered him in a Villa on the outskirts of Paris.

A tape recording in which Figon was believed to have described events leading up to the death of Ben Barka and which was found in his flat proved to be nothing more than the draft soundtrack for a thriller film.

Meanwhile, Moroccan envoys left Casablanca on visits to eight capitals to explain their country's point of view.

Foreign Minister Ahmed Taibi Ben Hima is visiting Belgrade, Cairo, Moscow and Addis Ababa. Saharan and Mauritanian Affairs Minister Moulay Hasan Ben Driss will visit Kuwait, Bagdad and Amman.

A third envoy, Justice Minister Abdel Hadi Bontaleb, is visiting North African capitals.

Another envoy, Moulay Ahmed Alaoui, Director of the Royal Cabinet had been on his way to Dakar. Via Las Palmas with personal messages from King Hassan to President Felix Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

In Algiers about 4,000 students demonstrated in the central streets at the weekend against King Hassan's special envoy, chanting "Oufkir to the gallows".

Two French weeklies, *Paris-Match* and *Candide* have charged that the American Central Intelligence Agency was implicated in the kidnapping.

According to *Paris-Match*, the C.I.A. knew in advance of the plot, and American dollars were "discreetly" used to pay the kidnapers, in part, for their services.

The article is based on an interview with "Major X", described as a former agent of the French counter-espionage service.

According to "Major X", the C.I.A. was informed of the plot by agents of the U.S. Narcotics Bureau, who were in their turn informed by Antoine Lopez, a French counter-espionage agent who had worked for Air France and who is now under arrest for his part in the kidnapping.

The article recalls that Ben Barka had incurred American hostility because of his socialist policies and in particular because of his role as organiser of the recent Three Continents Conference in Havana.

Candide queried whether General Oufkir had "organised the Paris kidnapping for the sole purpose of getting the paid recognition of the C.I.A." and noted that General Oufkir and the C.I.A., united by their common hostility to Ben Barka and by their common interests "exchanged agents and information."

The Oil Leak

A "SPECIAL regime" was established at Beira in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique at the beginning of the month. Reinforced guards were posted at the entrance to the Port and no one but harbour officials and workers were allowed in. Foreign correspondents were told to keep away and to send no reports about it.

What is the reason for these restrictions? The answer lies in the fact that there is a large oil storage depot in the Beira Port, connected by pipe-line with the Rhodesian town of Umtali.

As a result of the economic boycott of Ian Smith's racist regime by many countries, oil stopped arriving at Beira in the latter part of December. As a result the depot became empty.

Nevertheless, on January 5 the Mozambique-Rhodesia pipeline company, owned jointly by British and Portuguese interests, decided to resume oil deliveries to Umtali.

Where will the oil come from? It will be brought by pirate tankers whose owners have no intention of abiding by the international decision to impose an oil embargo on Rhodesia.

Two such tankers are now lying outside Beira harbour

waiting for a chance to unload their cargo. Another is expected at Beira in the near future.

Where these tankers get their cargo is a mystery. But it is well known that the Portuguese Government has not joined other countries in imposing economic sanctions against the Rhodesian racialists.

It is not only Portugal that is breaking this international economic sanctions. According to well-informed sources, *Apartheid* South Africa's Prime Minister Verwoerd has said that his government would not stop individual citizens sending gifts of oil to Rhodesia.

But, of course, once the oil starts to flow, it will be impossible to determine whether it is a private gift or a present from the South African government.

Although Dr. Verwoerd claims that he is not anxious to become deeply involved in Mr. Smith's adventures, he is willing to help as far as he can without risk to himself.

The only way to stop this leak is for Britain, if she really intends ending the Smith regime, to ask the United Nations to make sanctions mandatory for all its members under Article 7 of its Charter.

New Era for Trade

Continued from page 1

Clearly there is need for a clean-up in the Ministry of Trade, if it has not already been done. There is need for a big injection of patriotism and public spiritedness into that Ministry. There must in addition be a sharp increase in the know-how of officials engaged with directing our new trading machinery.

Thirdly, the nation needs a scientifically worked out pricing system for consumer goods. Says the Commission, "the pricing system in Ghana is very obscure. Those who are in charge of it in the private sector seem very secretive about it". While complaining of a lack of system in fixing prices in the public sector, the Commission admits that with regard to private industries "we are unable to say what happens."

The Ministry of Trade allows 12½ per cent profit margin on imported flour, rice, sugar, sardines, corned beef; but 15 per cent profit margin on fish, textiles, baby powdered milk and cereals, aluminium sheets etc.

DEMANDS

Then the Commission makes a vital finding which certainly demands a greater degree of state control over imports. The relevant passage reads:

"We expect that importers who wish to resist these profit margins have systematically had their foreign invoices inflated. This is especially easy where an importer firm belongs to a group which also manufactures the product outside Ghana."

Clearly this is irrefutable argument for the state taking import trade out of the hands of the foreign trading monopolies that at the present time dominate our foreign trade.

The Commission's recommendation of "an accurate cost structure for imported consumer goods" is something that should be taken up promptly and seriously. This very important portion of the Commission's report is reproduced here under in full:

"Landed cost plus charges levied at port plus selling commission. The latter should be a lump sum calculated to include handling charges within the country, transport differentials, overhead costs and normal profits of the trading agencies. The figure attained could then be designated cost price at wholesale point."

"This cost structure at a glance gives the potential price of the imported consumer goods. But this potential price need not be the market price, i.e. the price at which the goods are handed over to the consumer. The market price will be greater than or equal to the potential price. But in the case of imported commodities, it must never be less because the economy should not be saddled with subsidies at this moment."

"The market price will be the cost structure plus elements like purchase tax

and/or sales tax which could be classified together as turnover tax.

"Government's price policy, framed as it is in accordance with socialist principles, will then show two tendencies:—

a. market price will be equal to potential price or very near in the case of very essential consumer goods;

b. market price will be above potential price (the difference being purchase or sales tax margin) in the case of non-essential or luxury goods.

"With such a cost structure generally agreed and made operationally effective, and with Government exercising physical control over the imported goods and supervision over stocks held in the country, it should be vastly easier to run an effective price control system."

The fourth factor in raising the efficiency of our new trading system in the work of the G.N.T.C. The Commission found the work of the G.N.T.C. below expectation. Its executive capacity is below its scale of operation; and its leading functionaries have been shamelessly corrupt. The national interest demands a most thorough clean-up of the G.N.T.C. The G.N.T.C. machinery should be strengthened by bringing in trained personnel who have a good knowledge of market economies. It also needs a good contingent of Party stalwarts who could help to raise the ideological level of G.N.T.C. workers. The Ghana TUC must lend a helping hand in this.

EXPANSION

Fifthly, the nation needs to pursue a policy of steady expansion of the public sector vis-a-vis the private sector in our trading system. The first step to this, however, must be to achieve a high degree of efficiency in the work of the Ministry of Trade in its new assignment of supervising trade, in the running of the G.N.T.C., and in the Peoples Trading Corporation which is linked with the consumer co-operatives.

There is one point on which the Abraham Commission has not done all that it could do. This is its treatment of the activities of Ministers, their wives, and high Party officials in the field of trade.

The names of these highly-placed persons, who should set an example for the whole nation to follow, are not even recorded. We are told that the Commission "feel sure that we

have not been able to discover all the wives of public officials involved in trade or indeed all the public officials themselves engaged in trade". We are tempted to ask why this was not possible. Was any obstacle put in the way of the Commission?

The Commission, having skipped what properly is its duty in this regard, went on smugly to assert: "we do not believe that the trading activities of such persons contributed much to shortages or high prices". Here we think the Commission's conclusion is patently wrong. The impact of this sort of activity, by men in places of trust undermines the national effort, not because of the scale of these operations but because of the effect they have on public morale.

These men who abuse their offices were indeed mentioned before the Commission. The public is aware of this. And for the Commission to gloss over this unpatriotic abuse of office leaves a bad impression on the general public who rightly feel that castigation and punishment for wrong acts are meted out only to the lowly placed.

ACTION

Public opinion is strongly for the punishment of all those who have contributed to the soaring prices, difficulties and near chaos in our trading system. The Abraham Commission has traced these malpractices to the former Ministry of Trade, to the G.N.T.C. and to some high party and Government functionaries. Action must be taken to reassure the general public and to protect the Party.

The Abraham Commission has rendered the nation yeoman service. Its report is a mine of information about our trading system and the evils under which it groans.

In addition the report is studded with most valuable suggestions and recommendations for reshaping our trading system. It will be a pity if we let the report just decorate our bookshelves and libraries.

The way to get the best out of the report is to set up a small study team, which, by examining the findings and recommendations, could give the nation a rounded blueprint of the new trading system this country so badly needs.

We must produce a trading system specially suited to our economic needs and our socialist perspectives. The Abraham Commission enables us make a real start at solving this problem.

WATCH OUT FOR THE



IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

'Ghana is Now Poised for a Positive Breakthrough'

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly,

THE opening of this session of Parliament, the first of the new year, and also our budget session, comes at a critical period in the history of the African Revolution. All over our continent, we are beset by forces created by neo-colonialism, forces which must be faced, fought and vanquished.

The liberation movement is, however, awake to this threat. It will continue to resist and fight this menace until its final collapse, and we shall erect in the place of neo-colonialism the edifice of a continental union government. Until this is achieved, we shall continue to witness the crises and shocks which we are now experiencing in many parts of our continent.

Two years ago, at Addis Ababa, I warned my brother African Heads of State and Government that the fruits of our disunity would spell chaos and confusion, *coup d'etats* and boundary disputes, and be a breeding ground for corruption and neo-colonialist conspiracies and intrigues in our individual States.

As we all know, within the last few months there have been unfortunate military intrusions into the political life of several independent African States. And if we do not establish an all-African political union such intrusions will continue to occur in some of the remaining States of Africa.

THEIR DUTY

Normally, the duty of the armed forces is to defend and support the Civil Government, and not to overthrow it. It is not the duty of the army to rule or govern, because it has no political mandate and its duty is not to seek a political mandate. The army only operates under the mandate of the civil government.

If the national interest compels the armed forces to intervene then immediately after the intervention the army must hand over to a new civil government elected by the people and enjoying the people's mandate, under a constitution accepted by them.

If the Army does not do this then the position of the army becomes dubious and anomalous and involves a betrayal of the people and the national interest. The substitute of a military regime or dictatorship is no solution to the neo-colonialist problem.

What therefore has led to the military intrusions and interference and violence which we are now witnessing?

Why is it that the armies of certain African States have been forced to take the steps which they have taken?

We must examine critically and carefully the underlying forces and circumstances which have given rise to these upheavals.

Their root cause can be found not in the life and traditions of the African people, but in the manoeuvres of neo-colonialism.

In a neo-colonialist State, the leaders of the Government allow themselves to be used and manipulated by foreign states and financial interests. The whole regime of a neo-colonialist state is therefore subject to remote control. In other words, the rulers and governors of the neo-colonialist regime are teleguided from afar.

These foreign powers and interests seek to maintain the exploitation and oppression of the people even after independence. Corruption, bribery, nepotism, shameless, and riotous and ostentatious living become rife among the leaders of the neo-colonialist regime.

This brings untold suffering on the workers and people as a whole. The masses become lethargic and see no reason to make any sacrifices for their country.

They see plainly and clearly before their eyes a conspiracy of their leaders and the neo-colonialists to defraud them and to drain the fruits of their labours into the pockets of the

neo-colonialists and their agents in the regime.

In these circumstances, the real fruits of independence are denied to the people, and they become incensed and frustrated. Even though disillusioned and frustrated, the masses are once again mobilised even more militantly to remove the neo-colonialist and client regime, knowing full well that the regime, supported by the neo-colonialists, will not hesitate to use the army to crush them.

If the masses persist in their protest, they are sure to come in conflict with the army, and civil war results. The masses of the people have then nowhere to turn for redress. They therefore have no choice but to organise to isolate the army from the corrupt regime, if the army itself is free from the taint of corruption.

But if the Army itself is corrupt or if it proves impossible to detach it from the corrupt regime, then the people have no choice but to take up arms against the neo-colonialist regime. The people's struggle for freedom and justice would have reached the phase of civil conflict which invariably takes the form of guerilla war, that is, people's war—a nationalist revolutionary war.

Let us remember always that in the final analysis the masses are the final arbiter. They will always choose freedom and justice, as against oppression and corruption. They will always find a way to give expression to their will as against neo-colonialism and against the betrayal of the people by the armed forces.

As part of the neo-colonialist strategy, the independent African States are made to believe that their constitutions must be based on an imitation of Western Parliamentary systems. Before they quit, the colonial power imposes a Constitution which is alien to the traditions and true aspirations of the people. It is this state of affairs which fosters the development of neo-colonialism and breeds discontent and frustration among the people.

FUTILITY

But the chaos, confusion, corruption, nepotism and misery engendered by such unreflecting imitation have exposed the futility and ineffectiveness of the Western Parliamentary system in Africa.

It is for this reason that the Western Parliamentary system is being forsaken in Africa, and there is a growing tendency towards the establishment of a one-Party State and rightly so. Because of our egalitarian society, this development becomes natural and understandable.

The multi-party system which exists in western countries is in fact a reflection of a social cleavage and the kind of class system which does not exist in African countries. A multi-party system introduced into Africa results in the perpetuation of feudalism, tribalism and regionalism and an inordinate power struggle and rivalry.

We have established in Ghana a people's parliamentary socialist democracy, that is, a one-party State within a people's parliamentary socialist democracy where the will of the people, expressed through their majority, is supreme. In fact, here in Ghana, political power resides in the people. It is they, and they alone, who make, enshrine and uphold our Constitution—the fundamental law of our land.

But let me emphasize that a one-party system of Government is an effective and safe instrument only when it operates in a socialist society. In other words, it must be a political expression of the will of the masses working for the ultimate good and welfare of the people as a whole.

On the other hand, a one-party system of government in a neo-colonialist client state, subject to external pressures and control, can quickly develop into the most dangerous form of tyranny, despotism and oppression. It can become, in the hands of a few privi-

KWAME NKRUMAH'S Sessional Address to the National Assembly, February 1st 1966.

... rascally-minded and selfish individuals in a neo-colonialist state, a weapon and tool for suppressing the legitimate aspirations of the people in the interests of foreign powers and their agents. I repeat, a one-party state can only function for the good

dustries, hydro-electric projects in key areas throughout the continent. Such projects, planned on a continental scale, could assist in our endeavours for continental economic reconstruction. United, we could bargain



"We shall erect in the place of neo-colonialism the edifice of a continental union government"

of the people within the framework of a socialist state or in a developing state with a socialist programme. The government governs through the people, and not through class cleavages and interests. In other words, the basis of government is the will of the people.

Mr. Speaker, It is in the face of these considerations, that I have made a constant appeal to my brother African Heads of State and Government for continental unity based on a Union Government and warned them of the dangers of our present disunity. I shall continue to appeal and warn until the political unification of Africa is achieved.

Alone, few of the Independent African States have the markets, the raw materials or the capital to build even a single large scale modern industrial complex.

United in a continental Union Government, we could plan the use of our rich natural resources, our markets, and our capital to build giant complexes, iron and steel in-

more effectively with foreign investment and governments. Our united economies could provide large markets and would make large-scale efficient industries profitable for all concerned.

Together, we could borrow funds to finance our hydro-electric schemes, construction of essential transport, factories and infrastructure facilities to ensure the necessary specialisation and division of labour for continental economic growth.

MIGHTY UNION

Together, in a mighty continent-wide political union, we could ensure the stability and resources necessary to guarantee that loans and investments were paid off at reasonable rates. Thus the potential of a new life can be provided for all Africa, if we establish a continent-wide Union Government.

A Union Government of Africa would be in a position to provide ready assistance on a continental scale to the Independent African States,

whose resources are inadequate to meet their expanding needs. It will also prevent them from seeking such help outside the African continent.

The African States will thus be assisted in their efforts to safeguard their national independence and sovereignty against the pressures and plunder of foreign powers and foreign interests.

Thus all the Independent African States, big or small, have everything to gain and little to lose by a continental Union Government of Africa.

This month we shall welcome the independence of Bechuanaland. The fact that Bechuanaland can become independent shows how false is the suggestion that the African majority of Southern Rhodesia are not ready for self-rule.

By virtue of the same argument why can't the other neighbouring colonised territories in Southern Africa be free and independent?

Nevertheless, Bechuanaland, which is surrounded by South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, will obviously be in need of outside assistance.

Such assistance should come from Africa. If the assistance comes from outside Africa on terms which militate against the interest of the people, Bechuanaland will cease to be independent, and neo-colonialism will set in.

RHODESIA

This problem will also have to be faced by a few other African territories expected to accede to independence shortly. If the interests of the Africans who inhabit these territories are to be upheld then this problem must be solved within the context of an all-African political union.

As you know, the Rhodesian question remains unresolved. In spite of our repeated warnings and advice, the British Government has consistently refused to resort to the use of the one effective weapon, namely military and police action, to crush the rebellion.

As we foresaw, the Lagos Conference served no useful purpose and sanctions have so far not succeeded in bringing down the Ian Smith illegal regime.

Action by the Independent African States is therefore more urgent than ever. My Government will put forward concrete proposals for joint action when the O.A.U. Council of Ministers meets in Addis Ababa on the 27th of this month.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly, Here at home, our general economic situation is, to a large extent, dictated by the overall balance of economic power in the world.

So far as cocoa, our principal export is concerned, if

Africa were united under a union government, Africa would be able to set a price for world cocoa in exactly the same way as developed countries set a price for their exports of machinery and manufactured goods.

As it is at the moment, however, the price of cocoa, like the price of many primary commodities produced by other developing countries is at the mercy of capitalist-controlled world market, which is oriented to the disadvantage of the developing countries.

What we obtain for our exports in hard cash depends not primarily on how much of these exports we can produce but on the price which powerful world forces over which we have no control, are prepared to pay for them.

The manipulation of our cocoa price is only one illustration of this general world economic system. The gap between the developed countries and the developing countries, instead of narrowing year by year is widening.

LACK STRENGTH

So long as Africa remains divided they will lack the strength to obtain a fair and equitable treatment from the developed nations of the world.

It will be seen, therefore, that the securing of a just cocoa price is essentially a political question. It cannot be solved by Ghana alone. It could be solved by the cocoa producing states of Africa if they were united in a Union Government which had effective overall economic planning powers.

Our experience with the price of cocoa is the same as other primary commodities, like groundnuts, coffee, sisal and many others which are grown and exported by our sister African States. A Union Government for Africa is therefore a necessity, and a pre-requisite for Africa's economic progress and survival.

In economic terms our policy of non-alignment means that we must not depend upon any one country or group of countries for capital investment and trade. Our aim must be to trade with and to secure investment from all countries in the world, irrespective of their economic systems and political ideologies.

As I have repeatedly emphasised, we are not against foreign investment as such. We welcome foreign investment provided that there are no strings attached to it, and also provided that it fits in with our plans for national development and our socialist policy. And we insist that foreign investment should not interfere or meddle with the political life of our country.

It is important to make this point quite clear. The experience of developing countries is that foreign capital tends to entrench itself and to influence the political and economic life of the receiving country.

Where the foreign capital is

guaranteed by its government, that government sometimes attempts to involve itself in the life and development of the country under the guise of protecting its capital.

It is vital both for the developed and developing countries that foreign governments and investors should desist from any attempt, overt or covert, at political domination in the developing countries in which they invest.

When foreign investment interferes in or meddles with the political life of the country in which it invests, it then becomes part of the neo-colonialist system.

But as I have pointed out elsewhere, in the last analysis a solution to this problem may be the establishment of an international insurance agency which would provide a guarantee for foreign governments and investors on the same basis for example, as Lloyds provides insurance cover for shipping interests and investments throughout the world.

Mr. Speaker, We cannot look to foreign investment to provide an automatic solution to our problems. Foreign, private or public investment will not provide the bulk of the capital needed for our industrialisation. The bulk of it must come from our own savings.

We therefore intend to mount a vigorous savings campaign throughout the country. We must strengthen our economy. We must ensure that the progress which we have made already is not jeopardised by over straining our resources.

We have now reached the point in our national development where we need to pause for a while, take stock of what we have achieved so far, which by any standard is remarkable. We shall then be ready to move ahead with increased momentum. We must therefore look upon this year, 1966, as a year of stock-taking, but not of stagnation.

Mr. Speaker, An impartial look at our development effort since independence should leave no one in doubt as to the success of our national endeavours in the field of economic and social reconstruction.

FINEST ROADS

Within the short span of eight years of independence, we have built some of the finest roads in the world; we have provided adequate medical and health services for the large majority of our people; we have built universities, secondary schools, training colleges and provided opportunities for free education for the great mass of the population.

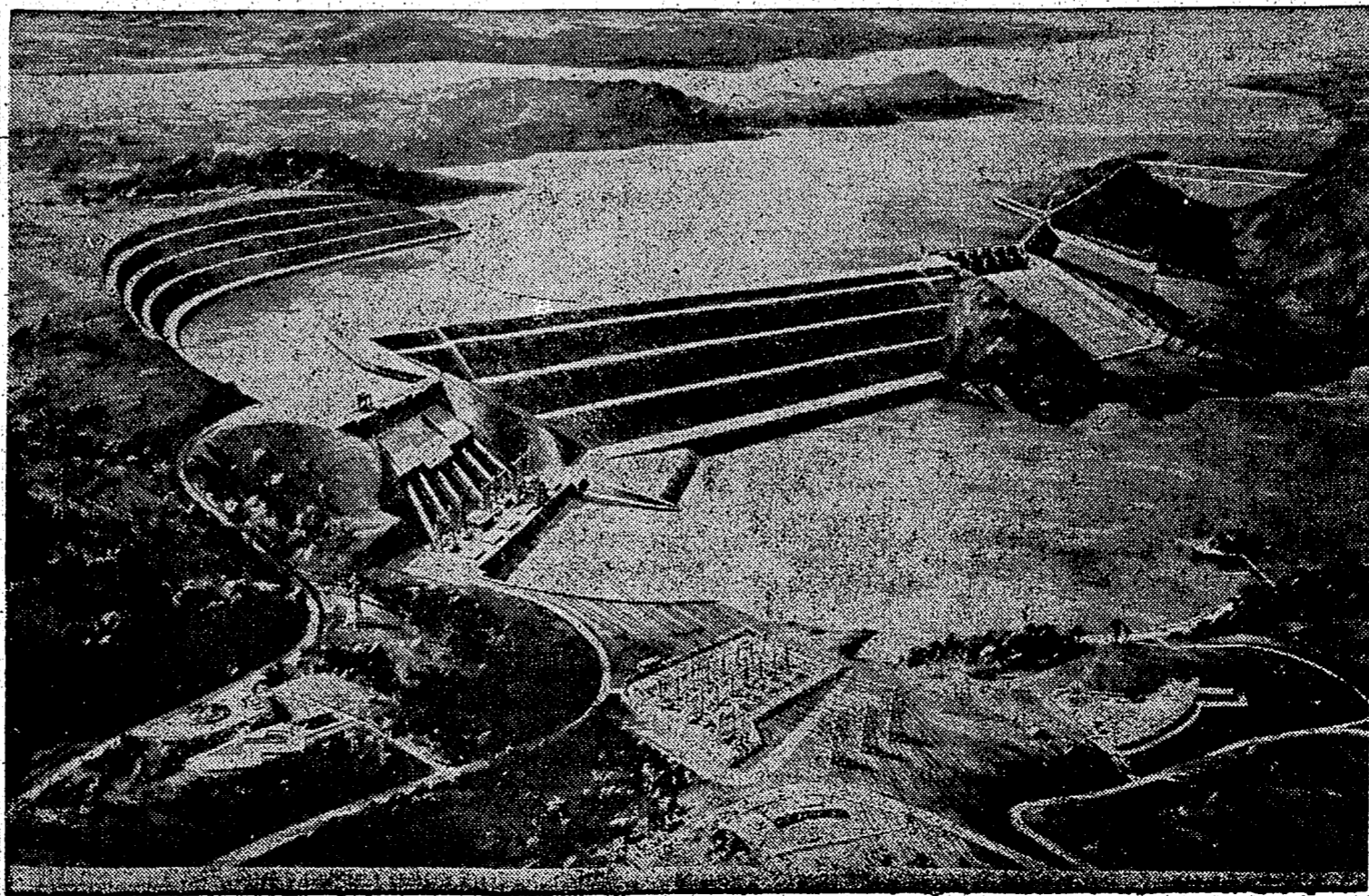
We have completed the gigantic Volta River Project one year ahead of schedule.

This industrial growth and development has created a number of problems with which we must tackle. As a result of this vast and unprecedented development programme, there is more money available in the pockets of the people than there are goods to buy.

Secondly, as I have explained, we have failed to obtain the foreign exchange to which our exports including our greatly increased cocoa export entitle us.

This has resulted in foreign exchange earnings not rising as we had every right to expect they would, in view of our greatly increased production.

Continued on page 4



"We have completed the gigantic Volta River Project one year ahead of schedule", Kwame Nkrumah told the M.P.s. This project opens the way for a new advance in our economic development.

Kwame Nkrumah's Sessional Address

(Continued from Page 3)

For this reason, I have directed that the size of the 1966 Budget should be reduced to a level which can be supported by available revenue. We may, therefore have to rephase some of our development projects so as to reduce their impact on our total expenditure budget.

The purpose of these arrangements will be to produce an expenditure plan, which while ensuring sustained economic growth, will at the same time reduce our dependence on outside sources for help to complete projects under our Seven-Year Development Plan.

In this connection a number of other steps have already been taken by the Bank of Ghana. These include credit control arrangements, designed to restrain expenditure in the economy of our country. They also involve arrangements to ensure the careful and wise utilisation of our foreign exchange earnings.

PUBLIC SERVICES

In spite of the comparatively heavy cuts in our total planned expenditure this financial year, the Budget which will be presented to you will make large sums of money available for expenditure on the Public Services, the State Enterprises, and Public Boards.

It is the intention of the Government that every pesewa voted should be properly accounted for. To this end, I have given directions that the Auditor-General's Department should conduct a detailed scrutiny of all revenue and expenditure, and to expose all irregularities that may be committed in any sector of the economy.

As a further measure of ensuring that State Corporations and Industries manage their affairs efficiently and profitably a State Enterprises Audit Corporation has been established to examine the accounts of all State and Joint State Enterprises.

We will continue to follow the policy of producing, as much as possible, a very high proportion of essential goods and services that are consumed here from day to day.

This will enable us to reduce our dependence on the importation of foreign imports. It will also create opportunities

manufacturing and industrial enterprises.

Among the new enterprises which have recently been commissioned are the Glass Manufacturing Corporation at Aboso, the Cement Works, Tema, the Government Electronics Industry at Tema and the Cocoa Processing Factories at Takoradi and Tema; the Publishing Corporation which now prints our school textbooks and the Textile Corporation now producing here in Ghana cloths and wax prints for the people.

NEW PROJECTS

The Ghana People's Trading Corporation has also been recently established along-side the Ghana National Trading Corporation to assist the Consumer Co-operative Societies to distribute and sell both local and imported goods cheaply in the rural areas.

Very soon, further industrial projects will start production. These will include the corned beef factory at Bolgatanga, the Sugar Factory at Akuse and a Television Assembly Plant at Tema.

We hope to establish over the next five years a thousand rural industrial projects throughout the country. Already two Coir Fibre Factories, each with a total capacity of 990,000 lbs of Coir fibre and over 1,000 lbs. of door and floor mats are in operation.

Bamboo factories are presently being established at Manso-Amenfi, Assin Foso and Axim to manufacture bamboo cups and trays which can artistically adorn the dinner table of a Ghanaian family in a Ghanaian way.

The Rattan Factory established at Asamankese is already in production and five other factories at Nkawkaw, Enyiresi, Oppon Valley, Asanwinso and Bobikuma will go into production this year.

A factory at Axim will be developed into a training centre for Rattan Bamboo Coir and wood projects. It will have laboratory facilities to enable experiments to be conducted into improved methods of production, using local materials.

In the re-organisation and development of the Co-operative Movement in the country, we must place emphasis on the establishment of a strong net-work of Consumer Co-

operatives in the rural areas. These will assist in the fair and equitable distribution of available Consumer goods throughout the country.

In addition to cocoa and other farm crops, our national economy can be firmly buttressed by a progressive programme of afforestation, conservation and the exploitation of timber from our forests. Ghana timber is renowned and popular on the world market, and every effort will be made to increase its production.

The recently-created Ministry of Animal Husbandry has been directed to establish a livestock industry to cater for the meat requirements of the country, including milk and other livestock products from local resources.

Alongside these developments including improved poultry, pig and cattle production, sheep and goat multiplication ranches have been sited at Ejura and Wenchi to provide breeding stocks to farmers and improve the meat supply on the market.

SINGLE PLAN

A Dairy Production Unit has been established within the Ministry of Animal Husbandry to undertake a positive programme of increasing dairy products from local sources, so as to reduce our present dependence on supplies from foreign sources. The Government is seriously examining plans for the setting up a chemical fertilizer plant.

In view of the importance of agriculture to Ghana plans have been made to establish a University College of Agriculture. In the meantime, an Inter-Faculty Committee, composed of staff from the University of Ghana and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology has been set up.

They are preparing a single plan of higher education in agriculture to be brought immediately into operation when the University College is physically established.

Mr. Speaker,

Next in importance to the provision of food comes the housing needs of our people. Let us remember that our population is increasing faster than our expectation. I have therefore directed that during the financial year, 1966, the Housing Corporation should embark on the construction of additional estates throughout the country.

The new giant pre-fabricated housing factory now under construction will start full-

crete double carriage motorway linking Tema with Accra has been opened and this motorway will be extended to link up with the Nsawam and Winneba roads.

The Tano Bridge linking Navrongo to Tumu in the Upper Region as well as the bridge over River Ankase of the Western Border will be completed in the year.

Preliminary work will start on the construction of a bridge over the River Ankobra on the Axim-Half Assini Road and a bridge over the River Oti on the new Dodi Papase Bimbila Road.

Work on the Lower Volta Bridge continues to make very satisfactory progress, and will be completed by the end of the year.

In Accra, new roads will be constructed and work will continue on the widening of more and more major roads to avoid traffic congestion in the City. Already, the new con-

beginning of the current academic year, resulting in an increase in the enrolment by 200,000. At present, therefore, there are 1,480,000 children in 10,388 Primary and Middle Schools.

NEW SCHOOLS

Eleven new Secondary Schools have been added to the list of assisted schools. There are, therefore, 101 secondary schools in the public system with an enrolment of over 35,000 which is almost half the target of 72,000 set for 1970.

During the current academic year, thirty-four new Teacher Training Colleges have been opened. This has resulted in an additional intake of

and technology with a view to Ghana producing in the shortest possible time not only the Administrators and Managers required to implement our development programme, but also the Scientists, Technologists and Technicians needed in industry and agriculture.

In barely four years, student enrolment in Legon has risen by more than 300 per cent. To bring such large numbers of students up to the high levels of qualification and skill demanded in Ghana, the University has found ways of using its resources and facilities with the greatest economy and efficiency.

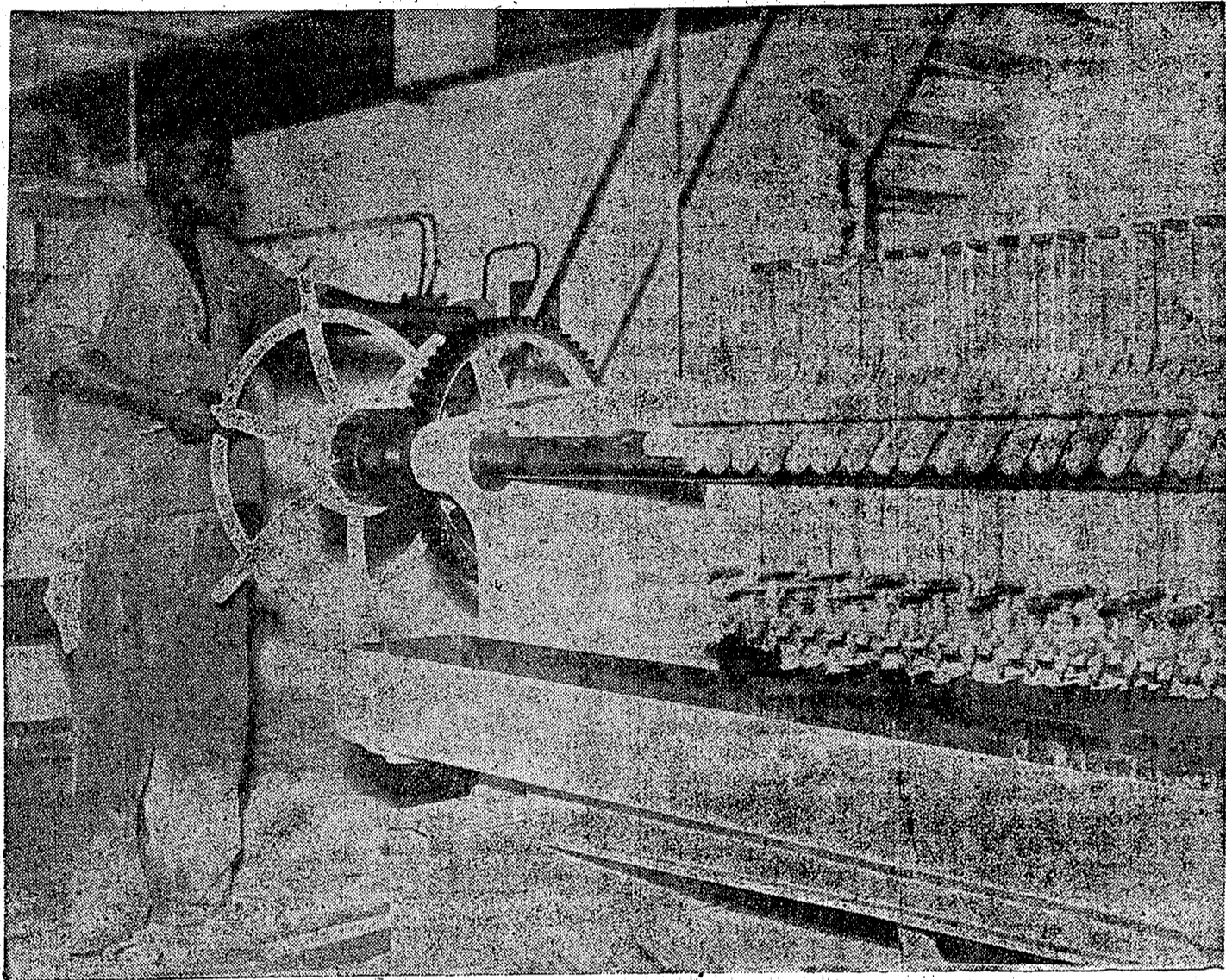
The Institute of Statistics has made good progress towards providing Ghana with fully-trained statisticians, with-

of physical development or of planning. These include the Institute of Glass and Ceramics, the Institute of Metallurgy, the Institute of Wild Life Research, the Institute for Research Development and a Centre for the Production of Scientific instruments.

The Academy, as a full-time national research organisation is conducting development research required in the utilisation of natural resources of the country.

PILOT PLANT

This work should proceed up to the pilot plant stage so that the Academy can advise Government on the feasibility of agricultural and industrial projects being established by



Industrial development lays the basis of our socialist future

2,720 student teachers. The number of teachers in training is therefore 12,720 and the number of training colleges is now 80 as against 46 last year.

Thus, in one year we have almost doubled the number of Teacher Training Colleges in Ghana. Mr. Speaker, it is only by planned expansion of this sort that effective universal education can be secured and maintained.

We are laying very strong emphasis on the teaching of science and science teaching is being given priority in the curricula of both elementary and secondary schools. Modern Science Laboratories for use by elementary schools have been built at Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast, Sekondi and Ho. Others are to be constructed at Tamale and Bolgatanga.

This is part of a pilot project in elementary schools. In addition to this, more and more teachers are being trained to teach science in schools in rural areas.

TECHNICAL TRAINING

Technical education is also progressing steadily. Already a Technical Teacher-Training College has been built at Kumasi to train teachers; and it is expected that within five years this College will have trained an adequate number of technical teachers for our Polytechnics, Technical Institutes and Training Centres.

A third Government Secondary Technical School was opened in Obuasi in November last year and a fourth one, under construction at Koforidua is nearing completion.

Mr. Speaker, Since my last sessional address, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education has been set up, replacing the former National Council for Higher Education.

While higher education advances on a broad front, I have directed that emphasis be laid on education in science

out whom much of our planning will be based on mere guesswork. Special attempts have been made to increase the intake of science students, and in this way also to introduce a correct balance between the Faculties. Already post-graduate students are being produced from our Universities to satisfy some of our man-power demands.

Ministries and Corporations, and also to render Scientific service to all Ministries and Corporations. The Academy is thus the spearhead to the scientific and technological development of the country. The Academy, will also assist the Universities in the training of post-graduate students by providing facilities in its research institutes.

NUCLEAR PHYSICS

In order to ensure that the rich mineral resources of Ghana are exploited to the full, an intensive oil exploration programme has been launched in the Tano Basin, the Keta Basin and other areas of the country. Actual drilling for oil will be started at Anloga near Keta in March this year.

Mr. Speaker, The Government attaches the greatest importance to the health needs of the people. To this end we are concentrating on preventive medicine and measures to improve public health services throughout the country.

Health centres will continue as in the past to play a vital role in the promotion of health, and new Health centres will be set up at strategic points in the country.

As part of our programme for the expansion of our health services, three new Institutes of Maternal and Child Health, Tropical Medicine and an Aviation Medicine will be established.

With the creation of a Ministry of Tourism, Parks and Gardens, we will intensify our efforts in the development of parks and gardens and tourist attractions throughout the country.

We already have evidence of this new and dynamic approach to the beautification of our towns and cities. Ghana's natural attraction for tourism is second to none in the world. The Government therefore has plans in hand for making a first-class tourist industry in Ghana.

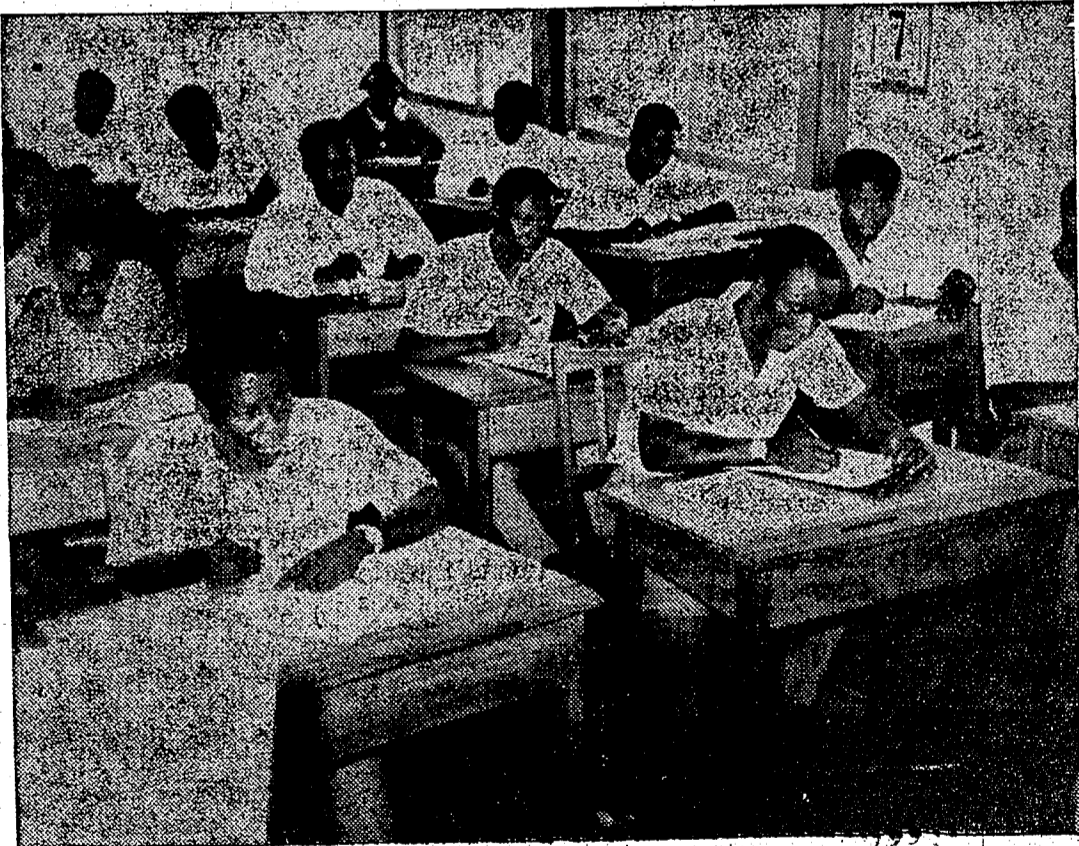
Many more research institutes are in an advanced stage

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Education is expanding at a rapid rate

for employment, and for exploiting our other natural resources endowments. During this year we shall devote more of our resources to productive investments, namely, agriculture and industry and mining, so that we may be able by the end of our Seven-Year Plan to reach our planned growth rate of 5.5 per cent per annum.

Mr. Speaker, Our progress in industry must be closely linked to a vigorous agricultural programme. We must ensure that we apply the right techniques that can maximise the benefits of modern science and technology in agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, In keeping with our policy of forging close links with the Independent African States, direct telegraph and telephone communications between Accra and the capitals of African States will be completed this year.

Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly, Our educational programme continues to expand at a very fast rate. No less than 400 new Middle and Primary Schools were opened at the

beginning of the current academic year, resulting in an increase in the enrolment by 200,000. At present, therefore, there are 1,480,000 children in 10,388 Primary and Middle Schools.

During the current academic year, thirty-four new Teacher Training Colleges have been opened. This has resulted in an additional intake of

and technology with a view to Ghana producing in the shortest possible time not only the Administrators and Managers required to implement our development programme, but also the Scientists, Technologists and Technicians needed in industry and agriculture.

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The Farmers' Council: What it is, and what it does

THE United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council is committed to the production of abundant foodstuffs for the people and agricultural raw materials for our factories.

Realising the pressing need for more food and raw materials, the Council has embarked upon a crash-programme of mechanisation and diversification in order to achieve its agricultural targets.

But before I discuss how the Council is implementing these programmes, let me first tell you in a nutshell the history of the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council and some of the contributions it has been making

towards the economic stability of Ghana.

The United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council is a little over twelve years old, having been inaugurated on September 26th, 1953 at the Prempeh Assembly Hall, Kumasi.

During the past years of its existence, the Council has been able to rally all the farmers round the great and dynamic Party, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah.

Not only have the farmers organised in the U.G.F.C.C. played an important part in the political life of the nation; they have also been a great force in the country's economic life.

The cocoa farmers who constitute the bulk of the organisation contribute no less than C24-million yearly towards the country's great development programme.

The recent decision of the farmers to fix the producer price of cocoa at C4.80 a load of 60lbs instead of the Government-fixed price of C8.64 in view of the deteriorating world cocoa price, is an example of the contribution they are making.

It is also a demonstration of their patriotism.

But, like any other organi-

MARTIN APPIAH DANQUAH

(General Secretary, United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council)

sation, the Council has had its ups and downs. It was by dint of sheer hard work, understanding and goodwill on the part of its untiring members of staff and elected officers that the Council has been able to surmount the many and complex problems facing it.

It was in 1961 that the Council had its real testing period. With one voice the farmers requested the Government to make the Council the sole licensed cocoa buying agent for the Cocoa Marketing Board.

Its marketing co-operative, which was to shoulder this great responsibility, was then less than three-years old and its total purchases during its three years of operation could not have been more than 45,000 tons, compared with the then total output of 300,000 tons.

Some could not see the wisdom of this legitimate demand of the farmers. Critics held that the Council was too young and inexperienced to handle the country's economic mainstay. Others insisted that private buying agents should be given the chance to purchase cocoa.

But people of vision saw that there was justice in the demand. So Kwame Nkrumah

declared on May 1st, 1961, that the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council had been appointed as the sole licensed cocoa buying agent for the State Cocoa Marketing Board.

Once Kwame Nkrumah had given it the opportunity, the Council showed its worth.

First, it rallied all the farmers under one banner. Second, the quality of the cocoa had been raised from 56 per cent Grade I to 93.7 per cent Grade I for the first season.

FIGHT FOR QUALITY

The secret of this wonderful achievement was that the Council had by a relentless campaign ousted the middlemen (commonly known to us as the "brokers") from the field. It was now a clear, straight-forward business, from the farmers drying mats to the society for sale.

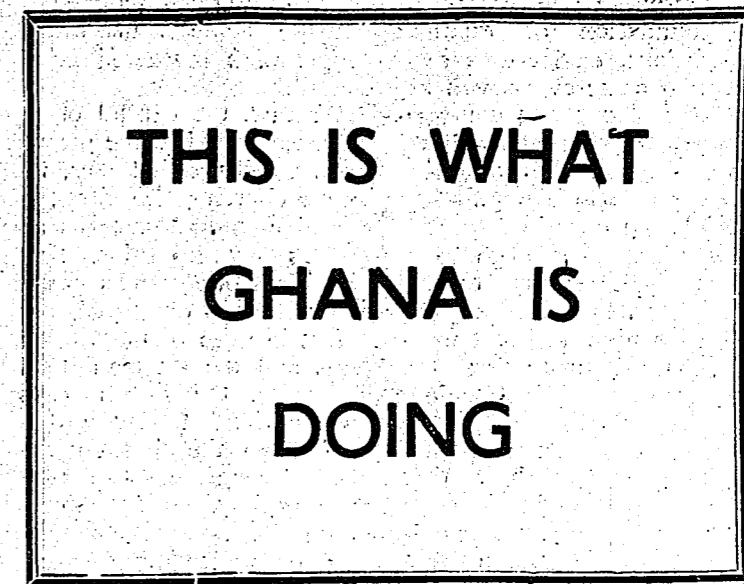
There was no adulteration, for no farmer wanted to sell bad beans to his own society. During subsequent years, the quality was raised to 99.99 per cent Grade I and .01 per cent Grade II.

By this, the Council has not only justified the confidence reposed in it by Kwame Nkrumah and the Nation; it has also shown a great sense of responsibility.

Apart from cocoa, the Council took up the marketing of other export crops such as coffee, bananas, palm kernels and shea nuts.

The Council has two main departments which see to the implementation of its agricultural programme: the producers co-operatives which deal with the production of foodstuffs and raw materials and livestock co-operatives which deal with animal husbandry.

Ghana's population is growing fast and the only way by which the farmers of Ghana can step up their production to meet the growing demand



the growing of foodstuffs, but also on all kinds of raw materials. As a result of this, large-scale oil palm farms are springing up all over the Eastern and Western Regions.

A fibre programme is also being developed in the Northern and Upper Regions. The fibre crop, kenaf is to supply raw materials for the Kumasi Jute Factory. Already over 260 acres for seeds have been laid down at Salaga.

From January to October 1965, the Council mechanically cultivated 37,380.79 acres of land. This is made up of the following crops:

Bambara 5,361.16 acres, maize—363 acres, guinea corn—13,368.12, groundnuts—4,222.16 cassava—1,134.12, yam—189.02, cocoyam—79, plantain—455.15, tobacco—1,015.22, cowpeas 62.06, pepper-tomatoes—913.20, millet—190, beans—20, coconuts—122.5, pineapples—89, cashew—80, onions and shallot—464, coffee—600, banana—3, rubber—67,664.09, kenaf—958, citrus—134, oil—707.36, citrus—134, oil—707.36, sweet potatoes—9, and sugar-cane—478.08.

The expected yields in tons of these crops is 30,715.

The United Ghana Farmers' Co-operatives Council at present has more than 13,000 co-operative societies embracing poultry, livestock and pig farmers as well as producers' co-operatives.

The Council's mechanisation programme reached a turning point when in October and

slovak Company which manufactures Zetor tractors.

The Kumasi plant is being built for the Council under a technical agreement by two Yugoslav tractor manufacturing companies, 14 Oktobra and Bratsvo. This plant will cost C8,916,451.20.

It must be noted that these plants will not produce tractors for the Council and its co-operative societies only, but also for all farmers and other agricultural bodies.

It is not therefore surprising that Mr. Jantuah has said that the establishment of the plants "shows how the Farmers' Council is thinking far ahead of the agricultural requirements of the nation."

Apart from tractors, the council has agricultural machinery such as combine harvesters, decorticators, rice haulers, etc. These machines are placed at the disposal of co-operative farmers.

ABUNDANCE

Fifteen rice hauling machines are being installed all over the country and each hauler can haul 30,000 tons of paddy-rice in a week.

From the look of things, I can safely predict that the time is not far distant when the farmers of Ghana will produce abundant food and raw materials not only for home consumption but for export.

Now let me turn to poultry farming. Alongside crop production, the U.G.F.C.C. has been using all the resources at its disposal to develop the



Nkrumah's Sessional Address

Continued from page 4

Mr. Speaker,

The welfare of women continues to engage our special attention. Quite apart from the several Mass Education Women's Groups operating in our towns and villages, we have established many Girls Vocational Training Centres throughout the country with the aim of catering for the training and welfare of the future mothers of Ghana.

Further, a crash programme designed specially for the women of the Northern and Upper Regions has been launched and we have already achieved commendable results with our women in these two Regions.

It is our policy to abolish illiteracy entirely from Ghana. Much has already been done in this field that we are in sight of the complete abolition of illiteracy in Ghana. To this end, a mass assault on the remaining pockets of illiteracy in the country will soon be launched.

The popularity of our television service is increasing daily. It is serving a useful role not only in entertainment but also in education and the fight against illiteracy.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Next month I shall open a factory at Tema, jointly established by the Government of Ghana and a Japanese firm (SANYO) which will mass-produce television sets and thus bring the service within the reach of all our people.

Mr. Speaker,

The structural changes in our Local Government set-up which were recommended by the pre-election Delimitation Commission have been brought into effect and the number of Councils increased as a consequence of this from 155 to 183.

The working of local Authorities will continue to be reviewed in order to secure greater efficiency and reliability. Irregularities, waste and duplication of effort, corruption and nepotism in our local government administration must be eliminated.

Our pattern of local government must conform with the *Mr. Speaker, Members of the*

National Assembly,

I am happy to announce that the progress of the Social Security (Pensions) Scheme has fully justified our determination to establish this scheme. The fund is growing steadily.

Within the next few years, it is our intention to extend the scheme to cover everybody in Ghana.

AFRICA'S TRADE UNION

Six years ago, I inaugurated the preparatory Committee of the All-African Trade Union Federation. On that occasion, I expressed the hope that the world would understand the aspirations of the African workers to build a non-aligned All-African Trade Union Federation which, while playing a vital part in the anti-imperialist and anti-neo-colonialist struggle, would remain forever loyal to Africa.

Today, the All-African Trade Union Federation which is fighting in the forefront of the African revolution, has become a living reality.

The workers of Africa cannot co-exist with the forces of colonialism and exploitation. They cannot co-exist with imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Seeing poverty and exploitation around them and seeking a new way of life for themselves, they will continue to strive for a better life for all the people in Africa.

It is the inescapable role of the All-African Trade Union Federation to mobilise, educate and guide the activities of the African workers into new and creative channels which must open up Africa for the all-round development that will benefit the mass of the people.

WORKERS' ROLE

For it is when the workers and farmers have understood the fundamental aims of the African Revolution that we can move forward together in unity and progress.

At home the Ghana Trade Union Congress has the greatest responsibility for ensuring that the workers are given the correct leadership and orientation.

Our workers must be mobilised to achieve the production

targets of the Seven-Year Development Plan through higher productivity. This calls for labour and enthusiasm, industrial harmony and a clear understanding of our goals. *Mr. Speaker,*

With the completion of the Volta River Project, Ghana is now poised for a positive break-through in our agricultural and industrial revolution. We have travelled a long way from our colonial past in which our initiative and energies were bottled up by the restrictive conditions of colonial rule.

STATE PROPERTY

We can now look forward with renewed confidence and inspiration to the greater opportunities made available to us by our Party and Government. In all this, you, Members of Parliament have a great part to play. Ghana looks to you for an example of service, hard work and dedication to duty.

You who are Members of Parliament and all others in the country—teachers, farmers, peasants, market women, workers, civil and public servants—must be awake to your responsibilities in this regard. Let us remember that State property is public property, that is to say, it is property belonging to the people and for which we are all responsible. It is therefore the duty of every person who is put in charge of any State property to realise that he must guard it and protect it jealously in the interest of the Nation.

We have made such progress towards a better life for all that anyone who neglects or misuses or misappropriates State property is undermining the Nation, and wilfully holding back our progress.

A basic problem now facing us is to improve the efficiency of our economic administration. If we can solve this problem, all will be well with us. The policies of the Government are clear, sound and well conceived and formulated. And our people have pledged their support for these policies. It is but for us to achieve and maintain a high level of efficiency in giving practical effect to these policies.

In particular, our Ministers, Civil Servants, our public officers, Managing Directors of our Boards and Corporations and factories and all functionaries of the Party and the Government need to show a fuller grasp of the detailed administrative steps which must be taken to give effect to our policies.

In other words, we need a closer degree of co-ordination and harmony among our economic Ministries and Agencies. A closer co-ordination is required among Ministries, the State Planning Commission, the Banks and other Economic institutions and commercial Agencies connected with our national economy.

We should not spend so much time rectifying the things that have gone wrong; we must concentrate rather on preventing the things going wrong, and finding remedies for them.

Let me give you an example. If there are no drugs for the hospitals, we should not waste so much time establishing which Ministry or agency is to blame. Instead, we should devise positive steps and crash procedures for eliminating such shortages. I am sure you can think of other examples.

It is only by such careful and painstaking economic co-ordination and husbanding of our resources that we can provide the means for better housing, education, health services, and all the other amenities which we must have, in order to create a fuller life for all our people.

I am confident that through your loyalty to the Party and Government, your sacrifice and devotion we can make still further gains in our national reconstruction and development.

Only thus can we justify the confidence placed in us by our people. Only thus can we promote the upliftment of Ghana, the redemption of Africa, and make our contribution to world peace and to the welfare and happiness of mankind. *Mr. Speaker, Members of the National Assembly,*

I now leave you to your deliberations and may you be guided by the highest interests of the Nation.



Cocoa spraying helps to increase output

for food is mechanisation.

The Farmers' Council launched its mechanisation scheme in 1962. This marked the beginning of a new era in Ghana's agricultural revolution. The Council's target is to mechanise the cultivation of 5½ million acres of land.

Also in 1962 the Council added to its list of responsibilities by taking up the marketing of other export cash crops such as coffee, copra, rubber, shea nuts and palm kernel.

The same pattern of marketing operation used for cocoa is being utilised for these crops, and it is hoped that other crops will be added soon.

Rubber Co-operatives in the Western Region already have 7,000 acres under cultivation and are planning to increase this figure by 5,000 every year.

The Council encourages co-operative farmers to focus their attention not only on

November last year the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. F. A. Jantuah, laid the foundation stone of the Council's crawler tractor assembly plant in Kumasi, and later opened the Zetor tractor plant at Nsawam.

MECHANISATION

The establishment of these tractor assembly plants by the Council is significant because it will help speed-up mechanisation. The plants will produce more tractors for the farmers at a relatively moderate price.

The Nsawam plant, whose construction is half-way through, will cost C3,600,000 and can produce three tractors a day when fully completed. The establishment of the plant followed a five-year technical co-operation agreement between the U.G.F.C.C. and MOTOKOV, the Czech-

poultry and livestock industry.

The Council has established an Egg Marketing Board with centres throughout the country where the Board buys eggs from the producers—both individuals and co-operative farmers—and sells them to the public.

At the time of writing, there are 25,000 dozen eggs at our Accra egg store ready for sale. According to reports reaching me the other centres have huge quantities too.

Thus, the poultry farmer is not only assured of an organised marketing system, but also gets regular supplies of the materials necessary for successful poultry farming. The Board also arranges for loans.

Even though we have made spectacular achievements we are not resting on our oars. We are determined to redouble our efforts for greater achievements.

Poland's Thousandth Birthday

by a Special Correspondent

THE year 1966 marks the thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Poland. Celebrations, conferences and a host of other events will be held throughout the country, while thousand schools have been built with the voluntary help of the whole population to mark the occasion.

Historical records go back to the tenth century, to the year 966, when Poland accepted Christianity. The first written source mentioning the existence of a Polish state dates from 963.

However, recent archeological excavations show that the roots of the Polish state reach back to about a hundred years before even that date.

At the beginning of her existence Poland was situated in the territories east of the Odra Oder River—the territory of present People's Poland.

The history of Poland is a history of struggle for political sovereignty and national unity.

VICTORIOUS BATTLE

The year 1410 saw the victorious battle of the Polish armies at Grunwald against the aggressive German order of Teutonic Knights, which was trying to conquer the lands of Slavonic tribes and to impose German influence in the northern regions inhabited by Slavonic peoples.

The 15th century was marked by the blossoming of Poland's economy, trade, culture, art and literature.

The Jagiellonian University founded in Cracow in 1364 became the most magnificent seat of learning in Central Europe. It was there that Nicolaus Copernicus, the famous Polish astronomer, studied.

Subsequent centuries, especially the 17th and 18th were marked by internal division caused by the arrogance of the nobility.

For a long time three powers bordering Poland—above all Prussia, and later Russia and Austria—awaited the collapse of Poland. A number of partitions took place.

After the second (1793) the first Polish national uprising broke out, led by Tadeusz Kosciuszko, a famed soldier in the struggle for American independence.

But the uprising was put down and in 1795 the third partition took place. Russia, Prussia and Austria seized the rest of Poland. That date marked the end of Poland as an independent country.

Again a number of national uprisings followed, the most important in 1830 and 1863. Poland suffered almost 130 years of foreign subjugation, economic exploitation and political oppression. The ties between the various Polish territories could not be destroyed and it was this that made it possible to promote the further growth of national culture and consciousness.

Of tremendous importance was the appearance of popular Polish trends, including a national renaissance in education, literature and art in such regions as Silesia, Pomerania, Warmia and Masuria.

Thus the 19th century produced such Poles as the great pianist, Frederic Chopin; the poets Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Slowacki, and the freedom fighters J. Dabrowski and W. Wroblewski, as well as Ludwik Warynski, founder of the first workers' party in 1832.

As a result of the victory of the Great October Revolution in Russia and the defeat of imperialist Germany in the First World War Poland regained her independence. She lost it again in 1939, when Nazi Germany invaded her thus unleashing the Second World War. The devastation, atrocities and sufferings surpassed all past crimes.

Hitler's policy was to eradicate Poland as a state and to exterminate the Polish nation. Nazi Germany killed over six million Poles or over 22 per cent of the total population during the war. In one concentration camp alone (Auschwitz) some four million people were murdered in gas chambers.

Warsaw, the capital of Poland, was razed to the ground. Towns, villages, schools, factories, churches, hospitals, historical monuments, roads and bridges lay in ruins. Some two-thirds of Poland's national wealth was destroyed.

But in spite of mass executions and the German terror campaign, the Polish resistance movement went into action from the first days of Nazi occupation. The resistance rapidly gained strength and soon became a regular war of underground armies against the occupation forces.

Polish soldiers fought on all fronts where the war against Nazi Germany was being waged—in the Soviet Union, Western Europe, and in Africa.

On July 22nd, 1944, on Poland's newly-liberated territories, the Polish Committee of National Liberation issued a Manifesto laying the foundations of the present political, social and economic system of People's Poland. Since then, July 22nd, has been observed as Poland's National Day.

As a result of the defeat of Nazi Germany by the Soviet Union and the allied powers, Poland again regained her independence. In accordance with the Potsdam Agreement signed by the victorious Allied Powers, Poland's western border was defined along the Odra and Nysa (Niesse) Rivers.

Thus, under the Potsdam Agreement the old Polish territories in the West and North, including such towns as Opole, Wroclaw, Szczecin and Olsztyn, were reunited with the motherland after a long period of German occupation. These regions constitute about one-third of Poland's territory. They are inhabited by some 9 million Poles. Rebuilt after great destruction and newly developed, they now account for about one-third of Poland's total industrial production.

Thanks to great sacrifices by the whole people, these regions now play a great role both in Poland's economy as industrial centres and as important centres of learning. For example, the University at Wroclaw is noted for its achievements in mathematics and medicine.

FORCES

In spite of the laps of over 20 years since the last World War, there are still forces in West Germany which make territorial claims against Poland and other socialist countries and which seek a revision of the Polish-German border. These claims endanger peace, stability and security in Europe.

The years of socialist construction in Poland have been a turning point in the 1,000 years of her history. In 1944 for the first time power was taken by the working people who under the leadership of the Polish Workers' Party and later the Polish United Workers' Party, have tackled the historic task of transforming social and political relations in the country and of realising the dreams and aspirations of generations of working people, of generations of Polish revolutionaries to establish a system of social justice and to build socialism in Poland.

The period that opened in 1944 has been a period of intensive development of Poland's entire national economy, a period of industrialisation, of cultural revolution and of the steady improvement of the living standards of the people.

Now Poland's industrial production is more than nine times greater than under capitalist rule. Modern factories have been built, entirely new industries have been started. The national income is almost four times as high as in 1939.

The years of socialist construction have been a period of cultural revolution. Education at all levels is free and accessible to all. Now over

eight million children attend elementary and secondary schools and about 200,000 students study in the institutions of higher learning. The rapid development of cultural facilities—libraries, cultural centres, theatres, cinemas, radio and television—has played an important part in shaping ideological, political and cultural development.

Poland's standing in the international arena has also increased. As a member of the socialist camp, she takes an active part in international life and contributes to the solution of vital problems.

Poland's foreign policy serves the interests of the security and peaceful development of the country. During the whole post-war period the fundamental principle of her foreign policy has been and continues to be the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, the alliance which brought freedom to the Polish people and helped unite all Polish territories with the motherland.

Poland has also strengthened her fraternal relations with other socialist countries. Pursuing a policy of peaceful co-existence, Poland has been taking an active part in the political life in Europe and other parts of the world, sparing no efforts to achieve a detente, general and complete disarmament, a strengthening of world peace and freedom of nations.

Poland is a member of various international bodies including the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam. Poland has on many occasions declared her full support for the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression.

Poland pays particular attention to the European problems, especially to European security and peace endangered by the West German policy of *ravanchism* and by West German territorial claims, as well as by Bonn's efforts to secure a finger on the nuclear trigger.

Representatives of the West German Government have on many occasions openly voiced their claims for Polish territory which under the Potsdam Agreement was returned to her, and for parts of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

West German spokesman assert that Germany exists within the borders of 1937. This, when translated into the language of present-day facts, means the annexation by Bonn of the German Democratic Republic, the seizure of one-third of Poland's territory and of one-third of her industrial production, and also the seizure of parts of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

CLAIMS

These territorial claims, accompanied by the demands for a finger on the nuclear trigger, constitute a grave threat to the security, peace and stability of Europe and the world.

To check this dangerous trend, Poland presented in 1957 a plan for a nuclear free zone in Central Europe covering Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic. The plan was known as the Rapacki Plan, after the Polish Foreign Minister. It was unfortunately rejected by West Germany.

Another proposal, known as the Gomulka Plan, dealing with the freezing of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons in Central Europe was made by Poland in 1964. This also was turned down by West Germany.

At one of the latest UN sessions Poland made still other proposals—to convene an all-European conference to discuss the problems of collective security in Europe and to prepare a non-aggression pact between the N.A.T.O. and

Warsaw Treaty states. Poland considers that the German problem continues to be the greatest obstacle on the road to peace in Europe. The German problem does not consist solely in the fact of the existence of the division of Germany, as the West German Government maintains. The source of the tension in Europe is the policy the Western powers have pursued for years on the German problem, and in particular the aggressive and cold-war policy of the West German Government.

The remilitarisation of West Germany, supported by the United States and other N.A.T.O. powers, is in full swing. West German officers and generals who served Hit-

ler now serve in N.A.T.O. staff, while West Germany strives for atomic weapons through N.A.T.O. At the same time West Germany makes territorial claims against Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

Poland maintains that the German people, like other people, have the right to self-determination. But as Mr. Gomulka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party once declared, Poland and the other countries of the Warsaw Treaty will never agree that the West-German imperialists, who were responsible for the most bloody and cruel violation of the right to self-determination of so many nations

of Europe, should abuse this right to justify the annexation of the German Democratic Republic, to win revenge, and to destroy the results of the victory over German fascism for which tens of millions of people gave their lives in the last world war.

In accordance with the principle of brotherly solidarity and assistance to the peoples fighting for their national liberation and to strengthen their independence, Poland fully supports the liberation struggle in Africa and other continents. Poland has condemned the illegal declaration of independence by Ian Smith. She also condemns the racial policy of the Verwoerd regime in South Africa.

She maintains many-sided relations and co-operation with African countries in the poli-

tical, economic, commercial, scientific and cultural fields. Poland has concluded agreements on economic and technical co-operation including agreements on capital goods sales on credit terms. Under such an agreement, Poland is building a sugar refinery at Asutsuare and a cement factory at Takoradi.

Polish architects, construction workers, scientists, economists, doctors and professors are working in Ghana and other African countries.

This co-operation is developing year by year. It is based on the principles of equality and mutual benefits. It helps not only to further the economic development of both parties, but also brings countries closer together and thus promotes better understanding among nations.

Britain must go to Rhodesia

An interview given by Mr. NELSON SAMKANGE, the London representative of Z.A.P.U., to "Comment", a weekly review published by the British Communist Party.

SINCE Ian Smith's seizure of power—the so-called "Unilateral Declaration of Independence"—the situation of the African people has become really desperate, said Mr. Samkange.

"But," said Mr. Samkange, "from information that we are getting through our own sources we know that the spirit of the Africans is high. They are determined to fight on.

"There is widespread opposition in the whole country—including in rural areas even though a State of Emergency was proclaimed by the illegal Smith regime prior to the U.D.I. being declared.

"Smith is pursuing a strategy aimed at weeding out and arresting anybody who is politically active against his set-up—anybody who could cause trouble that might deprive Smith's forces of the ability to meet an external threat.

"Since Smith came to power Africans have lived in a continuous state of emergency. Another aim of Smith has been to destroy any African political organisation that might exist and to imprison or restrict African political leaders.

"Taking these facts together, plus the fact that Africans are not allowed to be armed, it can be appreciated that it is difficult for Africans to make the sort of impact in their resistance that the outside world expects.

"The fact has to be taken into consideration, too, that the Rhodesian army and police are relatively formidable and have been trained and armed for the principal purpose of suppressing African aspirations.

"Nevertheless, many strikes and demonstrations of protest have taken place. During the big Bulawayo demonstration that followed the announcement of the U.D.I. four Africans were shot dead by the police and many were injured.

"Two Africans are reported to have been shot dead in rural areas; while during the strike action in Mpopoma township on November 23rd, six Africans were shot dead, many injured, and more than 50 people were arrested.

"Africans who have been arrested are, in some cases, being kept in disused mine-shafts while Nkomo and his colleagues are in solitary

confinement, and have been beaten up.

"Reports of counter action are coming through: for instance, a patrol boat on the Zambesi was ambushed and sunk with four white soldiers on board.

"The present situation, with Smith grabbing power, could not have been possible without the connivance of the British Government. Since the U.D.I. two 'governments' have existed in Rhodesia, one led by Smith and the other by Gibbs, the Governor, in the name of the British crown.

"Both of them are determined to maintain 'law and order' and both of them propose to use the same machinery in doing so—that of the white settlers.

"Behind the mock quarrel between Gibbs, supported by Wilson, and Smith with his 'government', we Africans see a fraud. The intention is to blind us into thinking that some serious stand is being taken. In fact a gentleman's agreement exists between each side not to act seriously against the other. The machinery which is being used to maintain 'law and order' could be invoked by Gibbs to arrest Smith and his 'government', or vice-versa, used by Smith against the Governor.

"The British Government claims that Rhodesia is part of Her Majesty's dominions and that the British Government is solely responsible for taking action against the Smith rebellion. Rhodesia is still, legally speaking a British colony.

"This is an international red herring, used in the United Nations and in Africa and elsewhere to protect the white settlers in Rhodesia against effective international action being taken to put down the rebellion.

"The application of economic sanctions by Britain are a farce; they will not work. We have rejected them as a serious measure. An embargo on oil is also a doubtful step since Portugal alone could, without any difficulty, supply Rhodesia with the 400,000 tons a year that she requires.

"No, moves that stop short of force are ineffective in dealing with the illegal regime in Rhodesia. Britain must accept its responsibility in a physical sense. This means entry into the country to take over the administration.

"If Britain won't do it, then it must allow an international force to do so.

"Wilson has expressed the view that an international force would be, 'A Red Army in Blue Berets'. Guarding against Communism seems very important to Wilson—what happens to the Africans is inconsequential.

"The British people will want to help us achieve justice and there is much that they can do. Funds should be organised to help refugees.

children whose parents are in detention, and people who have been deprived of their livelihood through refusing to recognise the Smith regime.

"We appeal to all British people to bring pressure to bear on their government to enter Rhodesia physically and protect the lives of all innocent men, black and white, who are in danger through upholding the constitution and demanding the human right to self-determination in the face of the illegal settler government."

EDITORIAL (Continued from page 1)

mined programme of systematic, well-prepared education for many members of the administrative services can contribute to solving the problem.

There are those who, because specialists and trained people are in short supply, think they can get away with bad work, and with giving less than is required. The growth of our educational system will soon end their privileged monopoly position but we can't afford to wait even until then.

Those who are lazy and inefficient because they just don't care, are robbing the Nation just as much as if they were dipping into the cash tills, or stealing state property, and those who protect them should understand this too.

We can no longer, in the interests of easy personal relationships, or in the misguided belief that socialism means indulgent attitudes, allow ourselves to be exploited by lazy people who will not pull their weight. They must find that they do not have their jobs indefinitely guaranteed, irrespective of their work performance.

Then there are the rogues, the real anti-social elements. They care not one jot for our socialist perspectives. They are capable of seeing life only in terms of their own rapacious self interest. They see everybody as "fair game" for cheating, they look on every state enterprise, office or corporation as an easy hunting ground for their own profit. These people are a small minority, but they are among us.

Judged by socialist standards, they are criminals. It is not only that they cheat and rob the people and delay our socialist victories, but they discourage others. The honest worker, who sees inefficiency, who witnesses dishonesty, and then sees the guilty "get away with it", become discouraged in his efforts to behave according to the higher ideals of socialist behaviour.

Courage is needed to fight corruption and dishonesty. The Party and Government must and will ensure that every possible institutional measure is taken to encourage the honest majority.

This can be done by punishing the corrupt, the dishonest, the lazy and irresponsible. We must also strengthen the socialist understanding of everybody working in key sectors of our national life, so that understand what is required of them and so that they will be equipped to meet the many searching challenges which face every individual in this tremendous national venture of building socialism.

Here is the key problem. Solve it we must as they guarantee of the next stage of our advance.