

SOCIALISM IN GHANA?

In this the first of two articles KAY BEAUCHAMP examines the progress of Ghana since independence and points to the strong influence of socialist ideas on President Nkrumah.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN GHANA IS OF THE GREATEST INTEREST.

For the problem there is this:

- Once independence has been won, how is a former colonial territory to get rid of the whole heritage of colonialism?
- What kind of political, economic and social system can it build in place of the old one?

In Ghana in the first ten years since self-government in 1946, there have been rapid developments in education and other social services, in transport and communications, and in the promotion of Ghanaians to replace foreigners. On the other hand, changes in the basic structure of the economy have been slow. Export and import trade remained largely in the hands of British and other European and Asian firms. Ghana continued to rely on the export of cocoa, the main cash crop, and of minerals with extraction in the hands of foreign firms. Leading positions in the state and the armed forces were still held by Englishmen. Investment of foreign monopoly capital from the West was strongly encouraged.

This led many people to believe that President Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party were only paying lip service to socialism and that Ghana's dependence on Western imperialism would remain indefinitely.

Certainly to the imperialists the developments of last year came as a rude shock. The extremely hostile treatment of Ghana in the Western capitalist press, America's second thoughts about the Volta scheme, the opposition in Britain to the Queen's visit (not only on grounds of safety) were indications of this. The imperialists deeply resented the changes towards greater planning and control embodied in the July budget; the forthright opposition to the Common Market; the long and successful tour of the socialist countries; the removal of General Alexander and other British military personnel and of the most conservative and wealthy ministers from the government of Ghana. However, these measures were not inconsistent with the previous policy of the government; the basis for them was prepared by gradual changes since independence.

NKRUMAH'S PRINCIPLES

To understand the policy of the government of Ghana, it is necessary to look a little more closely at the principles which President Nkrumah and the ruling party, the Convention People's Party, have consistently put forward. President Nkrumah has made these clear in innumerable speeches and articles before and since independence.

1. The first principle is that independence for Ghana alone is not sufficient, but that the aim is independence and unity for the whole of Africa.

2. The second is that Ghana's economic, social and cultural life, so long disrupted by imperialism, cannot be rebuilt on a capitalist basis but only on a socialist pattern.

In his autobiography, President Nkrumah wrote that the Pan-African Conference held in Manchester in 1945 adopted African nationalism as its ideology—a revolt of African nationalism against colonialism, racialism and imperialism in Africa— and Marxist socialism as its philosophy.

AFRICAN FREEDOM

The contribution of Ghana towards the cause of African independence and unity is well known. Shortly after Ghana had gained its independence in 1957, a conference of the African independent states (then only eight) was held in Accra. This was followed by a much larger conference of all African people's organisations in Accra in December, 1958. From this arose the permanent organisation of the All-African People's Conference which has done so much to develop solidarity and a sense of common purpose throughout the continent.

Catholic Bid To Take Over B.C.P.?

AN indication of possible Catholic policy in Basutoland is given by the prominent publication in the Catholic newspaper "Southern Cross" recently of a letter from a correspondent headed: "Basutoland, Catholics should join BCP and throw Reds out."

"The Basutoland Congress Party is far and away the most popular party in Basutoland and it is highly probable that it will soon rule the country. The Communists, knowing this, have gone into the BCP to try to get control of it."

"Because there are Communists in the party some missionaries have dubbed it a Communist party hostile to the Church, and have actively discouraged Basutoland's numerous Catholics from joining it. (As a positive measure they encouraged Catholics to form their own party, the Basuto National Party. This was soundly defeated by the BCP at the last elections.)"

"The latest news from Basutoland is that Mokhehe has started an active campaign against the Communists in the BCP. The Catholic faithful in Basutoland should join the BCP in their thousands and see to it that Christian principles prevail—positive Christian social principles, not sterile anti-Communism. They will not regret it when the BCP becomes the ruler of the country, as it undoubtedly will."

President Nkrumah and his government have supported every African liberation movement and were the first to step in and offer a loan to Guinea, when she so heroically opted for independence in 1958 and the French retaliated by taking away everything they could remove. Mali has also been assisted by Ghana and the new port at Tema, 12 miles from Accra, is to be enlarged so that it can become a free port for Africa.

MARXIST

Although it has been harder to pursue the aim of socialism than that of African independence and unity, it has been constantly reaffirmed in President Nkrumah's speeches. At the last conference of the Convention People's Party before independence he declared:

The socialist pattern of society which we envisage for Ghana, can only be constructed on a high level of productivity and education, of civil responsibility and a spirit of enterprise and service.

(I speak of Freedom, p. 92.)

At the independence celebrations he repeated his belief in Marxist socialism in front of all the guests. At the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Convention People's Party in 1959, he warned:

There is a danger that our socialist objective may be clouded by opportunistic accommodations and adjustments to petty bourgeois elements in our ranks.

In 1960 during his candidature for presidency, he said:

Our Party is great and strong because we aim for a socialist pattern of society. We are the Party of the workers, farmers and all progressive elements in our community.

His most explicit statement on socialism was made at the Convention People's Party Study Group at Accra on April 22, 1961:

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. . . . It is not production for individual private profit. . . . At this juncture, Ghana is not a socialist state.

NEXT WEEK: Building socialism in Ghana, and last year's rail strike.

2,500 AT BPP MEETING IN SEROWE

PALAPYE. South Africa, and warned that this land belonged to the protectorate and there would be no compensation paid out when the government of Bechuanaland was in the hands of the rightful owners of the land.

Another speaker, Mr. K. Motshidi, said that the white people's mission in Africa had never been to help. It was to trade and that resulted in exploitation, robbery and colonisation.

Mrs. Hannah Mpho told the meeting that a new political party had been formed consisting of members of the Legco, chiefs and sub-chiefs and the white settlers. What good could come out of this party, apart from dividing the people and delaying independence? she asked.

White settlers were saying that it was not possible to pay the African workers higher wages because the territory was too poor. Yet most of the settlers had shops running very well all over the territory, Mrs. Mpho said.



Whites Shop At Their Leisure

It's O.K. By Mr. Cohen, But To Us It's Apartheid

Pictures By Ernest Cole

T.I.C. Circular To Landlords

JOHANNESBURG. MR. Sam Cohen, the wealthy owner of the O.K. Bazaars syndicate and the South African chain of Woolworths shops, has told the world that Africans and Whites mingle freely on all premises owned by him when they do their shopping.

Mr. Cohen is a member of the South African Foundation, the Government-inspired publicity association that is trying to present our country as a haven of peace and tranquillity under 'separate development.'

Our pictures, taken at the O.K. Bazaars in Eloff Street on a busy Saturday morning, present a different picture from that painted by Mr. Cohen. AFRICANS ARE NOT ALLOWED INTO THE SUPERMARKET TO CHOOSE THEIR GROCERIES FOR THEMSELVES.

Picture 1 shows Whites and Coloureds choosing and shopping at their leisure, with no rush, no crush, and none of the irritation born of waiting . . . and waiting . . . and waiting to be served.

Picture 2 shows the Africans—outside the barricade—patiently standing until they can catch the eye of one of the few assistants. They cannot look at each brand and its price before deciding what they want, and they are not allowed to mingle freely with the other customers.

Our African photographer was ordered OUT of the supermarket just after taking these pictures.

A White housewife who telephoned the O.K. Bazaars to ask if her African employee could buy goods in the basement supermarket was told by Mr. Greenbaum, manager of the supermarket: "We do not allow Natives into the supermarket. They are served at a special counter."

So much for the Foundation's publicity about happy South Africa.

But Blacks Are Segregated



GOVT. REFUSES TO RECOGNISE SACTU

£1-a-day Bill Ignored

CAPE TOWN. THE new Minister of Labour, Mr. A. E. Trollip, has side-stepped the request of the South African Congress of Trade Unions that the Government introduce a Bill providing for a minimum wage of £1 a day by refusing to have any dealings with SACTU.

"There are recognised trade union federations which are representative of and entitled to speak for organised workers in South Africa," says the Minister's private secretary in a letter of reply to SACTU. "The so-called S.A. Congress of Trade Unions does not fall within this category and my Minister is not prepared to discuss such matters with that organisation."

This is a new departure in Government policy. In the past the Government has often had dealings with SACTU and has received deputations from it.

OVERSEAS REACTION

The Government's decision will not make things easier for it either inside or outside the country. SACTU is the only non-racial trade union in the country and represents

Another Explosion In Port Elizabeth

PORT ELIZABETH. While the bombs case was still proceeding in the courts, the city was rocked by yet another blast on the evening of Wednesday February 7 at about 8.10 p.m.

The target was a telephone booth in the centre of the city about 50 yards from the main street. The blast wrenched the door from the booth and made a considerable noise which was heard throughout the vicinity. Within minutes the police were on the scene together with a Mr. Herman van Dijk, from the office of the Chief Inspector of Explosives in Johannesburg. No arrests have yet been made.

50,000 workers. Ever since 1955 the Government has been criticised by the credentials committee of the International Labour Organisation for not consulting SACTU before deciding on the appointment of the workers' delegation to ILO conferences.

Last year Nigeria took the matter out of the hands of the credentials committee and placed it before the ILO general assembly, which decided by 163 votes to none, with 89 abstentions, to ask South Africa to withdraw from the ILO because its race policies were inconsistent with its obligations under the ILO constitution.

The Government's present decision not to recognise SACTU may be by way of reprisal because of the ILO decision. But obviously it will not make relations between South Africa and the ILO any easier.

On the contrary, the attitude of the ILO towards South Africa is likely to deteriorate still further.

SUPPORT GROWING

Meanwhile the SACTU campaign for the recruitment of all unorganised workers into trade unions is mounting in intensity. Volunteers have been recruiting hundreds of enthusiastic workers at the factories in the industrial areas of the Reef.

The application forms attached to the leaflet which SACTU has distributed by the thousand are coming back in a steady stream either through the post or from the workers' representatives in the factories.

Letters are coming in from all points in the Transvaal and the staff in the SACTU offices are being kept fully occupied replying to all these applications.

Mass rallies are being planned for all the main centres throughout South Africa. The first one will take place in Durban on February 23.

Telegrams and messages have been sent from Ghana, the Congo and East Germany. The message from the International Dept. of the Ghana TUC says that they are shocked and indignant by the five-year ban on Mark Shope, general secretary of SACTU, and have sent a telegram to the South African Government protesting against it.

"HALT ARMS DRIVE IN S.A.", PEACE COUNCIL APPEALS

CAPE TOWN. A STRONG appeal to stop the increasing militarisation in the country has been made by the South African Peace Council in a statement submitted to the Prime Minister, Sir De Villiers Graaff, Mr. Basson, and other opposition parties both inside and outside Parliament.

The statement says that the extension of military training, the increase in the Defence Budget, the establishment of a Police Reserve on military lines and the setting up of huge munitions plants are all steps "towards making South Africa . . . a 'White' garrison State at the tip of Black Africa."

It ascribes these schemes which place the country "on a near-war footing" to the apartheid policy which "necessitates ever greater expenditure of men and money to defend a way of

life that is morally and actually indefensible."

According to a Rand Daily Mail report of March last year the then Minister of Defence Mr. Erasmus said: "South Africa must prepare for internal trouble in the same way as the major powers are continually preparing for war." The present Minister Mr. Fouché had also said that the Defence Force and the police are to be equipped with modern weapons "to crush any threat to internal security."

The Peace Council warns that in the face of hostile Africa these efforts to defend White domination at all costs menace the peace of the country and the world as a whole. The Council appeals to "organisations and individuals . . . to express public opposition to this fatal policy that leads inevitably to national disaster and untold suffering."

Special Branch Worried About Joe Morolong

VRYBURG.

The Special Branch in the Kimberley district has not relaxed their attention to Mr. Joe Morolong, according to letters from him to New Age. On a recent visit, members of the Special Branch told him that he was travelling about too much and that he should remain home and not give them unnecessary trouble checking up on his whereabouts. One of them threatened that they would "put you in jail for the rest of your life."

A police sergeant also said: "We know that the ANC is still in existence and is supporting you."

On another occasion Mr. Morolong was seized by the front of his shirt by a sergeant and shouted and sworn at.

Segalé Refused Permission To Take A Job

JOHANNESBURG.

MR. Stephan Segalé, one of the victims of the spate of "confining" orders dished out to leaders of the liberatory movement in recent months, learned this week just how ruthless the Special Branch is in seeing that these orders are carried out.

Segalé who has been confined to the site and service area of Emdeni in the South Western region, apart from the white parts of the magisterial area of Johannesburg, is also banned from "entering any factory" in this area presumably to prevent him from organising the workers there.

He has been unemployed for almost seven months now and has an elderly mother dependent on him for her upkeep. So this week when he managed to gain employment at a factory in Doornfontein, he asked Col. Spengler, head of the Special Branch in Johannesburg, for permission to take on the job. All he got from the Colonel was: "The ban is there and we cannot allow you to take on the job."

So Stephen is back again trudging the streets looking for employment. The money which he managed to save as a cosmetics salesman is fast running out and because of the restriction on his movements he cannot even collect the debts owing to him. He has been completely cut off from making a decent and honest living.

Women's Council Meeting in Accra

ACCRA.

The conference of the Women's Council of the Union of Ghana, Guinea and Mali held here recently declared its support for all peoples who were "fighting for complete liberation of their countries under colonial and neo-colonial regimes." The conference decided to meet again at Conakry, Guinea, from June 14 to 17 this year.

Trade Unionists in Trouble For Talking To Maree

Indian Community Up in Arms

DURBAN. TWO Indian trade unionists—Messrs Harold Murugan and R. Goorden, Secretary and Chairman respectively of the Durban Indian Municipal Employees' Society (DIMES)—are in hot water following their participation in a meeting between so-called Indian leaders and Mr. W. Maree, the Minister of Indian Affairs.

The meeting which was held to discuss the formation of an Indian Consultative Committee as a forerunner to the formation of Indian Advisory Boards and a National Advisory Council, has come in for sharp criticism from a broad section of the Indian community.

A leaflet circulating amongst members of the DIMES calls on both Mr. Murugan and Mr. Goorden to resign.

The leaflet, which is issued by the Progressive Municipal Workers,

ends: "We want to tell our brothers who are fighting for freedom, a decent wage and a happy life, that the Indian Municipal workers were not responsible for the meeting with Maree—it was Harold and Goorden—We are going to deal with them!"

CONGRESS CAMPAIGN

Meanwhile the Natal Indian Congress, has decided following a meeting of its Working Committee, to launch a vigorous campaign throughout Natal to bring home to the Indian people the dangers inherent in the Government's plans for tribal boards.

Addressing the meeting of the Working Committee, Mr. N. T. Naicker, the NIC's General Secretary, said that the individuals who met Maree had no political backing and no authority to speak in the name of the Indian community.

"They owe an apology to the Indian people," he said.

MEET FOUR FRIENDS FROM TANGANYIKA

JOHANNESBURG. THE boycott of South Africa was finding tremendous support amongst the people of Tanganyika, who felt that their own independence and security could only be consolidated if the rest of Africa was free.

This was the opinion of four young men from the Congo borders near Uranda-Urundi, from the slopes of Kilimanjaro and from the district of Moshi who passed through Johannesburg on a transit visa recently. They were en route to New Zealand, where they intend taking a three-year course in agriculture granted to them by the New Zealand Government.

The Tanganyika Government's immediate pre-occupation was with the eradication of Tanganyika's worst problems, namely poverty, illiteracy and disease, they told me. A three-year plan had been devised at the end of which it was hoped that substantial progress would have been made.

It was too early to think of

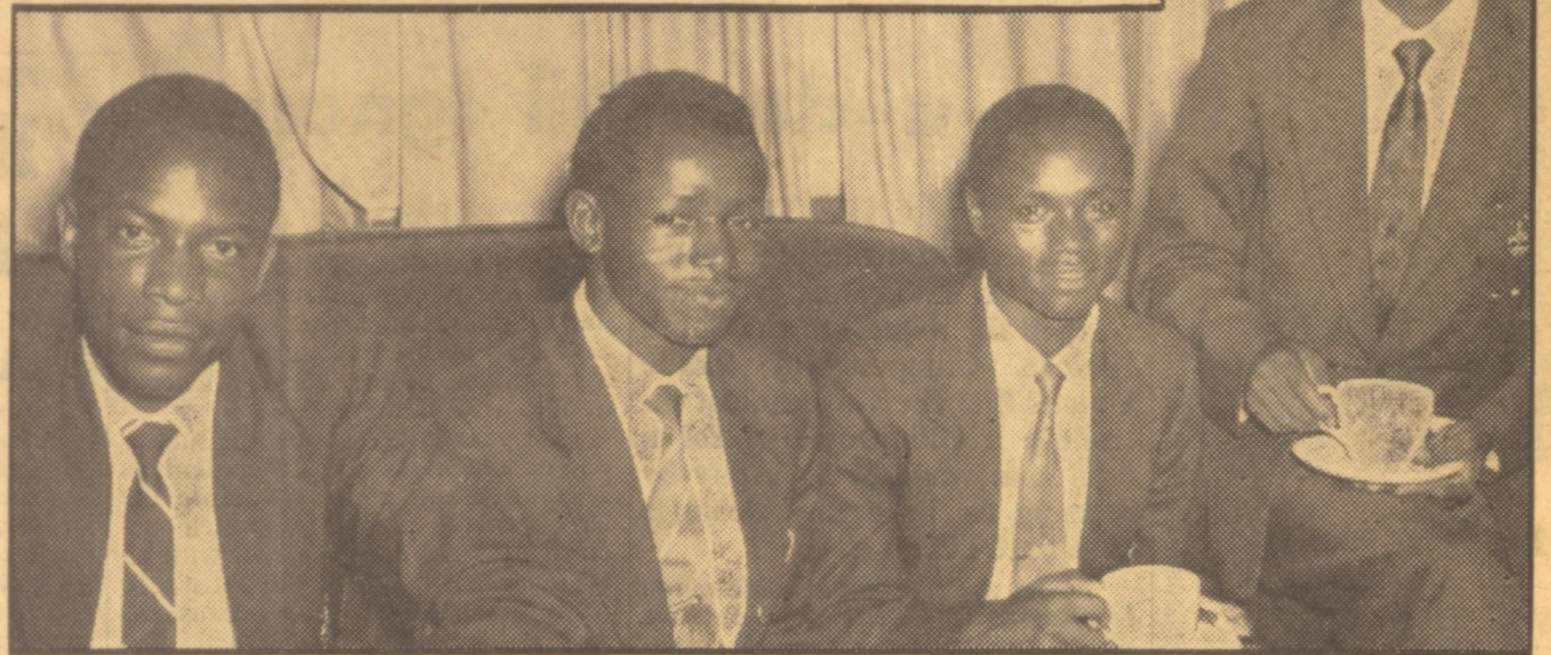
whether the economy would be capitalist or socialist, said one of them, Mr. Stephen Mmari. The ruling party, TANU, was encouraging foreign companies to invest in new industries, but the big land-owning companies would have their land divided up amongst the people.

TANU did not intend to join either the East or the West, but to remain neutral.

As far as the state apparatus was concerned, all so-called expatriates (i.e. civil servants of non-African origin) were given the option of taking out Tanganyika citizenship within four years or leaving the service. It was hoped in that period to train enough Tanganyikans to fill all posts.

These four young men give the impression of boundless confidence and of overflowing joy that at long last they and their people will be able to shape the future of their country themselves and help build a state which will be an equal among all nations.

E.W.



The four Tanganyikan students who recently visited Johannesburg are, from left to right, Messrs Raphael Rwsa, John Malya, Rogatian Shirima and Stephen Mmari.

Bantu Education To Blame For

MASS FAILURES IN AFRICAN SCHOOLS

Mrs. Vandeyar Arrested

JOHANNESBURG. THERE has been a sensational turn in the Vandeyar explosives case. Last Thursday evening Mrs. Assoo Vandeyar, wife of Reggie Vandeyar, was arrested and taken to the Fordsburg police station by two Special Branch detectives. She was fingerprinted and locked up for four hours before being released on bail of R100.

She appeared in the Magistrate's Court next morning and was charged with being in possession of an unlicensed firearm as well as under the Explosives Act. It is believed that she will be joined with her husband on these charges.

There appears to be a great deal of confusion about this case. Counsel for Vandeyar was definitely told by the prosecutor last week that all charges under the Explosives Act had been dropped against his client. This was said in the presence of several people who then stepped forward to congratulate Vandeyar.

NOTHING has so much highlighted the pernicious effects of Bantu Education as the Matric results in Bantu Education schools. They have been, as in 1960, intolerably bad.

In 1960, when the effects of Bantu Education were becoming more evident, of over 900 Africans who sat, 153 got through either on exemption or on school-leaving

certificate. Last year, of the hundreds who sat, 163 got through, with only 45 exempted to proceed to universities.

The Government will use these figures to prove that the African student is incapable of a higher academic achievement and hence

By A Student

needs a special education suited to his abilities. The architects of this propaganda forget, however, that their system has not been so long in the field that the people have forgotten what went on before it.

Old System

Under the old system the standard of education was relatively higher but the African students all the same did relatively very well. In 1958 a total of 404 students passed their matric or equivalent examination. Clearly, if the African student finds himself incapable of passing Matric in 1961, then the fault is not with him but with the educational system.

While on the surface the Government is making its own apartheid propaganda, basically it is carrying out its state policy—that of reducing the higher educated population of the African to the minimum. Its ultimate end is to have an intellectually docile population, the majority of whom will not be able to participate in world culture while the selected few who manage to get Bantuised higher education will be occupationally absorbed in apartheid administration and carbon-copy intellectuals of the Afrikaner corrupted elite.

Witness how this is done: The African child is fed in his own language the Afrikaner propa-

ganda (so-called education) up to Standard VI. The majority of students are then turned away from school and only those who obtain first class and a limited number of second classes are allowed to proceed to the JC level.

It is interesting to note that although the Afrikaner Nationalists have been so vociferous about promoting "Bantu" languages and literature, the whole emphasis in the medium of instruction is on Afrikaans. Far from replacing English with an African language, English is being replaced by Afrikaans.

Student's Dilemma

The curriculum, therefore, has been entirely changed up to JC level in accordance with the demands of Bantu Education while the Joint Matriculation Board still demands the high standard of academic achievement. This explains the plight of the Bantuised JC student when he comes to Matric. If the student who has been educated in a Bantu school has to pass at all, he must also do a Bantu Matric in conformity with the Bantu JC.

The dilemma extends even to the Bantu Tribal Colleges. If few matriculants get through to the university level, then what happens to the University Colleges?

The Government has dodged the inevitable failure of its own scheme by creating special diplomas "suited to the Bantu needs." These include social science, business administration and similar others. Entrance qualification for these diplomas is either JC or a school-leaving certificate.

These are the "college students" that the Department of Bantu Education is boasting of. One can imagine in the future that the Department will try to make the whole concept of tribal colleges work by establishing more such diplomas, which are not recognised anywhere in the world.

In the Cape, for instance, where

17 matric students got their exemptions at the first sitting, one wonders what is going to be this year's enrolment at the Xhosa Fort Hare College.

Promotion

The methods of promotion are also interesting and have nothing to do with a student's academic standards. A pupil who fails Afrikaans has no chance of being promoted. At a certain school, pupil X was just on the borderline. The supervisor recommended that he be promoted but when he later discovered that pupil X had failed Afrikaans he had to rescind his decision.

It has also happened in a number of cases that pupils whom teachers mark as a pass are failed when their reports come to the Bantu Education offices. On the other hand, pupils who were marked as failed by the teachers have been passed by the supervisors.

It seems the deciding factor is the subject in which the child passes, and the important ones are Afrikaans and Social Studies. A teacher who was bold enough to go in person to lodge a complaint with the Bantu inspectors was warned: "This is State policy."

Racialism

The conclusion is that Bantu Education is an inseparable part of South African racialism resting as it does on the concept of race superiority. Only a united struggle of student, parent and teacher cooperating with the national liberation movement can finally eliminate Bantu Education in South Africa.

IT IS IN A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA THAT THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPEN TO EVERY MAN AND WOMAN WITHOUT RESERVATIONS.

UP MY ALLEY

If you see me going around with my jaw hanging, it is not because I want to air my tonsils. It is because I have not yet recovered after hearing the U.P.'s "race federation" explained once more.

After several versions, this last one is presumably meant to throw light on the subject. Anyway, believe it or not, the heaven on earth which Div's boys are promising us is one in which a so-called mixed area can have a White-Coloured parliament, an Indian parliament, and an African parliament.

The next explanation might well include a Japanese parliament, a Chinese parliament and possibly a parliament for "other Asiatics" and sundries.

And just think of all the jobs there will be floating around. Foreign ministers and ministers of information, etc. etc. etc., all bumping into each other and getting their portfolios entangled.

I swear it would be enough to drive even the Liquor and Licensing Board to drink. Which reminds me that even the Minister of Justice, present one I mean, seems to be getting tired of the surreptitious manufacture and consumption of alcoholic beverages and has given all and

sundry to know that legislayshun will be introduced to remove certain restrictions on the brewing of "kaffir beer." Or does this just mean that the boys in khaki or new blue will just be a little more polite when knocking people when on a midnight raid?

But if Coloured parliaments and Colouredstans and all-Coloured casts are going to be thrust upon us—Oh, no! Don't please let us now have an all-Coloured film. And I'm not talking about Technicolour either.

It's this film that the Eoan Group has been asked to consider starring in. "Carmen of the Cape," too, it's going to be called. Poor Mr. Bizet. He must have turned in his grave when Hollywood turned out Carmen Jones. If it happens again, the old boy will surely be feeling right uncomfortable.

Then, believe it or not, the setting of the Cape project will be in a fishing village. It's a Blooming shame. Let's hope the Group plugs for the film to be made in black and white, if they agree to taking it on, even if it must be called Carmen of the Cape.

ALEX LA GUMA.

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