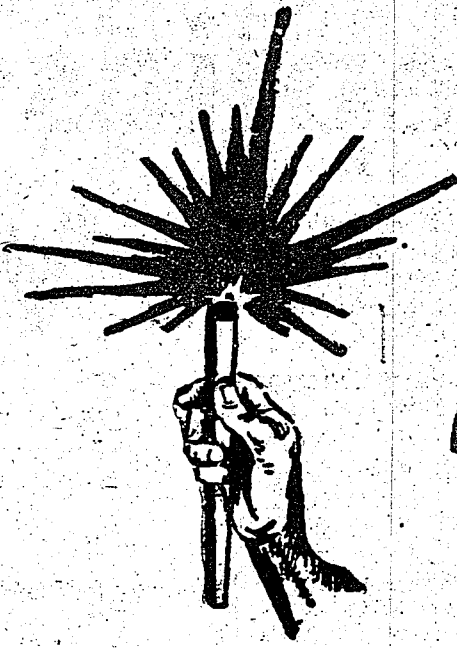


THE SPARK



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Away With The Nazi

Books

EDITORIAL

THE SALES TAX

LAST week we carried a review of the 1965 budget by one of our regular columnists. Though upholding the socialist aims and fiscal measures of the budget, we are of the considered view that ineffective administration could negate the many praiseworthy achievements of the budget. A special committee set up by the President has studied this problem and reported back, all within a matter of days. And the Ministry of Finance is reacting swiftly and positively to the constructive criticism contained in our last week's article referred to above. We are happy to note this great concern for the well-being of the people by our Party and Government.

We carry elsewhere in this issue the full text of the statement made by the Minister of Finance in the National Assembly two days ago. We consider this statement timely, significant and important. It not only reflects a desire to improve on the machinery for the collection of sales tax but also points the way to a bold new approach to economic management particularly in the sphere of the importation and distribution of consumer goods.

We may consider first the administration of the sales tax. The tax will now be collected at source, that is to say, at the ports in the case of imports and at the factories in the case of locally manufactured articles. This arrangement will bring in the revenue promptly and effectively. And the success of this tax could open up a lucrative new source of revenue for our economic and general development.

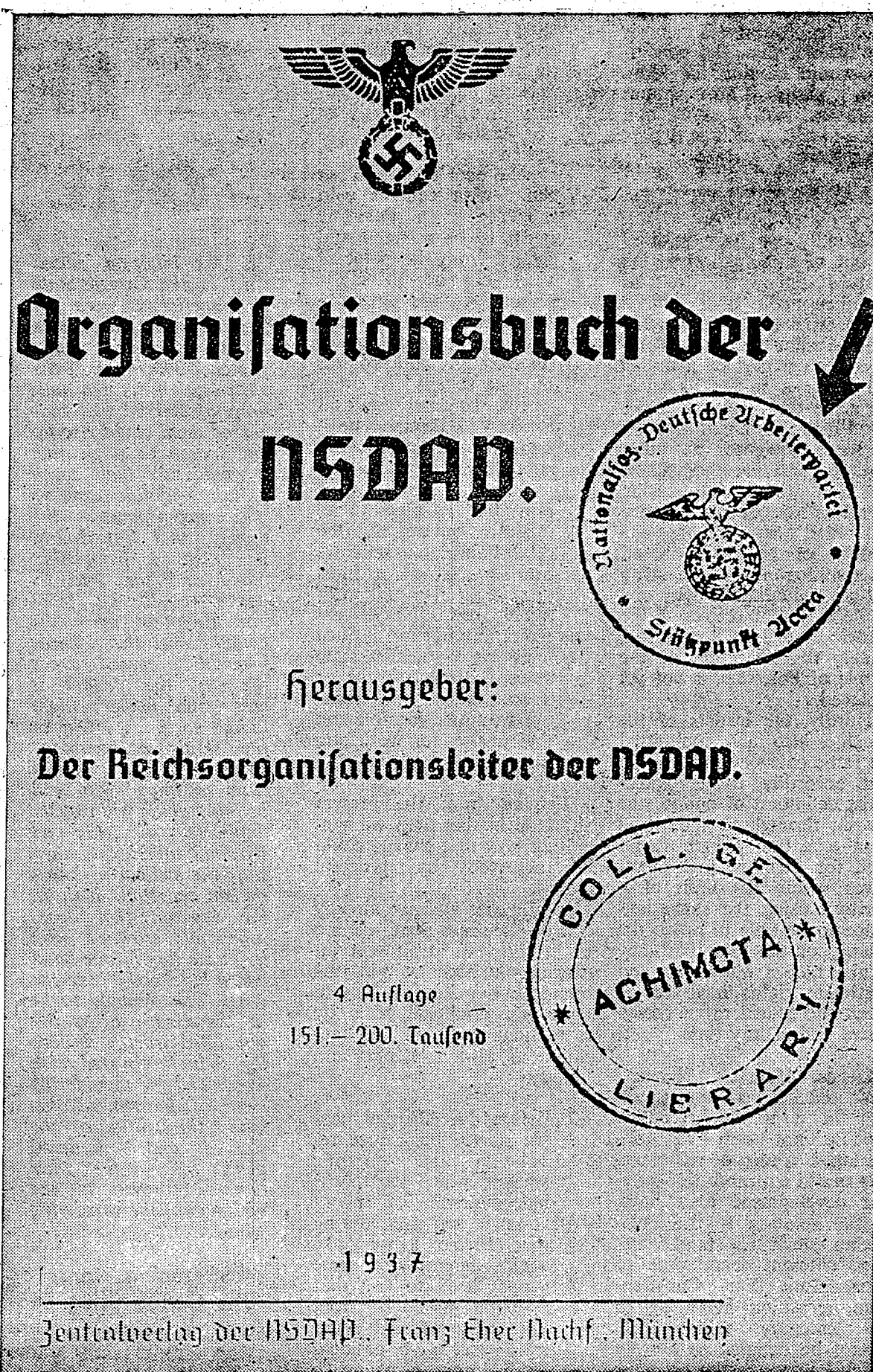
There are two points that need attention in this machinery of tax collection. The Minister's statement considers it "illegal for any person trading in these articles to charge any additional tax on any sales made to the consumer". Clearly this safeguards the interests of the consumers. But it ought to be pointed out that should the law enact this, such a provision would conflict with the imposition of a purchase tax. The correct position therefore is that a dealer would be acting illegally only if he imposed "any additional tax on any sales made to the consumer" that is not expressly authorised by law. Alternatively, the purchase tax and sales tax could both be deducted at source.

The other administrative point concerns cigarettes. If "sales tax calculated at 10 per cent of the wholesale price will be paid by the manufacturers", the assumption is that all cigarettes on sale in Ghana are manufactured in the country. Our point here is that it will be necessary to expand this tax to cover imported cigarettes as well. Alternatively, there should be a complete embargo on all imports of cigarettes.

The imposition of a 10 per cent tax on all stocks held by importers on the 21st day of January is a welcome move to extract from the trading agencies that which they had squeezed out of the consumers without passing on to the State. We can only hope that the authorities, in fact, have a way of knowing exactly what stocks these importers held the day the budget was presented.

In spite of these administrative improvements, the crucial point about the sales tax remains its incidence. Now that the trading agencies are called upon to pay the tax in the first instance, it is still necessary to know whether or not they can pass on the tax to the consumers. We should be in a position to know this only when the new price lists are published. All we can say at this stage is that the interests of the general public and of the nation demand that the tax is not passed on in full to the consumers.

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* Nobody, least of all this paper, underestimates the power of the printed word. We therefore publish above a facsimile of the fly leaf of a Nazi book which at present reposes on the open shelves of the Balme Library, University of Ghana, Legon.

* It is the Organisational Handbook of the NSDAP (Nazi Party). What is interesting is the stamp NSDAP Stützpunkt Accra. There was clearly a branch of the Auslandsdeutsche (Germans abroad organisation). Stützpunkt is translated as 'strongpoint' (it has military overtones in some uses) or 'base', or 'jumping off point.'

* What did the ideology represented by this book lead to? It led to World War on an unprecedented scale, to human misery and suffering and cruelty never before experienced in the world. Millions died, whole peoples were almost exterminated by the Nazis who developed the science of mass murder, torture and slavery.

* Knowing this, can we take up a neutral attitude to ideas and to books? Can we, in the name of the millions who suffered from Nazism honestly, say that we think this vile volume should be on the shelves of a University Library, available for anyone to read? Is there even an effort to counteract the kind of propaganda it disseminates by the presence of directly anti-Nazi books alongside it? Are our memories so short that we can tolerate the dissemination of this kind of poison among our students and young people? 'The Spark' says 'NO'.

* Why can we not be more vigilant? Is it because there are still in Ghana those who were active Nazis in the past, and still among Ghanaians those who have

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What is Multilateral Force?

There is talk among the NATO powers of a multilateral force? What is this multilateral force? What does it mean? It means the intensification of the cold war and threat of a nuclear hot war. It also means the proliferation of nuclear weapon: in other words, more fingers on the nuclear trigger.

The multilateral Force is to consist of twenty-five warships camouflaged as ordinary merchant freighters. These vessels are to be equipped with two hundred and fifty death-dealing nuclear missiles of the "Polaris" type. The crew will be composed of two thousand NATO soldiers. This fleet is supposed to operate in the Atlantic Ocean and in the Mediterranean. That means that one day some neo-colonialist and imperialist warships can appear along the coast of Africa in order to assist the Portuguese colonialists in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea in their fight against the liberation movement in Africa.

For this reason, the Multilateral Nuclear Force is a dangerous threat not only to the peoples of Africa, but to world peace.

Therefore, the peoples of Africa and all anti-imperialist forces of the world who do not want to see themselves implicated in a new hot war, must raise their voices in protest against this dangerous development. The multilateral Force is a naked contradiction of the Partial Test Ban Treaty.

We cannot convince any one that we sincerely seek peace by preparing for war. Peace can only be attained by acting peacefully and proscribing war in thought, word and deed. To this end, all the nations whose actions can lead to war on a world scale must begin now as a first step to prohibit the further manufacture of nuclear weapons. Putting a stop to the Proliferation of nuclear weapons is, I repeat, only a first step in the process of making the world safe for peace. We must proceed to the next major step by agreeing to the total destruction of all such weapons throughout the world. If there are no more nuclear triggers around, we can be sure that there will be no fingers upon them. This is the surest way of making the world free from the threat of nuclear war.

—Kwame Nkrumah

Habib Niang Replies to Dr. Wolf Ehrlich

IT IS always embarrassing to quote oneself. But at this stage of our study we have no way otherwise except to do so. In the second of this series of "Studies in Consciencism" our two last paragraphs read as follows:

"We have just seen why this is the basis of the liberation struggle in Africa. In the same way, to take an example outside Africa, we can say that this is also the basis of the liberation struggle of the people of Palestine. For, as it was stated in a resolution of the Casablanca African Summit Conference in January, 1961, Israel has become an instrument of imperialism. The leaders of the Israelites, instead of providing true leadership and guidance for their co-religionists, have unconsciously become the instrument of suppression on behalf of the neo-colonialist. But, only a Union Government of Africa can assist effectively in the solution of the problems of the Middle East, including the Palestinian question."

"So Kwame Nkrumah's vision, his philosophy becomes a reflection of the objectivity, in conceptual terms, of the unfolding of matter."

This is how Dr. Wolf Ehrlich, a distinguished scholar and eminent writer reacts, from TEL-AVIV, to our study:

"As a regular reader of 'The Spark', I naturally took keen interest in Habib Niang's article of December 11, 1964, entitled 'The Nkrumah World Outlook', article (2) in 'Studies in Consciencism'."

"Of particular interest to me was that part of the above named article which dealt with what its author calls the 'liberation struggle of the people of Palestine'. In that context the author launches the idea that this struggle could be viewed as an example for 'the right to use all means and resources at disposal to recover territory and safeguard it', and that in contradiction to other disputes which should 'by all means be settled by peaceful means'."

"Allow me", continues Dr. Wolf, "to disagree with Mr. Niang's formulations and way of presenting the particular question mentioned (The Palestine Question), as well as with his final suggestion as to the solution to this problem, by way of using all means to recover the territory in question."

"My disagreement with Mr. Niang is of a twofold character: first in the way of opposing the idea of solving the particular problem, mentioned, by force; secondly in the way of seeing the need for approaching the problem concretely, based on the facts."

"One should set out from the fact that as a result of historic developments and specific historic conditions, Palestine developed from a uni-national Arab country into a bi-national Arab-Jewish country."

We note with great interest this last sentence quoted from Dr. Wolf's letter, that is "Palestine developed from a uni-national Arab country into a bi-national Arab-Jewish country."

When we turn to Africa we find that "African society has one segment which comprises our traditional way of life; it has a second segment which is filled by the presence of the Islamic tradition in Africa; it has a final segment which represents the infiltration of the Christian tradition and culture of Western Europe into Africa, using colonialism and neo-colonialism as its primary vehicles" (Consciencism p. 68).

There is no doubt whatsoever that the infiltration of the Jewish tradition and culture from Europe and America into Palestine used "colonialism and neo-colonialism as its primary vehicles". Indeed the reason why "the liberation struggle of the people of Palestine" is no way distant apart from the liberation struggle of the people of Africa lies in the very fact that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are one in their various forms and manifestations. But we know, reflexive upon Consciencism, that "the European contact must find its place in this history (that of Africa) only as an African experience, even if as a crucial one. That is to say, the European contact needs to be assessed and

judged from the point of view of the principle animating African society, and from the point of view of the harmony and progress of this society" (Consciencism p. 63).

We do not see where we go wrong when we say that the present Jewish contact with the Arab Palestinian people must find its place in the history of Palestine only as an Arab experience, even if as a crucial one. The meaning here is that the Jewish contact needs to be assessed and judged from the point of view of the principle animating the Arab Palestinian society, and from the point of view of the harmony and progress of this society. Dr. Wolf writes, again in his letter: "A solution of the question has, to my mind, to take into consideration the just and legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people and those of the Jewish people; it has to be based on a reciprocal recognition of the just national rights of both peoples. And the state of Israel will have to be the first in recognizing the still unrealized legitimate right of the Palestinian Arab people and above all of the right of the Arab refugees to choose between returning or receiving compensations. This too should be the key to the recognition of the state of Israel and its legitimate rights by the Arab countries; the key to negotiations, to agreement, to peace. This conception rejects any ideas implicating the liquidation of the state of Israel or the idea of negating the legitimate rights of the people of Israel."

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Earlier, Dr. Wolf wrote in the same letter: "This fact alone calls for a peaceful solution to the Palestine Question. This idea is contained too in the joint communique signed by the president of the U.A.R., Nasser and N. S. Khrushchov during the latter's visit to the U.A.R. in May, 1964, in which support was expressed for the Soviet proposal for peaceful solutions to territorial and boundary questions. This communique did not contain President Nasser's former reservation in the nature of excluding Palestine Question from such peaceful solutions. This idea of solving the Palestine Question by peaceful means was also hinted at lately in the articles by Mr. Heikel in 'Al Aharam'."

And the last sentence of Dr. Wolf's letter reads as follows: "This conception (which rejects any ideas implicating the liquidation of the state of Israel or the idea of negating the legitimate rights of the people of Israel) too is the one put forward by the Communist Party of Israel and basically too by Communist parties of the Arab countries." Hence to the mind of Dr. Wolf, we are "plus royaliste que le roi" or "more king than the king" "plus papiste que le pape", (more pope than the pope) in other words we ask for the people of Palestine more than N. S. Khrushchov and the Communist Party of Israel and the Communist parties of the Arab countries on the one

hand, and President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Mr. Heikel and "Al Aharam" on the other hand. Dr. Wolf has to bear responsibilities for the significance of his words which refer to the position of those eminent personalities and well known progressive political parties towards the solution of the Palestinian question. For our part we beg to disagree with Dr. Wolf as far as his own views are concerned.

But before doing so let us remember that for Dr. Wolf we are at the extreme of both the World Communist Movement and Nasserism itself, as far as the solution of the Palestinian question is concerned. If that is really the case, perhaps that unbelievable position may be explained by three facts.

Firstly, if the well known Stalinian definition to the concept of nation could be attributed to Marxism-Leninism as a whole, then the conclusion would be that for Marxism, a nation is an optimum milieu and not what we call milieu-media, which is a part of a milieu.

ARAB-MUSLIM WORLD

Secondly, we have referred (in one of these series) to the Arab-Muslim world itself as a milieu-media and not a milieu. That is in our view the Arab-Muslim world has always been a part of a milieu and never a milieu as such. For some time, somewhere we found it the dominant segment of some societies, at other times or and in other places we find the Arab-Muslim World as a secondary or even dominated factor. Perhaps the strategy of Nasserism based on a milieu-media (the Arab Nation) may explain why one of the major objectives of the historic 23rd July Revolution, namely the liberation of the People of Palestine, is not yet achieved.

Thirdly, the leaders of the Israelites also have committed the same category mistake. In fact, according to the Nkrumahist definition of nation, the Jewish, throughout the world form a nation. There is no need for them to find themselves within the limit of a territory using the same language to be able to prove the validity of the fact that they form a nation whose just and legitimate rights have to be taken into consideration everywhere and at any time.

Hence, Marxism, "Nasserism" and Zionism in recognizing in a nation a milieu capable not only of self-motion, but also of self-transformation and self-induced development may have, in the solution to the Palestinian question a stand somewhat different from that of Nkrumahism. For Consciencism, a nation belonging to the category milieu-media cannot be equated to a state which belongs to the category milieu. Furthermore, Consciencism posits that at all cost struggle is the basis for all change.

Our thesis towards the solution of the Palestinian question may be based on four points:

I. Neo-colonialism is the latest stage of imperialism. That is to say to-day the only meaningful and lasting victory over imperialism is a complete eradication of that menacing halaucoast. But not a single micro-milieu (here Arab army which is yet to be born) not even a milieu-media (here the Arab nation which is already a real and dynamic entity) can liquidate, in Palestine, neo-colonialism which is superficially symbolised by the state of Israel. To achieve this mighty goal one needs to

derive his strength from the very-inside of mankind which is to be found to-day in the African Revolution.

Herein is the more reason to question; "How can Egypt, strategically situated as it is, combat imperialism and neo-colonialism and solve the pressing and urgent problems of the Middle-East unless it has the backing of a Union Government of Africa? (Kwame Nkrumah at the rostrum of the African Summit Conference in Cairo last year).

We fully endorsed Kwame Nkrumah's view when he stated categorically that:

"Only a Union Government of Africa can assist effectively in the solution of the problems of the Middle East including the Palestinian question."

II. There is only one genuine solution to the Palestinian question and that is the Jewish infiltration to Palestine using colonialism and neo-colonialism as its primary vehicles must find its place in the history of Palestine only as an Arab-Palestinian experience, even if as a crucial one. That is to say the Jewish contact with the Arabs in Palestine needs to be assessed and judged from the point of view of the principles animating the Arab-Palestinian society, and from the point of view of the harmony and progress of that society. In other words, the future state of a free Palestine must find its place in an Arab context, in the same way as liberated South Africa must find its place in an African context. But the Arab-Palestinian state we are advocating for must be a secular one, it must avoid any kind of exploitation; in short it must truly be a socialist state whose citizens, Arabs or Jews, enjoy the same opportunities for freedom and justice, for work and happiness.

Judging from the present situation in that area we cannot see how that change could be achieved by peaceful means.

In any case we have already stated elsewhere that we see in an internal subjection an extraneous body within the human body; the only way to fight and eradicate it is by extraction; such kind of operation as always painful and bloody.

III. Before the Algerian people started the armed revolution and guerrilla warfare which led to the independence of that country, and even during that heroic struggle against imperialism, some people used to say that "Algeria developed from a uni-national Arab country into a bi-national Arab-European country". Had it been in 1947 and again had the F.L.N. been weak and non-vigilant, the United Nations General Assembly could have taken cognizance of 'this new reality' and voted in the 1950's to assure the right of self-determination to both peoples—Arab and European. But in the same way as to-day, in Africa, the decisions of the Berlin Conference are being crushed by the African Revolution, to-morrow the liberation struggle of the people of Palestine will overcome those U.N. resolutions which form the basis for the establishment of the state of Israel. The basic difference between Algeria and Palestine is to be found in the fact that Algeria is what we call the milieu-media of exteriorisation of the

Wolf Ehrlich

African Revolution and Palestine is the very inside of a milieu (the Middle East) where the categorical conversion from a stage of non-self-consciousness to that which is self-conscious is still to take place.

The Middle-East like Africa form an optimum milieu, that is to say an optimum zone of self-induced resistance capable of transforming itself into an optimum zone for self-induced development. But the difference between Africa and the Middle East is that Africa is ready for the extraction of the extraneous body (that is the internal subjection) whereas in the Middle East there is still a necessity for preparing

the patient for the extraction. iv. We have said earlier on that the very inside of mankind is to be found, today, in the African Revolution. This means that the real solution of all major conflicts in the world to-day pass in one way or the other through the liberation of Africa. Indeed the liberation of Africa is the liberation of man. But among all major conflicts in the world to-day the Palestine question is obviously the very one which is more related to Africa.

Two reasons may explain this fact: firstly, the Palestine Question with apartheid in South Africa forms the lowest

logical type of this present hour. Secondly, Africa and the Middle East share, in common a type of blood which is to be found in the Arab-Islamic experience of Africa. The difference here is that such a segment is secondary in Africa whereas it is the basic one in the Middle East. But if we take again the example of Algeria, a milieu-media of Africa, the same segment is the basic (even during the European presence) and (to-day, after Algeria's independence) the dominant one. Again Algeria is one of the two poles of the African Revolution; the other being Ghana. They are the two poles of identification or if we like the two positive

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A time to speak out and to act

By
Martha Dodd

"If the innocent blood shed in the Congo State by imperialism were put into buckets placed side by side the line would stretch 2,000 miles; if the skeletons of its ten millions of starved and butchered dead could rise up and march in single file, it would take them seven months and four days to pass a given point... the money that imperialism has distilled from that blood and put into its pocket—could be piled into Egyptian pyramids, could carpet the Saharas—could be spread across the sky, the shadow it cast would make twilight in the earth... Out of the skulls a combined monument and mausoleum to imperialism will be built which will exactly duplicate the Great Pyramid of Egypt, then, stuff the symbol of imperialism and stand it up in the sky on that apex, robed and crowned, with its pirate flag in one hand and a butcher knife in the other. The pyramid to be in the centre of a de-populated tract, a brooding solitude covered with weeds and the mouldering ruins of burned villages, where the spirits of the starved and murdered dead will voice their laments forever in the whispers of the wandering winds..."

THESE raging words on the Congo (King Leopold's Soliloquy), were written almost sixty years ago by the great American writer, Mark Twain. Only the word "imperialism" has been substituted for the name of King Leopold of Belgium, who was the puppet selected by imperialism of that day to decimate the Congo.

THE ROBBER BARONS

Most people know of Mark Twain as a humorous genius, the author of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn. Very few know that he was an impassioned pamphleteer, polemicist, a writer who not only burned with indignation at injustice but wrote prodigiously about the outrages committed by the "industrial trusts and monopolistic combines" of his time.

The reason people don't know about this phase of Mark Twain's work is that it

was carefully suppressed or shrouded in silence. 'And still is'.

Fifty-five years elapsed before this ringing denunciation of the rape of the Congo was reprinted. But the year in which it was first published, 1906, also witnessed the entrance into the Congo of the American "robber barons"—Morgan, Rockefeller, Ryan and Guggenheim—whose investments have remained ever since.

Their fury at Mark Twain's invective provides the key to why most Americans were "protected" from reading King Leopold's Soliloquy, The Czar's Soliloquy, To the Person Sitting in Darkness and War Prayers, among other searing maledictions of the "money lust" of U.S. capitalism, which Twain wrote had made his country "hard, sordid, ungentle, dishonest and oppressive."

Thanksgiving week, 1964, will go down in history as the most monstrous massacre ever performed by the "democratic" government of the U.S.A. Thanksgiving Week honours their starved, tattered and brave ancestors who risked their lives to escape the persecution of the English Crown and Church, a fact which many people have forgotten!

It is a time when pious North-Americans gobble up mountains of turkeys and luscious tit-bits offered by their glittering consumer-goods paradise, bought with the sweat, blood and hunger of millions of blacks, whites and yellows throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

ILL-GOTTEN

While numerous leaders of the U.S.A. were gorging themselves on ill-gotten "goodies", their hirelings were slaughtering Congolese men, women and children, de-sexing and mutilating them, raping, burning and pillaging with the "sole humanitarian purpose of rescuing white hostages!"

Exactly sixty years ago Mark Twain wrote another corrosively humorous, unpublished piece, A Thanksgiving Sentiment:

"We have much to be thankful for: Our free Republic being the official godfather of—the Congo Graveyard; first—the Powers to recognise its pirate-flag and become

responsible through silence for the prodigious depredations and multitudinous murders committed under it upon the helpless natives by King Leopold of Belgium in the past twenty years.

"Now, therefore, let us be humbly thankful that this last twelve-month has been the King's usual annual myriad of murders reduced by nearly one-and-a-half per cent. Let us be humbly grateful that the good King, our pet and protégé... is still spared to us to continue his work, and ours, among the friendless and the forsaken.

"And finally let us live in the blessed hope that when, on the last Great Judgement Day, he is confronted with his un-offending millions upon millions of robbed, mutilated and massacred men, women and children, and required to explain, he will be as politely silent about us as we have been about him."

But ours is a different day from that of King Leopold: Silence cannot be so easily bought or maintained.

The details of the butchery have been broadcast throughout the world by radio-announcers, newspapermen and photographers.

BRITISH AID

No one in the whole of Africa, Asia, Latin America and by no means everybody in even Europe believes for one moment that the "rescue of white hostages" was the reason for the intervention of U.S. imperialism, accompanied by the Belgian parachutists and other foreign mercenaries, and with Great Britain considerably giving aid and succour to the enterprise.

When an American leader proudly and arrogantly said, "We take full responsibility for the events in the Congo," it was the final exposure of U.S. aims in Africa. It was an unofficial declaration of war on the national liberation movements which have been gaining ground, strength and confidence.

Why the Congo? Above all because of the incomparably rich mineral reserves, including copper, tin, zinc, cobalt, cadmium, tungsten, diamonds, and uranium.

It is time to stand up and be counted, it is time to protest, to struggle, to educate, to fight. It is time for the Mark Twains of every country, including his own, to speak out and so act, time to risk their lives to be able to have a life at all. It is very late, but never too late.

What is Qualitative Change?

THE central achievement of the philosophy of dialectical materialism is the recognition of the possibility of qualitative change, or categorial conversion, in all systems.

No matter how wide the range of conditions under which the properties of any object or process has been studied, we can never be sure that extrapolation of those properties to a new set of conditions is valid. We are warned not to assume that continuous changes in the variables characterising a system necessarily produce a correspondingly continuous change in the system's behaviour. Rather we must admit the possibility that qualitatively new properties of the system might suddenly emerge.

At first sight this may seem a depressingly negative sort of proposition to place at the centre of one's philosophy, but put more positively it is the essence of the scientific hypothesis—that any theory stands or falls by whether or not its predictions accord with experiment. No matter how careful our logic or how inspired our intuition they are not, of themselves, able to determine new truths about the world.

The materialism of this attitude is evident. The world exists, and our minds (as part of that world) are capable of reflection and of predicting possibilities, but those possibilities must always be checked against reality.

EXAMPLES OF CATEGORIAL CONVERSION

Examples of categorial conversion are innumerable and may be drawn from everyday experience, the natural and social sciences, and, indeed, from all fields of knowledge; but to fix our ideas in the rather abstract discussion which follows we will sketch a few concrete cases.

If water is heated there is a smooth change of its density, viscosity and other properties with increasing temperature. At boiling point, however, sudden changes occur which, despite their familiarity, are quite remarkable. The steady quantitative change of properties, instead of proceeding indefinitely, gives way to the rapid conversion of the water into steam. This new phase of the substance, while having some of its properties (e.g. its mass) in common with the water, differs radically not only in the quantitative measure of other properties already present in the water, but in the emergence of entirely new characteristics.

In the field of elementary particle physics a large variety of transformations can occur in which one or more particles are spontaneously annihilated and new particles, possessing entirely different properties, are created. In this example, unlike the previous one, nothing much is known about the underlying causes of the transformations. (Indeed many physicists maintain that there are no such causes. From the discussion that follows, it will be seen that I am, implicitly at least, attacking that point of view.)

Again, in the development of an individual a number of stages of steady progress are exhibited, separated by relatively quick transitional stages in which new skills and abilities, important for further development, are rapidly acquired. For instance birth, the ability to stand up, the development of speech and puberty—the examples springing immediately to mind—mark enormous advances in the potentiality for further growth.

In the political sphere, examples of qualitative change are perhaps more familiar and we need only instance the socialist revolutions that have taken place in many countries, the crucial change in the world balance of forces with the emergence of the Soviet Union as a nuclear power, and the growth and triumph in many areas of the anti-colonialist independence forces.

Further examples of categorial conversion will be mentioned in the discussion below and the reader should be able to supply from his own experience other, perhaps more illuminating, examples but with these in mind let us turn to the general discussion.

SOME PROBLEMS

The first question we must ask is whether the wide diversity of categorial conversions is amenable to a generalised treatment. Is it possible to say anything at all worthwhile about a class of phenomena which ranges from transformations in elementary particle physics to social revolutions? Certainly we should not expect to be able to say much, but unless there are common features in all these processes it is misleading to lump them together with a generic term such as "categorial conversion". We have used the word "sudden" to describe them but this has clearly been a very loose expression and is hardly adequate, without more discussion, to characterise them; for how can we simultaneously describe as sudden, particle transformations taking less than a billionth of a second and, to take another extreme example, the explosion of a star into a nova which may take a few days.

Even assuming that common-features could be found, mere recognition of the similarity is hardly sufficient. What causes such qualitative changes to occur? Is it again possible to give any sort of general answer? If not, then are they simply to be accepted as facts about the way things are, admitting of no explanation? If, on the other hand, they can be explained, do they not then become illusory; simply an expression of our ignorance about the actually continuous reality of nature?

All these questions need to be answered, and answered in careful detail, before we can begin to know what qualitative change is all about, and the nature of the problem is so vast that to claim anything like a complete solution would be unrealistic. I think, however, that one or two points can be clarified but to do so we must first sketch in general terms the picture presented by scientific theory.

DESCRIPTION AND EXPLANATION

In our immediate perception of the world we are aware that matter is in a continual state of flux. Nothing is static. Growth, decay, coalescence, dispersion, transformation are unceasing and yet, within this ferment of activity, stable complexes of phenomena endure which, while participating in the general movement, possess a temporary identity enabling them to be studied as discrete things.

Dialectical Materialism recognises neither things nor processes as primary but accords them an equally fundamental status. It is clearly meaningless to refer to processes not involving things and conversely the description of anything must be given in terms of its properties. These are not simply attributes of the object within itself, but accounts of how it will behave

in given circumstance—what processes, in other words, it is able to participate in. If we think, for example, of sugar we summarise in that one word a vast array of facts about solubility, reflection of light, the chemistry of taste, crystal structure and so on, (though we may of course, in any particular situation, be only concerned with one or two of these properties).

However, the description of the properties of any object is only half the problem. Following the description comes the necessity for explanation and as we have already seen the properties of a single system may not be describable over all ranges of conditions by a single set of laws. Qualitative changes may intervene, requiring that that same system possess widely different phenomenological behaviour for different sets of external conditions. Thus not only do we seek an explanation of a single set of laws, but also we are driven to explain in some way the nature of the transitions between the regions of qualitatively differing behaviour.

In the physical sciences this has in general been effected by reference to the behaviour of the system's inner structure. Thus we might attempt an explanation of the phase change from water to steam by examining their molecular composition. The macroscopic laws of motion of the two phases and the transition between them then appear as statistical laws expressing the average behaviour of the component molecules. We need to be very careful, however, not to see this form of explanation in a one-sided way. It is not just that we understand the macroscopic in terms of the molecular behaviour. We must recognise equally that our knowledge of the molecules' behaviour reflects the macroscopic environment in which we study them and the macroscopic apparatus with which we make our observations.

Perhaps the above example is a bit unfamiliar, but we can make the point clearer by considering, as a further example, the relationship between individuals and society. The laws of social development may be formulated, to some extent, independently of the individuals composing that society. It is certainly legitimate to then ask whether those laws may be explained in terms of the normal behaviour, desires and attitudes of the individuals making up the society. This may be possible, but unless we understand that those very individuals are themselves a social product we are failing to appreciate the correct dialectical relationship between the individual and society.

The study of history in terms of influential figures only makes sense when we take account of them as representatives or spokesmen for social groups or classes; and while they, as individuals, may appear as significant historical causes, it is precisely the social role they fulfil which guarantees their recognition.

THE IDEA OF LEVELS.

In the light of the above, we see the world as made up of a sequence of levels, each possessing its own peculiar laws of motion having for that level a relatively autonomous validity. We may thus study the atomic level, the macroscopic behaviour of physical systems, biological laws, social laws and so on. But the world does not fall apart into disconnected phenomena. There is interaction between the levels and it is legitimate to seek explanations for specific events by reference to the deeper levels. It is, in fact,

precisely in the critical stages of a qualitative transformation that the need for such an explanation becomes evident, and once effected the apparently discontinuous transition may be seen as continuous at the lower level.

In the spontaneous break-up of material when critical mass is reached, we know only too well how catastrophically sudden is the transformation, yet by explanation in terms of the neutron chain-reaction, when we employ a time scale of atomic order of magnitude, that same reaction can be described continuously. The question of "suddenness" is relative. Viewed historically, the growth of the national liberation movements since the war has been enormously rapid, yet that same struggle may take up a good part of the life-time of an individual participant.

MECHANICAL VERSUS DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

Even if the reality of categorial conversion is granted what might be contested is the great emphasis that we place on this mode of behaviour. After all, it might be argued, if, as we have indicated, we can always explain such changes by reference to continuous behaviour at a deeper level, shouldn't we seek the deepest level of phenomena and by uncovering its complete description build up, in a continuous way the properties of all other levels.

This seems all very well, but it needs to be noticed that a very big assumption has been made—that such a deepest level does exist—and it is this assumption, together with the above reasoning, that constitutes the essence of mechanical materialism—find your ultimate constituents of nature, and their laws of motion and interaction and any object and its properties can then be explained (in principle at least) by analysing it into those ultimate parts.

Such a philosophy, in one guise or another, has tended to dominate scientific theory and it is easy why, for in many respects it is progressive in upholding a rationalist and materialist description of the world against theology and other kinds of mysticism. Yet, despite this, as an ideological framework it suffers from a number of deficiencies which can only be corrected by, as it were, giving the other half of the story. The strength of mechanical materialism lies in its materialism—its recognition the external world exists and is comprehensible; its weakness in the mechanical application of that materialism, failing to give an account of qualitative change in all domains of experience.

While paying tribute to the positive influence this philosophy has had on the development of science, we are here concerned with its deficiencies, the most important of which may be summarised as follows:

Firstly, although playing a progressive role in the development of a new science, it can turn reactionary when the laws thus discovered prove inadequate and in need of supersession—a particularly good example of this tendency is afforded by the present controversy in physics over the interpretation of quantum laws. The question at issue is whether or not the principles of uncertainty and complementarity, central to the present "orthodox" interpretation of quantum theory,

are of absolute and permanent validity.

Secondly, when a theory which has been championed by mechanical materialism finally is superseded, the mystics and cynics come crowding in to trumpet the collapse of materialism itself. This was particularly evident in the early part of this century when the overturning of classical physics by the discoveries of relativistic and quantum effects produced a flood of crazy nonsense to "reprove" the existence of God and the freedom of human will in terms of the new laws of physics.

Thirdly, mechanical materialism betrays its essentially metaphysical attitude by its insistence on the search for absolute, rather than relative, truth, and it must recognise that its deepest level, if discovered, would possess laws of development inexplicable in terms of any more fundamental structure.

THE INFINITY OF NATURE

We have seen that mechanical materialism and its inability to comprehend qualitative change is inextricably connected with its belief in a fundamental basis for natural phenomena—a deepest level possessing no substructure in terms of which its laws may be explained. The world appears as a big jig-saw puzzle, the problem of science being to piece together the

constituents into the finite (if rather complicated) whole. Modern cosmological theories are also interpreted mechanically and the world is seen as finite, not only in depth, but in extent as well. Science is exhaustible, and human progress bounded—a barren conception—and it is always present theories which are championed as the ultimate.

The alternative to mechanical materialism is now clear—to simply accept that no level is final or complete in that it cannot be further analysed.

In other words, that the content of nature is infinite.

At this point we must issue a warning. We are not saying, and we cannot say, that it is known that nature is divided into an infinite number of levels. We are simply advancing a working hypothesis, in opposition to the basic and converse hypothesis of mechanical materialism. Neither can be put forward as a proven fact, by their very nature; and to do so would be the crudest type of metaphysics. Dialectical Materialism quite definitely emphasises the relative and temporary truth of all propositions about the world (including its own), recognising that any truth they possess resides in their fruitfulness in application, and not in any a-priori logical "rightness". Thus the only question that it is legitimate to ask about such philosophical propositions is "how well does it encompass, in a gene-

ral way, what is presently known about specific phenomena, and how fruitful is the direction it gives in tackling new regions of experience?" This is the proper measure of any relative truth it may possess.

WHAT IS QUALITATIVE CHANGE?

Let us finally summarise the picture of the world presented above and see how qualitative changes emerge.

The world is infinite in content, but structured into definite levels. The objects of experience at each level are stable within certain ranges of conditions and within each such range they obey continuously applicable, objective laws; but abrupt transitions between these ranges can occur, giving rise to categorial conversion of the objects and an apparently discontinuous change in their behaviour. Explanation of these transformations can be sought at a deeper level, but, although we may by this method uncover a continuous description, we are faced with new qualitative changes in the behaviour of that deeper level. This process is inexhaustible and any law exhibits a dual character; being both determinate at one level and statistical at another.

We have indicated in the above discussion (though this was not our primary purpose) that many of the major controversies in academic philosophy—determinism versus free-will, society versus the individual, things versus processes and so on—dissolve away when we appreciate their dialectical interconnection.

A fuller elaboration of these questions would clearly be valuable.

Habib Niang Replies

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states of identification. By this is meant the fact that when we reach the condition of identification of those two positive states a categorial conversion will take place.

We may find in the formation of a cone of revolution (Cône de Révolution) a geometrical symbol of a dialectical process. Each angle results from the struggle between positive and negative actions. The right angle of the triangle is formed by the identification of the interior angle and the exterior angle. They form the poles of identification of the phenomenon. The two other angles, the complementary angles, symbolise what we may call the points of signification. The rotation of the triangle itself represents the process of the categorial conversion which transforms the phenomenon into a new one, that is the right-angled triangle changes into the cone of revolution (Cône de Révolution). In the phenomenon referred to as the African Revolution Ghana is the interior angle and Algeria the exterior angle; they form the poles of identification of the African Revolution. The right angle of the triangle is the symbol of their identification. The complementary angles are to be found among the original micro-milieux of the segments of the African milieu. A critical study of the history of the African Revolution should find the two complementary angles in the 23rd July Revolution led by Gamal Abdel Nasser and the

move of the Kikuyu of Kenya whose symbol was Jomo Kenyatta.

In actual fact we may refer to Egypt and Kenya as the points of signification of the African Revolution.

The 23rd July Revolution is again historic because, it is in fact, not only one of the two points of signification of the African Revolution, it is also the original micro-milieu of that milieu-media called the Arab-Muslim world. This fact is again significant when we remember that the Arab-Muslim conscience is the basic factor in a milieu, the Middle-East, which represents a very important source of world economy; and of course we refer here to the oil resources of the area. That is why Nasserism is so popular in Latin America for example. Last but not the least, Egypt itself is, in the history of mankind, an original micro-milieu.

Egypt and Kenya, Algeria and Ghana form the right-angled triangle whose rotation symbolises the transformation of Africa, from the stage of the African Revolution to that of an African self-induced state. That is to say, from the stage of balkanization characterised by political, economic and military weaknesses to that of a world power full of political, economic and military strength.

In astronomy we speak of 'circle of height' (cerce de hauteur). From all the points of that circle we see at the same time the same star at the same altitude. In the same way the circle which represents the basis of our cone of revolution, *cône de revolu-*

tion) (a geometrical symbol of a dialectical process) may be called a categorial circle.

The categorial circle symbolises our unity. The material center of the categorial circle is to be found within the original milieu-media and the apex of the cone is the original space-milieu. "Therefore Philosophical Consciencism, in asserting the primary existence of matter, also maintains that space must to the extent that it is real, derive its properties from those of matter through a categorial conversion." And since the properties of space are geometrical, it then follows from Philosophical Consciencism that the geometry of space is determined by the properties of matter". (Consciencism p. 88).

Back to astronomy and by the same way to the Middle East, let us remember that a star is solar-luminous by itself or by borrowing its brightness from another body. Again the common segment which links up the Middle East to the African Continent is the Arab-Muslim experience of Africa. This fact may lead the star of the Middle East to borrow its brightness from the star of Africa. If that happened we shall have another example of a condition of signification which will generate a process which will ultimately lead to the complete liberation of the Middle East. Within a liberated Middle East the just and legitimate rights of the Jews shall be safeguarded in the same way as the just and legitimate rights of other peoples including the Arabs themselves.

Modern State of National Liberation Movement (I)

A MAJOR feature of our time is the extensive development of the national liberation movement sweeping away colonialism. In this struggle, in which scores of nations are involved, the destinies of almost half of mankind are being shaped. By cementing their solidarity with the countries of the socialist community and the working classes of the capitalist countries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America are casting off all forms of national oppression and taking up the road of social progress.

The national liberation movement as a whole has entered a new phase in its development. Whereas in the past it was outward-looking, with more and more countries and territories becoming involved in it, at present it is becoming inward-looking, giving its primary attention to the complete eradication of colonialism and destruction of the economic roots of imperialist influence, to social and economic problems. In forms peculiar to these countries as former colonies, some of them are passing over from national liberation revolutions to socialist revolutions.

The great victories of the national liberation movement have changed the former colonial world beyond recognition. Ninety-five per cent of its population have cast off the chains of colonial oppression. Mere fragments remain of what were once vast empires. Britain's colonial possessions now have a population of less than 15 million, Portugal's about 12 million, France's some 1.5 million, Holland's about half a million and the United States 2.8 million. Belgium, Italy and Japan have lost their empires entirely. While in 1919 fully 69.9 per cent of the globe's population were under the colonial yoke, today less than one per cent remain under it. The people's pressure on the colonial regimes grows in strength daily. In response to the colonialists' violence and atrocities the patriots take up arms. No matter how desperately the Portuguese dictator Salazar, the British imperialists, and the racists of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa are putting off the inevitable, the days of the colonial regimes are numbered. The struggle of the remaining colonies has the full backing of the newly-free countries and forces of world socialism.

The problem of national liberation faces not only the colonial peoples. Although the overwhelming majority of the former colonies have won national sovereignty their position is by no means identical. Some of them are actually controlled by the imperialists who have succeeded in placing their puppets in power there. In these countries the main task of the national liberation movement is, as before, to overthrow the pro-imperialist regimes, and work for genuine, and not formal, political independence.

The majority of the oppressed nations however, have gained political freedom. Despite their economic and military weakness, despite the never-ending pressure of the imperialist who still retain some, in some cases considerable, influence here too (not to speak of economic positions), the newly-independent countries are able, thanks to the new relationship of forces in the modern world, to enjoy true political independence.

The emerging countries still depend on the world capitalist economy but do not, in their majority, constitute part of the political system of imperialism. The former colonial nations have become direct participants in the making of world history, and the newly-independent states have become a serious force in world affairs. A historical turning point has been reached by the newly-free nations. New horizons of anti-imperialist struggle and social progress have opened before them.

These indisputable facts have been reflected in the documents of international communist forums. "The break-down of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement," says the statement of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties of 1960 "is a development rank-

ing second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system."

The fact that the imperialists are still maintaining some of their positions in the former colonies doesn't, of course, cancel out the significance of the great historic victory of the world revolutionary forces—the crushing of the colonial system. Previously, in the epoch of imperialist domination, the political independence of the economically weak and backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America could be purely formal. Lenin saw this as being due to the fact that finance capital was at that time the dominant factor in all economic and in all international relations. This situation has radically changed with the transition from capitalism to socialism. Thanks to the support of the world socialist system and international labour movement, in the atmosphere of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and in view of the mighty upsurge of the national liberation struggle, the emerging countries can become truly independent if they adopt the policy of non-alignment with the aggressive imperialist blocs and follow the path of social progress. This is attested by the example of Algeria, UAR, Ghana, Mali, Burma, Guinea, and other countries. The colonial or semi-colonial dependence of these countries on imperialism, is entirely out of the question. India and Indonesia, the newly-independent countries of Asia, are also pursuing an independent line. Even in the countries where the imperialists still preserve some control changes have taken and continue to take place, such as make it impossible to conceive of them still being dominated by colonialism.

NEO-COLONIALISM

Of course, the liquidation of the colonial regimes does not mean that colonialism has been done away with and that the fight against it has ended. The imperialists are widely resorting to neo-colonialist methods and practices. But, dangerous as neo-colonialism may be to the emerging nations, hard as the imperialists of the USA as well as those of the FRG, Britain, France, Japan and other powers, may try to save and modernise colonialism, they cannot deprive the developing nations of the fruits of their great victory. The liquidation of the colonial system is an irreversible process.

To deny this means crossing out the historic victories of the national liberation movement, under-estimating the significance of the collapse of the colonial system, belittling the role of political independence, and disbelieving in the forces of the newly-free nations, which, with the backing of the socialist countries, are capable of inflicting a devastating blow at the machinery of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The liquidation of the colonial system is of immense importance to modern revolutionary developments. Speak-

by
K. Brutents

ing of the collapse of colonial slavery Marxists-Leninists not only note the historic event in the world revolutionary process, not only pay homage to the heroic feat of the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies, but emphasise that this event, while culminating a complete epoch in the history of the newly-free countries, opens up a new phase of anti-imperialist battles, of national and social progress.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

Attainment of political independence in the past signified the culmination of the national movement, whose traditional aim it was to overthrow the alien rule, to set up a national stage, and to realise the right to independent statehood. In those days the national movements removed the medieval and other obstacles blocking the progress of capitalism.

It would be a grave mistake, however, to measure the modern national liberation movements with the same yardstick. Lenin warned Marxists against approaching phenomena merely from the standpoint of fossilised "general concepts" based on past experience, against mechanically interweaving them with the living fabric of the historical process.

The modern national liberation revolutions are a product of our time, characterised by the transition from capitalism to socialism, and bear its imprint. They have an anti-imperialist spearhead (although they are also aimed against feudal and pre-feudal relations, which are, in turn supported by imperialism), they smash up the system imposed upon them by monopoly capital, and constitute an integral part of the world revolutionary process. Hence the national liberation revolutions of our time are anti-imperialist, democratic revolutions of a new type.

These revolutions, firstly, aim not only at the political, but economic liberation of the former colonies and dependencies. Even for this reason alone, they cannot culminate in the winning of political independence but must develop further, toward the achievement of economic independence in the interests of full victory over colonialism, in the interests of consolidation of their political independence.

True, the economic aims of national liberation were of importance in the pre-imperialist epoch too, but at that time the task of the national liberation revolution was merely to create political conditions for the solution. The system of world capitalist economic relations, with its unequal division of labour, had not yet emerged: there were still no financial monopolies capable, with the aid of this system and by upholding it, of dominating formally sovereign states. The colonies' economic dependence was due entirely to their political subjugation to the mother countries, while today it is due to their economic position in the system of international capitalist division of labour. In the past the rupture of political ties between a colony and the mother country fundamentally resolved the problem of national liberation. The national state and the elemental development of local capitalism made for a

relatively speedy delivery from economic dependence. Under imperialism, however, the winning of political independence by a colony does not deliver it from the position of an exploitation nation. It remains a hinterland of the capitalist economy, foreign monopolies preserving their positions in it. It is this system of international economic control and exploitation which "poses" before the national liberation revolutions the task of fighting for economic emancipation. Fulfilment of this task has become possible thanks to the emergence of the socialist system which has put an end to the undivided rule of the imperialists over the world economy. Clearly, the struggle for its solution is a struggle for a profoundly anti-imperialist nature.

The choice of the road for their development is being decided by the ex-colonies and dependencies in the course of the national liberation revolutions with a new social content. This question did not and could not face the old revolutions, which merely opened the way to capitalist development. Today, two roads of development are possible, a socialist and a capitalist. Naturally, the bourgeoisie and the forces connected with it are seeking, with the support of imperialism, to steer the newly-emerging countries on a capitalist course. But the local bourgeoisie is weak, as a rule and finds itself in a much more complex and unfavourable position than did the bourgeoisie of the main capitalist countries at the dawn of their development. It emerged on the historical scene at a time when capitalism, about to replace feudalism was on the upgrade, constituting an inevitable and progressive stage of development. The growth of capitalist relations in many countries (including the US, a former colony) served as basis for their rapid economic and technical progress and transformed them into advanced and powerful states.

DECLINE OF CAPITALISM

Under present conditions capitalism is on the decline and cannot serve as a basis for the national resurgence of the former colonies and semi-colonies. As a result, the very need of economic emancipation and elimination of the chance of restoring of colonial subjugation to imperialism determines the character of the national liberation revolutions. Their development creates decisive prerequisites for progress in the direction of socialism.

As the most recent historical experience of some of the newly independent countries has demonstrated, capitalism fails to bring about the rapid and stable economic advance which is absolutely essential to these countries if they are to break away from their dependence on the imperialist monopolies, from their backwardness. Moreover it does not enable them substantially to reduce the gap dividing their economies from those of the main imperialist powers. According to estimates by economists, some of the former colonies, at their present rate of progress, will reach the modern stage of development of the capitalist countries of Europe at the end of the 21st century at best. This is due primarily to the pernicious effect of the international capitalist division of labour, to the exploitation of most of the earth's population by the imperialist trusts, which are trying to keep their hold on the countries that have overthrown the colonial regimes but remain part of the capitalist system. The possibilities of capitalist development are restricted also by the direct resistance the monopolies are putting to the growth of national capital in these countries, a resistance

which sometimes works at cross purposes of the global strategy of the imperialist governments calculated to implant capitalism in the former colonies and semi-colonies.

The ways used by the capitalist countries of Europe and the USA to spur up their industrial development—wars, reparations, colonial exploitation—are closed to the newly independent states. At the same time capitalism's organic maladies are aggravated under the conditions of these countries, whose economies have been distorted by colonial proportions, pre-feudal and feudal hangovers and other historical relics.

The local bourgeoisie of the former colonies and semi-colonies is, as a rule, weak. It is forced to move against the tide of anti-capitalist sentiments bred by the bitter lessons of colonial rule and the revolutionising example of the socialist countries. Influential circles among it are connected with the landed estates and foreign monopolies and content themselves at times with the role of junior partner, for the time being at least. This makes the development of national capital particularly painful to the masses.

Lastly, of tremendous, perhaps decisive, importance is the fact that capitalism as a source of suffering for the masses and enrichment of the few through the exploitation and oppression of the vast majority of the people, cannot offer an inspiring prospect to the masses in the newly independent countries and mobilise their energies for national reconstruction.

Failure of the attempts to solve the problems of national liberation and revival along capitalist lines has caused deep crises among the bourgeoisie regimes of some of the newly emerging countries, which have increasingly resulted in the taking over of power by the forces of revolutionary democracy and in the setting up of unpopular military dictatorships.

Capitalism's inability to serve as basis for the advancement of the former colonies and semi-colonies becomes even more manifest if we regard the situation in these countries in the light of the international situation, of the sum total of modern capitalist relations, of all the peculiarities of the modern epoch. Capitalism has become over-ripe as a system. It has no future not only in the imperialist countries, where capitalism has a long history behind it, but also in countries where it has practically no past.

NATIONAL LIBERATION REVOLUTION

This is why in the onward march to its goal—total liberation of the peoples from all oppression—the national liberation revolution becomes inevitably involved in the solution of social problems and displays a tendency to develop into a revolution rebuilding society along socialist lines. The general democratic fulfilment, goes beyond the framework of capitalism, which becomes too tight for the popular, anti-imperialist revolution; for its development Lenin's forecast that "in the future decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the world's population, originally directed toward national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism..." (V.I. Lenin, Works, fourth ed., v.32, p.458, Russ. Ed.) is coming true.

This deepening and "reorientation" of the national liberation revolution finds a

reflection in the fact that slogans of building socialism are being advanced by practically all influential political parties and forces in the newly independent countries. Even many representatives of the national bourgeoisie, drawing the conclusion that the "classical" capitalist road followed by the West does not suit these countries, have come out in favour of the setting up and strengthening of the state sector economic planning, farming co-operation, etc. They use a socialist phraseology to cover up their attempt to promote an independent capitalist line of development and to "mitigate" some of the "evils" of capitalism.

However, the fact that the various concepts of socialism in the emerging countries often prove to be pure demagoguery on the part of reactionaries or cover for attempts by the bourgeoisie to secure the victory of capitalist relations in these countries, does not in the least diminish the enormous significance of the spreading of socialist slogans in the former colonies and semi-colonies. The fact that many of the governments in the emerging countries have deemed it impossible to take a stand in favour of the capitalist road indicates the entire depth of the anti-capitalist sentiments of the masses of the people in these countries and is an indication of a major ideological and political defeat of capitalism in regions which the latter hoped and still hopes to convert into its reserve in the fight against socialism.

SOCIAL PROGRESS

A salient feature of the social progress in the former colonies and semi-colonies is the fact that it is an outgrowth of the national liberation movement and serves it as one of its weapons. The national liberation revolution may, as in the case of Algeria, develop into a socialist revolution, and at a certain stage in its development the revolutionary process combined the features of both revolutions.

This peculiarity of the liberation movement helps to broaden its social and political base. It opens the possibility of bringing to the revolution along the channels of the national liberation struggle, the petty-bourgeois masses and the middle classes, creates favourable conditions for rallying around the united front, under the banner of social progress, all the healthy forces of the nation, and, in view of the relative weakness of the local bourgeois elements, the immense prestige of socialism, created by the great achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, acts in the same direction.

Lastly, it should be pointed out that the modern national liberation revolutions achieve their targets and win final victories as people's revolutions. This is only natural considering the modern trend of these revolutions, their anti-imperialist and social aims, their driving forces. National liberation revolutions are revolutions in the interests of the common people.

Owing to the anti-imperialist character and new social content of the modern national liberation revolutions, owing to the big role the masses of the common people play in them, these revolutions seriously weaken the chain of imperialism at its most vulnerable points, so that it breaks altogether when the revolution is carried through to the end.

The peculiarities of the modern national liberation revolutions explain why they of political independence, but

enter a new stage with the aid of this independence. The main task of the new stage is to win complete independence from imperialism, i.e., economic independence, to create a national economy and thereby to consolidate the newly-won national sovereignty. It is becoming ever clearer to the revolutionary, patriotic forces of the national liberation movement that this can be achieved only by general democratic transformations, by destroying the economic and remaining political roots of imperialist influence, developing national industries, solving the agrarian problem, democratising social life, raising living standards, pursuing an active anti-imperialist foreign policy. Social progress becomes the core of the revolution at the new stage of its development.

"A national liberation revolution" it is said "does not end with the winning of political independence. Independence will be unstable and will become fictitious unless the revolution brings about radical changes in the social and economic spheres and solves the pressing problems of national rebirth."

Of Course the struggle for economic independence is not purely economic struggle. The arena in which the patriotic forces clash with imperialism and internal reaction includes all aspects, all spheres of social life in Sovereign states. It is keener of all in the political sphere.

The specific character of the various countries of the former colonial periphery of imperialism appears ever more clearly at the new stage of the national liberation revolutions, determining the forms and methods to be used to solve its problems. The collapse of colonial system has dispelled the imperialist myth about the alleged uniformity of the vast world of enslaved nations. The endless variety of social and economic conditions, historical and national traditions and other peculiarities of these countries has been revealed. The revolutionary creativeness of the masses who have won the opportunity to display a historical initiative, breeds a multiplicity of specific forms of social development in the fight against colonialism, feudalism and capitalism.

The pivot of the new stage of the national liberation movement, as said above, is the struggle for social progress. But what is social progress as applying to the bulk of the newly-free countries, where local capitalism has not yet become a serious force and capitalist relations have not penetrated deep into the life of the native population? It is non-capitalist development. The thesis of the non-capitalist development of the former colonies and semi-colonies was propounded by V.I. Lenin. It was his answer to the problems arising in connection with the awakening of the Eastern peoples under the impact of the Great October Revolution of 1917, in connection with the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggles. Lenin opened to these peoples the prospect of transition to a new, socialist society, free from exploitation, by-passing capitalism. He proved the hollowness of the claim that the revolutionary process must fizzle out, and that countries throwing off the yoke of colonialism but not possessing sufficient material and other requisites for socialist development—which are usually created by capitalism—must inevitably fall into the clutches of capitalism. Lenin's assertion was fully borne out by the experience of the Soviet Central Asian republics and the Mongolian Peoples' Republic.

The Socialist Revolution in Africa (8)

THE term 'African Revolution' which we have used throughout this series must now be subjected to a more detailed examination. We have seen how imperialism exploitative and parasitic is a world system affecting all parts of the world. Emerging ever more strongly is the socialist world system expanding materially and culturally and enhanced by increasing numbers of states. It will very soon become the stronger of the two world systems. This is the basic contradiction of the present world picture.

A socialist world system does not mean that every socialist state which comprising it have to be an exact reproduction in political forms, economic organisation and cultural activity of the first socialist state. On the contrary, there is and will be wide diversity depending on past history, tradition, cultural heritage and the circumstances in which the revolution takes place. At the same time there will be common features which have emerged from actual experiences which apply to the winning of power and building of socialism anywhere.

We described the essential features of socialism in the previous article emphasising the leading role of the working class in alliance with all other working people, farmers, and intellectuals; the need for a Party, based on democratic centralist principles and committed to the scientific socialist principles.

Rapidly political and economic changes are taking place throughout the world. Within imperialism itself there are signs of strains and antagonisms between the main imperialist powers; these are inevitable and progressive forces must watch for these split and use them to their advantage. Within socialist camp too there are at present divisions which weaken the total anti-imperialist front but which serious as they are, are not inevitable. The material basis for overcoming them does exist, however complex that process may appear at present. Internal developments have taken place inside socialist countries involving new forms of democracy, improved methods of economic planning and accelerated improvements in the all round material and cultural life of the people. In the capitalist countries where the working class movement is strong but still not in power, considerable thought is being given to the problems of the development of united action against monopoly capitalism, against imperialist military and economic alliances and for the strengthening of the mass activity of the people for peace, for support to the national liberation movements and for better living standards.

In Africa the same rapid changes are being experienced both within particular states and on a continental basis too. This accelerated rate of change presents scientific socialists with new opportunities and new problems. We have to be alert to the emergence of the new features which are leading to new revolutionary situations, we have to be able to benefit from our mistakes and those of our allies, we have to be able to apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to quite new and rapidly changing circumstances. It is this approach which is embodied in Nkrumaism.

Now when socialism is being built in many new parts of the world, when there are nearly a hundred parties based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, there are bound to be widely differing experiences, sometimes widely differing conclusions are drawn from them with temporary differences of interpretation or emphasis. This is a challenge to the world anti-imperialist movement to develop and enrich our common ideology and to extend our control over it at the same time, so that maximum unity can be preserved.

Lenin said that 'every cook must learn to rule the state' and certainly today, every cook if he is to rule the state effectively, must learn to be a better scientific socialist. The problems facing the African revolution are not simple. The totality of the situation is of course expressed in the general term of 'anti-imperialist struggle' but within that there are many different levels of struggle and many different

levels of achievements. In this great continent we now have, established, independent states, some trying to build their economies afresh on socialist lines so as to ensure real independence from imperialism and to free their peoples from exploitation. Others are still labouring under the illusion that the capitalist established road is the 'natural' way to develop, some whose political is large are still semi-feudal.

We end the series of articles on the socialist Revolution in Africa. The aim of the whole series is to demonstrate the relationship between the Socialist Revolution in Africa and the general world-wide advance of mankind towards full emancipation. We aim to show that full freedom in Africa as anywhere else in the world can only be realised through getting rid of exploitation and by creating a new society based on the common ownership of the resources of the nation. Pan-Africanism itself is part of the socialist revolution; it is based on the irresistible demand of the peoples of Africa for a new developing prosperous way of life which can be realised only through socialism. We have dealt with the nature of imperialism, its characteristic features and its different forms. We have shown how this system is in crisis and what possibilities this situation holds out for the strategy and tactics of the anti-imperialist forces. The problems of national liberation and the relation of this to nationalism and the fight for socialism will now be discussed and we shall endeavour to show that the very concept of liberation and Pan-Africanism involves the whole question of the reconstruction of African society on the basis of socialism which is an economic and social system with common basic features wherever it exists or is being built. A guide in the exploration of these essential ideas is Nkrumaism which brilliantly demonstrates the basic validity of scientific socialism everywhere and which creatively applies its basic principles to the particular and special problems of Africa.

In others we see the tragedy of civil war and imperialist intervention. Even among those states where the national independence movement has succeeded in winning the first necessary aim of a political independence there are considerable ranges of achievement and possibilities. In other parts of Africa the struggle is still being waged by the national movements for initial independence. Some have had to resort to war, others struggle through non-violent means. This uneven development creates all kinds of new problems, especially in the course of trying to create real unity in Africa and in trying to establish a continental Union Government. Pan-African Unity can be a powerful political form of organisation strengthening us at the various stages of the African revolution.

A number of important tasks and stages of the revolution can be accomplished more effectively on the basis of the Unity of African States. The first task still awaiting completion is the complete political emancipation of every African state. The state power of the 36 African states, must be exerted in the continent itself and in bringing pressure on imperialist Governments. They must combine to create a favourable situation in which our brothers can succeed in winning their freedom from apartheid, from Spanish Portuguese or any other imperialist rule. The forms this pressure takes are various. The African states combine together to provide military and material assistance, education and training for those denied it in the colonial territories. They can use their resources in the conducting of propaganda throughout the world, drawing the attention to oppression and

tyranny; they can take the lead as man are doing to boycott trade or relations with oppressive colonial regimes.

As independent states with independent foreign policies they play a vital role. The combination of the African states in the United Nations, in combination with other socialist countries, won the declaration against colonialism, now the next stage is to enforce its application. They combine to work for the expulsion of South Africa from world councils, they try to bring pressure for favourable prices for primary products challenging imperialism where it hurts most. The emergence of the new states exerting their influence in this way has brought about a change in the balance of forces in the U.N.

Now it is more difficult for

ultimate aim of socialist development. This is understood as the only logical development of the previous struggles for national liberation.

In other states however, this second stage is not yet being carried through. It raises acute immediate problems in the economic life of all African states. Most African states even with the best planning and most skilled construction of socialism will be unable to extend their development beyond a certain point. This is because of the balkanisation of the continent. Artificial boundaries drawn by the imperialist governments split the African peoples into small units. This has resulted in states with small populations and resources and a restricted internal market. Modern industrial techniques develop ever larger and more extensive units of production, the very processes necessitate large scale investment, and large scale operations leading to the production of enormous quantities of goods or products. The African states are in general too small to be able to develop these modern techniques to the full with their present limited populations, supplies and communications.

It is in this field that the planning of economic resources is so vital. A steel mill, a motor car assembly plant or manufacturing plant could produce far much bigger economic units than the characteristic single African state.

Now while development is still being planned it is vital that Pan African Unity should include measures designed to maximise the benefits of economic planning on a continental basis, otherwise there will be a proliferation of investments each reproducing the other, duplication and waste, leading to economic chaos and difficulties in the development of a market within Africa itself. One of the crucial questions here is of course the form of ownership that joint ventures should take. Real planning can only be undertaken by the states themselves, it cannot be left to the vagaries of private ownership. In any case in Africa basic industries on a necessary scale utilising the most advanced techniques could be developed only by large scale capital. Only the states themselves could undertake it because the only alternatives is to hand over to a large scale foreign monopoly capitalism which invites the return and strengthening of imperialism in our countries. In this respect aid from socialist countries is vital. This problem of economic co-operation on an all continental basis, involves too the development of communications, roads, railways, airlines, telephone, radio and television. There is a vast area for co-operation at a fairly simple level which world never-theless be beyond the capacity of any one state but which could benefit millions of our people very rapidly.

African countries face acute social problems left over by imperialism. The health of our people suffers from centuries of poverty and neglect. Malaria, is one of the main menaces can be taken as an example. While it can be tackled by local spraying and draining within a particular state, international co-operation can make the drive against it qualitatively more effective. The mosquito doesn't need a passport to travel from place to place, the campaign to protect our peoples from its ravages is a supra-national problem. Our co-operation on a multitude of social and cultural problems would enrich the lives of our people very rapidly, breaking down narrow parochial concepts as well as extending the down narrow parochial material means of solving their problems.

Some African states are acutely aware of the dangers of disunity, and constantly point out the advantages of unity and the perils of se-

paration. In this respect Ghana is outstanding and has already in her constitution provisions for the achievement of Pan-African Government. Practical long and short term measures are initiated and supported by her to stimulate and encourage the growth of Pan African consciousness and co-operation.

But states alone cannot lead mother states toward unity. The mass of the people must be won for the concept. Where leaders and Governments resist, or merely give lip service then a political struggle must ensue in which pressure for a correct policy of anti-imperialist struggle at every level will be applied by the people. The growth and effectiveness of continental Pan African Organisation of the people can play a vital part here in the continued struggle against imperialism and for the strengthening of that fight for real continental unity.

Pan African Unity is not a wild dream but the most effective means of consolidating and extending the achievements of the African liberation movements.

It needs to be achieved.

Should State Enterprises make

THE "Russian experts" have made another astounding discovery: the Soviet economy is adopting the "profit system."

Mr. Harry Schwartz a leading member of the fraternity titles his "New York Times" article: "Soviet Is Leaning to Profit System."

The U.S.S.R., writes Schwartz, is planning widespread application of "capitalist incentives" and "management and business practices long familiar in capitalist countries:

RUSK, HOME

Another New York paper, the *Wall Street Journal*, tells its readers that "Russia is borrowing a basic premise of capitalism" and "intends to start operating some plants of the profit motive."

U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, is quoted as saying that Soviet leaders "are talking more and more about incentives . . . and even about profits."

The *Paris Express* waxes sarcastic: "The comrades go in for profit."

In Britain, too, the "experts" have been at work. Even Sir Alex Douglas Home, the "much-stick economist" has spoken of the Soviet Union's alleged "rejection" of socialism.

All this is an exercise in misinterpretation. These so-called "experts" are deliberately misinterpreting the discussion on economic problems now being conducted in the Soviet press.

From it they conclude that the Soviet economy is in a state of "crisis" and that in a desperate attempt to find a way out, the Soviet Union is abandoning its "ideological dogmas" in favour of "capitalist methods".

TALK NOT NEW

This talk about a Soviet economic "crisis" is not new. It has been going on for years and from time to time even the capitalist press has had to admit that there is in fact no crisis.

During the past five years, 1959-63, industrial output went up 58 per cent (compared with the target figure of 51 per cent).

This year's growth will amount 7.8 per cent, with very substantial increases from 8 to 15 per cent—in chemicals, power, engineering, iron and steel. The high rate of growth is being maintained. But, some readers might

ask, if things are that good, why the discussion on problems of economic management?

Least of all are Soviet economists concerned with introducing "capitalist incentives". What they are concerned with is how best to utilise the vast advantages latent in the socialist system. Rapid economic progress poses new problems of planning and management. The economy has become so complex and ramified an organism that methods devised in the early postwar years are no longer suitable.

PLANNING SYSTEM

Premier Kosygin told the recent Supreme Soviet meeting that the "present system of planning and management requires considerable improvement and perfection."

For one thing, the present planning pattern, based on a multiplicity of indicators, is much too detailed.

This tends to hamstring initiative at factory level and impedes broader utilisation of available reserves and potential capacity.

All contributors to the discussion urge a simpler pattern with a few key indicators. Many economists, among them Academician Trapeznikov, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy, Lev Leonitiev, Professor Liberman and economists Belkin and Birman, suggest that profit be made one of these key indicators.

"The experts" are apparently not aware of the fact that Soviet factories earn profit. Cost accounting was introduced way back in the 'twenties—every factory was expected to pay its way or, in other words, make a profit.

Lenin wrote in 1922: "I believe that our trusts and factories operating on a cost accounting basis should be responsible, fully responsible, for paying their way."

PROFIT AN INDICATOR

And there has been legislation to regulate profits. For instance, in 1931 there was a decree on Contributions to the National Budget from Profits earned by State Industries.

It fixed the share of profits placed at the disposal of the state, with the rest to be used to expand production, improve working and general conditions, and for bonus payments.

In other words, profit was and remains an important indicator of efficient operation, a fact which the "experts" have failed to notice, just as they have failed to notice

cheap, opportunist anti-communist slogans, is to deliver our movement and our peoples back directly into the hands of the imperialists.

The change in the balance of world forces is moving more and more in the direction of all those whose interests are opposed to imperialism. Strong as the imperialist powers may appear their system is faced with inevitable decline and eclipse. The question facing us is how can we speed its end? The degree to which we win real unity in Africa, in strong and unshakable alliance with the socialist world and the progressive forces battling in the metropolitan countries, the more rapid will be our socialist victory. If we allow ourselves to be split and divided our struggle will be definitely more difficult and we shall take longer time to achieve our goal.

Our course is obvious and open to us. The African Revolution advancing to further victories through the construction of socialism is an inseparable and powerful part of the advance of all mankind toward a noble future that socialism alone can guarantee.

profit!

that Soviet profit has absolutely nothing in common with capitalist profit.

The *New York Business Week* magazine remarks that the difference between American and Soviet methods of economic management is being obliterated, for in both cases the end aim is profit.

"The position of business executives in both countries, *Business Week* says, is the same "Bonuses for both are based on the profit motive; self-interest is the driving force; and ownership is separated from management—in one case by the state, in the other by private stockholders."

And that, we are asked to believe, is the only difference, a very minor one.

But, of course, the difference is fundamental. In one case industry belongs to the state; that is, to the entire people, in the other it belongs to a narrow group of private owners.

In one case profit is but an indicator of efficient operation, in the other the form in which the capitalist appropriates the surplus value created by the worker. *Business Week* tries to gloss over this fundamental difference.

IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

But in a socialist society profit is also a material incentive. Bourgeois propaganda maintains that material incentives are part of capitalism and should have no place in socialism.

That is not so. The socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" presupposes material incentives.

In discussing ways and means of perfecting planning methods, Soviet economists do not suggest abandoning centralised planning.

SIMPLIFICATION SOUGHT

What they do suggest is simplifying it in a way that will enable planning agencies to concentrate on the major problems of socialist production.

Moreover, profit is not the only criterion of efficient operation. The present discussion has led to certain economic experiments, to the testing of various methods of planning, new forms of co-ordination, and so on.

The Soviet economy will profit from this discussion; the "experts" will not profit from misinterpreting it.

By A. KORONOV

Law in the Building of Socialism:

Law and Theories About Law (2)

SOCIAL engineering plus socialist legality: These are the functions of law in building socialism. In this Article we shall trace the implications of these functions of law for Ghana, and examine the recent Constitutional amendments in respect of these functions.

Ghanaian law today is in large part still the law inherited from the imperial masters of yesteryear. Wherever there is no statute in point, a court must resort to the common law for the controlling norm; and most Ghanaian statutes are carryovers from colonial days. Common law and statutes together describe a society whose basic outlines were laid down in late nineteenth century England.

There is a large exception carved out of the common law for customary law, especially in the areas of land law, marriage, divorce and family law, and the law of inheritance. These control the principal private legal relationships of Ghanaians not involved in commerce or industry.

Neither the received common and statute law, nor the received customary law are fully appropriate for the Ghanaian circumstance. The British legacy of law describes a developed capitalist society, not a society moving with great speed from a mixed economy with subsistence, private, and socialized sectors, to a completely industrialized, socialist state. The customary law is not much better adapted to the new Ghana. It is reasonably responsive to the demands placed on it by the legal relationships which arise out of the subsistence economy, and to that extent, deserves sympathetic study and enforcement. Moreover, insofar as the customary law embodies cultural characteristics to which Ghanaians have strong emotional ties—i.e., to the extent that it expresses the African Personality—it ought to be embodied in the law for the New Ghana, provided always that it is not inconsistent with the legal requirements of a socialist state. But to seek in customary law all the answers to Ghana's requirements will be a legal reflection of the sort of cultural chauvinism against which Professor Thomas Hodgkin has recently warned.

Included in the received law are whatever norms there presently are which may serve to summon state power to the defence of socialist legality. These, following the pattern of England law, afford at best a limited, theoretical but not substantial sort of personal juridical security.

Perhaps the most important area touching upon the problem raised by the concept of socialist legality is that field of law known as administrative law. In countless ways, our lives and Government are touched and controlled by the actions of administrative officials, from the Minister who decides great questions of state policy to the officer who licenses our automobiles or grants a stall in the market. Administrative law defines those rules of law which seek to insure fairness and rationality in the administrative process.

The administrative law presently in effect in Ghana is that embodied in the common law of England. That was formulated in a society without a written constitution, with a Parliament theoretically supreme.

Neither of these conditions exist in Ghana. Moreover, under British administrative law, nobody protects an individual adversely affected by arbitrary administrative actions unless he protects himself. If he is unable to persuade a Member of Parliament to ask a question about his case, if he cannot afford to sue the Ministry in an effort to invoke judicial action, his right to fair administrative treatment is simply lost. Socialist legality demands much more than such a limited right to fairness in the administration.

The received law thus des-

cribes a society wholly different from the Ghanaian objectives, and affords at its best a limited and theoretical personal juridical security. The building of socialism therefore requires the rapid structuring of legal patterns consonant with the socialist objective.

On the one hand, the task calls for a massive reform of the law, to describe the new

party, the Constitution gives institutional reality to this fact.

by requiring that before important decisions are reached which may affect individuals, there be a hearing, and that the decision be based upon evidence. British law is woefully deficient in the detailing of such rules; there are even some decisions in British law which permit licenses, upon which a man's livelihood may depend, to be withdrawn without ever giving him opportunity to be heard in his own defence! A whole Administrative Procedures Ordinance, spelling out such rules, seems desirable. The list of areas of law in which reform is already overdue is almost endless.

It is easy for non-lawyers

by
ROBERT SEIDMANN

(Formerly Senior Lecturer in Law, University of Ghana)

Two weeks ago we published the first part of this article without the author's name.

We have decided to use his name in this instalment because of the great interest the article has aroused.

socialist economic and social relationships. But reform is far more subtle than merely re-writing the law as one would like to see it re-written. If the transition from today's Ghana to tomorrow's socialist state is to be accomplished harmoniously and without violent wrenching of people from their accustomed ways—i.e., if the law in this critical period of transition is to achieve stability—the changes in the law must be as few as possible. That means that the democratic elements of the common law and those elements merely administrative in character (like traffic regulations) ought, to far as possible, to be maintained. To throw out the whole structure of the received English law will be indeed to throw out the baby with the bathwater. And the same applies to customary law: It too must be combed in order so far as possible to accommodate the new, socialist law to the accustomed patterns of life of Ghanaians. But the essential social-engineering functions of the law requires its wholesale reexamination and revision.

On the other hand, the task of law reform is not merely to describe a new economic order. It is also to guarantee socialist legality.

Socialist legality requires that the rule of law be constantly observed in the operation of the State machinery. The received British law is inadequate to protect individuals from arbitrary State action, even in Britain. All advanced socialist countries have an official, usually called the State Procurator, who is charged with the responsibility of ensuring socialist legality. Some advanced welfare-capitalist states, such as the Scandinavian countries, have an analogous official, called an Ombudsman. It is significant that even England recognizes its lack, for the Labour Party has promised to create an Ombudsman. Without some such sort of institutional guarantee, socialist legality can easily remain no more than a theoretical right to fairness and regularity in administration.

There is required as well a whole new system of norms which will ensure procedural regularity in reaching administrative decision for example,

to thrust the work of law-revision aside. In a busy work-a-day world, it may seem a mere luxury to be attended to when there is time to tidy up.

That is a serious error. Before socialism can work, there must of course be a vast economic reconstruction. But law revision lies at the very core of the transition to socialism, for law is the final expression of the rules by which state power will be applied. Socialism cannot be achieved until the power of the state is directed at creating a socialist order, and dismantling the existing non-socialist one. The development of socialist law means no less than the building of socialism. Without it, socialism will be no more than a capful of dreams.

THE ONE-PARTY STATE

The constitutional amendments of 1964 laid the institutional basis for the reform of law to achieve the socialist objective. The effect of these amendments was to place the People in control of the State. To the extent that state power is in the hands of the people to that extent is there a possibility of socialist law, and hence of socialism.

Two amendments are significant in this regard. Article One of the Constitution was amended by adding a phrase describing the People of Ghana as "the source of power and guardians of the State." The State is therefore, seen as the creature, and hence under the control and protection, of the People of Ghana.

The other important amendment of the Constitution is closely allied with the first. It places the CPP in immediate charge of the state structure, by making it "the one National Party." So long as the Party is dedicated to the interests of the People, the People's control over the State structure is assured.

That assurance is the essential condition for the achievement of socialism. Once the die is cast to follow the socialist way there can be no turning back. The capitalist and neo-colonialist structure of Ghanaian economy and society, once shattered, like Humpty-Dumpty, can never be put together again. By giving constitutionally protected primacy to the CPP, a socialist

party, the Constitution gives institutional reality to this fact.

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

But the Constitution by itself cannot give any assurance; alone, it is no more than a scrap of paper. What gives it substance is the vitality of the institutions it creates; and they, in turn, depend upon the people who control them.

The role of the Party is described in the Constitution as "the vanguard of the People in their struggle to build a socialist society and... the leading core of all organizations of the People..."

The Constitution thus details a one-party state structure, as opposed to the former multi-party state structure.

Theoretically, a multi-party state structure contains within itself a formal, built-in assurance against opportunism and authoritarianism. If the party in power becomes too obviously corrupt or too obviously oppressive, runs the theory, it may lose control of the electorate to its opponents. It is a system that exemplifies the ancient law about setting a thief to catch a thief. The guarantee is only formal, because the thief in power is no more honest than the rascal he has just ousted.

Opportunism and bureaucracy may constitute a serious source of rot in a socialist state. But there is a safeguard inherent in the structure of a party dedicated to socialism. Since the core of the Party, the Party activists, must be dedicated, selfless men and women, wholeheartedly devoted to the socialist cause and to their fellow-human beings, the Party and indeed the State itself cannot readily fall prey to the opportunist and the grafter.

Nor is it wishful thinking to believe that the Party core is composed of such people. Just as law changes with society, so does morality, law's first cousin. In time, the common morality of Ghana under socialism will be a new one in which the touchstone of rightness will not be self-interest, but the interest of our fellow-men. The Party activist must be a man or woman who has already been touched by the new morality, in advance, perhaps, of most of his fellow-Ghanaians. Only a party devoted to socialism can generate this new selfless, humanist morality. It is for this reason that a one-party state is feasible only if the Party is dedicated to socialism.

By their support, of the Party, the Ghanaian people have demonstrated their belief that the Party core consists of such socialist idealists. As such, they will serve as control against avarice and opportunism and arbitrariness in government. Without such a Party, the socialist way would be impossibly rocky.

Besides placing state power in the hands of the People through its own Party, the 1964 amendments laid the basis for insuring that the two central law-making institutions, Parliament and the Judiciary, would alike carry their burden of creating a socialist legal order. Here we shall discuss only Parliament; the role of the judiciary will be the subject of another article.

A third amendment to the Constitution describes Parliament as "the corporate representative of the People." Now the traditional myth about a Parliament is that it is a forum in which representatives of the several divers and antagonistic elements of society meet to discuss and vote upon issues. The decision, it is supposed, is thus never an expression of the will or any particular group, but a resultant from the interplay of all the various forces within society. Of course, bourgeois parliaments are nothing of the sort. In the

Congress of the United States, how many workers or Negroes are there, compared with their proportion of the population? Bourgeois parliaments are, in the main, forums where different elements among the ruling classes can reconcile their differences.)

But in Ghana, the most important question of the age-socialism has been constitutionally resolved by referendum of the entire population. Ghana is now dedicated to the building of socialism. Parliament can, therefore, no longer

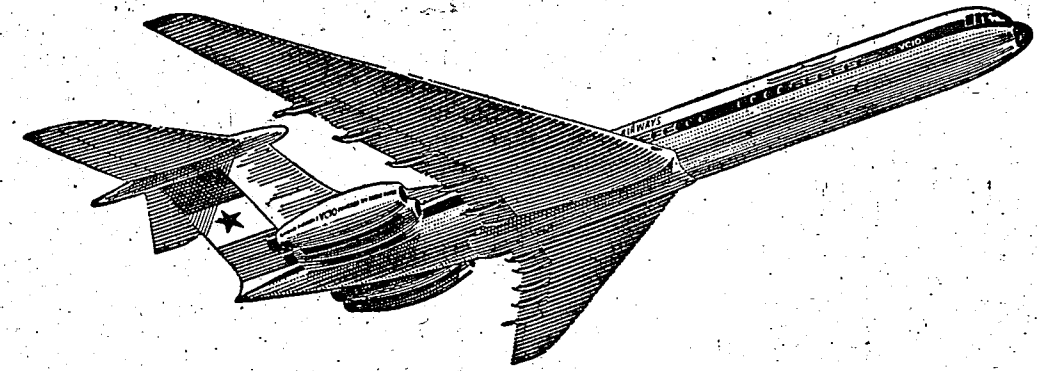
be a forum for the resolution of conflict between fundamentally opposed classes. It is a place where the representatives of the People can meet to discuss different points of view and rules of law which embody their decisions.

It is for this reason that Parliament is described as a "corporate" body, thus emphasizing its essential cohesiveness. Its cohesiveness derives from the fact that it represents "the people" The words "the People" as used in the 1964 Constitutional

amendments do not mean the entire population related only by common inclusion within the artificial boundaries of the nation-state.

Sec. 1 (A) (1) of the Constitution provides, as we have seen, that the "one national party" is to be the vanguard of the People "in their struggle to build a socialist society." Thus "the people" must include only those elements in Ghanaian society who are involved in the struggle to

Continued on page 8



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THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA

Our Students and the African Revolution

by
Kweku Yakubu



THE birth of the new Ghana National Students Organisation, which took place at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, recently, is to carve a new dynamic student life in consonance with the dictates of the African Revolution. The founding of the GHANASO which had been a long cherished one, is the development of the new, spontaneous awakening of socialist consciousness in our University Students.

The birth of the GHANASO expresses in no mean manner an essential element of socialist discipline which only the one-party (socialist) systems could offer. For, the GHANASO is the dialectical negation of all decadent student bodies which hitherto had ignominiously placed intellectualism outside the Ghanaian social milieu. In other words, the GHANASO has emerged, because positive action, in our universities today, submerges reactionary intellectualism. Even the preamble to the Constitution of the GHANASO proves this as nothing short of truth.

"We, the progressive students of Ghana realising the need for a strong and dynamic student body in Ghana to support and push forward the legitimate aspirations of our people; considering that the mantle of leadership shall any how devolve on us some day; regretting the lack hitherto of a progressive student body which enjoys the confidence and support of the people of Ghana, resolve to form an organisation".

This is to put away for all time the covert intent of the colonial university education, which psychologically, was to graduate a completely nurtured conservative scholars who were to soldier the alien administration; and who were to encourage, under the label of "academic freedom", the confusion of Ghana's socialist advance. The after-effect of this poison could not be held at bay even when Ghana had its first university.

REACTIONARY INTELLECTUALISM

Until the Convention People's Party had the toxin to counteract such reactionary intellectualism in 1964, our university students ignorantly separated the university campus from national politics. The Party took a positive decision to give ideological education to our University Students at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, during the recent long vacation of secondary schools and Universities. And this has been the spit-fire of the new student-outlook in our Universities culminating in the birth of the Ghana National Students Organisation.

Two vital phenomena have emanated on our university campus, since the first batch of students returned from the Ideological Institute. First, the university student has come to face the naked truth that the socialist revolution in Ghana has now assumed intellectual dimensions of which he, as a budding intellectual, is directly involved. Secondly our University students are out of their cubicles to correct the wrong international image of Ghana which the weak and unprincipled National Union of Ghana Students had helped to establish. The immediate purpose of the GHANASO revolves around the latter.

With the birth of the Scientific Ghana National Students Organisation, which is socialist in content and continental in scope, because it must survive to play its correct role in the socialist revolution, has become the popular students mouth-piece of Ghana today. What this is putting across is the materialist fact that as long as the old impotent National Union of Ghana Students continues to exist, Ghana will continue to witness divided loyalties in our Students' front. The NUGS can no longer, and must not be permitted to continue to be the official representative of Ghana's universities students. The activities of the NUGS along the years have neither been impressive to Ghana's students' body itself nor complimentary to the Ministry of Education. This is true, because the facts are too glaring. Let us analyse only, three of

them to justify why events have overtaken the NUGS.

It was under the control of the NUGS, and actually assisted by it, that Ghana witnessed a ruffled opposition (when we decided to go one-party) from the campus of our leading university. Some students applied all sorts of biased arguments against the socialist decision of the people. This was all easy for them because Kofi Abrefa Busia nurtured a clique of university students whose main aim, was to criticise any attempt of the people to come together and build the superstructure upon which a socialist fabric of

use only one argument to illustrate this generalisation. Some few years back a scanty clique of students in Britain, organised by Busia and financed by international capitalism, meteorically sprang up to confuse the European public on the foreign and economic policies of the Government of Ghana. What was the reaction of the National Union of Ghana Students to this? Neither demonstration to disapprove of this abstract allegation nor mere comment. The NUGS sat on the fence in this matter because what those few students in Britain were engaged in was the continuation of the work Busia had entrusted to NUGS before that man undertook his own self-exile from Ghana. So that if at home the NUGS could not carry on this work on the face of massive opposition, the NUGS was glad at heart for that job to be carried on somewhere. In actual fact the NUGS had moral support for it but dared not voice it out. Could the Government still continue to endorse official

sive NUGS and the target is Ghana.

At this stage it is very expedient to review, for analytical purposes, the structures, arms and objectives of the two organisations as endorsed by their various constitutions. This is to enable the public to know exactly why the GHANASO has come into life. By Chapter 1 (Art 2) it is too plain that the delegates from our three universities, the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute and the Winneba Training College, who converged at the Ideological Institute and founded the GHANASO have displayed a high sense of maturity to, and awareness of, the historical condition of the African Revolution. Article 2 of the GHANASO Constitution states:—

1. "To encourage the intellectual, political and moral education of members and to promote student welfare.

2. To ensure the success of the economic, social and political development of Ghana within the context of a socialist Continental Union Government of Africa.

(b) to fight illiteracy, disease and hunger.

(c) to carry out relentlessly

in the union during this period and shall relinquish any office that he holds immediately upon leaving the institution."

Little wonder, in the recent past, our university graduates, even before leaving Legon, had taken the fashion to encouraging the notion of taking "four-figure" appointments. The main article of the NUGS constitution as stated above, dwells on office-holding. The dynamism to work, sacrifice in the raising of standard of living of those out of whose sweat they (graduates) have had their education is to them just too far fetched.

DUBIOUS CLAUSE

In Article 12 (sub-section 2), a very dubious clause is put in the NUGS Constitution dealing with finance. "The Union may receive voluntary contributions from any body or bodies provided that no conditions are attached which are against Union policy and or contrary to the spirit of the Union Constitution.

"The Committee may decide to raise funds from any other sources subject to the qualifications made in the preceding paragraph. All such monies shall be paid directly to the National Treasurer".

Analysing these two statements we find that the last paragraph at once becomes suspicious. If the NUGS could raise money from any other sources, it becomes clear that the finances of this Organisation could have been borne by outside forces; and the Central Intelligence Agency may have sneakingly used such an organisation for subversion against our Republic. This is never far from possible, judging from the circumstances surrounding the recent suspension of the five students from our universities.

The Constitution of the NUGS came into existence after the establishment of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement. It is just too strange that the Pioneer Movement should have taken an unconcerned attitude towards the activities of the NUGS up until now.

The Pioneer Movement is the official mouthpiece of all youth activities in Ghana. It is to control and direct all youth activities. In this wise, the university students are not exempted. They form part and parcel of the Ghanaian youth.

As far as Ghana is committed to scientific socialism, experiences of youths in other socialist States like Russia, Peoples Republic of China, G.D.R., Cuba etc. serve as glaring examples on the mobilisation of the youths during the transitional stage to socialism. In China, for example the All-China Federation of Students, although autonomous, yet seeks direction from the All-China Federation of Youth. This is so because the latter is the youth wing of the Chinese Communist Party. In the same way in the German Democratic Republic, the various students organisations are controlled by the Central Council of Free German Youth, which is the officially recognised mouth-piece of the youths in the G.D.R. This applies to almost all developed socialist countries.

The sanity in the examples quoted above is obvious and should serve as a guide to the Ghana situation. The purpose of a central youth body in socialist countries is to serve as the all-time ideological power-house for youth. And this is one of the reasons why Kwame Nkrumah established the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement in 1960.

What is wrong is that it seems the Pioneer Movement is now solely concerned with the physical education of the youths between the ages of seven and eighteen. Yet if physical education and marching are the basic reasons for the

establishment of the movement, then this could best have been tackled by our numerous schools and colleges. The activities of the Pioneer Movement have not yet been extended to the Universities and other Institutions of Higher Learning which demand well-planned socialist programmes to remould the minds of our older youths.

This is not saying that the Pioneer Movement, which by now has passed its teething age, has not been understood in our Secondary schools and Technical colleges. What is at stake is that it is one thing opening a branch of the movement in a secondary school, and another thing instituting a dynamic follow-up policy to see it effectively working. Unfortunately the latter is entirely missing from the present stage of the Pioneer Movement. And that is the main reason why in the past students organisations in Ghana had lacked socialist discipline. This applies to the National Union of Ghana Students.

Now that Ghana has witnessed the birth of a dynamic students' organisation in the GHANASO which could be usefully put at the services of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement. There is a vast mass of untapped creative talents in the organisers of the GHANASO, little time must be lost in liaising its activities with the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement. There is a vast

of Article 2 (III) of the GHANASO Constitution which states inter alia "to study together in commissions the problems that face Ghana and Africa in order to formulate aspirations, complaints, suggestions, proposals for action and to inform the public and draw the attention of the authorities". It must be pointed out here that before the voice of our University Students could be properly heard, it could only pass through the Young Pioneer Movement for any effective action. Because the Pioneer Movement is the co-ordinator between the youth of Ghana and the Convention People's Party.

The GHANASO must live long to assist the Pioneer Movement in the immediate creation of the long-awaited Pan-African Youth Movement.



Ghana would stand.

It was because the politics of Busia was anything, whether violence or otherwise, that could sway the minds of the people from a one-party democracy, from socialism and from African Unity.

DISCIPLINE

The circumstances surrounding the recent suspension of five students from Ghana's three universities is enough testimony to state categorically that the discipline of our students leaves much room to be appreciated. Who is to blame? The five students who took part in that negative behaviour only committed an offensive action. This action reflected the intention of our university life under the control of NUGS. It therefore stands to reason that the NUGS stands to be questioned, destroyed and be recreated.

The third point which discredits the NUGS is its unconcerned attitude towards the African Revolution. We would

recognition to such a subversive students' organisation that is not interested in, if even it is not committed to, the national aspiration of the Party, the People and Government?

The answer to this question must come in action from the Ministry of Education. Every asset and liability of the decadent National Union of Ghana Students' Organisation must be transferred to the progressive GHANASO. This coercive administrative measure is only too timely in view of the fact that the students in the Universities and higher Institutions, whose welfare the NUGS was to seek, have established a massive non-confidence in the NUGS. That is why the progressive students in these Universities have founded the new Ghana National Students Organisation. Anything short of official recognition to the GHANASO by the Ministry of Education would mean placing a loaded brain-gun in the hands of the assassin after the pistol-shots have missed the target. The assassin in this analogy is the subver-

the struggle against imperialism colonialism and neo-colonialism.

3. To study together in commissions the problems that face Ghana and Africa in order to formulate aspirations, complaints, suggestions, proposals for action and to inform the public and draw the attention of the authorities.

This bold assertion of preparedness to struggle for African freedom and Unity is the very opposite to which the Constitution of NUGS stands for: Without a preamble, Article 1 of the NUGS Constitution deals with the choice of name while Article 2 states:—

1. "Member" shall mean any junior member (i.e. any person pursuing a course or courses of study) of an institution of University status in Ghana. Such a person shall however retain the status of a member for a maximum of twelve months after leaving the institution but shall not be eligible to hold any office



7th JANUARY, THURSDAY:

CONGO (Leopoldville): The Yugoslav Government has withdrawn its Embassy staff from the Congo, because it said, it could not carry on diplomatic relations with the Leopoldville administration

PORTUGUESE GUINEA: The President of the movement for the Liberation of Cape Verde Islands Senor Frad Que De Castro, has appealed to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) for funds to buy arms to begin military action against Portuguese oppressive colonialists on the Islands

TUNISIA: All taxes in Tunisia have been increased by ten per cent, under a law adopted in the Tunisian Parliament in Tunis.

This leads to an automatic increase of prices averagely by seven to ten per cent on all imported commodities and on the majority of local goods and prime necessities.

This is the second increase in prices in Tunisia over the past four months.

Within this periods, living costs have soared by 30 per cent.

8th JANUARY, FRIDAY:

GHANA: An urgent appeal has been made by Kwame Nkrumah to President Ahmed Surkarno of Indonesia to reconsider the withdrawal of his country's membership from the United Nations.

In the message to the Indonesian leader, Kwame Nkrumah pointed out that the effectiveness of the influence and solidarity of the Afro-Asian States would be greatly impaired "if Indonesia decides to withdraw from the UN."

* In a message from Kwame Nkrumah read at a mammoth rally at the Accra Sports Stadium by the Executive Secretary of the Convention People's Party, Mr. N. A. Welbeck, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the declaration of the historic Positive Action, Kwame Nkrumah charged all Ghanaians to be Positive Action Day re-

kindle in them the spirit of comradeship and sense of unity and solidarity; "with which in the past we stood against foreign oppression, external and internal danger".

U.A.R.: The United Arab Republic Government has offered to lend the American Embassy a rent-free building to house the John Kennedy Memorial Library until permanent quarters are available.

The original library was destroyed by fire in November, last year, during demonstrations in the American Embassy compound against the U.S.-Belgium invasion in the Congo on November 24, last year.

SUDAN: The Government Election Commission has announced that about six million people, half of the entire population in Sudan, would vote in the election of the constituent Assembly of the Republic in March.

At the last parliamentary elections in 1958, just over a million people were admitted to the polls. Franchise has been extended to women and to young people of either sex who reached the age of 18.

SOUTH AFRICA: The African National Congress of South Africa has called on the Organisation of African Unity to reject white mercenaries hired by Premier Moise Tshombe of the Congo, Leopoldville.

A statement issued by the A.N.C. which has been banned by the South African apartheid regime said in Lusaka that it was angered and alarmed at the news of fresh large-scale recruitment of mercenaries in South Africa.

9th JANUARY, SATURDAY:

KENYA: Mr. James Cechwatta, a former head of the KANU office in Cairo who said he was the official agent of the Stanleyville Government in Kenya, was to recruit 1,000 Kenya ex-servicemen as his initial target to "help the Congolese nationalists in their fight against white mercenaries and the reactionary forces in the Congo.

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AFRICA AND PEACE MOVEMENT

KWAME Nkrumah had the following words to say when he addressed the first Accra Assembly in June 1962:

"We have reached a point where each one of us must decide, once and for all whether we want to live—and by living mean living normally and happily, without any kind of threat of destruction hanging over our heads—or to be destroyed in an atomic war. On this issue of disarmament or nuclear destruction we cannot listen to politicians, to generals, to our leaders and our superiors. This is one time when the individuals, the ordinary men and women of the world must face the situation themselves and when they must have the

supreme courage to do what they know is right".

This statement sums up the reasons which have motivated the formation of so many peace organizations in recent times. Perhaps, even more important, it underlines a new international community based on the reality of our age, which demands individual involvement in international affairs.

To the people of Africa and of other developing countries in other parts of the world, world peace has a special significance.

On the basis of available data, it has been estimated that the world as a whole spends over 120,000 million dollars (£43,000 million), two hundred and fifteen times the entire 1965/66 budget of the Ghana Government per annum on armaments. This of course includes expenditure on arms by developing countries, which although appear infinitesimal compared with arms expenditure of the big powers,

is nevertheless of great significance in relation to their gross national product. The unfortunate reality, however, is that the developing countries will be unwilling to forego arms expenditure while the big powers continue the arms race and the world continues to be beset with innumerable conflicts, in the belief, however arguable, that it is better to put up even ineffectual resistance than no resistance at all.

Disarmament as a condition of world peace and security therefore assumes greater importance to the developing countries of Asia and Africa, because it offers the possibility of channelling the present resources of the world, being wasted on arms, to their quick and steady development.

There was a period in world history when people believed in the doctrine "if you want peace, prepare for war". This doctrine apart from its paradoxical nature misses the boat as regards the content of peace; for it equates peace to the absence of war. Peace, however, is not the absence of war; the content of peace indicates the existence of internationally-accepted moral principles for resolving conflicts and tensions. The existence of such moral principles is not compatible with war or preparation for it.

In the nuclear age, the individual has become more aware that he is personally involved in the destiny of the human race as a whole. It is

by **F. E. Boaten, General-Secretary, Accra Assembly**

this personal involvement in the survival of mankind—in the economic well-being of the human race as a whole, in mankind's freedom from hunger, disease and poverty—that emphasises individual responsibility for safeguarding the peace of the world.

One of the significant factors in this generation is the change in the complexion of the international community, both in geographical and ethnological terms, brought

in the right direction by contributing a new thinking. This will assist in eliminating outmoded concepts and attitudes and help to build a new world society and political outlook of international community of today.

If a new world society, in keeping with this change, is to be built, it is necessary for peoples in the developing countries to develop along with everything else—a sense of awareness and an enlight-

ened outlook in all fields of international activity. Not by any means the least of these, is the quest for world peace. There are some people who tend to look at the colonial question in quantitative terms: as more colonial countries attain independence, the less significant is the problem considered to be. The nature of

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EDITORIAL

(Continued from page 1)

While we praise the efforts at improving the machinery for collecting the sales tax, it is important to underscore the point that it seems our Party and Government are gradually evolving a new type of tax together with a new approach to its administration that will have a profound effect on the organisation of trade in this country. By improving the tax system we are moving gradually towards a healthy new trading pattern which should prove more appropriate to the new phase of the nation's economic growth.

Our prognosis is based on three points contained in the Minister's statement. These are:—

1. the retail price of any article will be the control price;
2. all articles at present not under price control will be brought under it;
3. the profit margin of the wholesaler as well as the retailer will be determined and included in the published price list.

These three points add up to one great development—wholesalers and retailers will henceforth operate within limits set for them by the State. This is the inevitable consequence if the "selling prices" as well as the "profit margin" are determined by the State.

In practice, of course, there is bound to be a good deal of consultation—frank and continuous—between the State and the trading agencies. However, the fact stands out clearly: these trading agencies must from now on operate within limits set for them by the State.

The general public must give the Party and Government the fullest support on this issue. We must be awake to the fact that vested private interests are bound to react unfavourably to the new trend. And it is massive popular support for the Party and Government that will clinch victory for our people and for socialism.

This observed trend, if pursued, is a development that will play a great role in the socialist transformation of our economy. Hence it is to be wholeheartedly endorsed. And in return for this wholeheartedly endorsement, we hope it will be vigorously prosecuted.

Soon the State should be in a position to determine all the components that make up the wholesale and retail prices in the country. These include landed value, customs and excise duty, sales tax, overheads and profits margin of trading agencies, purchase tax where applicable.

A firm control over each of these elements permits the drawing up of a meaningful price list. Complemented with an effective price control machinery, the new arrangement should result in the complete elimination of profiteering while guaranteeing a reasonable profit margin to traders and trading agencies. We shall attain greater service for consumers, fair deal for the trading agencies and a more effective control over the economy by the State. Indeed, we would have achieved a qualitative change in the position of the State within the trading organisation in the country.

New vistas are being opened up in economic administration. All that is needed is a vigorous and imaginative realisation of these possibilities. We are on the verge of a breakthrough in economic administration—an achievement that could prove an incalculable asset to the implementation of the 7-Year Development Plan.

THEORIES ABOUT LAW

Continued from Page 6

build socialism, and not the enemies of socialism. Parliament therefore is properly described as a "corporate" representative of the People. It is to represent the People in their struggle to build socialism.

THE ROLE OF PARLIAMENT

Socialism cannot be built without a thorough-going overhaul of the received law. The main job of Parliament is to act as law-maker. The Constitution thus implicitly charges Parliament with the main responsibility for creating the necessary laws, both to transform Ghana from a mixed economy of subsistence agriculture, capitalist and socialist sectors, into a developed industrialized socialist economy, and to protect and strengthen socialist legality.

The primary function of a Constitution is to allocate among the various organs of Government the constituent elements of state power. Ghana's new constitution—and since last February it is

proper to call it a new Constitution—creates a wholly new allocation of power. It places the power ultimately in the hands of the People—i.e., those classes in the population, the overwhelming majority, in whose interest Ghana proposes to build a socialist society free of exploitation of man by man, based upon the value and dignity of every individual. To that end, it has placed the CPP in a commanding position. It has created a new, corporate Parliament to represent the People. Ghana has taken these bold steps obviously in the confidence that there exists a sufficiently dedicated core of Party activists to guarantee that the one-party state in Ghana will remain responsible to democratic controls, and hence dedicated to the socialist objective.

The Constitutional changes therefore create the necessary institutional changes required for Ghana to go about the business of creating a socialist society. It is a command to Parliament and to Government to start the remaking of Ghanaian law in order to achieve that objective.

THE NAZI BOOKS

Continued from Page 1

been deceived into thinking that West Germany is now essentially different and has cast off its disgraceful record?

* Last week a Columnist showed how West German neo-colonialism is powerful and how the same capitalist monopolies which supported and financed the Nazis and made vast profits by employing slave labour in their factories are the same people who cast greedy eyes today on the wealth of Africa. These people have not left behind their past.

* This week in face of world-wide protests the West German Government is taking steps to try and put an end to War Crimes Trials hoping by this measure to hush up and to allow to escape those Nazi war criminals still at large who took part in the torture and murder of millions of people.

* Ghanaians should be aware that these same forces are still trying, under new guises, to disseminate their opposition to and hatred of socialism. They still like Hitler persecute progressives and socialists in the West Germany; the Peace Movement is illegal, the Communist Party is banned, the Social Democratic Party is tamed having not even in its constitution any claim to be wanting to build socialism.

* Now the N.A.T.O. Alliance is manoeuvring to give nuclear weapons to West Germany. To place these terrible weapons in the hands of these men who hate socialism, who would like to try to enslave the world again, is criminal folly.

* Kwame Nkrumah has called for the fullest opposition to the Multilateral Force because he realises the terrible danger this presents to world peace. He is right. We must oppose it and we must defeat those Ghanaian elements who draw their anti-socialist consolation from these Nazis and their successors.

African Diary

Continued from page 7

Meanwhile the Kenyan Government has dissociated itself from the report in an official statement saying "The Government of Kenya wishes to make a categorical denial of any knowledge of this recruitment and to dissociate from those alleged to be doing the recruiting."

* The Kenya News Agency has reported that 26 people are believed to be drowned when a passenger boat capsized in a heavy storm on the Kenya side of Lake Victoria.

GHANA: Dr. Alexander Adande, Dahomey Minister of Justice, delivering his 'Festival Oration', at the fifth annual Festival of Arts at the Ghana National Cultural Centre, Kumasi, has urged Africans to preserve intact their natural pride and that warm and joyous affection that Africans have for mankind.

Dr. Adande said Europe and America were beginning to take Africa seriously because the countenances art, sculpture, music, dancing and traditional philosophy had now asserted themselves "in a world that looks on with wondering eye".

SALE TAX ACT, 1965

(Statement by
Mr. K. Amoako-Atta,
Minister of Finance in the National Assembly
3rd February, 1965)

I GAVE an undertaking in this House yesterday to make a statement on the operation of the Sales Tax Act, 1965. I am happy to be able to make the following statement today.

As a result of the confusion which appears to exist in the minds of the public, Kwame Nkrumah appointed a Committee to examine the operation of the Sales Tax Act recently passed by the National Assembly.

The committee whose report has been accepted by Kwame Nkrumah, considered particularly the arrangements to be made to ensure that all monies collected under the provisions of the Act are in fact paid to the Government and do not go into private pockets.

In this connection, it has been decided that the Comptroller of Customs and Excise will collect the sales tax at source, that is, at the ports in the case of imports and at the factories in the case of locally manufactured articles. To implement this, the following procedure has been agreed with the Chamber of Commerce. In the case of petroleum products agreed fees will be paid by the oil companies direct to the Comptroller of Customs and Excise at the time of importation. In the case of cigarettes, sales tax calculated at 10 per cent of the wholesale price will be paid by the manufacturers direct to the Comptroller of Customs and Excise. In the case of other imported articles tax will be calculated at 11½ per cent on the landed value of the articles including any duty paid. This will be paid by the importer direct to the Comptroller of Customs and Excise. In the case of locally manufactured articles, the manufacturer will pay to the Comptroller of Customs and Excise a tax calculated at 11½ per cent of the selling price of the article concerned. Where these payments have been made, it

will be illegal for any person trading in these articles to charge any additional tax on any sales made to the consumer. The retail price of an article, therefore, will be the control price and any retailer of wholesaler who sells above the control price will be dealt with according to law. It has also been agreed with the chamber of Commerce that as an interim measure, tax of 10 per cent on the selling price should be levied on all stock held by imports on the 21st day of January. The Price Control Department of the Ministry of Trade will shortly publish a revised price control list showing the wholesale prices of all imported and locally manufactured articles and also the corresponding retail prices. In other words, the profit margin of the wholesaler as well as the retailer will be determined and included in the published price list. All other articles at present not under price control will be brought under it.

In connection with the registration of wholesalers and retailers, arrangements have been made by the Comptroller of Customs and Excise to make it possible for those concerned to register with the Department's offices in Tema, Accra, Takoradi and Kumasi. Arrangements are also being made for registration to take place at Regional Commissioners' offices as well as offices of District Commissioners. Registration fees are to be paid to branches of the Ghana Commercial Bank and where there are none to Treasury Offices and Post Offices. This is to make it unnecessary for people to travel long distances for the purpose of registration. Regulations are being made to cover all the points mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

I also propose to introduce shortly into this House a Bill to amend the Sales Tax Act to give further effect to these decisions.