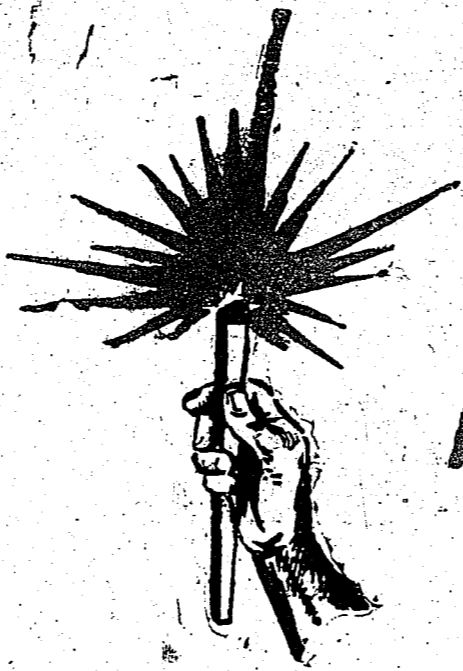


# THE SPARK



A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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## FRONT PAGE COMMENT

# The Convention People's Party

THE 15th Anniversary of the founding of the Convention People's Party celebrates a historic date in the annals of our people. The formation of the Party was a qualitatively new step which led to the winning of our independence. It was a victory which had world-wide repercussions and was hailed by anti-imperialist circles throughout the world.

It was a victory for the courage, determination, skill and sacrifice which defeated one of the oldest and most skilful imperialist powers in the world.

The times in which we live are truly epoch making. Today millions are on the march for freedom, independence and socialism. Our century will see the establishment of a world-wide socialism and in this universal advance of mankind, Ghana plays a key role.

After the Second World War, Africa was regarded by the imperialist powers as their preserve, as the Continent out of which they could, by ruthless exploitation recoup their losses of the war, rebuild their economics and their political power and re-establish the imperialist system as strong as ever before. The people of Ghana said 'NO!' and inflicted a powerful defeat on a reactionary outworn and oppressive system of foreign rule.

The forces of national liberation, the socialist countries, the progressive forces of the metropolitan countries, welcomed this victory for Ghana. Ghana's progress is still the focal point of their interest in Africa because our country is in the vanguard of Africa's march to unity and freedom. They understand that Ghana's success in rebuilding her economy and in building socialism can be decisive in the African revolution and in the march of all mankind towards a better life.

Our country has great responsibilities but she can be proud to carry them. We are among the advance standard bearers of the African revolution and of the march to Socialism in our continent.

The 15th Anniversary of the Party, therefore, is a time not only for congratulations and

celebrations, but a time to prepare for new endeavours, a time to take stock, learn the lessons of our past, face up to the gigantic tasks that now faces us, the realisation of the 7-Year Development Plan.

THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY IS THE KEY TO SUCCESS. Its ability to respond to this new historic challenge will determine our success or failure. How can we ensure that the Party lives up to its responsibilities... what is its role in Ghana today?

Our aim is Socialism and there are different milestones along the road to it. On that road programmes and stages change. The Party must see these changes coming, prepare the people for them and adapt itself to new conditions too. It must play its role as a vanguard Party, co-ordinating, mobilising and directing the initiative of our people. As the aims of the Party become more complex the Party has to grow to meet this challenge.

The conditions under which a party is formed and under which it operates naturally determine many of its characteristics, and characteristics of a mass Party uniting all sections of the people against foreign occupation are still among the most valuable and most marked features of the Party today.

The C.P.P. grew up as the instrument of the will of all sections of the people fighting for national independence. They were united into an irresistible force by the Party, which, steered in action, won the political revolution, taking control of the state and all aspects of its operations out of the hands of the imperialist occupiers of our country and established independence.

For some people, this was enough and they thought they could now proceed to enjoy the luxury of an imitation of the political life and institutions of the country which had previously oppressed us, Britain. They were not interested in any more sacrifices to safeguard this freedom. They failed to see, or refused to see, that without rooting out imperialism from its position of economic

strength, our new found independence would crumble before our eyes. The C.P.P. defeated these temporisers and convinced the mass of the people about the new tasks that awaited them. The Party now unites those who understand that economic as well as political aims must be achieved if indepen-



The Leader and Teacher

dence is to mean anything. Today we are engaged in that struggle and our successes attract the ever growing support of the people who see in practice the correctness of our policies. We are re-constructing our country, utilising all possible resources which will help to expand our economy without involving us in compromises about our Socialist future.

If any valid comparison can be made with the recent past, our present task demands even more devotion, even more skill, even greater sacrifices than ever before. We have undertaken the most

far reaching programme of all, the transformation of our country and ourselves. The transformation of our society into a socialist society is not only the noblest aim we could set for ourselves, it is the most complex and the most demanding.

Only the foolish and complacent, or the enemies of our progress would deny that the maintenance of our independence is a continuous task and that imperialism never gives up. It constantly seeks to re-establish its hold in a variety of ways, trying to ensure that profits from our resources and from our people's labour flows into the coffers of monopoly capitalism. The methods may change, the aim remains the same... the super exploitation of the Ghanaian people. Economic strength, as well as new political forms therefore, are vital to us in our efforts to ensure our freedom and independence. The Seven Year Plan is the necessary, logical continuation of our previous struggles for independence. The success of the Plan will be a new blow to any imperialist forces which are hoping to enslave us under a new guise, it will be the guarantee of a richer, fuller life for every one of our citizens.

In brief therefore, one could say that the role of the Convention People's Party today is to inspire, educate and organise the masses to work for the fullest and most rapid realisation of the 7-Year Plan, thus providing the means of the further advance to Socialism.

The Party is the organised expression of the people's desire for this change. It is the organisation which alone can lead them to achieve it.

### A NEW STYLE OF WORK

Today the Party is changing from the Party of National Independence to the Party of National Reconstruction and Socialism. It is now the Party of all those who, on the foundation of political independence want to build a new economic and social order for the benefit of the whole people.

This calls for a new style of work.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah,

"the Party is nothing but the political vanguard of the people". It is the "hard core of those who are so dedicated to its ideology and programme that they take their membership as the most serious business of their lives."

This definition of a vanguard party is antithetical to the concept of a party for everyone. Of course, membership is open to all in the sense that anyone who tries hard enough can gain admission into its fold. But such honour will in fact be attained by a relatively small fraction of the entire population.

The criteria for membership are the grasp of socialist ideology, the level of political consciousness, devotion and dedication to the socialist cause, ability to organise, influence and guide the masses in the general direction of socialism, transparent honesty, unadvertised self-sacrifice and a life of simplicity.

By paying attention to these factors, it shall be possible to build the one national party into an organisation of activists; an army of dedicated men and women who in the various walks of life provide leadership and guidance for our entire people.

An important consideration in putting together such an army of activists is the class origin of the activists themselves. The truth must always be borne in mind that a party made up mostly of white collar workers, civil servants and middle class intellectuals will certainly not attain the national goal of socialism. Such an achievement can be the handwork only of the most revolutionary elements in our society, namely the workers, the peasants and the revolutionary youths. Therefore much as we gladly welcome intellectuals and middle class elements, who make the grade, into the fold of the one national party, the bulk of the membership must be made up of workers, peasants and the revolutionary youths. This objective we can achieve only through a careful regulation of admission into the Party.

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

# The Guiding Principles of the Party

## OUR AIMS

**THE** paramount task before us and the nation is the raising of an equitable and progressive social order which will provide food, clothing and shelter to meet the needs of the people in accordance with their means; a social order that will reflect a higher standard of living in the happiness of our people.

Economically, this means full employment, good housing and equal opportunity for educational and cultural advancement up to the highest level possible for all the people. In concrete facts, it means:

that the real income of all types of workers, farmers and peasants must rise;  
that prices of goods must not over-leap wages;  
that house-rentals must be within the means of all groups;  
that educational and cultural amenities must be available to all the people.

### ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRAMME

If ability to pay is the passport to the good life, then at this time most of the people of this country are precluded from it. And unless we, the leaders of the party of the people, make good our economic and social programme, then they are doomed to perpetual exclusion from the good life and the purpose of our effort is defeated.

This is the tremendous task not of the Convention People's Party alone, but of the whole nation: civil servants, all types of workers, teachers, farmers, peasants—indeed, all able-bodied Ghanaians standing together as one man under the leadership of the Convention People's Party. The question then is: how are we to achieve this goal within the shortest possible time?

As our Party has proclaimed, and as I have asserted time and again, socialism is the only manner that can within the shortest possible time bring the good life to the people. For socialism assumes the public ownership of the means of production—the land and its resources—and the use of those means for production that will bring benefit to the people. Socialist production is production of goods and services in fulfilment of the

people's needs. It is not production for individual private profit, which deprives such a large section of the people of the goods and services produced, while their needs and wants remain unsatisfied.

One point, however, we have to get clear. At this juncture, Ghana is not a socialist state. Not only do the people as yet not own all the major means of production and distribution but we have still to lay the actual foundations upon which socialism can be built, namely, the complete industrialisation of our country. All talk of socialism, of economic and social reconstruction, are just empty words if we do not seriously address ourselves to the question of basic industrialisation and agricultural revolution in our country, just as much as we must concentrate on socialist education.

Secondary industries are vitally necessary, for it is one of our principal aims to replace imports of foreign goods by home-produced goods. Moreover, secondary industries must be planned to take up the production of our agriculture and to widen the outlets for the output of our farmers and peasants. But secondary industries, important as they are to making us economically independent, will still leave us heavily reliant upon outside sources and skill unless we build up those heavy industries which alone provide the fundamental basis of industrialisation.

### CAPITAL PROJECTS

Such projects as the steel producing plant, the oil refinery and the machine tool plant which we are planning, as well as the Volta and Bui electrification schemes, are capital projects in the real sense of the term. Energy is an indispensable element in industrialisation. Without energy—without coal, oil or hydro-electricity—it is idle to talk of industrialisation. Without energy we cannot lay the foundations of industrialisation. Industrialisation presupposes electrification. Indeed it is our lack of vital sources of energy that has been preventing us from carrying into effect so many of our ideas and plans for our national reconstruction. We could not even talk about a steel plant until we could

envisage energy for working it.

Hence my preoccupation with the Volta River Project and other schemes that will provide water power both for electricity and irrigation of regions that are starved of water at certain periods of the year. These schemes and projects are an essential key to our industrial progress, the basis upon which we may build up our heavy industries, our machine-tool factories and our ancillary manufactures. As long as we are unable to make our own machine tools, the instruments for the manufacture of all the myriad commodities, large and small, that we at present import, we shall continue to be at the mercy of outside sources of supply. We shall continue to be economically dependent, and all talk of socialist progress will be so much empty chatter.

### REVOLUTIONARY PLANNING

To implement our objective of basic economic reconstruction, we must henceforth earmark a much larger proportion of our national revenue to the erection of basic industries and the multiplication of our agricultural products. We must try and establish factories in large numbers at great speed and see to it that there is quick development of electricity and water supplies.

And here a revolution is needed in our approach to planning. Unfortunately, our planning hitherto has been largely piecemeal and unpurposeful. It has not been linked in an organised manner. Too many governmental bodies and departments have been concerned in the drawing up and executing of plans. What we need are not reports but plans of action. Too often the relation of these bodies and departments with each other and with the different sectors of the national economy has been unco-ordinated. As a result there has been much wastage of precious funds and limited managerial and technical staff. Planning, moreover, has been seen principally from Accra, and in the main, the obvious national projects have received attention.

Our planning, if it is to revitalise the country, in-

An Address  
to the C.P.P.  
Study Group  
at Flagstaff  
House, Accra,  
April, 22, 1961

crease our productivity and progress towards our socialist objective, must spread out into all corners of the country. It must take stock of all our human and natural resources, it must count our economic assets. We must make an inventory of our natural, mineral and agricultural heritage, we must number our manpower and our actual potential reservoir of skills.

Only thus can we plan for our total development at all levels of our national life.

This means that everything we do must be related to our overall plan. Educational, social welfare and health programmes, for example, cannot be devised in isolation. They must be planned, in relation to the needs of our healthy development and the enhancement of the lives of the people. Plans for these sectors must be co-ordinated with our plans for the economic sphere. For our economic expansion will need urgently the output of the schools, the technical institutes and universities.

Above all, our objective of economic advancement is seen as the foundation upon which to erect an equitable and happy society. Hence our planning cannot be restricted to the main centres of the country. It must stretch out into the regions. It is my intention to constitute the regional divisions of the country into economic units, with the local councils as economic sub-units. These units will henceforth consider increased production (in the factories, the farms, the offices, the homes and so forth) as their first concern, alongside the maintenance of law and order.

Our planning must eliminate the sorry plight of stu-

dents—boys and girls leaving school and roaming about the country—who gravitate towards Accra and other big towns in search of work and who, when they cannot get work, fall into bad ways. I am of the opinion that this problem can best be tackled by the local authorities with the assistance of the central government. This phase of planning, therefore will be primarily the concern of the local councils and the regional organisations. But these local plans must necessarily fit into the full scope of the national planning.

### TRAINING SCHEME

Thus there will be planning at all levels—national, regional and local.

Our central planning organisation will correlate all this planning and set annual targets of achievement. These targets will embrace not only output and the absorption of planned numbers of workers in the different categories; they must arrange for the training of skills and management for the planned projects. They will include estimated margins for industrial expansion, for maintenance and renewals

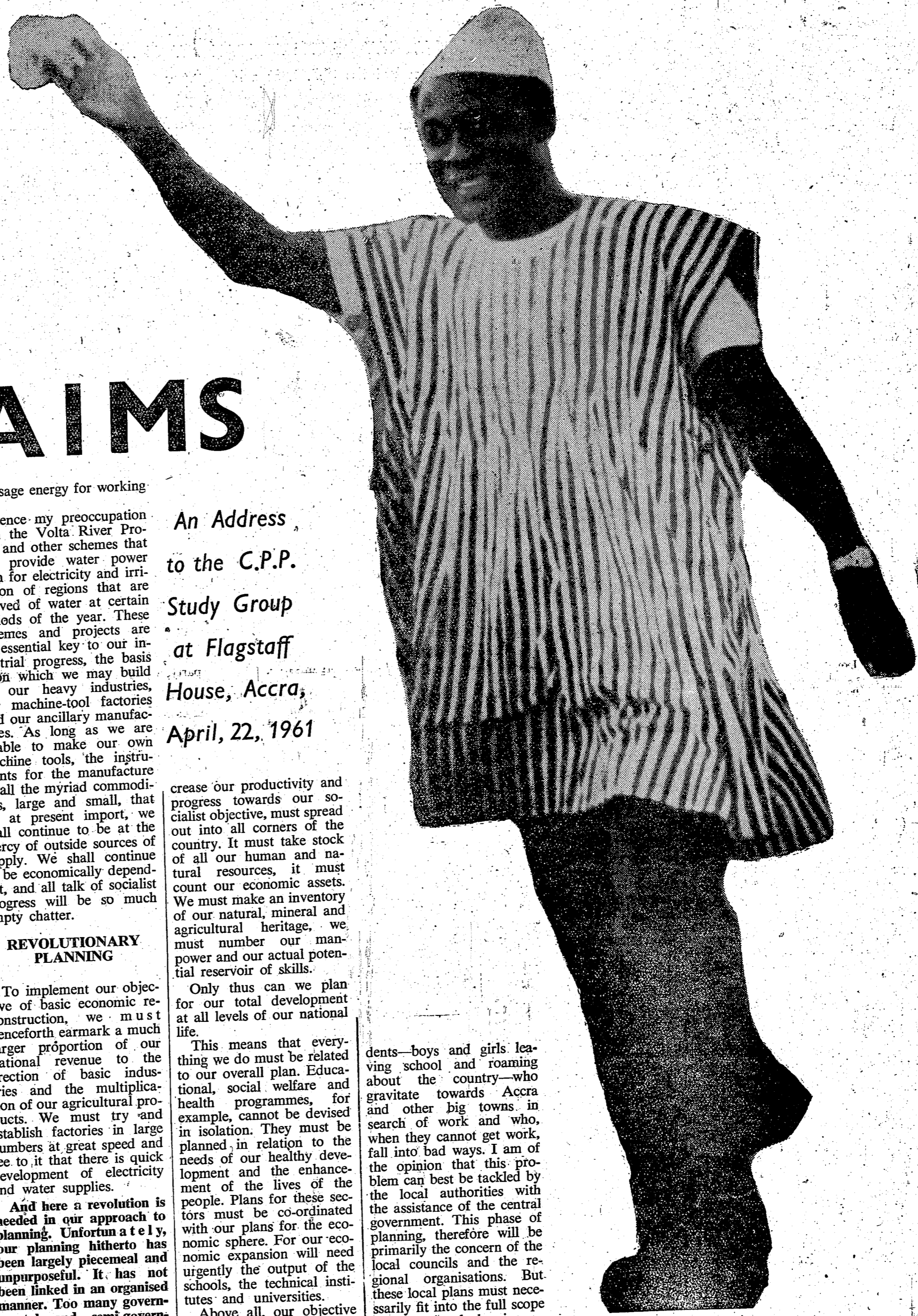
of machinery and equipment.

There will have to be the strictest control against the over-spending of allocations on given projects so that they may not be called to a standstill for lack of funds to complete them. We are all aware of the shocking disregard for and misuse of public funds and property that presently obtains, especially in such departments as the public works and the transport services. Our new economic and industrial policy, which will give priority to heavy industry alongside the extension of light industries, electricity and water sup-

plies, will have to control severely our financial budgets.

These budgets must be closely integrated, as they must cover every phase of the national planning. Our present budgetary system, which has been taken over from the colonial regime, calls for adjustment to the socialist objective of our planning. Hitherto, our budgeting has been done separately by each department of the state administration. This approach has related projects to the ideas of each different department.

Continued on page 3



# OUR AIMS

Continued from page 2

A totally new approach is needed, which will see the national objective of our planning and break it down for implementation by the departments which will be concerned with the fulfilment of its different aspects. They will then be allocated the budget required for their part of the planning.

Our planning must aim at a two-fold purpose: to increase productivity and to accumulate capital for the expansion of industrialisation. Under the new policy, development must be financed more and more from production, which must be targeted, and less and less from taxes and dues, which make heavy demands of those sections of the community least able to afford them. I anxiously look forward to the day when there will be no more personal taxation in the country. Only increased productivity can give surpluses for re-investment in further production and in this way increase our real wealth.

To raise wages without securing a higher rate of productivity is to set in motion the vicious-circle of a greater volume of money chasing scarce goods and resulting in inflation. Increased productivity, coupled with socialist planning, will permit the control of prices and the circulation of goods in the community interests. It does not mean that every advance in productivity will lead to an immediate enhancement of standards of living. This is especially the case in the early stages of industrialization, when the need to plough back capital achieved out of greater productivity is of paramount importance more to the strengthening of the economic base than to consumer goods.

## BENEFIT FOR ALL

The socialist objective implies the over-all good of the nation, and in the interests of that socialist objective it may be necessary for all of us to forego some small immediate personal benefit for a greater benefit a bit later on. Social services in the interest of the community, for instance, confer more advantages upon a greater number than would increased wages for certain groups of workers.

But as productivity rises appreciably and the socialist base of the economy extends through the increasing public ownership of the means of production—the land and its natural resources, the factories and their production—a government can not only mobilise greater surpluses of capital in the best interests of the country, but can also reach a position from which it can reward labour for its greater exertions by increased wages. And because the government, through its planning, can at the same time operate controls upon commodity prices, labour will feel a double benefit in a wage increase which will not be eaten up in higher prices as under a capitalist economy.

If our new economic and industrial policy is to succeed, then there must be a change of outlook in those who are responsible for running our affairs. They must acquire a socialist perspective and a socialist drive keyed to the national needs and demands, and not remain the servants of a limping bureaucracy. The executives of our public and statutory organisations must achieve a new attitude to their jobs, which they owe to the struggles of the people and the labours of the farmer and worker. Too many of the Industrial Development

Corporation and Agricultural Development Corporation projects are at present being subsidised instead of producing profit for further capital investment. This state of affairs must be reversed or the projects closed down. The Industrial Development Corporation must concentrate on basic and secondary industries—real industries that stimulate and promote the utilisation of the productive resources of our country.

## THE PARTY IN ECONOMIC PLANNING

For no economy, least of all a young one like ours, struggling to find a stable economic base, can afford to waste its resources in subsidising unproductive ventures from which only well-paid executive profit. Moreover, we cannot afford to waste our resources in men and materials in this way, but must use them wisely in pursuit of our aim of socialist benefits for all the people.

Here it is that our great party must once more take the lead, by educating our men of affairs in their responsibilities to the nation in the conduct of the establishments to which they have been assigned. And just as political independence could not have been attained without the leadership of the Convention People's Party, so Ghana's economic independence and the objective of socialism will not be achieved without the unique leadership of our party, in the fullest and most active co-operation with the people.

Our party must be the pivot of our economic planning, and so henceforth the following procedure will be adopted:

- (1) The chairman of the central committee shall be responsible for presenting the main principles and outline of any plan for the Central Committee's approval.
- (2) The principles and outline programme approved by the central committee shall be referred to the Economic and Planning Secretariat, where it shall be subject to expert examination.
- (3) The proposals shall then be submitted to the Cabinet through the standing development committee.
- (4) Parliamentary examination and approval will follow.
- (5) The final stage will now have been reached, that of putting the plan into execution through all the agencies and communities concerned, and especially through the active leadership of the party.

This procedure should secure the best consultation with and participation of the people. For we shall at all stages seek the co-operation of all the people and organisations who are to be concerned, in the final analysis, in performing the basic work that will make a success of such a plan. It is only with the whole-hearted interest and support of the mass of the people in the carrying out of any such plan, that such a plan can succeed.

## DEMOCRACY IN MASS CONSULTATION

It is for these reasons that I am convinced that the procedure I have outlined, with all it implies in mass consultation, is our surest way to success. There will be an evolving ascendancy of popular control of the country's affairs which, in effect, will be the truest kind of democracy that has ever functioned. For it will realise the aim of bringing most of the people into the running of the nation's affairs, in the interest of the

people. It will, in effect, be placing government in the hands of the people, to be run for the people by the people.

Control of the modern state is linked up with the control of the means of production.

True democracy can be said to exist only when the majority of the people exercise control of the state in the interests of all the people because the means of production and distribution have passed to its hands. In other words, the general will of the people, which is the most concrete and the clearest expression of true democracy, must be actively asserted.

To attain this laudable end of socialist control we have from time to time to make a review of the administrative apparatus at our disposal, remembering that it was originally bequeathed to us by a colonial regime dedicated to a very different purpose. Even though this apparatus has already been subjected to considerable change, it still carries vestiges of inherited attitudes and ways of thought which have been transmitted even to some of our newer institutions. In our adaptations, because we are embarking upon an uncharted path, we may have to proceed from trial and error. Changes which are made today may themselves call for further change tomorrow. But when we are endeavouring to establish a new kind of life within a new kind of society, we must acknowledge the fact that we are in a period of flux and cannot afford to be hide-bound in our decisions and attitudes. We must accommodate our minds and attitudes to the need for constant adaptation.

## THE CO-OPERATIVES

The new drive for economic and industrial development has necessitated some reorganisation in the ministerial structure of the government. From what I have been saying, it is obvious that planning must have its due emphasis. The chief agencies for mobilising capital for development will be the Industrial Development Corporation (for state industries) and the Agricultural Development Corporation (for state farms), and the role of these statutory bodies needs drastic revision. At present, as I have said earlier on, they work on projects in a haphazard manner. From now on, they must cease their isolated approach and work according to the new economic policy which I have outlined.

The Industrial Development Corporation will therefore come under the direct control of the Development Secretariat, and the Agricultural Development Corporation under the Minister of Agriculture.

In discussing the role of the Industrial Development Corporation and the Agricultural Development Corporation in the new economic and industrial drive, it is only appropriate that we should deal with the National Co-operative Council, which has some functions similar to those of the corporations. Briefly, the National Co-operative Council has four main functions, namely: industrial development, agricultural development, trade or consumer development and development of welfare services and the co-operative spirit.

I have recently made the following adjustments as a means of facilitating the efficient operation of the co-operative movement:

- (1) The National Co-operative Council, as the

supreme co-operative body, shall be charged with the general functions of co-ordination and supervision, as well as the promotion of the co-operative spirit, that is, the dissemination of co-operative education and development. It will also be charged with the authority to represent the co-operatives at home and abroad. In the performance of this function it will act in co-operation with the appropriate apex body, according to the kind of representation required.

- (2) The National Co-operative Council will maintain contact with the ministry responsible for social welfare and the Labour Secretariat in regard to the provision of welfare services for members of the co-operatives.
- (3) The industrial co-operatives, generally known as Indusco, will deal with the Development Secretariat, which is responsible for industrial development.
- (4) The agricultural co-operatives will deal with the Ministry of Agriculture.
- (5) The consumer co-operatives will deal with the Ministry of Trade, which will be responsible for the National Trading Corporation when it is set up.
- (6) I have established under the Auditor-General an accounting and auditing service also which will take away the main functions of the Department of Co-operation. The department, as such will thus cease to exist, as its other functions, such as co-operative development and education, will be taken over by the National Co-operative Council. In view of the importance of safeguarding public funds, I have charged this auditing and accounting service with the responsibility of looking after the funds of the Trade Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers' Council and the statutory boards and corporations.

In this economic and industrial exercise, we shall need trained men and women in great numbers. The government has therefore decreed that free and compulsory primary and middle school education should be started from September next, and that the whole country should be literate by the time we celebrate the 10th anniversary of our Republic.

The recent commission on higher education that I set up has reported and the recommendations are being urgently examined for early implementation. In the meantime, I have the following observations and recommendations to make.

The Academy of Learning should be given a more positive and active role than it has at the moment, and this should be reflected in a change of the name to The Ghana Academy of Sciences. The most important role of the Ghana Academy of Sciences will be research into the sciences, history, language, etc. It should be the body to plan research for the country and should thus absorb the National Research Council. Duplication and overlapping of effort would thereby be avoided and this would eliminate the restriction to a learned body.

The new National Council for Higher Education and Research will therefore have two wings:

## HIGHER EDUCATION

(1) Universities, and (2) The Ghana Academy of Sciences; while its proper functions will be: (a) To make policy; (b) To approve plans and programmes; (c) To co-ordinate efforts; and (d)

To provide grants, etc. There has been some hesitation in the establishment of research institutes. These loom in importance as the need for industrial and technological development presses, and I think that concentrated effort and drive are now called for in setting them up. Foreign specialists will, in the initial stages, be required for a time to do the research work, but I feel that we must try and appoint as many Ghanaians as possible to administer them.

## NATIVE TALENT

In my view, the staff and personnel of the institutes and universities should be interchangeable, and these various bodies should work together with each other and with the factories, farms, administrations, laboratories, and so on, connected with their work. As far as possible we should seek native talent in the field and in institutions, both locally and overseas, to man the universities and scientific institutions, since they must now take their place in the forefront of the production drive. Priority in the assignment of trained personnel should be given to these organisations, and it should be a matter of national pride to work in them.

Indeed, there are many problems for the solution of which we must look to our scientific institutions. For instance, with more and more cocoa coming to glut the market, the West African Cocoa Research Institute should not lose any time in setting up a commercial department for dealing with cocoa derivatives.

We have, too, many species of timber that are not being used. This is a complete waste and the timber utilisation research unit should be turned into a proper institute, adequately manned so that it can cope with the problem and give effective results. The location of the various institutes is a matter for the National Council for Higher Education and Research, though proposals will be submitted for decision by the Ghana Academy of Sciences.

I would like to emphasise that at this time the annual

meeting and report of the Ghana Academy of Sciences are matters of national importance, for they record progress and outline plans for future work. The title of Academician should be recognised as one of the highest national awards.

With this new approach to our economic and industrial development, every avenue of information and education must be used to stir the political consciousness of the people and to make them alive to the objectives of the government's planning. I have already said that without the support of the masses of the people, our plans can fail. The people need to be stirred to a new awareness of their role in carrying forward our national reconstruction. They must be refreshed in the plans which swept them into the battle for political emancipation that brought them independence.

The party cadres, who must be in the forefront of the educational drive, must reinforce their own understanding through party political education. Many of our ministers, party officials, ministerial secretaries, heads of boards and corporations, Members of Parliament and journalists, able men as they are, and party members, are yet without a socialist understanding and orientation.

## PARTY CADRES

Now that the party school at Winneba is ready, a start must be made to alter this position and we should, without delay start from the top. I am therefore directing that:

- (1) Members of the central committee, ministers and regional commissioners and general secretaries of subsidiary bodies of the party, shall attend a one week's residential course at Winneba. I shall be there myself to conduct it.
- (2) The next group shall include ministerial secretaries, chairmen of boards and corporations, headquarters secretaries of the bureau of the party, the T.U.C., etc.
- (3) A third group will con-

sist of backbenchers, regional officers of the party and of subsidiary organisations. Other individuals may be added to the various groups as may be considered desirable. The ordinary training of cadres will then resume, the courses being much longer.

We cannot build socialism without socialists and we must take positive steps to ensure that the party and the country produce the men and women who can handle a socialist programme. The analysis of our economic and industrial policy imposes upon all civil servants and public functionaries an urgent duty to put into their work their very, very best. If there are some executives, whether they be expatriates or Ghanaians, who would obstruct and pull us back instead of pushing us forward then they must be honest enough to quit their posts bag and baggage.

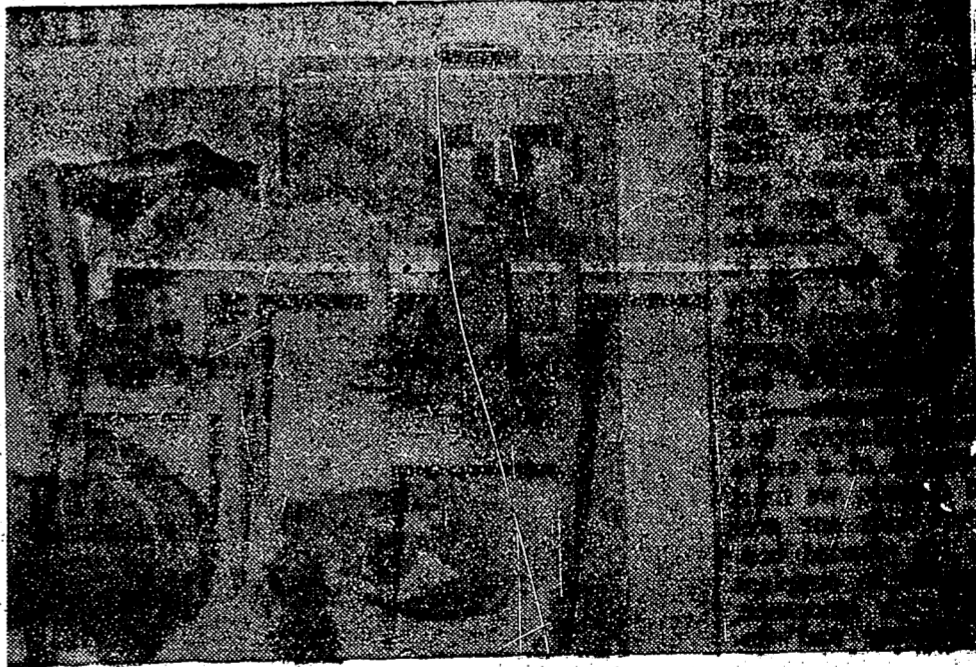
## THE NEW AFRICAN

Comrades, I have outlined to you the new economic and industrial policy for ushering in a new era in Ghana. We are just at the beginning and much, indeed, remains to be done. We have set our machinery for effective action, and certain steps must be taken without any delay.

Friends and Comrades, Africa needs a new type of man: a dedicated, modest, honest and devoted man. A man who submerges self in service to his nation and mankind. A man who abhors greed and detests vanity. A new type of man whose meekness is his strength and whose integrity is his greatness. Africa's new man must be a man indeed.

All this needs a great deal of zeal. Let us remember, however, that our zeal should make us adroit and alert to all the implications of our actions. For we have a tremendous, Herculean task before us. It needs all our care, all our brains. Our Party, through all its members, must show its merits in this our greatest mission yet—the building of a socialist Ghana. This mission you must discharge with responsibility and integrity.

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# Our Programme

## GHANA'S SEVEN-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Broadcast talk on 5th May, 1962  
by Kwame Nkrumah

### GOOD EVENING.

I have come to the microphone to talk to you about our country and its great Party—the Convention People's Party.

As you know, the Party has been in power since 1946. It has won many elections. On each occasion it issued a manifesto to the people specifying what it hoped to achieve and promising the things it would do. All of you can bear testimony to the fact that the Party has not only kept its word and its faith with the people, but also has to its credit a brilliant record of fulfilment.

The success of our Party in political action has been outstanding. Its basic approach to national and international problems has the fullest support of our people and of all true African patriots. In spite of the great storms that it has weathered, it has emerged through each one stronger and better equipped for the great struggle of liberation. All this action calls for first-class organisation; it can be truly and proudly said that our Party possesses one of the finest organisations of our time.

Organisation presupposes planning and planning demands a programme for its basis. The Government proposes to launch a Seven-Year Development Plan in January, 1963. The Party, therefore, has a pressing obligation to provide a programme, upon which this plan could be formulated.

We must develop Ghana economically, socially, culturally, spiritually, educationally, technologically and otherwise, and produce it as a finished product of a fully integrated life, both exemplary and inspiring.

### WORK AND HAPPINESS

This programme, which we call a programme for "Work and Happiness", has been drawn up in regard to all our circumstances and conditions, our hopes and aspirations, our advantages and disadvantages and our opportunities or lack of them. Indeed, the programme is drawn up with an eye on reality and provides the building ground for our immediate scientific, technical and industrial progress.

We have embarked upon an intensive socialist reconstruction of our country. Ghana inherited a colonial economy and similar disabilities in most other directions. We cannot rest content until we have demolished this miserable structure and raised in its place an edifice of economic stability, thus creating for ourselves a veritable paradise of abundance and satisfaction. Despite the ideological bankruptcy and moral collapse of a civilisation in despair, we must go forward with our preparations for planned economic growth to supplant the poverty, ignorance, disease, illiteracy and degradation left in their wake by discredited colonialism and decaying imperialism.

In the programme which I am today introducing to the country through this broadcast, the Party has put forward many proposals. I want all of you to get copies of this programme, to read and discuss it and to send us any observations or suggestions you may have about it.

Tomorrow, the National Executive Committee of the Party will meet to discuss the Party programme and officially present it to the

nation. I feel sure that it will decide in favour of an immediate release of this programme to the people. The Party, however, will take no action on the programme until the masses of the people have had the fullest opportunity of reviewing it. Remember that it is at the moment merely a draft programme and only your approval will finalise it.

At this present moment, all over Africa, dark clouds of neo-colonialism are fast gathering. African States are becoming debtor-nations, and client States day in and day out, owing to their adoption of unreal attitudes to world problems, saying "no" when they should have said "yes", and "yes" when they should have

of Ghana, in the hope that you will approve it critically and help to make it a success.

We have a rich heritage. Our natural resources are abundant and varied. We have mineral and agricultural wealth and, above all, we have the will to find the means whereby these possessions can be put to the greatest use and advantage. The Party's programme for Work and Happiness is a pointer to the way ahead, the way leading to a healthier, happier and more prosperous life for us all. When you have examined and accepted this programme, the Government and the people will base on it and initiate our Seven-Year Development Plan, which will guide our action to

to take place on the 10th of June. This Congress will give its final approval to the new Party programme.

Countrymen, we have carried out an important work of consolidation. We have stabilised the national structure and established solid security. We have done all this and more within the past ten years, and we now prepare to move forward to the next stage.

### SACRIFICE

We do so in the confident expectation that every one of us will do his duty and do it well. The national cause of socialist reconstruction demands sacrifice from us all. Each one of us must sacrifice a little for the total good of the whole people. This programme for

wards the fulfilment of our national purposes.

As I look at the content of the programme and the matters it covers, such as Tax Reform, Animal Husbandry and Poultry Production, Forest Husbandry, Industrialisation, Handicrafts, Banking and Insurance, Foreign Enterprise, Culture and Leisure, I am convinced beyond all doubt that Ghana and Ghanaians will travel full steam ahead, conscious of their great responsibilities and fully aware that the materialisation of this bright picture of the future is entirely dependent on their active and energetic industry.

We cannot afford to fail. We cannot afford even to think of failure. But if there is one thing we in this great

an interest in this national exercise and make the Party programme for Work and Happiness a great success.

And now, Countrymen, I have been speaking to you about our Party programme. From this I turn to a subject of almost equal moment, because it affects what is to me of the greatest importance, namely, the maintenance of the Republic as by law established and the achievement of those aims which under our Constitution I have pledged myself as President to strive for.

### ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM

An emergent country which attempts to follow a policy of socialism at home and a policy abroad of positive non-alignment, is challenging many vested interests. It would have been the most criminal folly for us not to take note of the lessons of contemporary history.

When you chose me as your President, I took an oath in which I swore that I would preserve and defend the Constitution and that I would do right to all manner of people according to law, without fear or favour, affection or ill will.

I should have been false to my oath had I allowed the Constitution to be overthrown by force, but I consider that the obligations which the Constitution imposes upon me not only call me to do justice, but also, wherever possible, to temper justice with mercy.

We have by no means passed through all our difficulties. The need for a Preventive Detention Act still remains, but I believe that the time has come when the security situation has improved sufficiently to allow a number of detainees to be released.

I have therefore ordered the immediate release of many of those at present under detention.

The Government had originally considered that anyone who had been previously detained and released, and who then again

engages in subversive activities, should be liable to a maximum imprisonment of twenty years. On this matter, too, I consider that a gesture of reconciliation can be made. The maximum period of five years detention as provided in the existing law will be retained, but the Preventive Detention Act will be so amended as to provide that anyone released from detention who again indulges in subversion, shall be detained again up to the present maximum of five years, and may, in addition, lose all rights as a citizen.

There remains also the question of those few citizens who have fled abroad. In one or two cases detention orders have been made against subversive individuals who have since fled the country, and in the event of such people returning to Ghana, these orders would be reviewed. But in most cases, those who have fled from Ghana have done so because they had a bad conscience or else were frightened by some unscrupulous rumour-monger.

### AMNESTY

A general amnesty will be extended to all such persons. I call upon them to return and to put their energies into useful purposes for the good of the country. I give them the assurance that they will not be victimised in any way or subjected to any disability for any past act; so long as they remain loyal and law-abiding they will not only have nothing to fear, but will also be assured of the protection which the machinery of the law provides and to which everyone in this country is entitled.

Countrymen, now is the time for reconstruction. We have a gigantic task before us. In solving our problems even those who in the past believed that they could gain their ends by subversion can now, if only they give up illegal methods, find their way back into useful and fruitful work.

Good night.



The rock of the Party—they have everything to win by the establishment of socialism.

said "no". They are seeking economic shelter under colonialist wings, instead of accepting the truth—that their survival lies in the political unification of Africa.

Countrymen, we must draw up a programme of action and later plan details of this programme for the benefit of the whole people. Such a programme is the one that the Party now brings to you, the people

prosperity.

This programme constitutes for us a vigorous reminder that we must eschew complacency and push forward more determined than ever before to achieve our goal and, through work and enterprise, to create progress, prosperity and happiness for our people.

The Eleventh Congress of the Party is scheduled

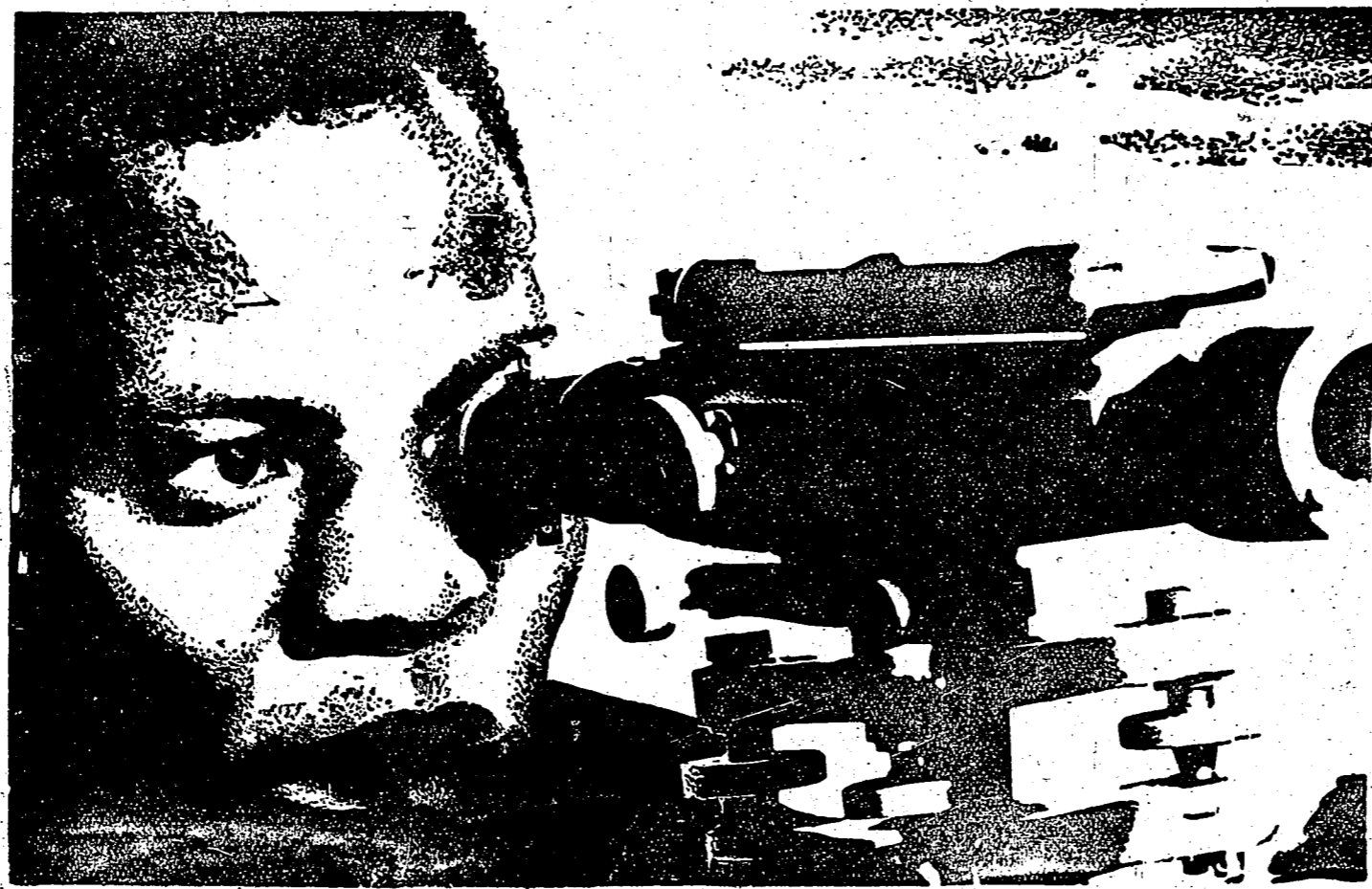
"Work and Happiness" is an expression of the evidence of the nation's creative ability, the certainty of the correctness of our Party line and action and the greatest single piece of testimony of our national confidence in the future.

Ghana is our country which we must all help to build. This programme gives us the opportunity to make our contribution to

Party have learnt, it is that nothing has been achieved or will ever be achieved without unstinted effort and the determination to succeed. Nothing succeeds like success. So all of us must tighten our belts and plunge head first into the fight for the urgent socialist reconstruction about which we have talked so much.

It is my sincere hope that each one of you will take

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THE Referendum is now over, and I want to speak to you tonight and to thank you—the Chiefs and people of Ghana—for the overwhelming demonstration of your solidarity and determination, and for your faith in the goals we have set before us. Let me commend especially all the Party activists, functionaries, supporters and sympathisers who threw themselves so wholeheartedly into the campaign, as well as the officials and election staff whose honesty and sincerity made the voting so smooth and orderly.

I want to tell you what a source of encouragement and invigoration your support has been to me. During the past week, you—the people of Ghana—have given the greatest manifestation of your steadfastness and faith in the Convention People's Party—the party that led you to freedom; the party that stands for your interests, because its very existence springs from you the people.

By giving your mandate once again to the party, you have demonstrated in the most positive terms our country's determination to establish a socialist society in which everyone of us will stand free and with equal opportunities in all respects with his neighbour. Very soon, a Bill will be presented to Parliament in order to amend the Constitution on the lines which have been approved by you

in this Referendum. I have never hidden from you the fact that our struggle is a hard and complex one. It is a struggle that involves fighting on many fronts, because that struggle is not only political and economic, but social, cultural and spiritual as well. I have told you on many occasions that our struggle falls into several stages. Our first stage ended when we took over the

control of our own affairs as independent Ghana. At that point, our party resolved to pass on to the next stage of our struggle—the construction of a socialist society. We felt then that we should mobilise and employ the energies of all sections of the community, because we took it for granted that everyone, in all walks of life, would consider it a privilege and duty to unite on a national

basis in such a noble cause. In the reconstruction of our country, however, we have found that certain elements in our society maliciously refuse to see eye to eye with us, even though in their heart of hearts they know that the course we have taken is the right one. By joining forces with the neo-colonialists, these elements infiltrated into the organs which administer and direct our State, and

tried to corrupt our Judiciary and our Police. To some extent they succeeded, and it was the measure of your vigilance that the country rallied quickly from the shock of Kulungugu and the subsequent acts of terrorism which were planned to break your confidence in the national cause, and to bring discord and disharmony into the country. The latest sequence of events, from the treason trial to the assassination attempt at Flagstaff House on the 2nd of January this year, has made it imperative that we should uproot completely all the forces of intrigue, subversion and violence designed to deflect us from our chosen goal.

It means that we must dig out the traitors and saboteurs and bring them to answer for their misdeeds. We must take the firmest measures against those who are bent on undermining our economic and social stability. Bribery, corruption and other social vices are evils that injure our stability and impede our progress. We must therefore make serious efforts to wipe out these evils, from our society. At this new stage of our national life, let us put an end to the string of malicious lying and rumour-mongering fomented by evil men and neo-colonialist agents amongst us. By their own deeds they shall be smoked out one by one.

**THE NEXT PHASE**

Above all, we must entrust the organs of the State to those upon whom we can rely to carry out our purposes and policies in accordance with our aims and aspirations. We shall see to it that the Civil Service, our Public Boards and Corporations and State Enterprises, and all other agencies of our Government, are operated by honest and dedicated men and women.

The stage is now set for us to embark upon the next phase in our struggle, to bring about a better way of living. This is the revolutionary stage in which the needs and aspirations of the people shall be supreme. This stage demands that everyone within our society must either accept the spirit and aims of our revolution, or expose themselves as the deceivers and betrayers of the people. The way is now clear for us to go forward to create the conditions in which every one of us shall enjoy the benefits of adequate food and protection, education, medical attention, proper housing, and all the other amenities which make life worth living.

It was in order to mark this revolutionary stage in our struggle, that we sought to amend our Constitution and bring it in line with the social purpose and social structure upon which it should be based. You have given your consent—overwhelmingly, I congratulate you on this massive manifestation of your understanding of our high purpose; and I have confidence in your ability to see that this is carried through.

As from to-day, Ghana has entered upon a new era. You have put the Party in a new strategic position in relation to yourselves. By your unequivocal "Yes" vote, you have, in the most emphatic way, expressed your belief not simply in the Convention People's Party, but in yourselves and in the nation.

*A broadcast Speech*  
**After the Referendum**  
by Kwame Nkrumah  
on 3rd Feb. 1964

It is because we have faith in ourselves to overcome our enemies at home and abroad, that we have agreed to rest the power of the State in the hands of the people. It is because we recognise that we, the people, can best serve as the watchmen of our interests, that we have voted ourselves as the guardians of the State. For that is what we are really saying when we say that "the people are the source of power and the guardians of the State". From whom else could power possibly spring but from the people?

**POLITICAL VANGUARD**

The Party is the rallying point of our political activity. Without the Party there would be no force through which to focus the needs and the desires of the people. The Convention People's Party is this force. The Party, therefore, is the hard core of those who are so dedicated to its ideology and programme, that they take their membership as the most serious business of their lives. The Party is nothing but the political vanguard of the people, the active organ of the people, working at all times in the service of the people.

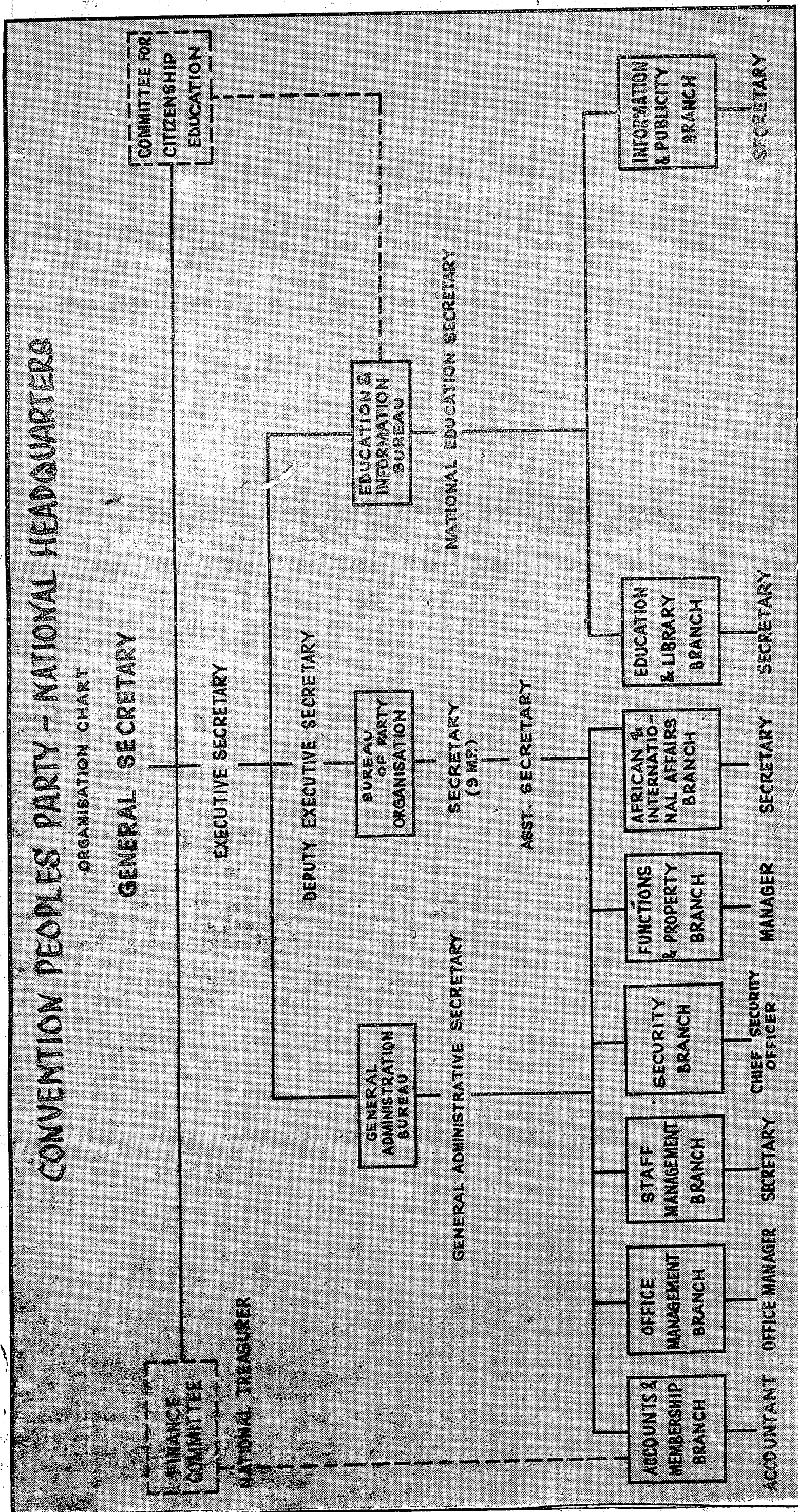
All of us are now one in the acceptance of a One-Party State. Our task is to plan for progress in the interests of the whole people. To carry out this work of service to the people, the Party needs the assistance of everybody, even those who are not members. The assistance the Party asks of all of us—men and women of Ghana—is that we should give of our very best in whatever work we do. If we do this, we will be helping the Party and thereby satisfying the people's needs and hopes. As long as we carry out these obligations, we can rest assured that we are doing the right thing and that no one can interfere with us. For we shall be interpreting the constitutional rights and duties vested in us as the guardians of the State.

Our Parliament has now become a corporate body made up of Party members voted in by the people as their representatives. Thus Parliament is the corporate representative of the people. As such, it will exercise the rights of the people as a unified body, working for the prosperity of Ghana and the happiness and welfare of the individuals who make up our nation. Like the Party itself, we expect Parliament to be composed of farmers and workers, artisans, factory workers, teachers, technicians, engineers, managers, intellectuals and university professors, doctors, members of the civil service, of public boards and corporations and of the judiciary—in short, people from every sector of our public life. Parliamentary service should not be a career, a means of furthering the ambitions of either individuals or special interests.

To represent the people in Parliament is a privilege, a privilege of which we must be worthy. The privilege of representing the people in Parliament and in Government does not endow Parliamentarians with special attributes that should set them above the people. On the contrary, in putting ourselves forward to represent the people in Parli-

Continued on page 14

**Headquarters Structure**



# WHAT NEXT?

Address by Kwame Nkrumah  
at the 11th PARTY  
CONGRESS at Kumasi  
on 28th July, 1962.

THE last annual Party Congress took place in 1958 at Koforidua and under very different circumstances. Ghana was then a Dominion. Today we meet as citizens of the Republic of Ghana, exercising our sovereign rights in the best interest of ourselves.

Our great party, in the meantime, has undergone serious changes in its structure and organisation, and what is more, it has set the country on the road to socialist reconstruction. In this exercise some of us have fallen by the wayside by the weight of our own conduct. We who have gathered here today must have cause to rejoice that we have withstood the tempest of these trials and changes and have survived.

Our party's aim is all-embracing, inspired and dedicated to the people and Nation. We have stated often and made it clear that our objective is a one party state, which gives equal opportunity to all the people and distinguishes citizens for merit and achievement but not privilege.

This Eleventh Congress of our great party being held in this historic city of Kumasi, is unique in many ways. In a sense, it is the party dividing line between the past and the future between what we have achieved and what we plan to achieve. We must therefore mark the importance of this occasion by positive decisions.

## HEADQUARTERS APPEAL FUND

When we met in 1958 at Koforidua, the National Headquarters of the party secretariat was accommodated in a small office in Kimberly Avenue in Accra. The general staff numbered less than thirty. The office was poorly equipped and the administration was a sort of stop gap arrangement. We launched a building appeal fund. Party members and friends generously subscribed. The result is the magnificent headquarters building of the National Secretariat which now imposes its gorgeous personality on the scene around George Padmore Road in Accra.

The Party Administration was re-organised and streamlined, both at the centre and in the Regions. Sixteen departments were set up to cater for various aspects of Party activity. The Party now employs over two hundred full-time officials at National Headquarters and in the Regions. No one who visits our National Secretariat can fail to be impressed by the effective and efficient arrangements for serving not only our Party members but also the general public.

One of the most successful exercises carried out by the Party during this period was the change of membership cards. The Central Committee decreed a change in membership cards and directed that new cards of a simple design be issued. The cards were distributed on a basis whereby every member had to obtain his membership card from his branch Party. By this method floating membership is eliminated. Today every single party member belongs to one branch or another. Our membership, not taking account of supporters and sympathisers stands at two and

half million.

In 1961, a major change took place in Administration. I assumed office as General Secretary of the Party and Chairman of the Central Committee. I did so in response to the invitation of the Central Committee to me, to take up the post in order to give personal direction to Party administration.

Our youngmen, imbued with a spirit of dedication and service, are thronging by the thousand to the colours of the Party. Looking at them, I am sure that Ghana has a bright future in human material. Our young generations, led by the Young Pioneers, will grow up with the slogan "Ghana First" on their lips and give of their best to Ghana in honest work and honest living.

## THE INTEGRAL WINGS

The Party organisation is effective in all its sections and the Party integral bodies—the Trades Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers Council, the Co-operative Movement and the National Council of Ghana Women—are all active and doing good work.

I am aware that hard work still lies ahead of this Party and that we must try not to allow our continued success to make us over-optimistic. It is only human and right, however, that we should congratulate ourselves on our achievements so far. The danger lies in complacency. As long as we do not rest on our oars, as long as each Comrade realises the importance of "carrying on", the Party will keep on its path of success.

I have frequently pointed out that here in Ghana, and for that matter in other parts of Africa, political action must be taken all along the line for as long as possible. The ravages of colonialism and imperialism are such that only political action based on proper political considerations and direction can effectively repair the damage. That is why it is most important that the party should be in a position to give essential leadership to all national action, at all times.

## IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

This demands that the Party leadership must be well-informed and its actions well considered. The party has therefore built at a great cost, the Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Ideological Studies at Winneba. Its object is to give party ideological education. Deserving activists, as well as those comrades who are interested, are given opportunity to gain ideological training in theory and practice and to advance their knowledge in other aspects of Party education. Many successful seminars have recently taken place at the Institute and more and more Comrades are becoming interested in the work of the Institute.

The Party must keep faith with the nation and work hard to provide full employment, good housing and equal opportunity up to the highest level for educational, spiritual and cultural advancement for all the people. Our task therefore is to build a socialist state, an equitable and progressive social order in which the condition for the

development of one is the condition for the development of all.

This means a reconstruction crusade led by the Party. The National Executive and the Central Committee have therefore given the most careful consideration to the agenda for this Congress and decided that our main work should be the consideration and adoption of the Party Programme for Work and Happiness and the approval of the Party revised Constitution.

The Programme has been widely circulated throughout the country. It has been discussed and explained at Party rallies and meetings and by the newspapers and the radio. Opportunity was given not only to Party members but also to everybody to study and criticise, thus fulfilling our promise to the masses that no action would be taken on the Programme until the people had fully expressed their views on it, thus giving effect to the general policy of the Party that the masses should be consulted in all our actions.

I must report that we have received criticisms and suggestions in this regard but that by and large, the nation overwhelmingly supports the programme and by resolutions, telegrams, letters and other means, demonstrated its will for Congress to adopt it for implementation.

## THE PARTY PROGRAMME

I do not find it necessary to comment here on the contents of the Programme. Surely delegates must have studied its provisions before now since the Programme has been in the hands of the Public for several months. It deals with varied subjects covering the whole of our national life including Tax Reform, National Planning, Banking and Insurance, Forest Husbandry, Animal Husbandry and Poultry Production, Fish Production and Marketing, Industrialisation, Agriculture, Education, Culture and Leisure, Transport, etc.

The Central Committee put considerable work and thought into the draft programme. It is prudent therefore, not to dismiss any provisions lightly.

The amendments to the Constitution are straightforward and not complicated. One major amendment deals with the establishment of Party Special Branches. It provides that special branches of the Party shall be established in working places. The purpose of these special branches is to study and propagate the principles of Nkrumahism, Party decisions, policies and programmes. Already most of these special branches which are not chartered have actually been established and are doing very useful work.

It is important for Party members to realise that the Party Constitution is the fundamental law of the Party and therefore the protector of all Party members.

Party Comrades, for their own sake, should endeavour to acquire a good working knowledge of the Constitution. In this way, their rights and duties will be clear to them and their conduct will be properly guided by it at all times. Apart from the protection

that the Party Constitution gives, Party members can also protect themselves by their own integrity and honesty. I have in recent times spoken so much on this subject and have emphasised this point very clearly both in the Dawn Broadcast and in my Address to the National Executive at the Ideological Institute at Winneba, the subject-matter of which has been printed and forms the Guide to Party Action. Delegates who have not had copies of the Guide to Party Action can obtain these at the Congress Secretariat.

## THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE

This great Party is deeply rooted in the people. The masses swear by it. Its prestige is reflected in the confidence reposed in it not only by Ghanaians but also by Africans elsewhere. The Party therefore has a duty and an obligation to stand by the people. Our performance must be first-class. Our sincerity must be above suspicion and we must always have the courage of our convictions. To achieve this, we have periodically to examine ourselves critically and to establish a firm discipline. In future we shall even be more critical of our conduct and actions.

As Comrade delegates, know, we are embarking upon a period of intensive industrialisation and the mechanisation and diversification of agriculture. This is the time, therefore when we shall need every available hand. The intelligentsia, the workers, the farmers and peasants, all the people must pull together and abolish all the remnants of the evils of colonialism—illiteracy, disease, poverty, hunger, malnutrition and squalor. All the people must work together, for our interests are one and inseparable and our destiny is one and single.

It is good to note, in this connection, that more and more of our intelligentsia are finding their way into the Party and identifying themselves with it. It is time they identified themselves with the masses.

Ghana is blessed with some of the greatest assets and attractions any country can offer. Ours is a secular democratic State. We have no knowledge of inter-race tensions. We accept all colours, creeds and religions. Our mineral and agricultural potential is great. Our per capita income is comfortably high and our economy is buoyant. We can make Ghana a showpiece of African success if this Party gives the correct leadership to our people.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT RE-ORGANISATION

Hitherto development action has been taken on the surface. The places at the base have been little affected by the extensive changes taking place. The Party has therefore decided to re-organise local government in order to get action down to affect the life of the people at the base in their homes and villages. New districts have been created bringing up the number of districts from seventy to about one hundred and fifty. It is intended that a district shall not only constitute a local council area administered by a District Commissioner but shall also constitute an electoral constituency. In addition there have been created town and village committees so that the internal life

of villages can be substantially administered by the villagers themselves. The ordinary worker, farmer and peasant thereby becomes an active participant in the government of the country and the life of the community generally becomes organised right at its base.

All this work needs a steady party machine and administration which in turn need money for upkeep. Comrade delegates will realise that our Party has no sources of income. It does not engage in trade or business. It depends solely on its membership, that is to say on dues paid by Party members and donations. We must therefore find more effective ways and means for collecting membership dues and donations.

Expenditure on the National and Regional Secretariats per month, amounts to almost twenty thousand pounds. We need a steady income of approximately two hundred and fifty thousand pounds annually therefore for running the Party's Administration and maintaining an effective political machine. This amount can be raised without much difficulty if every member pays regularly his dues of only three shillings a year. The Central Committee will request Finance Committee to work out new methods of collection to ensure that all members pay their dues as a duty to the Party.

## ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

The Party and Government have, during these years, worked tirelessly for a rapid economic transformation to catch up with our political advance. We have achieved much in the field of actual development and this is dealt with in outline by the Party Programme. Under the leadership of the Party, Ghana has maintained a steady progress since independence. Considering that these are our formative years of nationhood, we can afford to look at the future with confidence.

I have often pondered on the plight of most of our people in regard to social security. Surely citizens of Ghana must have the right to maintenance in case of sickness, disability, old age or some other handicap. Now only a few people in the Service of the nation enjoy such rights. We must look at this matter with new eyes and plan an elaborate scheme of national insurance and pensions which would cover all the people. For example, imagine the lot of Party officials now, were some to suffer severe and protracted illness or some disability which prevented them from being able to work any longer—it could be a very sad and hard lot, for the Party would not be in a position to give such officials the adequate provision which would be necessary for their upkeep. This illustration is also true of many public workers. Such a state of affairs is rather undesirable and can work considerable hardship and misery on our people. I invite Congress to pay particular attention to this matter and urge the introduction of social security and national insurance schemes for all our working people as quickly as possible.

It is incumbent upon this great Party to plan comfort and happiness for our old people. Old age could be a blessing if the aged can have succour necessary to keep themselves and



N. A. Welbeck, Executive Secretary of the Party.

their peace of mind. Unfortunately, most old people are often poor and since they get no income from any source whatever, their days end in sorrow and misery. We must correct this at all costs. Many of the aged must have rendered useful service of one type or the other to the state at some time and they must not be forsaken in their last days. Social Security should also provide for loss of breadwinner pensions, vocational training for disabled persons and maintain institutions for health, rest and leisure.

## EFFICIENT ORGANISATION

As you all know, this Party cannot achieve all that it has achieved without efficient organisation. Right from the start the Convention People's Party has always placed a premium on organisation, for organisation decides everything. We have passed through trials and tribulations. We have weathered fierce storms and upheavals in the young life of the Convention People's Party.

Comrades, a serious development is beginning to take place on our national scene. You all remember the cocoa politicians and the considerable havoc they caused with their seasonal activity. Every cocoa season they went about fabricating stories about offer of high prices of cocoa. They spread incredible and fantastic stories so as to deceive and confuse our common folk. Every cocoa season the Party and Government fought hard to counter these treacherous activities until the truth was established and the cocoa politicians disappeared with their inevitable doom.

Now a new traitor of the Nation has appeared. He is even worse than the cocoa politician. He is what I call the Budget politician. This vicious person goes about when budget time approaches, spreading all sorts of fabrications about cost of commodities, telling lies about the Party and Government and thus causing

alarm and despondency among the people.

We must declare war upon these rascals and if they are in the Party, weed them out ruthlessly. If they are without, we must mercilessly and ruthlessly crush their activity and render them harmless, and like the cocoa politicians, send them to their inevitable doom. I charge all Party members to report to the authorities the activities of any person or persons found indulging in this shameful and unpatriotic practice.

The Party and Government will launch a ten-year electrification scheme. Since we have placed our national emphasis on rapid industrialisation it is essential that we should build electric power to the point where the smallest nook and corner of Ghana can obtain electric supply readily and cheap to facilitate activity.

## SEVEN-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The Government will also launch a seven-year development plan on a scale unprecedented in this country. From the North to the South, from the East to the West, Ghana will buzz with life and activity. Prosperity, progress and happiness shall stretch out before our people.

It seems clear from all this that our duty is to exert eternal vigilance, organise the Party more effectively in all its sections and ramifications and place it on a pedestal of achievement and supremacy. I know that in this matter we have a unanimous voice and a united will.

Comrade delegates, on behalf of the Central Committee and the National Executive, I now have very great pleasure in welcoming you to this Eleventh Congress of our Great Party, and placing before you the revised Constitution and the new Programme of the Convention People's Party.

Long live the Convention People's Party, long live Ghana, long live the masses of our people. Long live African Unity.

# THE PARTY'S PUBLIC IMAGE

By H. M. BASNER

A RULING political party can only be considered healthy if it desires to continue its rule. The most effective way of doing this, for the most oligarchic party, no less than for a democratic one, is to make its public image as attractive as possible. It is the public image which impinges on the consciousness of the electorate and the masses, and in the end decides the fate of a political party. The only alternative to a public image is rule by outright force—a dictatorship which is strong enough to ignore public opinion altogether.

The public image of a political party is created by its ideology, programme, works and organizational structure functioning simultaneously. Any discrepancy or lack of co-ordination between these hinders the presentation of the public image.

In every capitalist party the ideology and programme (aims and performance) are not only divergent but completely contradictory. The ideology enunciates public welfare—the programme is for public

exploitation, and the organizational structure is designed to keep control in the hands of a class. These contradictions dare not be exposed, and every means of social communication—education, religion, sport, art, the press, as the most important—is used to confuse the critical faculties of the masses.

### NON-CONTRADICTIONS

In a socialist party these contradictions do not exist, (except in as much as capitalist trends and elements penetrate the party), and the problems of presenting the public image favourably all arise from discrepancies between thought and action, not out of contradictions between thought and action.

For this reason, open or indirect propaganda cannot help a socialist party very much in presenting its public image. Brain-washing is a technique reserved for a political system which exploits; You can't brain-wash a man into believing that something is for his good if it really is, for his good; and it is impossible to brain-wash a man into believing that he is well-fed and well-housed when he is not—you can only brain-wash him into believing that food and housing are not as important as religion, art, sport, his flag or his king.

The press of a socialist party must therefore present something far more solid than propaganda, and something more concrete than abstract ideology. As it speaks mainly to the masses, and is precluded from relying on sensationalism and an excessive emphasis on religion and sport (which carry a universal interest), it must express its ideology in terms of concrete illustrations. Conditions in factories and agriculture—the difficulties as well as the improvements—the adventures of a man seeking employment or a house, and the changes which these bring into his life, must capture his interest in the newspaper, as

it is captured in capitalist newspapers by the lives of film stars and sexy or humorous anecdotes and pictures.

Not only the successes but the failures of a socialist party in action must be presented by the party press to its readers. The failures are known and cannot be hidden, and if the reader does not see them in his newspaper, he thinks that they cannot be mentioned or explained because there is something wrong with the ideology and character of the ruling party.

The party press has another role to play, which is even more important. It is no use saying that democracy is safer in a socialist country under one-party rule than in capitalist countries with a multiplicity of parties, unless the socialist party and its press is prepared to prove it. They can only prove it by supplying the debates, criticism and analysis which an opposition is supposed to provide.

### COMMONSENSE

It is a matter of commonsense and not of party rules to distinguish between free speech and licence, between criticism and hostile propaganda, between understandable impatience and capitalist sneering. The party press, knowing what genuine democracy is, must provide the democracy which the masses will also consider genuine. A dissatisfied worker or farmer does not complain about his conditions because he likes capitalism and hates socialism. If he doesn't find his complaints expressed, discussed and explained in the party press, he must become vulnerable to capitalist propaganda that one-party rule is incompatible with democracy.

Socialist ideology cannot serve the public image of a socialist party, if there is a discrepancy between party representatives and its ideology. Good ideology cannot come from tainted sources. The warning by St. Paul holds as good for Socialism as for Christianity. If you

speak with the tongues of men and angels, and your hearers know that you take bribes and practise nepotism, your socialism will sound as tinkling brass and cymbals. The Party which allows corrupt men to present its image, despises the masses by under-rating their intelligence, or unrealistically exalts them so much as to expect them to distinguish between abstract truth and its imperfect manifestation.

### MATERIAL CONDITIONS

Has not a simple-man the right to say—if socialism didn't make my commissioner or M.P. an honest man, why should I believe that it will create an honest society?

This is not to suggest that a socialist party must be less prone to forgive genuine contrition than any other humanist organisation. Socialists, knowing the material conditions which cause weak men to break, should be more tolerant, not less. But socialism—especially in its early stages—can afford no form of sentimentality, and the party must find other party work for tainted men than that of presenting its public image.

The achievements of a socialist party, of course, reflect its ideology on to its public image, but the organizational forms through which a party scores its successes must be seen to have made their contribution. The relationship between correct ideology and correct organisation must be clear to the masses, otherwise the political connection is lost.

In a mass political party this is important for two separate reasons. Firstly, if socialist developments and benefits can be attributable to party ideology and leadership alone, there will be no inducement for the masses to join the party, or to participate actively if they do join. Secondly, no

socialist party can gauge the quality of its success unless it has been the fruit of collective endeavour. That is why brilliant individualists, no matter how capable or successful, do not bring more than superficial successes to a socialist society. The strong-arm bureaucrat who "gets things done" is even worse.

Only the people can build socialism, and that means collective thought as well as collective action. Collectivity means organisation, and organisation can only come from party endeavour. In a mass socialist party, the most capable central committee counts for very little if the party branches remain weak and incapable. That is only carrying individualism one step further, to autocracy and bureaucracy.

But the main thing is that when a new public building, factory or state farm appears, the people must say: "That is our work", not "That is their work", "That is our ideology", not "That is their ideology". When the people begin to talk like that, then socialism will be safe.

### THEORETICAL GOAL

We have had very little literature on the functioning of a mass party in a one-party socialist state. This political phenomenon has only made its appearance with the African Revolution, and is linked with the social conditions in developing parts of the world where capitalism has not created a proletariat or the conditions which demand a proletarian revolution.

In organizational forms, therefore, the socialist countries which have created socialism through "elite" parties do not offer us much help. But the principles on which socialism is established are everywhere the same. Socialism is built by the people for the people—by collective endeavour for collective living. This can only mean that the party image in every village must be the same as at the party headquarters, as a theoretical goal for the party, and one to be implemented with all possible speed.

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THERE is a tendency amongst certain lawyers of looking down on their brothers-in-law who are Party members. They have often expressed the view that a good lawyer cannot be a Party member at the same time. (The word lawyer is being used in this sense to describe all those who hold diplomas or degrees in law. Thus it includes the judges, the practising lawyer and the law teacher). By subscribing to this view they overlook the role that lawyers can play in the socialist reconstruction of our country.

Indeed, they have forgotten the part played by lawyers and men imbued with legal ideas in the practical work of Ghana politics. I think I am right in saying that Mensah Sarbah, the centenary of whose birth has been celebrated this month, were alive today he would be a staunch member of the Party. In most of his writings, he denounced the concept of individualism being introduced into Ghana in order to undermine our social

system. As he once observed, it was suicidal for colonialists to insist on individualism, to the extent of encouraging selfishness and thereby destroying what was undoubtedly good and beneficial in our indigenous institutions.

"In the African social system", said Sarbah, "the formation of a pauper class is unknown, nor is the antagonism of class against class." Throughout his life, Sarbah never failed in his duty to his people. He used his knowledge of the law to defeat the imperialist in many a battle. Casely-Hayford, another brilliant lawyer, in his life-time, did not employ his skill and knowledge of the law solely for his clients, but devoted much of his time to inculcating the idea of nationalism among his people, with the view to withstanding the onslaught of capitalism and imperialism. The National Congress of West Africa, formed over fifty years ago, owed their successes against British imperialism to the indefatigable efforts of the lawyer members such as Hutton-Mills, Casely-Hayford and Mensah Sarbah.

These contributions of

some of our illustrious lawyers were given at a time in our national struggle when there was neither organised political party nor a distinct ideology, as we have now. Why now should the picture be different? All over the world, whether in a capitalist or in a socialist country, lawyers have identified themselves with the national cause.

In the United Kingdom, for example, there is the Inns of Court, Conservative and Unionist Society, and the Bow Group, comprising conservatives whose main

by  
**A Party Lawyer**

purpose is to promote Conservatism. There is also the Society of Labour Lawyers. Recently this Society has published a book entitled *Law Reform Now*, under the joint editorship of Lord Gardiner and Andrew Martin. If Labour comes to power this year, there is

no doubt that Harold Wilson will implement most of the changes advocated by the Society of Labour Lawyers. In the Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia the profession of law is regarded as NOT a free, individual and private occupation. It is practised in accordance with the interests of the Socialist reconstruction.

Why should the duty of the lawyer to the State be viewed from a different angle in Socialist Ghana today? It will be remembered that during the heyday of Colonialism a principle was established that the Colonialist Government should not award scholarships for the study of law unless the students agreed to work in the Government services. When the C.P.P. came into power, Osagyefo the President, and the Party, felt rightly that this was a selfish policy. From that moment when we attained our independence, the C.P.P. Government reversed this policy and has awarded and continued to award scholarships to law students irrespective of whether they intend to work for the Government or to practise on

their own. It is because of the importance attached to law in our socialist reconstruction that this new policy was adopted.

Have we lawyers played the role that is expected of us? Have we realised that the skill and knowledge that is at our disposal is not SOLELY for the benefit of clients, but that it should be regarded as held in trust for the society in which we live? Have we insisted on the introduction of a Legal Aid System so as to help the impecunious litigants of our society? Have we been able to suggest to the Government legal reforms needed to make the Seven Year Development Plan wholly efficient?

Lord Devlin, formerly a Lord of Appeal, made this statement concerning the role of Judge in the world today: "In a matter involving security, where there was a conflict with duty to a profession, the lawyer must say that the duty to the State is paramount." Is our record one of which we can be proud?

The purpose of this short note is not to make accusations at any one. The sole aim is to point out that in the world in which we are

living today no one profession can regard itself as strangers to our society. If some of us fail to understand what the Party and Government are doing from day to day it is our own fault. It is our duty to study and understand our Constitution, the Party literature and especially the Nkrumaist ideology which is the bedrock of our socialist reconstruction. One can do no better than to reproduce one of the conclusions of the International Congress of jurists on "Executive Action and Rule of Law" held in Brazil, 1962:

"In a changing and interdependent world, lawyers should give guidance and leadership in the creation of new legal concepts, institutions and techniques to enable man to meet the challenge and dangers of the times and to realise the aspirations of all people. The lawyer to-day should not content himself with the conduct of his practice and the administration of justice. He cannot remain a stranger to important developments in economic and social affairs if he is to fulfil his vocation as a lawyer: he should take an active part in the process of change. He will do this by inspiring and promoting economic and social justice."

## The Ghana Trades Union Congress

NEXT week "The Spark" carries a special six-page issue on the trade union movement in Ghana.

It is our view that the present stage of the Ghana Revolution calls for a new style of work by the leaders of the Labour Movement in Ghana. We hold strongly to the view that their work must be closely related to the fundamental problems of increased industrial output and raising labour productivity. Any tendency aimed at entreaching loud-mouthed, corrupt and easy going damogones in the leadership of the movement must be exposed.

We shall pull no punches and name names.

—Editor

# The Constitution People's

## Name :

1. The name of the Party shall be the CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY (C.P.P.)

## Purpose of the Convention People's Party :

2. The Convention People's Party is the political vanguard of the people of Ghana and the architect and leader of Ghana's Glorious Revolution.

3. The Chief purpose for forming the Party on June 12, 1949, was to organise the common people and lead the masses in the struggle for the attainment of Independence.

## Immediate Aims and Objects :

4. With the attainment of Independence, the aims and objects of the Party are as follows :

- To consolidate the Revolution by maintaining the unity of the nation under a unitary form of government and to safeguard the Independence and Sovereignty of the State.
- to bring about as speedily as possible the Economic and Social Reconstruction of the country so as to provide a higher standard of living for all.
- To create a Socialist Pattern of Society adapted to African conditions in accordance with the principles of Nkrumaism in which all citizens, regardless of class, tribe, colour or creed shall have equal opportunity, and where there shall be no exploitation of man by man, tribe by tribe, or class by class; and shall strive to promote and to safeguard popular democracy based upon universal adult suffrage and the rule of the majority.

## International Policy :

- The external policy of the Convention People's Party shall be guided by the principle of Positive Neutralism and Non-alignment. The Party will therefore seek to establish fraternal relations with all foreign and independent countries of the world. In particular, it shall offer guidance and support to all nationalist, democratic and socialist movements in Africa and elsewhere which are fighting for national independence and self determination and whose programmes are opposed to Imperialism, Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism, Racialism, Tribalism, Religious Secretarianism and all other forms of national, racial, tribal and religious chauvinism and oppression.
- The Party shall give its full support to all action in the international sphere which seeks to abolish economic inequality among nations, races and people. It will also give full support to the cause of world peace and security.
- The Party endorses and gives active support to the conception of the unification of Africa.

## PART TWO

### Membership :

6. Membership shall be open to the following:— Any person who is 21 years of age, or over and who accepts the aims and objects, policy, programme and discipline of the Party shall be eligible for membership provided that:

- He or she does not support Imperialism, Colonialism, Neo-Colonialism, Tribalism and Racialism.
- He or she is not a member of any other political Party or of any organisation whose policy is inconsistent with that of the Party.
- He or she is not a member of a Trade Union, Farmers' Organisation or other organisation proscribed by the Party.
- He or she subscribes to the membership.

Application for membership shall be made on a duly prescribed form and shall be completed by the applicant and passed to a Branch Secretary for consideration by his Committee as to acceptance or otherwise. On enrolment every member shall be supplied with a Membership and Dues Card.

### Membership Dues :

7. Each member of the Party shall pay membership dues of three-shillings (3/-) a year to his Branch, or as otherwise determined by the Party at any particular time.

### Admission Fee :

8. The admission fee is two-shillings (2/-).

### Duties and Rights of Party Members :

9. It is the duty of a Party member :

- To protect the solidarity and unity of the Party at all times.
- To pay Party dues regularly.
- To protect the good name of the Party under all circumstances and to correct wrong views held against the Party.
- To carry out Party decisions and directives to the best of his ability and to ensure that any disregard to such decisions or directives is promptly reported to the Party authority.
- To be the first to obey the laws of the country passed by the Government.
- To defend any action of the Party or the Government.

(g) To try to understand all Party and Government matters and to explain the same to other people.

(h) To set an example by working hard, efficiently and honestly and by showing a keen sense of responsibility and duty.

(i) To pursue a study of the principles of Socialism and to endeavour to be guided in action by these principles.

(j) To guard jealously any secrets of the Party and to maintain constant vigilance in this respect.

(k) To criticise and accept criticism in good faith and spirit and to make frequent self-examination for correction, remembering that all criticism and correction should be made not to destroy but to build.

(l) To be truthful and loyal to the Party always and to eschew all qualities of opportunism, nepotism, ostentation, vanity and self-seeking.

(m) To remember that the Party is supreme and to do everything within his power to uphold this supremacy.

### RIGHTS:

10. A Party member has the right:

- To take part in all Party activities.
- To attend meetings and freely express his views on all matters in discussion, and to vote according to his conviction.
- To elect and be elected to Party bodies.
- To be present in person whenever decisions are taken regarding his activities or conduct.
- To address any question or statement to any Party body including the National Executive and the Central Committee.
- To appeal against any adverse decision against him from his Branch Party upwards to the Central Committee and to the Leader of the Party in person.
- To appeal as a last resort to the Party Congress.

### INTEGRAL ORGANISATIONS :

11. As the political vanguard of the people, the Party organisation at all levels, National, Regional, District and Branch, must see that all members belong to a Trade Union, Co-operative Society, a Branch of the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operatives or a Branch of the National Council of Ghana Women. These wing organisations shall constitute the integral parts of the Party.

The Central Party together with its integral parts of the Trades Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operatives, the Co-operatives and the National Council of Ghana Women will furthermore guarantee social stability throughout the period of industrial construction and provide the social climate for building a Socialist society. The Party must also encourage and support other organisations such as professional, technical, artisan, cultural, sports, youth, women and similar organisations which seek to advance the economic, social, cultural and educational advancement of Ghana and Africa.

### THE BRANCH—THE BASIC PARTY ORGANISATION:

12. The Branch is the basic organisation of the Party. The Party shall establish branches in all towns and villages. Each Branch shall be governed by a Branch Executive Committee which shall be elected annually at a General Meeting of the Branch. The Branch may appoint full-time paid officers where funds permit.

Every village or town other than a Municipality or a City shall constitute a Branch and shall have a Charter. In the case of a City or a Municipality, a Ward shall constitute a Branch and be known as such and shall have a Charter.

Branches shall deal direct with their respective District Headquarters, and only through their District and Regional Secretariats with the National Headquarters of the Party.

### BRANCH GENERAL MEETING :

13. There shall be a general meeting of each Branch at least once a month.

### BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

14. There shall be a Branch Executive Committee consisting of the following officers:—

- Chairman
- Secretary
- Education Secretary
- Treasurer
- Propaganda Secretary
- Six Members.

15. A Councillor shall not hold Party office, paid or unpaid, but he can be a member of the Executive.

16. The appointment of Branch Education Secretary, which shall not be subject to election, shall be made only after proper ideological training at

an approved Party School and subject to confirmation from the National Headquarters of the Party.

17. No Party member shall put himself up for appointment to any executive office in the Party unless such a person has been an active Party member for a period of five years previously. Notwithstanding the provision of this clause, a member of the Party shall be so appointed on the direction of the Central Committee.

### DUTIES OF BRANCH EXECUTIVES:

18. The duties of Branch Executives shall be:—

- To carry on propaganda and organisational work among the masses of the people in order to implement the policies and programmes of the Party.
- To pay constant attention to sentiments and views of the masses of the people and to report same through the District Secretariat to the National Headquarters Secretariat, Accra.
- To pay heed to the political, economic and cultural life of the people and to take the lead in organising the people to solve their own problems by encouraging the spirit of initiative among the masses.
- To recruit new members and to collect Party membership dues.
- To check and verify the Party membership records and to report to the National Headquarters through the District Secretariat any act of indiscipline and other offences which might bring the Party into dishonour and disrepute.
- To foster the political and general education of Party members and especially Party cadres.

The Branch Executive has no mandatory powers to expel anybody. In cases of indiscipline it may suspend the member concerned subject to confirmation of the Central Committee. Recommendation for expulsion shall be made to the Central Committee for determination.

### UNCHARTERED BRANCHES:

19. Special branches, without Party Charters, shall be established in all working places for the purpose of studying Nkrumaism, and propagating Party decisions, programmes and policies.

20. Within educational institutions, Party Study Groups shall be set up for the same purpose as set out in (5) (a).

21. Unchartered Branches within all working places as well as Party Study Groups in educational institutions, shall have each a Secretary/Convener as a sole officer who shall act as a liaison between the unchartered Branch and the nearest Party Secretariat.

22. These special branches shall NOT issue Party Membership Cards nor collect Membership Dues.

### DISTRICT PARTY ORGANISATION: BI-ANNUAL CONFERENCE:

23. A conference of the District shall be held at least twice a year to which every Branch in the District possessing a Charter shall send two delegates. The place and time of the conference shall be determined by the District Executive Committee.

### COMPOSITION OF DISTRICT EXECUTIVES:

24. The District Executive Committee shall consist of:

- Chairman
- Treasurer
- Eight Committee members elected at the Annual District Conference, two of whom shall be women. Retiring members may be re-elected.
- District Secretary.
- District Education Secretary (by appointment)
- District Commissioner—Ex-Officio.
- Member of Parliament—Ex-officio. Other officers may be appointed from time to time.

### FUNCTIONS OF THE DISTRICT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

25. The District Executive Committee shall carry out the policy and decisions of the Annual District Conference which must be in keeping with the basic policy and programme of the Party as laid down by the Party Congress and in the Constitution, and in accordance with the Rules and Regulations of the Party.

### ELECTIONS TO LOCAL COUNCILS AND NATIONAL PARLIAMENT:

26. Candidates for village, town, municipal, city, urban, district and regional council elections shall

be nominated by the Branch Executive and subject to the approval by the Central Committee. 27. Candidates for Parliamentary Elections shall be nominated by the Central Committee.

### Regional Conference :

28. A Regional Conference shall be convened annually by the Regional Secretary or on the instructions of the Central Committee through the Secretariat of the National Headquarters, Accra, or on the demand of at least one-third of the Districts of the Party in the Region. The Regional Conference shall consist of two representatives from each District within the Region.

### Powers of Regional Conference :

29. The Regional Conference shall have the power:—

- To organise and implement the Party's programme and policy in the Region.
- To consider the political and organisational reports and statements of account presented by the Regional Secretary.
- To do other things calculated to promote the aims and objects of the Party in the respective regions.

### Composition of Regional Steering Committee :

30. There shall be a Regional Steering Committee composed of:—

- Chairman (to be elected ad hoc from among themselves).
- All Members of Parliament for the Region.
- All District Commissioners in the Region.
- All Chairmen of City, Municipal, Urban and District Councils in the Region.
- All Party District Chairmen.
- Members of the National Executive Committee.
- The Regional Secretary. (Secretary of the Committee.)
- The Regional Commissioner—ex-officio.
- Members of the Central Committee in the Region.

### Functions of the Regional Steering Committee :

31. The Regional Steering Committee shall represent the Central Committee in the Region and deal with all political and organisational matters affecting the Region. It shall submit a written report through the General Secretary to the Central Committee.

32. The Regional Steering Committee shall make Recommendations to the Central Committee in respect of all candidates for elections, local or otherwise and shall likewise recommend the suspension of a member of the Central Committee.

### Regional Officers :

33. The Regional Secretariat shall be appointed by the Central Committee and shall be full-time paid officers. They shall be considered part of the National Headquarters Secretariat, and shall be as many in number as shall be considered necessary at any time.

### Duties of Regional Secretariat Staff :

34. The duties and functions of the Regional Secretariat Staff shall be determined from time to time by the Central Committee, and Districts within the Region shall be duly informed.

### PARTY CONGRESS

#### Convening of Party Congress :

35. The Party Congress shall be convened at such date and place as may be determined by the National Executive.

#### Composition of Party Congress :

36. The Party Congress shall consist of:—
- TWO DELEGATES duly elected by each chartered Party Branch.
  - District Commissioners.
  - Party National Officers.
  - Party Regional Secretaries.
  - Members of the National Executive.
  - Members of the Central Committee.
  - Members of Parliament.
  - Chairmen of City, Municipal, Urban and District Councils.

#### Election of Delegates to Party Congress :

##### Qualifications and Disqualifications :

37. Every delegate must individually accept and conform to the constitution, programme, principles and policy of the Party.

38. No person shall act as a delegate who has not paid his dues to date.

#### Functions and Powers of the Party Congress :

39. The Party Congress shall have the power:—

- To lay down the broad basic policy and programme for the Party. The decision of the Party Congress shall be binding on all members of the Party.
- To consider the reports and audited accounts presented by Party Officers on behalf of the National Executive Committee.
- To deal with other matters affecting the Party and the country.



# of the Convention

## Party Revised 1962

### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Composition:

40. The National Executive Committee shall consist of:—
- The Leader and General Secretary of the Party.
  - Members of the Central Committee.
  - National Officers and Regional Secretaries of the Party.
  - One delegate from each District.
  - All District Commissioners.
  - Members of Parliament.

All members of the National Executive Committee shall have voting rights, except Members of Parliament and District Commissioners.

### Duties of the National Executive Committee:

41. The duties of the National Executive Committee shall be:—

- To carry out the policy and programme of the Party as laid down by the Party Congress.
- To help organise Conferences, Districts and Branches and to guide and supervise their work.
- To enforce the Constitution, Rules, Regulations, Standing Orders and By-Laws of the Party and to take any action it deems necessary for such purpose, whether by way of dissolution or suspension of a Branch of the Party, suspension and expulsion of an individual member of the Party. Any such action taken by the National Executive Committee shall be reported to the next Party Congress, to which appeals shall lie from the Branches and members concerned.
- To maintain Party Finance and submit a report and a statement of account to the Party Congress.
- To initiate and undertake all such activities as may further the aims and objects of the Party.
- Any vacancy occurring in the National Executive Committee during the course of the year shall be filled as provided for in the Constitution.
- The National Executive Committee shall be in plenary session at least once every six months to hear reports on the state of the Party and the work of the Central Committee.
- Emergency meetings of the National Executive Committee shall be convened as thought fit by the Life Chairman/General Secretary or the Central Committee or upon a resolution endorsed by one-third of the total District Executives.

### Quorum:

At least one-third of the District Representatives must be present including the Leader and General Secretary of the Party, National Officers and Regional Secretaries of the Party.

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

#### Composition:

42. The Central Committee of the National Executive shall be appointed by the Leader and General Secretary of the Party who shall be its Chairman.

#### Functions:

43. The functions of the Central Committee shall be:—

- To act as the "Directorate" of the National Executive in seeing that the decisions and policies of the National Executive are duly executed.
- To supervise the administrative machinery of the Party at all levels—national, regional, district and branch executives and to take such measures as it deems necessary to enforce decisions and programme of the Party as laid down by the National Executive.

The members of the Central Committee shall normally reside in Accra and shall meet in permanent session at least once a week or if emergency arises from day to day to review major trends, formulate tactics and strategy for the guidance of the National Executive and in the event of emergency to assume full responsibility for safeguarding the basic programme of the Party, its security and defence, and report to the National Executive. The Central Committee shall work in closest collaboration with all members of the Party in Parliament and see especially to the proper working of the Parliamentary Committee.

### Discipline: Suspension and Expulsion of Members:

44. There shall be a Central Disciplinary Control Commission consisting of three or more members appointed by the Central Committee.

Its decision shall be reported to the Central Committee for action. Report of any action taken should be made to the National Executive Committee at its next session for ratification or other-

wise. Appeals lie to the National Party Congress. Members of the Central Disciplinary Control Commission are appointed annually, but members can be re-appointed. Only the Central Committee on behalf of the National Executive can expel a member.

Any member acting as candidate or supporting a candidate, in opposition to the Party's official candidate in any Parliamentary or Local Government elections shall be expelled from the Party.

### Parliamentary Committee of the Party:

45. The Parliamentary Committee of the Party shall consist of:—

All Party members in Parliament.

The Parliamentary Committee shall be under the direct supervision and control of the Party Leader who will report to the National Executive and the Central Committee on the work, activities and general behaviour of all members of the Party in Parliament.

The Party shall appoint the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee who shall maintain daily contact with the Party Leader.

### Quorum:

46. The quorum of every organisation of the Party shall consist of one-third of the membership of Party Branch Executive, District Executive, Regional Committee or the National Executive.

### Amendments to Constitution:

47. The existing Constitution, or any part thereof, may be amended, rescinded, altered or additions made thereto by Resolution carried by a majority vote at a National Party Congress. Proposals regarding any amendments of the Constitution must be sent to the General Secretary at least two months before the Congress for inclusion in the Agenda.

Notice of such Resolutions and the Congress Agenda shall be communicated in writing to all branches at least one month before the Party Congress.

Only branches and districts and not individual members shall send resolutions for determination at the National Congress of the Party.

### PARTY FUNDS

#### Composition and Functions of the Finance Committee:

48. The funds of the Party shall be derived from membership dues and donations and shall be under the control of a Finance Committee.

49. The Finance Committee shall consist of the following members appointed by the Central Committee:

- National Treasurer (Chairman)
- The Executive Secretary (Secretary)
- The National Auditor
- Two other members, and shall be in charge of all Party Funds and properties and render annual accounts to the Party Congress.

It shall also produce a monthly statement of accounts to the Central Committee and a quarterly one to the National Executive.

Except in the case of authorised imprest accounts, all funds shall be deposited in a Bank, and application for withdrawals must be signed by persons appointed by the Central Committee.

N.B.—All remittances to the National Headquarters should be sent to the National Treasurer, National Headquarters, Convention People's Party, P.O. Box 821, Accra. Cheques, Postal and Money Orders should be made payable to the Convention People's Party and crossed.

### Party Flag:

50. a) The official colours of the Party Flag shall be:— RED, WHITE AND GREEN.

b) The Party tricolour flag shall be in horizontal form with red at the top followed by white and green with a black star in the centre of the white.

c) Every Branch, every District and Regional Office and the National Headquarters shall at all times fly the Party Flag.

### PART THREE INNER PARTY ORGANISATION

#### National Secretariat:

51. The Central Administrative machinery of the Party shall be known as the National Secretariat, consisting of the Leader and General Secretary and full-time Party officials.

b) The supreme co-ordinating agency shall be the Life Chairman/General Secretary. The other Party officials shall be appointed by the Central Committee.

c) The National Secretariat shall be under the direct supervision and control of the Central Committee.

d) In addition to the National Headquarters, there shall be Regional, District and Branch offices in the country.

e) The Central Committee shall serve as a liaison between the National Secretariat and the National Executive of the Party. The Central Committee shall be responsible to report to the plenary meetings of the National Executive Committee on the work of its own activities and the activities of the National Secretariat.

f) The chief function of the National Secretariat is to transmit decisions of the National Executive Committee and the Central Committee to the Regional Steering Committees, the District Executives and Branch Executives and to perform such other duties as are connected with Party administration.

### Women's Section:

52. All women in the Party shall be organised into the National Council of Ghana Women on Regional, District and Branch/Ward basis. The Council shall have the sole responsibility for co-ordinating the activities of all women in the country. It shall cater for the special interests of women and serve as one of the integral organisations of the Party.

### Youth Organisation:

53. The youth of the country (aged 4-20) shall be organised into the Ghana Young Pioneers dedicated to the revolutionary socialist transformation of Ghana's economy and culture and the struggle for African Unity. The Young Pioneer Organisation shall be under the direction and control of the Central Committee of the Party.

### Party Manifesto:

54. The Central Committee on behalf of the National Executive of the Party shall decide which items from the Party Programme shall be included in the Manifesto to be issued in connection with a General or Local Government election.

### Publications:

55. The Party shall publish its own literature, periodicals, magazines, pamphlets, books, etc., as and when they shall be deemed desirable.

### Party National Days:

56. The following shall be the National Days of the Party.

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| a) Positive Action Day                              | January, 8              |
| b) Youth Day  | February, 21            |
| c) Africa Liberation Day                            | May, 25                 |
| d) May Day  | May, 1                  |
| e) Party Anniversary                                | June, 12                |
| f) National Founders Day (Kwame Nkrumah's Birthday) | September, 21           |
| g) Branch Elections                                 | October of every year.  |
| h) District Elections                               | November of every year. |

### PART FOUR THE PARTY VANGUARD ACTIVISTS P.V.As.

57. The Convention People's Party has developed from a small organisation to a nation-wide mass movement which embraces within its ranks and among its sympathisers the overwhelming majority of the nation. As a consequence of the phenomenal growth of the Party, the politically conscious leadership is faced with the danger of being swamped by tribal, regional and other communal ideological influences which are penetrating the ranks of the more backward Party membership.

These dangers are some of the biggest which other national movements have had to face after the attainment of independence. Defections in our moral standards divorce us from the masses, who look up to our Party not only for the political leadership which it gives, but as an example to set them correct standards for building up an egalitarian society in the new Ghana. To combat ideological menace and factional rivalries, the Party will adopt certain inner organisational measures to safeguard its socialist aims and unity of programme during every phase of the post-independence period of National reconstruction.

To achieve "ideological purity", emphasis must be placed upon quality rather than quantity. Quantity has been achieved by the nation-wide following which the Party enjoys. What is needed is quality personnel. The Party needs a vanguard of consciously dedicated activists and propagandists ideologically trained.

To be the defenders of the Party "line," and the transmitters of Party Policies and decision.

### The Party School:

58. All Party members are expected to attend the Party School and be graduated therefrom.

The Central Committee shall be responsible for the organisation, direction and control of the Party's School and the general activities of the Party Vanguard Activists

### Motto:

59. The P.V.As. Motto shall be "Loyalty and

Service" to the Leader and the Convention People's Party:—

- Perpetual preparedness in the service of the Party.
- Maintenance, propagation and defence of the Party, its aims, objects and purposes.
- Maintenance of eternal vigilance within the Party.
- P.V.As. shall have special buttons or brooches and signs of recognition.

### Vanguard Leadership:

60. The "Party Vanguard Activists" shall be recruited from among the most politically-minded section of the Party membership at all levels, and given special courses of instruction at Party Schools and study circles, so that they may, in their turn, become the educators of the masses in their respective communities, work places and non-Party organisations, into which the Party's ideology and influence must penetrate. To effect this penetration, the special tasks of the "Vanguard Activists" will be:—

(a) Agitation and organisational work among the masses for the purpose of carrying out the public appeals and decisions of the Party and Government, and of providing leadership in action whenever the situation demands it.

(b) Enlisting new members in the Party, forming Study Circles among the youth and supervising their political education, so that they will understand and be able to interpret to the illiterate masses the various slogans which the Party may raise and the decisions the Government may take.

(c) To act as a bridge between the Party organisation, Government Officials and Local Government Councils in their respective localities.

(d) Mobilization of the masses in support of all Government-sponsored industrial and agricultural development programmes, and inculcation in the people of the spirit of Self-Help, Discipline, Initiative, Communal Co-operation and Social Competition in the sphere of rural reconstruction.

(e) To lead the struggle against all political opponents of the Party, and against all laxity and thriftlessness in the management of state and co-operative enterprises, and to expose bribery and corruption without fear or favour.

(f) To develop criticism and self-criticism among Party members, pointing out shortcomings in the execution of Party policies, so as to create confidence among the masses and win their support for the Convention People's Party as their best defender against bureaucracy, mis-management, dishonesty, corruption in public corporations, and abuse of power by public servants, politicians and others in authority.

(g) The Party Vanguard Activists must be the "eyes and ears" of the Party. They have a special duty to safeguard the unity of the Party as the prime condition of its strength and might.

### PARTY OATH FOR ADMISSION:

On my honour, I... (name)..... do hereby promise that I shall be faithful and loyal to the Convention People's Party and its Leader, Comrade Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. I sincerely give my pledge to abide by the Constitution, Rules and Regulations of the Party and work zealously to promote, uphold and maintain the aims and objects for which the Party stands.

### OATH FOR THE VANGUARD ACTIVISTS:

I solemnly swear true allegiance to the person and office of the Leader and Life Chairman of the Convention People's Party, and promise solemnly always to obey and abide by the rules and regulations of the Party; and I shall at all time in duty bound, observe and obey all commands of the Central Committee of the Convention People's Party.

### PARTY OATH FOR MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

On my honour, I... (name)..... do hereby promise that I shall be faithful and loyal to the Convention People's Party and to the person and office of its leader, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. I sincerely give my pledge to abide by the Constitution, Rules and Regulations of the Party and work zealously to promote, uphold and maintain the aims and objects for which the Party stands.

As a member of the Central Committee I also do hereby promise not to divulge any secrets of the Party and that I infringe this oath at my own risk.

### OATH FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT:

On my honour I... (name)..... do hereby promise that I shall be faithful and loyal to the Convention People's Party and its Leader, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. I sincerely give my pledge to abide by the Constitution, Rules and Regulations of the Party and work zealously to promote, uphold and maintain the aims and objects for which the Party stands.

As a member of the Convention People's Party Parliamentary group, I do hereby promise to help maintain Party discipline in Parliament and to work zealously for the progress of My Constituency under the general policy and programme of the Convention People's Party for the country.

# THE CIVIL SERVANT

Statement at the Seminar for Senior Civil Servants on the 14th April, 1962

In recent weeks, I have conducted seminars here for Ministers, Members of Parliament, District Commissioners and officials of our great Party. The aim of these seminars has been to discuss how we could assist, individually, collectively and actively in implementing the aims and policies of the Party and the Government for creating the new Ghana as a modern State of which we can all be proud.

I want to take this opportunity to read to you as a background study my address at the first Seminar at this Institute which was held on the 3rd February, 1962, and which has been printed under the title: *Guide to Party Action*.

And now let me continue where I left off.

I rely on you who, as Principal Secretaries and Heads of Departments, are the cornerstone of the Civil Service, and are directly responsible for the execution of the policies of the Government.

I have therefore invited you here today so that we can share some thoughts together on the part which you in the Civil Service can and ought to play in the important exercise of national reconstruction, and your role and responsibilities in the new Ghana which we are trying to build.

We should realise that all our dreams and plans and projects for seeking a better life for the people of Ghana will remain unfulfilled without the assistance of loyal, devoted and competent Civil Servants, and that the measure of that assistance is directly proportional to the state of morale in the Civil Service especially at the highest levels. We also realise that the morale of an individual is determined not only by his inner idealism, motivation and drives, but also by the external environments and attitudes displayed towards him by those with whom he works and serves.

## CONFIDENCE UNDERLINED

It was Ghana's good fortune, compared to a great many other countries in Africa, that on the eve of Independence there was already a small core of able and experienced Ghanaian officers like you practically undiscovered to man key posts in the machinery of administration. Where a struggle for Independence against imperial or colonial domination is successful and the new successor Governments have to rely on a Civil Service consisting of men who have served in the previous regimes, it is not surprising that some doubt or distrust may be felt and expressed in certain quarters regarding their loyalty and reliability. This in turn naturally tends to cause some disheartening in the staunchest breast. I would like to take this opportunity, therefore, to assure you that I and my colleagues have every confidence in your loyalty and devotion to us of the Party, to your country, to your people and to your Government.

I am aware that all policies, programmes and projects for the political and economic advancement of the people have their administrative and financial implications. Nevertheless,

when the Government takes a decision and formulates a policy in regard to programmes or projects, that policy must prevail, and it is the duty of the Civil Service to carry it out.

Technically, we may be at peace in the military sense; but in every other way we are all engaged in waging a war against the common enemies—poverty, disease, unemployment, ignorance, external and internal subversion and intrigue. In the waging of this war there can be no room for leisurely marches or blunt swords. While it is your duty to advise on the administrative and financial aspects of policies and programmes, you also have the responsibility to give that advice, not only without fear or favour, but to ensure that policies are executed with expedition. Whether or not the ultimate decision is wholly in accordance with your advice, it remains your duty, as Civil Servants, to carry it out with the maximum speed and efficiency. Remember that all those who serve under you will take their cue from you. The energy and efficiency displayed by any Ministry or Department will depend mainly on the energy and efficiency displayed by the official at its head.

## IMPROVEMENT IN WORKWAYS

We have inherited a supposedly serious shortage of trained manpower in the Civil Service as a result of adhering to qualifications and colonial standards unrelated to conditions and needs. Steps are being taken to reduce the shortage as quickly as possible; but, meanwhile, it is up to us to get every ounce of efficiency out of what we have. This means giving closer attention to improving the organisation and workways. Agencies like the Institute of Public Administration and the Organisation and Methods Secretariat are in a position to help you, and you must make every use of these agencies. I recommend for your fun and amusement two books: Parkinson's Law and Parkinson's The Law and the Profits.

The Party and the Government recognise fully the value of your contribution to the progress and development of Ghana. It is generally recognised that the Ghana Civil Service is one of the best in Africa. This is a credit to the service and a supreme challenge for the future.

We have now embarked on the preparation of our new Seven-Year Plan, and have initiated the establishment of important State Enterprises all over the country. These developments call for a complete new approach on the part of our Civil Servants. Unless we have complete loyalty and cooperation from all Civil Servants, we cannot expect to achieve the tasks which we have undertaken. I must emphasise that I refer to all Civil Servants, because unless we work together and in harmony as a team, the contribution of the devoted few will only be ruined by the inefficiency, carelessness, apathy and disloyalty of the rest.

With the achievement of independence, the position of the Civil Service in Ghana was drastically altered. It is most important that all Civil Servants should understand and ap-

preciate this fundamental change. The former Civil Service, out of which our present service has developed, was established to serve the needs of the colonial system. Having freed ourselves from colonialism, we must now reform our thinking, release ourselves from the colonial restraints and mentality, and remodel our public service so as to bring it into line with our own socialist aspirations. The Party and the Government are keenly aware of the needs of the people, and are therefore animated by a strong sense of urgency. We realise the enormity of the tasks facing us, and our clear duty to meet these needs. We therefore expect the Civil Service to be revitalised and animated by the same sense of urgency.

## NEED FOR CHANGE

We are running against time in Africa; not only have we to eliminate or eradicate the deficiencies of our past, but we must also, in the shortest possible time, attempt to catch up with modern techniques of our time.

We are now endeavouring to establish a new kind of life within a new society. We must realise that we are in a period of flux, and refuse to be hide-bound in our decisions and attitudes. We must accommodate our minds and attitudes to the need for constant adaptation and change.

The old colonial civil service was an instrument of imperialist administration which was geared to the maintenance of law and order so as to further their ends of exploitation. It owed its allegiance to the colonial power who dictated the policy to be adopted, with little or no conscious regard to the realities of the local situation, or aspirations of the people. The colonial civil service was, in theory as well as in practice, a misnomer, because the civil servants were in effect civil masters.

Today, however, we have our own indigenous Civil Service. Each one of you must feel that he is a servant of the State, and as such, he must be a selfless, devoted, conscientious, tolerant and above all, hard working officer. He must remember above all that he is working, not for any foreign power, but for a Government to which he belongs and for the welfare and progress of his own people.

## RED TAPE-ISM

In my Dawn Broadcast to the nation a year ago, I referred to one of the oldest evils of the Civil Service—Red Tape-ism—and I called for its total and complete removal from our service. Very often, sitting in my office in Flagstaff House, I throw out a number of ideas for the good of the nation. These have to be worked out by some Ministry or Department. For a brief period after the instruction has gone out, there appears to be some activity. After that, one hears nothing, and all action seems to cease. Suddenly I make an enquiry about the scheme, only to find that the idea is still buried in the files and covered with dust. What is the cause of all this?

In our present state of development, we cannot tolerate the delays, indifference and waste to which the Civil Service is prone. There is a curious sense of indifference and inertness

in certain quarters which I cannot understand. We must adopt a revolutionary attitude to our work, and accommodate our minds and attitudes to the need for constant adaptation.

There is a strong and unfortunate tendency in certain sections of the Civil Service to adhere slavishly to the rules and regulations embodied in General Orders, which they regard as the law of the Medes and Persians. General Orders were made for the Civil Service; the Civil Service was not made for the General Orders. We must remember that the Regulations were originally made for a colonial service in which the rigid observance of regulations was a necessary condition for the maintenance of law and order. For this reason, we now have the Civil Service Interim Regulations, and I have also caused a committee to be set up to produce suitable rules or new general orders which will fit in with our present sense of urgency and conditions of work. In our new conditions, it is important that all our actions should be dictated by the needs of the prevailing situation in Ghana, and the welfare of the people. Delay also constantly occurs by the writing of unnecessary minutes, long-winded and often so heavily cloaked in "officialese", that they have to be read several times before the vital point at issue can be discovered. In some cases, too, even officials themselves cause considerable delay to important action being taken by passing files backwards and forwards several times, dis-

playing their knowledge of Addisonian English and thereby doing harm to our national cause. I ask Civil Servants to put a stop to this practice now—NOW—NOW!

The old General Orders contained a number of anomalous clauses which in present-day context are clearly anachronistic. One such clause which comes to mind is the one which forbids Civil Servants from active participation in politics. Every citizen of Ghana has a right to full participation in the political affairs of this country and it is my intention that Civil Servants of all ranks should have the freedom to exercise this right. That is why the Party has actively supported the opening of Branches in all departments. This is in accord with our policy to establish a one-party State in Ghana.

I think I must tell you here that the Party will launch a new programme soon at its 11th Congress during next month. The central theme of this programme is the total industrialisation of Ghana, the complete diversification and mechanisation of Agriculture with a national economic planning based on the socialist pattern of society. This theme presupposes the complete electrification of the country.

I have had occasion recently to issue "Presidential Commands" to Ministers as a means of expediting action on important projects. It would not be necessary for me to issue these commands if I knew that every decision of Gov-

ernment would be carried out promptly and without obstruction or delay.

Because of my present anxiety to avoid at all costs, such delays in the execution of urgent projects, I have decided that "Expeditors" should be appointed for all Ministries, Departments and Organs of the State. These "Expeditors" will see to it that all decisions of Government are carried out promptly. Deputy Ministers will be charged with this duty in their Ministries. They will submit regular reports to their Ministers on obstructions, delays, et cetera, and the Office of the President will receive copies of all such reports.

## NEW OUTLOOK IN SERVICE

Our Civil Servants must realise that the days are gone—and gone for ever—when we worked for the colonialists. Every penny that the Government spends, is produced by the people and should be spent in their interest. It is therefore a serious offence for any Civil Servant to incur waste or be a party to any act of negligence, dishonesty or misuse of Government funds or property. I expect our Civil Service to be scrupulously honest and above reproach.

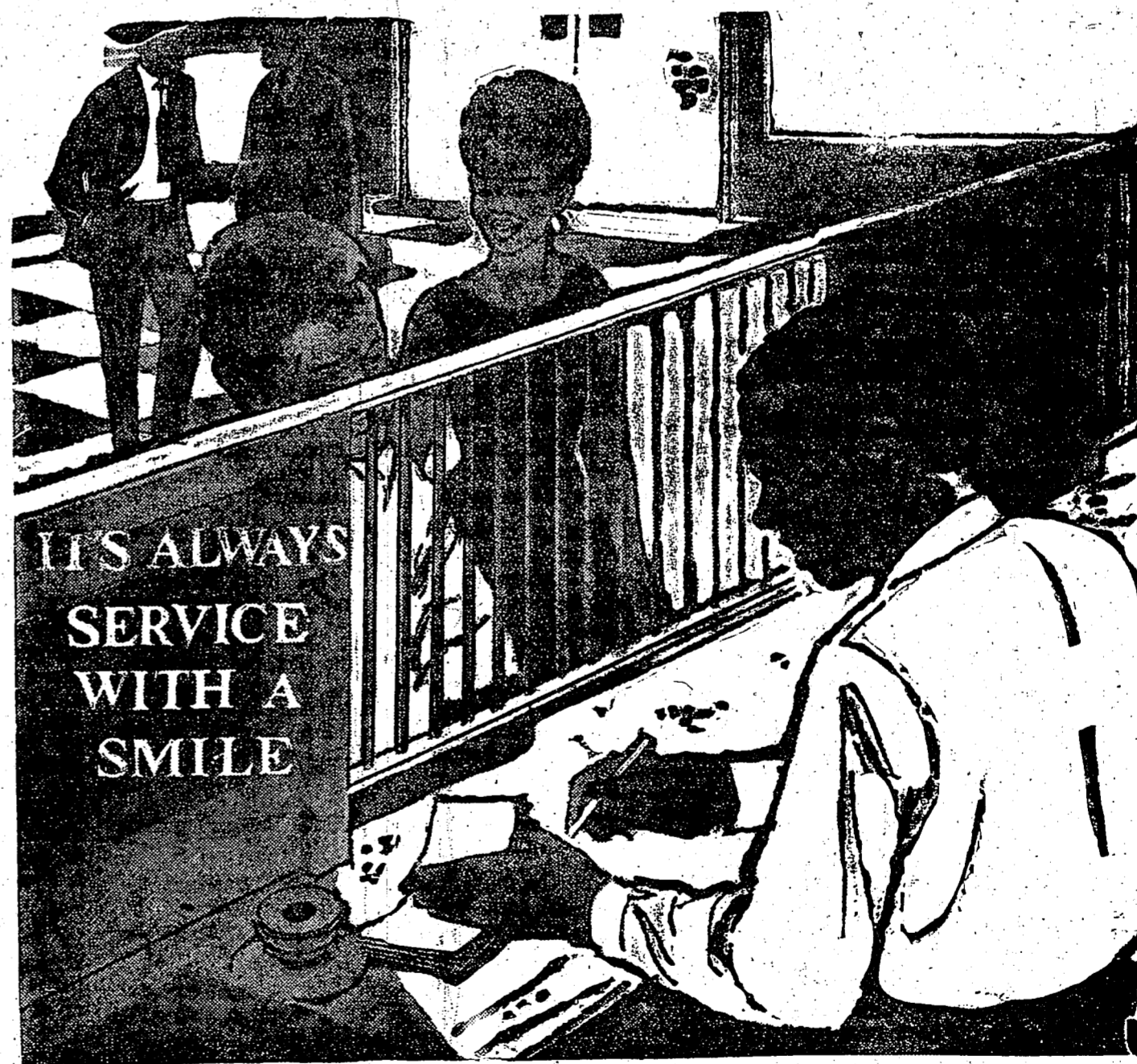
The importance of establishing a correct attitude towards State property cannot be over-emphasised. State property belongs to all of us individually and collectively; Civil Servants should be foremost in protecting State property from unscrupulous persons who

may wish to use it for their selfish ends, and they should consider State property as their own property, maintaining the strictest vigilance over its safety. We must watch the wolves. As I have said elsewhere, now that we are establishing State Farms, State Factories, State Corporations and other organisations of State in order to secure our economic future, neglect towards State Property could spell disaster for the national economy.

And here I wish to emphasise what I have told you a moment ago in my address at the first Seminar, about the importance of human relations. It is absolutely vital that Ministers, Deputy Ministers and all others in authority should establish and maintain close and harmonious relations with the Civil Servants with whom they work. We must work together; only in this way can we achieve our goals. Ministers should maintain contact with their staff and seek to appreciate their difficulties. Regular discussions should be held with your Secretaries and Senior Civil Servants about the problems of your Ministries and national problems with which you are dealing. By so doing, your Civil Servants will become interested in the affairs of the State and will be proud to be taken into confidence by their Ministers.

I should like to turn now to an important aspect of your work. I refer to your attitude towards our national security.

Continued on page 13



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# CODE OF CONDUCT

*Broadcast to the Nation  
on Saturday Morning,  
April 8, 1961*

by KWAME NKURUMAH

In accordance with the cherished customs of our fathers, whereby advice is sought or given at early dawn, I have come to the microphone this early morning to share some thoughts with you in a homely chat.

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

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

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

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

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

## UNITY IS ESSENTIAL

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

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

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

occasions elaborated the five sectors into which our economy may be divided. These sectors are: first, the state sector, in which all enterprises are entirely state-owned; second, the joint state-private sector, which will incorporate enterprises owned jointly by Government and foreign private capital; third, the co-operative sector, in which all enterprises will be undertaken by co-operative organisations affiliated with the National Co-operative Council; fourth, the private enterprise sector, which will incorporate those industries which are open freely to foreign private enterprise; and fifth, the workers' enterprise sector.

## POLITICS AND BUSINESS ARE INCOMPATIBLE

I have had occasions to emphasise the part which private enterprise will continue to play in our economic and industrial life. A different situation arises with Ghanaian businessmen who attempt to combine business with political life. Being a Party Member of the Assembly—and much more, being a Ministerial Secretary or a Minister—means that the persons who take up these positions owe a duty to those who have elected them or who have given them their positions with confidence. To be able

the support of the masses and to bring the National Assembly into isolation.

Members of Parliament must remember at all times that they are representatives of their constituencies only by reason of their party membership and that on no account should they regard constituency representation as belonging to them in their own right. In other words, constituencies are not the property of Members of Parliament. It is the party that sends them there and fights for them to become Members of Parliament. I am sure that from now on all Parliamentarians will be guided accordingly in their conduct of representing the party in Parliament.

When I look at the other side of the picture, I must say that some Trades union officials have now and again indulged in loose talk and reprehensible statements which do no good either to the party, to the Government or to the nation. This is not the time for unbridled militant trade unionism in our country. Trade union officials must shed their colonial character and their

of the Regional Commissioner and the blessing of a minister in Accra.

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

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

## IMPROPER USE OF POSITION

One of the most degrading aspects of party conduct is the tendency on the part of some comrades to go round using the names of persons in prominent positions to collect money for themselves. Equally degrading is the tendency on the part of some persons in prominent positions to create agents for collecting money. This is a shameful and highly criminal tendency which must be

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

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

## RED TAPE

At this point, I would like to make a little divergence and touch upon Civil

ing ministerial set-up. In view of the increasingly important part being played by Ghana at the present time in the African liberation movement I have decided to create a Ministry of African Affairs, as distinct from the present Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This new Ministry will be responsible for all African matters, including the present duties undertaken by the Bureau of African Affairs and the African Affairs Centre. It will also liaise with the All-African Peoples' Secretariat and the All African Trades Union Federation.

## RE-ORGANISATION OF RESPONSIBILITY

The Ministry of Labour and Co-operatives and the Ministry of Social Welfare will be abolished. Ministerial responsibility for labour, social welfare and community development matters will be undertaken by the Ministry of Education, which will therefore be known as the Ministry of Education, Labour and Social Welfare. The staff of the Co-operative Department will be seconded to the National Co-operative Council to assist the council in the supervision and co-ordination of co-operative activities throughout the country.

Responsibility for consumer co-operatives, agricultural co-operatives and industrial co-operatives will be undertaken by the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Development Secretariat, respectively.

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

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

A satisfactory safeguard in respect of this matter has been provided in an arrangement which I have directed for the auditing of the accounts of the United Ghana Farmers' Council by the Auditor-General. By this arrangement the accounts of the United Ghana Farmers' Council, all public corporations, the Trades Union Congress and all other bodies concerned, shall be audited by the

Auditor-General who shall have the same powers in relation to them as are conferred upon him by the Constitution in relation to Government accounts.

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

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

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

## UNKNOWN WARRIORS

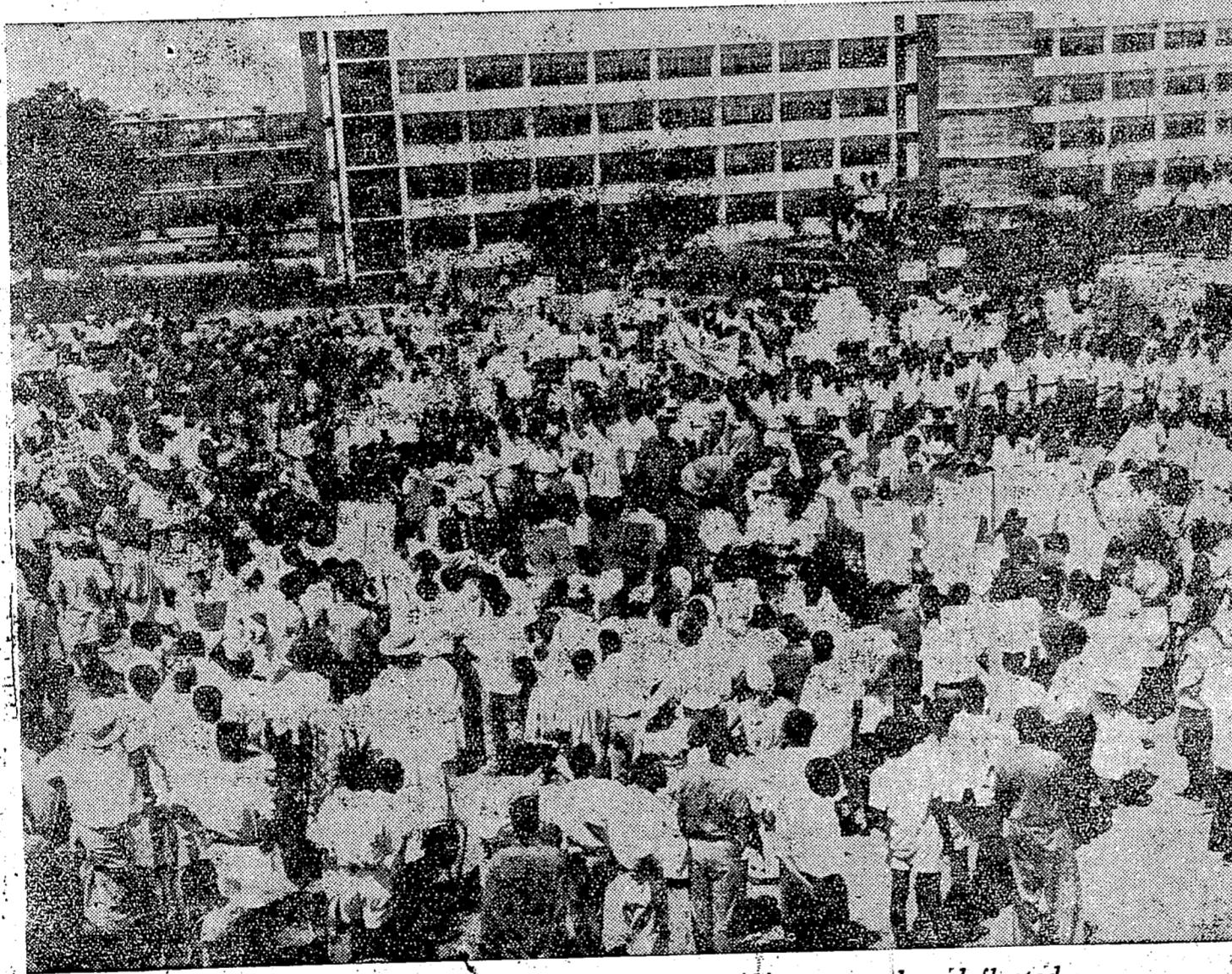
Ghanaian Ambassadors take their children with them when they proceed to their stations, at the expense of the Government. I am taking steps to discourage this practice, for it seems to me that on psychological and other grounds, it is better for these young children to begin their education at home.

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

Let me now come back to the party.

It is most important to remember that the strength of the Convention People's Party derives from the masses of the people. These men and women include those whom I have constantly referred to as the unknown warriors—dedicated men and women who serve the party loyally and selflessly without hoping for reward. It is therefore natural for the masses to feel some resentment when they see comrades whom they have put into power and given the mandate to serve the country on their behalf, begin to

Continued on page 15



*They fight hardest for socialism and cannot be deflected.*

to maintain this confidence, therefore, they should not enter into any type of industrial or commercial undertaking. Any party Member of Parliament who wishes to be a businessman can do so, but he should give up his seat in Parliament. In other words, no Minister, Ministerial Secretary or party Member of Parliament should own a business or be involved in anyone else's business, Ghanaian or foreign.

## NEW RULING CLASS

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

colonial thinking. The approach of the Trades Union Congress to our national issues should be reasoned and constructive in accordance with our present circumstances.

Let me now turn to some other causes which I consider plague Ghanaian society generally and militate against undisturbed progress. A great deal of rumour-mongering goes on all over the country.

*"Berko said that the Odikro informed Asamani that the Ohene said he paid a sum of money to a party official to become a paramount chief."*

*"Kojo said that Mensah told him that Kweku took a bribe."*

*"Abina stated that Ekua said that Esi uses her relations with Kweku to get contracts through the District Commissioner, with the support*

crushed in the most ruthless manner.

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

## GOVERNMENT POLICY

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

Service red tape. It amazes me that up to the present many civil servants do not realise that we are living in a revolutionary era. This Ghana, which has lost so much time serving colonial masters, cannot afford to be tied down to archaic snail-pace methods of work which obstruct expeditious progress. We have lost so much time that we need to do in ten years what has taken others a hundred years to accomplish. Civil servants, therefore, must develop a new orientation, a sense of mission and urgency to enable them to eliminate all tendencies towards red tape-ism, bureaucracy and waste. Civil servants must use their initiative to make the Civil Service an effective instrument in the rapid development of Ghana.

In order to promote greater efficiency in the machinery of the Government, I have decided to reorganise slightly the exist-

# 'Cadres Decide Everything'

by Ekow Eshun

(Student of Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba.)

**T**HE close relationship of a vanguard party with the broad masses in a nation which is building socialism is important. Unless the political barriers which impede progress are removed, it is impossible to establish satisfactory relationship with the people. Lack of trained, efficient cadres imbued with a deep sense of selfless devotion to the people is one of these barriers.

Party cadres must before all else be well-versed in the ideology of the Party. Simply understanding this theory is not enough. Cadres must also be able to apply the theory to help fulfil the aspirations and determine the reactions of the people. The solution of the problems that beset our nation demands vigorous effort on simultaneous fronts. None of these tasks can be solved without this political enlightenment and understanding, without this ideology. Hence the ideological, by itself, is one of the fronts on which our struggle rages.

What are the factors determining the trend of the Party's Ideological work?

## TREND OF PARTY WORK

We may discuss at least four of them. Amongst a newly independent people the first determinant is the need for a new outlook. A once-colonised people always set about to repair the damages done them by colonialism. The factor of their economic and social underdevelopment is one of these damages. Another is the factor of unequal opportunity for development for all.

Since the circumstance of the new states compels the adoption of that society in which every member has both obligations and rights of equal validity, and since this society, in order to negate the states' underdevelopment must guaran-

tee their fastest possible progress, this new outlook must be socialist. To enthroned the new outlook the moral degeneracy of the old order must be discarded. In its place must be created a new socialist morality. Also the people must so spiritually regenerate themselves, that rejecting the banal individualism of the colonial era, they shall accept the condition for the happiness of each as the condition for the happiness and welfare of all.

By all standards these tasks are difficult. Ideological work, whose success is the condition for the total success of a people, must be tackled as seriously as our tasks on the economic and social fronts. This calls for a scientific approach. As such, guidelines should be established to help Party cadres.

What are some of these guidelines? Firstly, attention must be drawn to the people. The people are the source of all power and the guardians of the state. In order to succeed, the Party must enjoy their trust and support. A vanguard Party can ill-afford to lose contact with the masses. Their interest must be its supreme law.

In this regard, theory and practice must be in union. The experience of the masses should be the basis for deciding and evaluating the Party line which must be regularly explained and persistently implemented. This union of thought and practice is vital.

If our ideas do not develop with the changes of our objective circumstances we shall be guilty of conservatism. Should our ideas, on the other hand, advance ahead of social practice, we shall also lose contact with the train of progress; we shall start harbouring adventurist tendencies. Our proper position is with the people. A cadre must always be with the people.

Secondly, cadres must be dialectical in their approach to problems. It is important to evaluate the situation and while placing its main forces and how they interact, discern the link of events.

This approach calls for analysis of the concrete situation. Present achievements cannot be viewed in isolation. Their success must be assessed relatively to the ultimate aim. Besides whilst subduing the negative in the past we must be prepared to utilise, and even enrich, the positive from the same context.

and the fulfilment and even overfulfilment of its programmes. The second determinant, arising from the first, but still important in its own right, is the need to fashion new social relations. This need implies a fundamental change of attitude to public property, for public property is the basis of the socialist framework.

The attitude towards public property as "alien" is not conducive to progress in socialism. Because the attitude is a corollary of the wrong notion that

what one must care for is what belongs to one.

The result of this attitude is the innumerable social evils that visit us: embezzlement of funds, graft, speculation, stealing, mismanagement, etc. We are not only required to care for public property; we are also required to treasure and augment them.

Unbridled urge for private property corrupts. It makes egoists of us. Common love of public property unites us. But as the solution of the problem needs, foremost, a re-conditioning of the mind, this solution becomes an ideological task.

The third factor determining the trend of Party ideological work is the need to instil love and respect for work in the people. Economic problems are of basic importance to every person. To this extent do they form part of political work. For the progress of a people consists in the fulfilment of their economic and social objectives.

But unless a people are endowed with ideological conviction they are incapable of creative activity. Only ideas give vent to the type of heroism and ardency which we need to conquer our numerous problems with. No tasks are insurmountable if they are tackled with understanding. Hence the necessity for ideological work in labour.

The fourth determinant is the need for love of country.

Party work among the people proceeds along a two-way traffic. In one respect, the people must be constantly informed of the Party line; in the other respect, the views of the masses must constantly reach the Party. The equilibrium this two-way traffic establishes is impaired if the easy flow of opinion ceases in any one or both ways.

In this case the harmony that must exist between the vanguard organisation and the people, between ideas and practice, is damaged.

There are direct and indirect ways of contact between the Party and the people. For instance, when the Party expounds on its views before an assembled meeting, direct contact is said to take place. Indirect contact entails Party work done through other individual or subordinate Party organisations. Party work performed through the T.U.C. is one example.

Mass information media—the press, radio and television, the cinema, etc.—help a great deal in the propagation of ideological thought. Since ideological education must permeate all aspects of the national life, it must be so disseminated as to unite all the various objectives of the nation.

We may mention at least three of the most important bodies which bring up Party cadres: trade unions, Party youth movements and Party schools.

Trade unions are often referred to as schools of socialism. Several factors have contributed to this notion: The class role of workers in social development, the social nature of production, the identity of interest among workers, etc. These factors imbue workers with discipline and tolerance, respect for revolutionary and labour traditions, and so on. All these are qualities which are essential elements for socialist construction.

Today's youth are tomorrow's leaders. That in itself is an important reason why the Party must regard ideological work among the youth seriously. For two other reasons, however, ideological work amongst the youth assumes even greater importance.

Progress must be continuous

Thirdly, the Party interest must always be placed above individual interest. The Party, as the leading core of all organisations of the people in their fight for socialism, is in the language of the military, the General Staff of the people. These form only three of the guidelines to action in ideological work. They make us clear as to how the people can be mobilised.

If our resolutions and programmes should not remain meaningless scraps of paper the people should be fully mobilised. In order to attain this degree of mobilisation, organisational activity must not fall below the demands of the political tasks of the Party. That is, to ensure the success of Party decisions, organisational leadership needs develop abreast with political requirements.

## BODIES FOR CADRE TRAINING

One of the main deciding factors for success of Party programmes is militant, effective, purposeful, day-to-day organisational work among the people. Our drive is to socialism. The success of Party programmes requires trained, loyal and selfless people who are tested in the crucible of the revolution, and who, above all, are imbued with a religious belief in socialism. These are our Party cadres. They decide everything.

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However all these attempts were no more than inconsistent skimming on the periphery of real ideological training of cadres. The principal reason for this was that ideological education was relegated to the background by the rigorous demands of the political struggle.

Above all the direction and method of mass political action must change with the times. It is dangerous for political action to stagnate with habit, just as much as it is deleterious to proceed along ready-made formulas irrespective of the changing circumstance. The cadre who falls into these ills slides into political turpitude. He becomes a liability and not an asset. That is, for the bad.

Secondly the new type of youth coming up in Africa is qualitatively different from the youth of the present generation. Whereas most of the present-day youth are not educated, they would have been to school.

Therefore they would be better placed to understand events more clearly and their surroundings better. They will be more inquisitive. Which means that we should constantly adapt and improve methods of Party work among the youth if we shall continue to engage their attention and earn their trust.

Party cadres emerge from the trade unions because practical activity leaves them no option. They emerge from the youth movements as a result of concentrated, deliberate effort to teach them. In both cases direct ideological education is supplementary to a main task.

To this extent are the trade unions and youth movements different from the third body we wish to discuss, i.e., the Party schools. Here ideological education to cadres is a full-time affair.

## KWAME NKUMAH IDEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

In Ghana, the Party school is the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba. It was established in 1961, as Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, leader of the Party says, to "give to the membership of our dynamic Party not only the necessary education which should prepare it for the successful prosecution of the difficult task of our social, economic, industrial and technological reconstruction, but also the victorious pursuits of the struggle for African freedom and unity and the complete and total liquidation of colonialism."

The efforts of the Party to raise ideological standards started in the very opening chapters of the revolutionary struggle. The Osu Youth, formed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, was the first Party ideological group.

The Committee on Youth Organisations (C.Y.O.) later took over the mantle of ideological education of the youth. Then came the National Association of Socialist Students Organisation (NASSO), described in the Party pamphlet, Guide to Party Action, as a "body of socialist students devoted to the ideals of socialism and engaged in the study of Party affairs, including the Party constitution."

Besides, some ideological work has been done in study groups and at Party branch, ward and workshop levels.

it must be acquired out of the collective many-sided whole. To this end party cadres from the Institute regularly undertake party organisational activity, putting into practice and verifying some of the things they learn in the class-room. Apart from the main course, the Ideological Institute organises seminars for other Party functionaries and governmental bodies.

We have seen that for ideological work to succeed, any barrier which tends to impede easy relations with the masses must be removed. For example, the atmosphere at party meetings should be free and easy. It is only in this kind of atmosphere that party mem-



Kodwo Addison, Director of the Party's Ideological Institute.

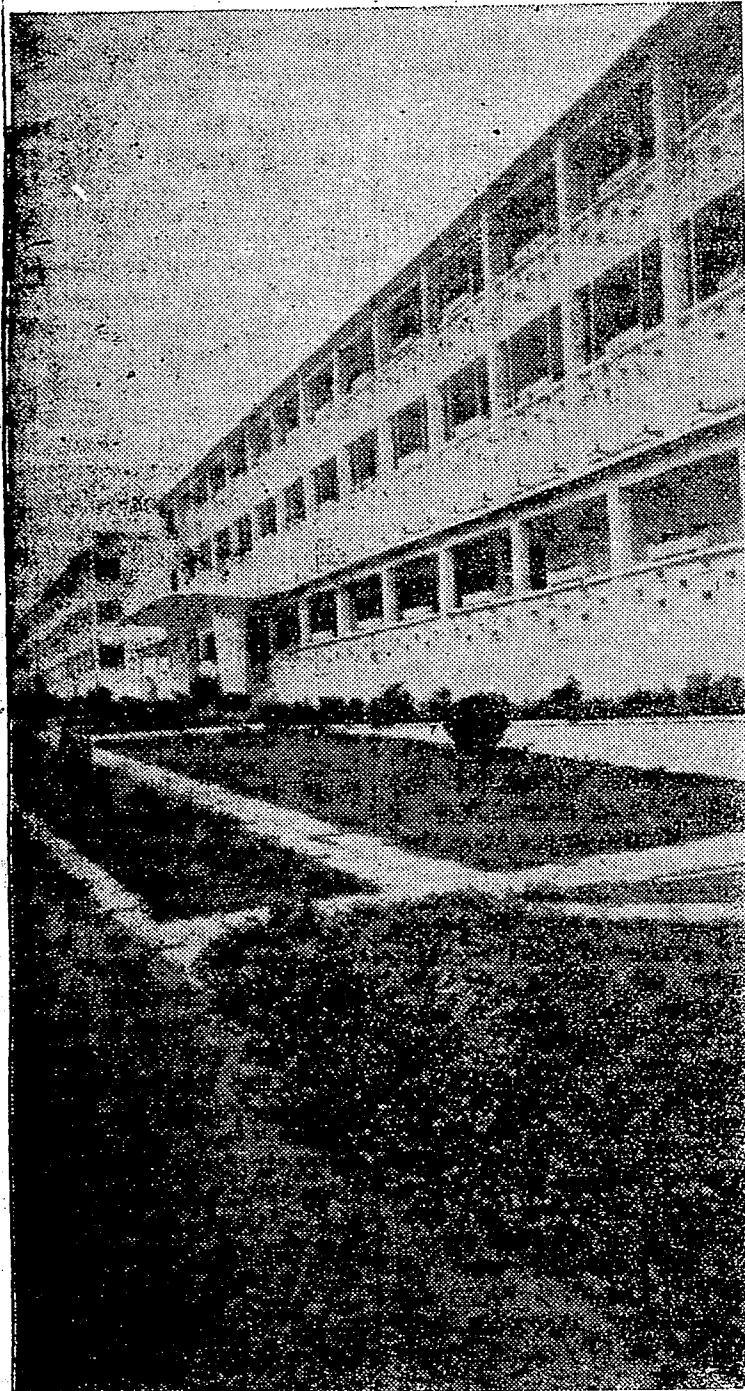
bers are able to speak their minds freely, put forward suggestions, and where necessary, criticise. When we fail to create this atmosphere, we cease to know the ideas of party members, and as has been said, we lose contact with party members. Such obstacles dam the peoples initiative and must be removed. It is essential however, that the right to free expression and criticism should not be used for insalutary, demagogic demands for individual or group rights that conflict or are inconducive with the general right.

Party ideological education seeks to create a new man with a new outlook. Its goal is the creation of a socialist society. These aims touch on the softest spots of some individual and group interests. These interests are the worst enemies of the people and their goal.

Who are our enemies? All the forces that oppose the people are our enemies. They include the reactionary middle-class intellectuals and professionals who have not yet rid themselves of their colonial way of thinking. They include neo-colonialists and those who consciously or unconsciously further their interests; big businessmen and farmers, some traditional elements and the budding bourgeoisie.

Not all of them are outside the party. Some, to cover their intentions, take cover within the ranks of the party. Most of them, though not in the least sharing in the party's ideology, obstinately cling to effective strategic positions in the state machinery. And at these strategic positions they marshal the resources of the people to forestall expenditures progress by the people.

Continued on page 15



Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba—the seat of the Party's ideological studies. Inside range of subjects are taught.

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This task calls for a new

# SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIALISM

**THE** paramount task before the newly independent nations of Africa is the raising of an equitable and progressive social order which will provide food, clothing and shelter to meet the needs of the people in accordance with their means; a social order that will reflect a higher standard of living in the happiness of our people.

Economically, this means full employment, good housing and equal opportunity for educational and cultural advancement up to the highest level possible for all the people. In concrete facts, it means:

- that the real income of all types of workers, farmers and peasants must rise;
- that prices of goods must not over-leap wages;
- that house rentals must be within the means of all groups;
- that educational and cultural amenities must be available to all the people.

If ability to pay is the passport to the good life, then at this time most of the people of Africa are precluded from it.

Unless those of us who have responsibility for leading the people make good our economic and social programme, then most of the African people are doomed to perpetual exclusion from the good life and the purpose of our effort is defeated.

In this tremendous task of bringing our peoples forward out of poverty, the whole of our nation—civil servants, all types of workers, teachers, farmers, peasants—indeed, all able-bodied men and women, must stand together as one man.

*How are we to achieve our goal within the shortest possible time?*

My assertion is that socialism is the only pattern that can within the shortest possible time bring the good life to the people. For socialism assumes the public ownership of the means of production—the land and its resources—and the use of those means for production that will bring benefit to the people.

Socialist production is production of goods and services in fulfilment of the people's needs. It is not

production for individual private profit, which deprives such a large section of the people of the goods and services produced, while their needs and wants remain unsatisfied.

One point, however, we have to get clear. Here in Africa not only do the people as yet not own all the major means of production and distribution, but we have to lay the actual foundations upon which socialism can be built, namely, the complete industrialisation of our continent.

## INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

*All talk of socialism, of economic and social reconstruction, is just empty words if we do not seriously address ourselves to the question of basic industrialisation and agricultural revolution, just as much as we must concentrate on socialist education.*

Secondary industries are vitally necessary, for it must be one of our principal aims to replace imports of foreign goods by home-produced goods.

Moreover, secondary in-

dustries must be planned to take up the production of our agriculture and to widen the outlets for the output of our farmers and peasants.

But secondary industries, important as they are to making us economically independent, will still leave us heavily reliant upon outside sources and skill unless we build up those heavy industries which alone provide the fundamental basis of industrialisation.

Such projects as the steel-producing plant, the oil refinery and the machine tool plant which we are planning in Ghana, as well as the Volta and Bui electrification schemes, are capital projects in the real sense of the term.

Energy is an indispensable element in industrialisation. Without energy we cannot lay the foundations of industrialisation. Industrialisation presupposes electrification. Indeed, it is our lack of vital sources of energy that has been preventing us from carrying into effect so many of our ideas and plans for reconstruction. We could not even talk about a steel plant until we could envisage

energy for working it.

Hence our preoccupation in Ghana with the Volta River Project and other schemes that will provide water power both for electricity and irrigation of regions that are starved of water at certain periods of the year. These schemes and projects are an essential key to our industrial progress, the basis upon which we may build up our heavy industries, our machine-tool factories and our ancillary manufacturers.

As long as we are unable to make our own machine tools, the instruments for the manufacture of all the myriad commodities, large and small, we at present import, we shall continue to be at the mercy of outside sources of supply. We shall continue to be economically dependent and all talk of socialist progress will be so much empty chatter.

## REVOLUTIONARY PLANNING

To implement our objective of basic economic reconstruction, we must earmark a much larger proportion of our revenue to the erection of basic industries and the multiplication of our agricultural products. We must try and establish factories in large numbers at great speed and see to it that there is a quick development of electricity and water supplies.

And here a revolution is needed in our approach to planning. Unfortunately, too much planning has been largely piecemeal and unpurposeful. It has not been linked in an organised manner. Too many governmental and semi-governmental bodies and departments have been concerned in the drawing up and executing of plans. What we need are not reports, but plans of action.

If our planning is to be a revitalising force, increasing our productivity and progress towards the socialist objective, it must take stock of all our human and natural resources, it must count our economic assets.

We must make an inventory of our natural, mineral and agricultural heritage, we must number our manpower and our actual and potential reservoir of skills.

This means that everything we do must be related to an over-all plan. Educational, social welfare and health programmes, for example, cannot be devised in isolation. They must be planned in relation to the needs of our health development and the enhancement of the lives of the people. Plans for these sectors must be co-ordinated with plans for the economic sphere. For economic expansion needs urgently the output of the schools, the technical institutes and universities.

*Above all, our economic advancement must be the foundation upon which to erect an equitable and happy society.*

Our planning must aim at a two-fold purpose; to increase productivity and to accumulate capital for the expansion of industrialisation. Development should be financed more and more from production, which should be targeted, and less and less from taxes and dues, which make heavy demands on those sections of the community least able to afford them.

Our increased productivity can give surpluses for re-investment in further production and in this way increase real wealth. To raise wages without securing higher rate of productivity is to set in motion the vicious circle of a great volume of money chasing scarce goods and resulting in inflation. Increased productivity, coupled with socialist planning, will permit the control of prices and the circulation of goods in the community interests.

## THE GREATER SOCIAL BENEFIT

It does not mean that every advance in productivity will lead to an immediate enhancement of standards of living. This is especially the case in the early stages of industrialisation, when the need to

plough back capital achieved out of greater productivity is of paramount importance more to the strengthening of the economic base than to consumer goods.

The socialist objective implies the over-all good of all the community, and in the interests of that socialist objective it may be necessary for everyone to forego some small immediate personal benefit for the greater benefit a bit later on. Social services in the interest of the community, for instance, confer more advantages upon a great number than would increased wages for certain groups of workers.

But as productivity rises appreciably and the socialist base of the economy extends through the increasing public ownership of the means of production—the land and its natural resources, the factories and their production—a government cannot only mobilise greater surpluses of capital in the best interests of the country, but can also reach a position from which it can reward labour for its greater exertions by increased wages.

And because the government, through its planning, can at the same time operate controls upon commodity prices, labour will feel a double benefit in a wage increase which will not be eaten up in higher prices as under a capitalist economy.

## SOCIALIST OUTLOOK

*If this new economic and industrial policy is to succeed, there must be a change of outlook in those who are responsible for running our affairs. They must acquire a socialist perspective and a socialist drive keyed to the socialist needs and demands. They must not remain the servants of a limping bureaucracy.*

The executives of our public and statutory organisations must achieve a new attitude to their jobs, which they owe to the struggles of the people and the labour of the farmers and workers.

In Africa, too many public corporations, such as industrial and agricultural development corporations, are at present being subsidised instead of producing profit for further capital investment.

This state of affairs must be reversed. For no economy, least of all the young economies of Africa, struggling to find a stable economic base, can afford to drain its resources in subsidising unproductive ventures from which only well-paid executives profit.

Moreover, we cannot afford to waste our resources in this way, but must use them wisely in pursuit of our aim of socialist benefit for all the people.

We must educate our men of affairs in their responsibilities in the conduct of the establishments to which they have been assigned.

Our task does not end with political independence. Independence requires a new approach to economic and industrial development and every avenue of information and education must be used to stir the political consciousness of the people and make them alive to the new objectives.

Without the support of the masses of the people, our plans can fail. The people need to be stirred to a new awareness of their role in carrying forward the socialist reconstruction. They must be inspired with the same spirit which swept them into the battle for political emancipation which brought them into independence.

# THE CIVIL SERVANT

Continued from page 10

Because of our dynamic African policy, we stand in a special position in international affairs and we must pay particular attention to safeguarding our independence and territorial integrity.

Our official secrets are the targets of the colonialists, neo-colonialists and their agents who are busy in our midst and who will pay fabulous sums to obtain information for our undoing. We must ensure at all times that we are alert to the risks of sabotage and subversion. Any Civil Servant who sells information concerning his work is worse than a traitor and incurs an eternal curse upon his head.

You, as Principal Secretaries and Heads of De-

partments, are, of course, not expected to be constantly in touch with security matters. But you must regard it as your personal responsibility to ensure that your Ministries and Departments maintain an effective security organisation. Departmental security instructions should be carried out promptly and effectively, and breaches of security should be quickly investigated and corrective action taken. In this connection I am taking steps to ensure that the necessary machinery is made available in our Ministries and Departments as well as in other organs of State.

What, then, do we expect of our Civil Servants? A Ghanaian Civil Servant should be loyal to the State,

painstaking, and devoted to the cause of Ghana and Africa. He must be ready to give his best in the service of the Nation. He must endeavour to appreciate at all times the fundamental basis of Government policies, and so identify himself with these policies of Government. He must at all times be ready to explain and defend Government policies with interest and conviction.

The fundamental virtues of a Civil Servant are punctuality, unflinching courtesy, a pleasant disposition, modesty and willingness to serve the public at all times. It must be said of him: he is so efficient and hard-working and yet so humble. These virtues we naturally expect you to uphold in the performance of

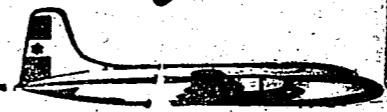
your duties, whether these be in your offices, workshops, garages, hospital wards, post office and customs counters, railway booking offices or elsewhere.

It is sometimes forgotten that our African Civil Servants have benefited more than any other section of the community from our Freedom. It is not too much to ask that they should give that devotion to duty and loyalty which the nation is entitled to expect from them.

Let us all, Politicians and Civil Servants alike, strive forward together in our endeavour to build a new Ghanaian Society, dignified, dynamic and strong, which will be a shining example to future generations here in Ghana and in Africa.

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# Ghana

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# THE PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY

OUR Party's policy can be summed up in a single sentence: it is to provide work and conditions of happiness for every member of our society. If we achieve this, and continue to work for the unity and progress of Africa, we shall be making a positive contribution to the well-being of the Continent. This is one of our Party's central objectives.

## INTRODUCTION

2. Freedom from want and freedom from fear are essential for the attainment of happiness. Happiness, however, would be incomplete without the opportunity to lead a full cultural and spiritual life. Our Party's policy, therefore, is that no member of our population shall fear he will not have work or sufficient means, or that he will be neglected in his old age, or be without help in times of sickness.

3. Our Party's policy is that no man shall fear oppression; that no woman shall be anxious that her child shall not be cared for or educated. Our Party is determined that all the people of Ghana shall look forward to ever-increasing social benefits and ever-widening opportunities for the enjoyment of leisure and culture.

4. But nothing in this world is achieved without effort. Thus, the attainment of these vital aims of our Party's policy must be worked for, by increasing greatly and rapidly the greater wealth of the country and seeing to it that this greater wealth is fairly distributed among our people. This in turn depends upon the production and productivity of the masses.

5. To attain these ends, our Party which stands dedicated to the service of the people, must have a workable plan and be able to put that plan into operation.

6. The Party has always had a consistent theory for enlarging the country's prosperity, as the outline of our history included in this programme will make clear. This theory has been tried out in practice during the difficult circumstances of the last ten years. The progress that has been made, is indisputable proof of the practicability and correctness of the Party's line.

7. This theory has its basis in the principles upon which the Party is pivoted. What are these principles?

They are:

(1) Socialism, because of the heritage of imperialism and colonialism, is the system by which Ghana can progress.

(2) Socialism can be achieved only by a rapid change in the socio-economic structure of the country. To effect this, it is absolutely essential to have a strong, stable, firm and highly centralised government. This means that power must be concentrated in the country's leadership.

8. Imperialism - colonialism left Ghana without the accumulation of capital in private hands which assisted the Western world to make its industrial revolution. Only Government therefore can find the means to promote those basic services and industries which are essential prerequisites to intensive, diversified agriculture, speedy industrialisation and increased economic productivity.

9. But Government, for the harmonious implementation of its plans must have the consent of the people. It must rest, therefore, on the firm foundation of mass support, and the leadership must consult continually with the people to ensure that its policy in all matters is understood and is in

accordance with the popular will.

10. This two-way exchange of confidence, especially in the context of our African environment, does not need the complicated and confused mechanics of multi-party parliamentarianism.

11. Independent African States faced with urgent and pressing problems of reconstruction, for the solution of which all the available national resources both human and otherwise must be mobilized. This situation is almost analogous to a state of war and national emergency which is always met in the older established countries by the formation of coalition or national governments. Moreover, a multi-party system is entirely alien to the traditional concept of government in African Society.

12. For these reasons, a one party system provides the best answer for the problem of government in Africa. However, a one party system can operate successfully and satisfactorily only in a truly free and independent country. Other wise, it becomes a dangerous weapon which can be used by the colonialists, neo-colonialists and their agents in puppet regimes and client States to oppress the masses and subdue the will of the people.

13. This is why our Party supports the struggle of freedom fighters all over the continent and accepts the view that a resort to force is justified when all other means to end oppression have been tried and have failed and that, in these circumstances, the colonial regime or a client State based on domination by a minority can justifiably be terminated through armed conflict.

14. Furthermore, a multi-party system provides unique opportunities for imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism to intrigue behind the facade of different parties in order to intervene in the internal affairs of the African States by promoting corruption, tribalism and dissension in the hope of barring progress to full economic independence. Without unfettered economic independence, the safety and security of our national sovereignty and independence will continue to be in jeopardy.

15. The maintenance of our national independence, which is a condition for achieving national progress, depends on a strong and well organised party deeply rooted in the people and embracing popular organisations such as the Trades Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers' Council, the National Council of Ghana Women, Ghana Young Pioneers and all other bodies concerned with the training of youth.

16. The actions and practices of the Party must be based on policies founded on a well-defined ideology. Such an ideology has been worked out by Kwame Nkrumah and expounded in his writings and speeches. It is based partly upon a study of the operations of colonialism and neo-colonialism and partly upon the study and application of socialist principles to African conditions. This ideology is known as Nkrumahism which is a guide in our struggle for the total emancipation and unity of Africa.

17. Nkrumahism teaches that in Africa today it is totally impossible to make a division between internal policy and foreign policy. For national prosperity and national progress within individual African States at the present stage of historical development depend largely upon the extent of co-operation between all the states. As long as Africa remains balkanised, no single State upon our continent can be really prosperous. Once Africa is united, no single African State can fail to share in the increased prosperity that union will bring.

18. Speaking on the eve of Independence, Kwame Nkrumah said: "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa."

19. Nkrumahism teaches that small States are even more vulnerable than the Great Powers to destruction in a global war and, therefore, all countries, the small no less than the great, must do all they can to secure world peace. This cannot be done by means of passive neutralism. It has to be achieved through a positive policy of non-alignment, which will provide a bridge between the world's two great rival power blocs.

20. Nkrumahism, which is based on scientific socialism is all-pervading, and while its theory in full can only be developed in and around the Party leadership, it must influence in some form all education and indeed all thinking and action. Nkrumahism must be not only a statement of aims and principles. It must also provide the intellectual tool by which these aims are achieved and must concentrate on all constructive thinking around achieving these aims. Nkrumahism must also offer the ordinary man and woman some concrete, tangible and realisable hope of a better life within his or her life time. Nkrumahism poses a full scale intellectual, educational and organisational attack on colonialism and neo-colonialism, in all their forms and manifestations.

21. Nkrumahism teaches further that non-alignment is a positive policy because it allows the country following it to maintain its sovereignty by taking a definite and independent stand on international issues. This has a very salutary effect on reducing world tension and promoting peace by establishing a firm balance between the two Power Blocs.

22. The Party presents this programme to the nation in the knowledge that the time has come to take stock of its past achievements. The Party, therefore, welcomes the frankest and fullest discussion of the programme recognising the necessity to test theory against experience, and to make corrections where necessary. Out of such exchange of views must come understanding and support of the Party's proposals. This programme is now being issued in its final form as fully endorsed and ratified by the people.

23. On the basis of this Party programme, the Government at the beginning of January, 1963, will launch

a Seven-Year Plan for the social, industrial, agricultural and technological advancement of Ghana.

24. The Convention People's Party was inaugurated on the 12th of June, 1949, at a mass rally at the West End Arena in Accra when Kwame Nkrumah announced its formation. In reality, however, the origins of the Party can be traced to the day, the 16th December, 1947, when Kwame Nkrumah returned to Ghana.

25. During his sojourn abroad, Kwame Nkrumah had devoted himself to a study of the practical methods by which not only Ghana but the whole of Africa could be freed from imperialism and colonialism and brought together in unity. He based his programme on the following principles:

FIRST, that the liberation movement could only succeed if all the people were united behind it.

SECONDLY, that a strong centralized leadership based upon the popular will and support of the masses was essential in any struggle for freedom and the maintenance of sovereignty.

THIRDLY, that the full benefits of freedom would not be realised in any one African State until all the other African territories were also free and united, and

FOURTHLY, that in order to organise a genuine popular movement it was necessary to build on all existing foundations wherever this was possible.

26. The Convention People's Party was the first political Party as such ever to be established in Ghana. Previously all organisations for independence had been national "movements" without a definite party policy and without any mass organisation.

27. The formation of the Party thus introduced for the first time into Ghana the party-political system which was accepted as an essential pre-requisite for independence. Its slogan was "SELF-GOVERNMENT NOW". To achieve this object, the Party put forward the idea of Positive Action. Kwame Nkrumah has described Positive Action as the adoption of legitimate and constitutional means in the first instance, and as a last resort, the use of force and insurrection to attack and destroy the ramparts of imperialism and colonialism.

28. The original object of imperialism and colonialism was to secure cheap sources of raw material and to create markets for the manufactured products of the imperialist power. This is the division of labour under colonialism.

29. "Colonial development" therefore consisted in exploiting the mineral, agricultural and other national resources of the country and exporting them to feed the industry of the imperialist power and its allies. In this system wages were kept as low as possible and no encourage-

ment was given to the production of any but the cheapest type of food for the peasants and workers. Irrespective of its nutritional value, since the colonial administration was more interested in the industrial power of the metropolitan country than in the welfare of the colonial people.

30. In effect, the colonies were regarded as mere markets for the purchase of agricultural products and the sale of manufactured goods of the metropolitan power.

31. The metropolitan power dictated the prices both the agricultural products and of the manufactured goods. The social and economic conditions of our people under colonial rule left much to be desired. Health services were poor and education was limited to the training of clerks and subordinate staff to man the lower grades of the Government services and in commerce and industry.

32. The Party and Government therefore inherited a miserable legacy of poverty, disease and illiteracy and had to grapple quickly with the problem of re-organising the whole of the life of the nation based on improvements in agriculture, commerce and industry, finance, education, communications, housing and health services.

33. Owing to the absence of facilities for capital formation, it was clear from the very beginning that this prodigious task could only be accomplished successfully by the institution of socialism. There is no half way to socialism. The total industrialisation of the country, the complete diversification and mechanisation of agriculture, and a national economic planning based on the public ownership of the means of production and distribution

must be the order of the day. This pre-supposes the complete electrification of Ghana.

34. In their determination to promote and advance the welfare and progress of the people as a whole, the Party and Government have been committed to travel on this path of socialism.

35. Ghana's trade and industry remains largely under the domination of alien monopoly interests. This is a relic of colonialism which the Party is determined to eradicate.

36. In pursuit of this objective, the Party and Government lost no time in setting up Statutory Boards and Corporations in the fields of commerce and industry and agriculture in order to control effectively the national effort for progress and development.

37. As stated before, the most important single factor for the establishment of industry was the supply of cheap power. The Party and Government therefore devoted great energy to the planning of the Volta River Project. This project and other smaller hydro-electric projects which are being started constitute the key to the industrialisation of Ghana. The success so far achieved in the implementation of these projects is a measure of the persistence and determination of our Party and Government in the face of difficulties that seemed at times to be almost insurmountable.

38. Agriculture and industry depend on good and efficient communications. The Party realised this fact and therefore gave priority to the construction of first-class roads throughout the country. Since 1951 nearly 1,500 miles of first-class roads have been constructed and extensive links of secondary and feeder roads provided. The railway network has been considerably expanded and the rolling stock completely modernised. 67 modern diesel locomotives have been acquired and an extended and improved railway system is being planned.

39. Port capacity has been greatly expanded. In 1951, the maximum tonnage of cargo handled was 2½ million tons. This figure has been doubled in the ten-year period ending in 1961. This expansion has been achieved by extensions to Takoradi, where 4 new berths have been provided and by the construction at Tema of the largest artificial harbour anywhere in Africa at a cost of £127½ millions, every penny of which has been provided by the Government of Ghana.

40. When the Party came into power, wages were as low as ninepence per day. The Party intervened at once to correct this position, and appropriate measures were adopted by legislation, both as regards wages and trade union organisation. Today it can be said with some pride and justification that there has been a general rise in the living standards of the workers whose national minimum wage is now 6s. 6d. a day.

41. Trade Unions have been afforded great opportunities for organisational activities. Furthermore, the Party has evolved an approach to trade unionism which has made it possible to create a new Trade Union Congress which acts not only as a free and independent organisation, but also as an effective liaison between the Government and the working masses of our people.

42. The Party realised from the first that there is an essential difference in the role of Trade Unions operating in a capitalist country and Trade Unions operating in a country where the State machine is directed by a Party which is based on the mass support of the people and which can consult the people's wishes on every issue.

43. The Trade Union Movement in Ghana has been closely associated with the Party and with the Government. Only thus could the objectives of the Trade Unionists be achieved. The Party and the Government therefore do not regard the Trade Union organisation as evolving out of conflict between employer and the employee. On the contrary, the Party has always considered that the Government has

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## After the Referendum

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ment, we accept the most responsible of duties, that of expressing and carrying out the will of the people in the highest forum of their representation. To do this we need to remain close to the people. The greatest sin we can commit is to lose touch with the people or place ourselves in behaviour above them. The people's Parliamentarians are the executors of the people's will, and will be trusted to perform their function only as long as they are doing so sincerely, honestly and devotedly.

These are some of the important ways by which we shall ensure that the well-being of the people remains the primary consideration in our plans and their implementation. Steps have already been taken to rid the protective arms of our State of the people's enemies. We shall take other serious and energetic steps to deal with the many evils and vices which are hampering our progress and have tended to open conflicts in our society.

From to-day we, the people, must resolve to keep our ranks firmly closed against our enemies, both

external and internal, and to assign ourselves the solemn duty of protecting our State. The violence that these enemies have hurled against us has failed utterly. It has in reality recoiled upon the perpetrators themselves. We have now been brought even closer together; our determination has been rekindled and we take up the challenge of forging ahead against all odds towards the goal before us. Vigilance must be our watchword. We must keep a keen eye on all anti-social activities. We are determined that racketeers shall not profit from the people's needs. All-out efforts are being made to see that essential commodities are available in adequate quantities to meet the ordinary needs of the people.

The mainspring of our society in the past has been its community sense, the obligation of one to another. It is around this mainspring that our African society was organised, and it is this mainspring that must continue to motivate our society in the present. For the identification of the well-being of one with the well-being of all is the animating prin-

ciple of socialism. The difference is that socialism in the modern world can only establish itself on the basis of plenty. And it is towards the achievement of plenty that the Party has geared itself. It is for the achievement of plenty, and its fair distribution among the people that our Seven-Year Plan is designed.

What the party has done for the masses since you, the people, voted it into power, is only the beginning of the greater things we can expect. But our hopes cannot be realised unless all of us work in the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice.

By your vote you have indicated overwhelmingly your readiness to participate and to protect the gains that have already been made. You have shown to the world the unity of purpose and determination that binds us, as Ghanaians, together. United as we are around a common purpose and a common destiny, we shall work steadfastly and harmoniously for a greater Ghana in which the welfare and happiness of each and every one of us shall be the dominating aim.

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a positive duty to assist the Trade Unions to develop the structure best suited to their needs. The correctness of this policy has been shown by the fact that wage increases have been secured without causing inflation or increasing the cost of living and without any loss of productivity which would have resulted from resort to strike action.

44. Housing accommodation for the people still remains a difficult problem which the Party and the Government are making every effort to solve. The Ghana Housing Corporation and the Rural Housing Corporation have been established. Since the establishment of these statutory Housing Corporations, several thousand houses have been provided for the people.

45. The Party has adopted a progressive and vigorous health policy, designed to remove the disabilities inherited from colonialism. Considerable advances have been made in curative and preventive medicine and there has been a striking improvement in the health

of our people. Many modern hospitals, clinics and health centres have been provided. The two major hospitals at Accra and Kumasi compare favourably with the best hospitals anywhere in the world. Endemic diseases have been brought under control and will be completely wiped out in the course of time. Infant mortality has been remarkably reduced. Itinerant medical field units reach the remotest corners of the country and bring relief and cure to the people. But that is not the whole picture. Hundreds of Ghanaian boys and girls are studying medicine all over the world under State scholarships. In the near future the number of doctors in Ghana per head of the population will be one of the highest in the world. The Party is undertaking, as a matter of urgency, the establishment of more hospitals, health centres and clinics throughout the coun-

try. The Party's ultimate objective is socialised medicine for our people. Medical and Health services (including facilities for research) are being reorganised and plans for the establishment not only of a Medical School but also a Medical Centre are far advanced.

46. Our first task is to carry out a systematic campaign against endemic diseases such as malaria, river blindness, yaws, bilharzia, guinea-worm and other disabling diseases. In order to accelerate the eradication of malaria throughout the country, the Party and Government have devised a special scheme of spraying with the use of helicopters.

47. The Party's programme for health aims at introducing within the Seven-Year Plan Period a national health service which will embrace all medical practitioners. Its implementation will depend in part upon the fullest mobilisation of doctors, nurses, dentists and surgeons, midwives and the many other specialists needed to maintain a fully competent and countrywide scheme.

48. The total number of medical practitioners for a population of seven millions is 400. The ratio is therefore about one doctor to every 150,000 persons. The implementation of the national health scheme will

involve a re-distribution of doctors throughout the country.

49. The Party holds the view that doctors and other medical staff by virtue of their calling have a particular responsibility to the community. They must be inspired by devotion to duty and not relate the quality of their work and their relationship with the public to material reward.

50. Our health programme will include services relating to the control of all categories of disease carriers and will cover all aspects of health from prophylaxis to nutrition. Special health schemes for miners and other workers liable to industrial accidents and diseases will be worked out. An extensive network of health services will also embrace general sanitation and nutritional services with special attention to those areas at present without modern sanitary arrangements.

51. In 1950 not more than 30 per cent of children of school-going age were in the Middle and Primary schools. At that rate of progress it would have taken over fifty years for all our children to be provided with basic education. The Party therefore introduced in 1951 the accelerated educational plan which, for the first time,

offered to our people free Primary education on a national basis. A further step forward has been taken in the introduction of free and compulsory Middle School education. In 1950 the enrolment in Primary and Middle Schools was 204,000. By 1960 this figure had risen to over 600,000, a three fold increase. The enrolment in Secondary Schools also increased from 2,800 in 1950 to over 11,000 in 1960, while in Technical and Commercial Institutes the corresponding figures are 266 and 2,700 respectively.

52. In higher education the Party was faced with the problem of a University structure designed primarily to produce a type of graduates trained mainly for commerce, industry and administration, and who were completely divorced from the needs and aspirations of the people. Little or no emphasis was laid on the training of students in the vital fields of agriculture and applied sciences, or in the culture and rich heritage of our national life.

53. A radical re-organisation of the whole University structure was therefore required. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. An International Commission was appointed to review the whole University system,

and reforms based upon their report have been put into operation.

54. This programme has been formulated in the conviction that Socialism implies central planning in order to ensure that the entire resources of the State, both human and material, are employed in the best interests of all the people. 55. The basic aim of our economic development is to free our economy from alien control and domination. To achieve this, it is necessary for the State to participate in the wholesale and retail sectors of trade throughout the country. This is the only means of protecting the people from unbridled exploitation by alien monopoly interests. The Party is firmly of the view that the planning of the national economy can only be really effective when the major means of production, distribution and exchange have been brought under the control and ownership of the State. The Party is determined to implement its plans, fully confident of the support, enthusiasm and loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the people.

56. Socialist planning calls for decisions about the raising of capital to finance development and how the money so raised shall be spent. It must decide what amounts shall come from taxation and other sources of raising capital, and what proportion of the National Income shall be devoted to consumption and investment. Since we are, as a result of our heritage of colonialism and imperialism, still operating in a pre-industrial society, we have, above all, to decide upon priorities for getting us started or transforming our economy.

57. Not only, therefore, does our planning have to decide what proportions of our available and estimated income shall be spent on general administration, on our Army and our Police, but also to decide, according to our development targets, what ratios shall go to education, health and social welfare; what amounts shall be devoted to railways, harbours, telephones and telegraphs and other forms of communication. Our planning has to decide what allocations shall go to agricultural and industrial investment, and also how to attract labour and ration some raw materials to the various sectors of the economy to avoid imbalance or inequalities.

58. Finance raising and spending, however, constitutes only one side of planning. If we are to make the best use of our human resources—which are certainly more important than our natural resources in our development—our planning must decide how our education has to be organised. We have carefully to estimate what numbers of engineers, agricultural and industrial artisans, skilled Building Workers and experts will be needed; how many scientists, and technologists including chemists, biologists, architects, doctors, lawyers, accountants, administrators, and the many other specialists we shall need from year to year.

59. The Party and Government, assisted by our planners, have to consider what new industries we need, and their location and how they can best be encouraged. How far shall they be financed by Government? How far can they be financed by controlling investment from banks

and insurance companies? How far can they be financed by foreign, private or Governmental capital?

60. These are only a few of the problems of socialist planning. It needs statistical information to guide the planners. The Government is the only body which has the full statistics and other relevant information upon which over-all planning can be based. Only the Government can decide what the over-all effect of building a new road will be or how many teachers will be needed for the country as a whole in so many years time.

61. Apart from the avowed enemies of socialist planning for Ghana, that is imperialism and neo-colonialism, there are the equally potent and insidious evils which can become cancer-worms eating slowly but surely into the fabric of our society. These are the evils of bribery, corruption and nepotism, against which the Party is vigilant and determined to continue to pursue a relentless and ruthless campaign.

62. These evils are basically alien to the general Ghanaian nature, and can be attributed in part to the hangovers of colonialist practices and to the serious social effects of the imposition of a money economy upon our traditional social customs. At the present time we are in a transition stage, emerging into new ways of life brought into being as a result of the new developments in industry, science and technology.

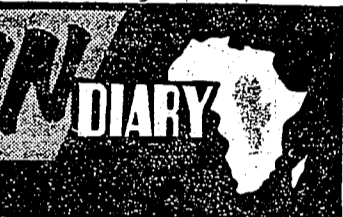
63. At the same time, there are certain of our customs—like that of "dash" and service to the family and the "oman"—which are being accommodated to the new ways. In various degrees, the bribery, corruption and nepotism which have found their way into our national life are being used to gratify the money consciousness and greed of certain individuals and sections within our society.

64. Considerable harm is being caused by them to the general national effort. This is a position which the Party refuses to tolerate, and it will, therefore, mobilise all its resources in a determined effort to correct it.

65. Nkrumaist principles provide the guide to action, through which all Party members, high and low, will be subject to the same treatment. There cannot be within the Party, one law for leaders and another for followers.

66. Akin to corruption are careism, opportunism and bureaucracy. Those who have these vices are stimulated by the urge for self-aggrandisement. They disorganise all planning by refusing to work in a team. They use their positions to promote their own careers and to keep in their hands the control of organisations or departments of Government in order to add to their own prestige. The harm done by such persons can be as great as the evil done by corruption, bribery and nepotism.

67. We would add here a comment upon the pressures brought to bear upon members of parliament by their constituents to force the establishment of projects in their villages or towns, irrespective of the value to the general community or to the wider needs of the nation. This has just as detrimental effects as outright bribery, and is, in fact, a form of corruption which deflects the national loyalty of parliamentarians to sectional interests. There can be no room for this kind of pressure in our national life.



21st MAY, THURSDAY :  
**SIERRA LEONE :** Sierra Leone has introduced a resolution aimed at barring South Africa from annexing the mandated territory of South Africa and condemning Pretoria for "its persistent refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter."

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA :** Mr. Gorge Nyandoro, Secretary-General of the Southern Rhodesian People's Caretaker Council, cables Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Prime Minister, revealing that the Southern Rhodesian white minority regime is employing "African Katangese mercenaries" to murder Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the party's leader, at present restricted by the minority settler Government.

22nd MAY, FRIDAY :  
**GHANA :** Heads of Ghana's 27 diplomatic missions in Africa are in Accra for what official diplomatic circles describe as "routine consultations."  
\* In a statement read at a press conference in Accra, Mr. L. N. Ndehbe, chief representative of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, appeals to British administrators in the High Commission territories to protect and ensure the safety of South African people who have sought refuge in the territories under their administration.

**NIGERIA :** The Nigerian Federal Government and the Chad Republic are now making arrangements for the establishment of a customs station on the Niger-Chad border.

**SOUTH WEST AFRICA :** The United Nations General Assembly's Special Political Committee have decided to draw attention of the Security Council to the critical situation in South West Africa which is threatened with the annexation by the apartheid regime of Pretoria. It also re-affirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of South West Africa to self-determination, national unity, territorial integrity and independence.

**NIGERIA :** The Federal Nigerian Government has accepted the challenge to "fight the census suit in court".  
The suit was filed by the Eastern Nigerian Government asking that the census be nullified.

24th MAY, SUNDAY :  
**GHANA :** In a broadcast over Radio Ghana in Accra on the eve of the Africa Libe-

ration Day, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, calls on all Africans to resolve that the second meeting of Heads of State in Cairo this year will see the birth of the Union Government of Africa.

**SOUTH AFRICA :** The fascist clique of Pretoria places a five-year ban on Chief Albert Luthuli, Nobel Peace Prize winner.

The ban restricts his movements and forbids him making speeches or having his words published.

25th MAY, MONDAY :  
**U.A.R. :** In a message of congratulation to Osagyefo the President on the occasion of Africa's Liberation Day which falls today, the Soviet Premier, Nikita Khrushchev, now on a visit to the U.A.R., predicts that the Organisation of African Unity will achieve new successes in its struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

**GHANA :** Ghana at the weekend presented a draft resolution to the United Nations World Trade Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, calling for the creation of a special regional fund to aid less developed countries.

\* Addressing a dinner party held in his honour by diplomatic representatives in Ghana at the week-end, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah stressed on the need for good-will among nations of the world.

He urged the diplomats to help strengthen the ties between Ghana and their countries.

\* Mass rallies, demonstrations and prayer meetings will be held in Ghana today to celebrate the first anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity.

26th MAY, TUESDAY :  
**CONGO (Leopoldville) :** Mr. Cyrille Adoula, Congolese Prime Minister, meets the acting head of the United Nations Congo operation, Senor Bibiano Osorio-Tafall (Mexico), for talks on the situation in revolt-torn Central Kivu Province.

**GHANA :** In his opening remarks on a special seminar for Ghana's 27 envoys in Africa at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba, Osagyefo the President urged the envoys on the importance of approaching their duties with humility, service and dedication, always remembering that in all their endeavours they would be working for Ghana and Africa.

## Code of Conduct

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forget themselves and indulge in ostentatious living. High party officials, Ministers, Ministerial Secretaries, chairmen of statutory boards and corporations must forever bear this in mind. Some of us very easily forget that we ourselves have risen from amongst the masses. We must avoid any conduct that will breed antagonism and uneasy relations. Let us always keep in mind the fact that constant examination and correction are necessary for maintaining the solidarity of the party. The aim of all correction, however, must be to build and not to destroy. The central committee proposes to issue instructions shortly on the

duties and rights of party members.

Coming to the integral organisations of the party, I consider it essential to emphasise once more that the Trades Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers' Council, the National Co-operative Council and the National Council of Ghana Women, are integral parts of the Convention People's Party, and in order to correct certain existing anomalies, the central committee has decided that separate membership cards of the integral organisations shall be abolished forthwith. The membership card of the party will be the only qualification for membership within these organisations, namely, the Trades

Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers' Council, the National Co-operative Council and the National Council of Ghana Women, and no other membership card other than that of the Convention People's Party shall be recognised by these bodies. In all regional headquarters, provision will be made for the central party and these integral organisations to be housed in one building. This is necessary for effective co-ordination and control. Also the separate flags used by these organisations will be abolished and replaced by the flag of the Convention People's Party.

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

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

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

I wish you all good luck and a good week-end.

## "Cadres Decide Everything"

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History teaches that while the party assembles its ideological weapons, the enemies of the people will not sit and stare. Steeped as they are in capitalist and colonialist prejudices, they will attempt to sow disbelief in the creative strength of the people and, even if surreptitiously, preach ignominious, unacceptable ideas.

That is not all. They have already proved capable of being assassins and saboteurs—all this in a frantic effort to halt the people from erecting new socialist traditions. To them the selfless, dedicated, hardworking party cadre is their new bane. To destroy the hopes of the socialist revolution they will first attempt to destroy its harbingers. Such is the forceful lesson of history.

Party cadres must always remember, however, that human susceptibilities die hard. In times of great change, many things don complex characteristics. Hu-

man society cannot be an exception. The privileged few will not easily shed themselves of their prejudices.

Yet simply because our revolution requires the greatest possible pulling together of all our human and material resources, we can ill-afford to keep anyone away from our ranks. Party cadres must try their best to win all, even our enemies; to the side of the revolutionary ranks. At the same time, cadres must ensure that the interest of the whole is retained, broadened and enriched.

Cadres decide everything. To do everything well cadres must possess all the qualities we have touched on and many more. Their belief in socialism must be unshakable.

Above all, they must have unbounding faith and confidence in the Leader of the Party, Kwame Nkrumah, who should remain their constant source of inspiration.

# THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY

Continued from page 1

Following logic ally from this, we must exert conscious effort to see that leadership in the Party branches all over the country passes into the hands of the workers, the peasants and the dynamic youths. It is intolerable (and it will surely open the way to defeat for our socialist cause) that we allow the most active socialist forces within the Party branches to come under the control and direction of middle class, vacillating elements. This will dampen the enthusiasm of the masses and may even alienate them from the Party.

Kwame Nkrumah rightly refers to the Party as "the rallying point of our political activity." We shall attain this level and move on confidently with the long and difficult process of building a socialist society only if we set up a vanguard party whose membership and branch leadership are firmly dominated by those forces with a vested interest in socialism. This is the indispensable first step in mobilising the people for the construction of socialism.

## WORKERS AND FARMERS

There are some members of the Party who want to be the intellectual leaders and administrators of this country in the old style. They regard themselves as an intellectual elite and ape the way of life of the old administrators despising the people and resenting their power, creativity and militancy. This is why Kwame Nkrumah has always warned us that valuable as all sections are in the fight for the aims of the Party, the stable reliable core of the Party is the ordinary masses—the working people of the Labour Movement, and the working farmers. They have everything to win by the establishment of socialism and so they fight hardest for it and cannot be deflected.

Their new style of work must be closely related to the fundamental problems of increased industrial and agricultural output and raising labour productivity. This is the challenge to the leadership of Trade Union Movement. Loud-mouthed, corrupt easy-going demagogues have no place in the fore front at this stage.

The youth of Ghana play a particularly important part in the Party's perspectives. They are the guarantee of the future. The style of work demands that the Party must strive doubly hard to win the youth of our country who will surely help to build Socialism and will inherit its full fruits.

What is the place of the civil servant under

the new scheme of things?

He has been transformed overnight, as it were, from a politically neutral technician into an active pioneer builder of a new social order. And he must rise to the occasion by being efficient, honest, and deeply imbued with the ideals of the new era.

But the civil servant cannot be left to adjust his mental outlook the way he likes and at the pace he chooses. He must march with the times or his bishopric let another take.

The architects of the socialist revolution must have a firm hand on the recruitment, training, posting, promotion and dismissal of civil servants.

And the most effective way, in the long-run, to achieve this is to transfer control of the Civil Service Commission, the Scholarship Secretariat and all organs dealing with establishments to the Central Committee of the Party.

If the vehicle for giving effect to policy is to travel in the right direction and at the right pace, then its controls must be in the hands of those who understand both the line of march and how fast the nation must move along it.

## PARTY EDUCATION

The people are united by the Party for immediate programmes and for a long term aim. They will achieve these if they understand them fully. That is why slogans, though essential are not enough. Conviction is based on sound understanding and every Party member must be helped to learn about the scientific basis of our revolutionary theory.

Why are we sure that Socialism will triumph in our country? What gives us our confidence? What helps us to see the way ahead? Only a scientific understanding of how society can be changed. Only a grasp of the Marxism applied to the African situation and embodied in Nkrumahism. Our knowledge, our understanding of the science of revolution gives confidence and this same knowledge must be brought to the mass of the people in a popular, colourful but accurate way. Our Party must create a new type of intellectual, one who has mastered ideas and revolutionary philosophy in the service of the revolution, in the cause of the people's struggle for socialism.

The 15th Anniversary can mark a new upsurge of interest in Party education and should be marked by a vast extension of study courses, schools, branch classes and seminars for Party members. The people can be united by the

power of ideas; ideology will bind together millions in one united sense of purpose. It will equip every Party member to deal with problems in a scientific way, in a creative and correct way.

An understanding of the science of changing society is therefore a powerful force in changing men's outlook, welding them together to work in unity for the same aim. But ideology alone cannot guarantee political success. Just as important are the organisational forms and methods of work which the Party adopts. These methods must reflect the revolutionary aims of the Party and its role of mobilising the masses for action.

## OUR WEAKNESSES

Collective work is vital in revolutionary leadership and one of its most powerful supports is criticism and self-criticism. This is necessary so that the Party constantly estimates its work and corrects its mistakes. From time to time every Party member, as well as every unit of the Party should make an objective estimate of the work being done and set about correcting mistakes.

We should be able to criticise ourselves (a difficult task) as well as others. We should be able to take criticism but this must be offered in a fraternal way, constructively so that confidence is increased and a new sense of direction given. Criticism is not to be abused. It is easy enough to destroy someone's confidence and to accuse those who genuinely make mistakes (as who does not!) of sabotage or ill will. On the other hand criticism helps us to see who genuinely wishes to correct mistakes and who deliberately persists in them as a means of holding up our work.

A disciplined comrade does not pay lip service in a routine way to the aims of the Party, he sets out to apply the policy of the Party in action. He works in a detailed practical way for the aims of the Party in whatever sphere he is engaged. He strives for maximum efficiency in whatever work he is doing, both productive and political. The Party member consciously aims to produce food, goods, services of the highest quality. He sets an example to all his fellow workers in the fulfilment of the plan encouraging them through explanation, education, example and organisation. It is not easy to maintain the correct unity between democracy and centralism but it can be done by every Party member taking his responsibilities seriously and having pride in his membership.

There is no place in

# PARTY

the Party for the ambitious self-seeker and the fullest operation of democracy is essential to prevent this. Above all the example of those in leading positions in the Party is a powerful one. Their way of life, their behaviour, their efficiency and devotion to the Party sets the example to others, especially to the younger members whom we need to train in the finest principles of the C.P.P.

## THE DETRACTORS

There are Party members who fail to recognise the stages of development, fail to understand the people's parliamentary democracy as a special path of the onward march toward socialism; taking refuge behind loud-mouthed "revolutionary" demagogic phrases, in practice they hinder the development toward socialism.

The correctness of the Party's policy of socialism is not disputed by anyone in the Party. Unfortunately, however, there still does not exist complete unity of thought and action in our Party from top to bottom. In order to achieve this we shall still have to work hard. Cases are not rare in which decisions are accepted only formally, while in practice they are carried out in a different and distorted way. There still exist "little dictators" in our Party who, banking on their past merits, real or imaginary, exploit their positions and refuse to abide by any laws or decrees and act in an arbitrary way. There are still chatterboxes and inflated egos, people with big and perverse ambitions, who pretend that there is nothing they cannot do and yet lack the ability or intelligence to work and run things systematically and efficiently, and to finish what they have begun. Such people do not like to learn and are capable of wrecking every useful job.

There are people who bulldoze their way because they are inefficient and ineffective.

They can't persuade their colleagues and they cannot lead through force of example and therefore seek refuge in the improper reference to Osagyefo.

The Party must fight such unhealthy phenomena by word and by deed through the education and correctness of those who have gone wrong, and even through the removal of incorrigibles.

In order to continuously and unwaveringly strengthen our Party, we must consider the following:—

- (1) Purge our ranks of inimical, careerist and accidental elements.
- (2) Make a strict selection among the new members and candidates wishing to enter the Party.
- (3) Develop internal Party democracy. Entrust every member with a concrete task and check-up on its fulfilment. Encourage sound criticism and self criticism in the Party, raise the general activity of the members, tighten Party discipline and unity in its organisations.
- (4) Organise systematic collective and individual education of every Party member on a much broader basis. A member who does not want to learn, to educate himself and to make progress is not and cannot be a real member of our Party.
- (5) The Party branches by their lively and creative activity must make the Seven-Year Plan and the aim of socialism a reality to the people among whom they work. They should apply the tar-

gets of the Plan and check on their fulfilment in the locality and enterprises in which they are situated. The acid test of the branch's work will be how successfully it has won more people to work better for the Plan, how it has deepened people's understanding of what the Party is doing, and how far it has helped to solve the problems which the people bring to it. It must strengthen its links with the masses all the time.

The C.P.P. is a powerful force. It has undertaken the most historic task of transforming Ghana into a modern industrialised state in which the exploitation of man by man will be no more. We close in no more fitting way than

by quoting the words of Kwame Nkrumah, the architect of the Party. "Comrades let us remember, that the greatness, indeed the strength of our Party depends upon discipline, loyalty, service, sacrifice. Long live the Convention People's Party! Long Live African Unity and Independence!"

May the Convention People's Party fulfil its future complex tasks with all its power against any great peril, of which our teacher, Kwame Nkrumah has time and again warned us.

May the Convention People's Party continue to grow and develop into a first rate political Party, the decisive, driving and leading force in the construction of a new life in our country along the path of socialism.

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