

SOCIALISM IN GHANA II

'You Can't Build Socialism Without Socialists' — Nkrumah

In the first article last week on Socialism in Ghana KAY BEAUCHAMP pointed out the extensive influence of socialist ideas on the thinking of President Nkrumah. This week the writer shows recent developments in practice towards a non-capitalist economy in Ghana. The article also discusses the reasons for the widespread strikes by Ghanaian workers last year.

HOW HAVE THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTED TO PUT THESE IDEAS INTO PRACTICE?

In the four years since independence, in addition to the remarkable developments in the social services, in transport and communication, there have been important developments towards a non-capitalist economy.

AGRICULTURE: Co-ops

In agriculture, a public sector has been developed with large palm and rubber plantations and some highly mechanised co-operative farms have been started, with the object of showing the farmers how co-operation could transform their lives. Farmers have been encouraged to form marketing co-operatives and from this season the whole of the cocoa crop will be handled by the farmers' co-operatives. Over 12,000 men and women in the Builders' Brigade (now renamed Workers' Brigade) are engaged in clearing large tracks of land and planting cereals and vegetables for internal consumption.

INDUSTRY: Public Sector

The Industrial Development Corporation was set up to develop a public sector in industry and by July of this year had 44 factories in production and another 40

under construction or awaiting approval. The Second Development Plan (1959-1964) provides for this number to be increased to 600. The Industrial Development Corporation has now been dissolved and the enterprises will be directly responsible to the government.

As is well known the Volta project on which so much of Ghana's industrial development and transformation of agriculture through irrigation depends, was even held up by the imperialists for twelve years; the U.S. Government was undecided on the politics of whether to finance it.

Meanwhile the agreement with the Soviet Union to build the Bui Dam on the Black Volta has been signed and Ghana is discussing with the USSR the establishment of an iron and steel industry.

Mineral extraction was formerly completely in the hands of foreign concerns; but five of the British-owned gold mines have now been nationalised and the Ghana government has cancelled a large concession to a Dutch diamond company.

These steps together with the recent establishment of the State Planning Commission and the State Control Commission, the ending of open import and export licenses and the decision that from now on Ministers and Convention People's Party Members of Parliament and executives should bring to an end any private business connections, mean that important steps have been taken to extend the public sector and check the development of capitalist elements.

There is still a long way to

go before imperialist exploitation of Ghana will have been completely ended, but significant steps in that direction have already been taken.

SOCIALISM: Ideas

As President Nkrumah himself said to the Accra Convention People's Party study group: 'We cannot build socialism without socialists.' One of the heritages of imperialism less obvious than economic subordination but equally harmful is the subordination to capitalist ideas. Colonial countries have been forcibly isolated by the imperialists from the socialist world. Socialist literature has been banned, those who managed to visit socialist countries have been persecuted, the formation of scientific socialist parties has been prevented and scientific socialists from other countries have been prohibited from going to the colonies.

Thus apart from President Nkrumah and a few Convention People's Party and trade union leaders, the vast majority of Ghanaians were deprived of any opportunity during the colonial days of learning about socialism; and scientific socialist literature is only now starting to circulate.

A feature of the situation is the healthy vigorous life of the mass organisations, such as the Convention People's Party, the trade unions, the Young Pioneers and women's and farmers' organisations; but the theoretical level and understanding of organisational principles is low.

Big efforts are being made to overcome this by the development of Convention People's Party study groups in every institution and enterprise and in every part of the country and through the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute set up to train leaders for the mass organisations. However, a real grasp of socialist principles is not something that can be acquired overnight.

STRIKE: Inexperience

The problems arising from the budget and the strikes were largely due to this inexperience and the lack of socialist understanding, both among the leaders and the people. The governments of the Convention People's Party and the trade unions, did not realise the need to campaign for, explain and discuss the proposals for increased taxation and compulsory savings which called for sacrifice on the part of all the people, in order to advance towards the ending of economic dependence. In the absence of this explanation, internal and foreign enemies of the government, including the United Party, which has always been a reactionary opposition, were able to fan the discontent of the workers, market women and farmers who were not convinced of the need for sacrifice.

NEVERTHELESS, THE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS FAR OUTWEIGH ANY MINOR NEGATIVE FEATURES, BUT RECENT EXPERIENCE RE-EMPHASISES THE FACT THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY'S DECLARED AIM WILL DEPEND ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO UNDERSTAND THE PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM AND WHO ARE PREPARED TO DEVOTE THEIR LIVES TO BUILDING SOCIALISM IN GHANA.

(concluded)

ALEX LA GUMA.

ANDERSON GANYILE AT HOME AGAIN



Anderson Khumani Ganyile walks out of his hut—a free man again after his kidnapping and months of jail in South Africa.

THE GANYILE FAIRY STORY

From M. P. Naicker

DURBAN. THE statement that the six members of the South African police force who kidnapped Anderson Khumani Ganyile got lost in the mist and inadvertently crossed the Basutoland border while searching for somebody else is a fairy story.

I was amongst the first newsmen to visit Ganyile at Qacha's Nek last week and with him I toured the area in the neighbourhood of his hut and walked down the path along which he and his two companions were dragged on the night of their capture.

Qacha's Nek is not even a village, it is a small outpost with not more than 100 buildings about one mile from the border. The hut where Anderson lives is about 500 yards from the nearest building in the outpost.

The surroundings are very rugged. If anybody was wandering about there in the dark at night he could lose his life.

Nor can there be any mistake about the fence that separates Basutoland from South Africa. It is powerfully built and is made of barbed wire. The strands are so tightly stretched that even during the day it is extremely difficult to cross. Nobody could blunder through that fence by mistake.

The spot at which the policemen entered Basutoland and later left with their victims is not more than 100 yards from the border post which is manned by a 24-hour Basutoland police guard.

Ganyile and others are convinced that the police could never have found their way to his hut unless they were assisted by someone from Basutoland who knew the area well.

Nobody is satisfied that the British have made any inquiries to find out exactly what happened. Nor is anybody satisfied that adequate steps have been taken to prevent a similar incident occurring again at some time in the future.

Mark Shope, General Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, has been banned from attending any gathering in the Republic and South West Africa for a period of five years. In this article you can read about the life story of this remarkable man who rose

FROM HERD BOY TO TRADE UNION LEADER

THE life of Mark Shope reads like a romance. He has literally risen from being a herd boy at the age of seven to the position of General Secretary of the most progressive co-ordinating body of trade unions in South Africa.

The early death of his father and of five of his brothers and sisters within a short period of one another created problems for Mark who at the age of seven became the sole support of his mother and three surviving sisters. He started off by earning 3/6 a month. After two years, when he left this farm, his wage had been raised to 5/-.

COLOUR BAR

When his elder sister got married, Mark had to return home to tend the nine head of cattle given to his mother as lobola. It was during this period that Mark came up against the colour bar in business, and it left an indelible impression on his mind.

The family was so hungry that they were forced to barter their cattle for bags of maize. "I remember," he says, "that there was one prize cow which I took particular pride in, but even that only fetched three bags of maize in spite of my entreaties to the White speculators to give us more."

After working at various jobs on the Valencia Estates in the Li-

tatse district, he was eventually employed at 5/- per month watering the orange trees. His mother walked 25 miles at the end of each month to collect his wages and then returned to her home in the Tzaneen district.

Later while employed at the J.C.I. mines at Gravelott, Mark was one of 30 miners who were entombed by a rockfall. When their "mgwe" (a mixture of soft porridge and millet) gave out they were forced to eat the mine candles which they always carried with them underground. Although suffering from shock and starvation, they were eventually all rescued and taken to hospital.

The only ill-effect Mark suffered from this harrowing experience was that he was completely deaf for three months, but he eventually regained his hearing.

During the period that he spent working on the mines and later in various stores in the countryside, Mark decided to teach himself to read and write. This he did to such good effect that eventually when he got a job at a steam laundry in Johannesburg, he had not only passed his metric through a correspondence course, but he had also passed six B.A. subjects in his spare time.

His ambition to become an advocate was cut short when he was elected to various committees of the Laundry Workers' Union. Organising and taking part in a number of strikes took up all his time.

In 1952 he was elected Chairman of the union in Johannesburg and has retained that position ever since.

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

The 1952 Defiance Campaign in-



Mr. Mark Shope

spired him to join the ANC. Later on in 1956 he was one of the accused arrested for treason but was released in the first batch. During the Emergency in 1961, Mark spent five months in gaol "as the guest of the Government." A year later he was convicted with eleven other members of the

Continued in next column

CRISIS BREWING AT BARAGWANATH

Non-White Doctors Get Lower Pay, Poorer Facilities

JOHANNESBURG.

THE discrepancy in wages between the different racial groups is again causing great resentment amongst the Non-White doctors at BARAGWANATH HOSPITAL near Johannesburg.

Recently the salary scale for Whites was increased while that for Non-Whites remained static.

Asiatic, Coloured and Chinese doctors get four-fifths of the wages paid to the White doctors while the Africans get still less. For example, the White Registrar's wage is approximately £148 per month. An Indian doctor holding the same position gets £116 per month and the African counterpart only £50 per month.

One of the reasons given by the authorities for this difference in wages is that the cost of living for Whites is much higher than for

Non-Whites. But the Indian doctors vehemently deny this and say that their expenses are at least equal to those of the Whites.

They say further that in many cases their qualifications are equal to or higher than those of many of the Europeans, yet their wages are much lower.

NEVER DISCUSSED

In spite of their justifiable grievances, the Superintendent has refused persistently to discuss this matter with them. Representations made to various Medical Associations and correspondence with several student bodies pleading for a revision of this system have been of no avail.

Other complaints of the Non-White doctors are:

(a) Segregation in theatres: This block has thirteen theatres which are the best and most modern in South Africa. But there are separate change rooms and sitting rooms for the various racial groups.

(b) Segregation after Ward Rounds: All the doctors attend these inspections together with specialists and senior doctors. But immediately thereafter they separate because of different tea-room facilities.

(c) Recreational Facilities: White doctors are provided with a swimming bath, tennis courts, billiard tables and other indoor games. Film shows are put on regularly for their benefit. None of these facilities are available to the Non-White doctors, who are occasionally allowed to use the tennis courts placed at the disposal of the Non-White nurses.

(d) Bus-Service: At one time there was a segregated bus service catering for both sections. But last year, following a report by an "efficiency expert," all buses for Non-Whites were withdrawn. These employees, including the doctors, now have to make their own way to the hospital which is nine miles from the centre of Johannesburg and off the popular transport routes. The buses carrying Whites are very often more than half empty!

(e) Staff Nurses: A few years ago qualified African staff nurses were paid £26 per month, but this has been reduced to a miserable £19-10-0 since then.

INADEQUATE

Baragwanath Hospital caters for the whole South West complex of African townships as well as the peri-urban areas which together have a population of over 650,000.

There are only 2,250 beds and over 30 patients are almost forcibly discharged every day because the

hospital cannot cater properly with such limited resources. The surgical wards alone admit from 60 to 70 patients on Saturdays and Sundays. Many of these casualties are propped up on four chairs in lieu of the proper beds.

In the Obstetrics Department, women are delivered of their babies and discharged within twenty-four hours. This is not the exception but the rule.

Continued from previous column

Kwamashu Residents Win More Victories

City Council Makes Concessions

FOLLOWING the smashing victory of the residents of Kwamashu in forcing all African stooges to resign from the Council-sponsored Residents' Committee (see New Age last week) the people have been informed that the following further demands will also be met:

1. Lights—the Council has instructed its electricity dept. to im-

mediate provide complete street lighting.

2. Postal deliveries—the postal authorities have already begun

house-to-house delivery of mail. 3. Telephone booths—four telephone booths have already been erected.

4. Employment bureau—a local employment bureau has been established to save workers time and money in coming into the city. Reporting on these victories Mr. Cennick Ndhlovu, the secretary of the Kwamashu Residents' Association formed by the people, told a mass meeting held last Saturday that they should not rest on their laurels.

"We have bigger and more difficult fights ahead. The Council has decided to support the Government by establishing an Urban Bantu Council in the area. We have seen how the people are suffering under Bantu Authorities in the rural areas. We must not allow similar suffering in the urban areas through the Bantu Councils."

Acquitted of Incitement

KIMBERLEY.

Mr. Herman Khomohaka, a former secretary of the Kimberley branch of the banned African National Congress, was discharged in the Kimberley Magistrate's Court last week after appearing before Mr. J. W. Laeock on an allegation of "promoting hostility by uttering certain words at a meeting of the African General Workers' Union" in the Social Centre in Galeshewe Village on November 21 last year.

The Johannesburg advocate, Mr. Joe Slovo (instructed by Mr. Isaac Matlare of Kimberley), successfully applied for Mr. Khomohaka's discharge after stating that Detective-Constable Bernard Mochesane, an African Security Branch member, who was the only witness called to give evidence for the State, was an "incompetent witness." The prosecutor, Mr. W. H. Coetzee, did not press for a conviction.

John Itholeng Released

KIMBERLEY.

John Itholeng, former chairman of the banned ANC in Kimberley, was shocked by his sudden release after serving only 3 months of his 18 months prison term. He was released on Saturday and has lost weight. He was summoned to the recording officer on Friday and told about his release the next day.



Mr. Cennick Ndhlovu

They Do Verwoerd's Work For Him

Black Sash Applies Its Own Ban

Membership Refused to Sonia Bunting

CAPE TOWN. THE Black Sash, so-called champion of human rights and liberty, has succumbed to the virus of anti-Communism and refused membership to Mrs.

Basutos To Form Mine Workers' Union

LERIBE, Basutoland.

IT was the aim of the Basutoland Congress of Trade Unions to establish a mine workers' union in Basutoland, said Mr. A. S. Makhele, former BCP leader in the Molehohok district, speaking at a big meeting held by the BCTU at Hlotse recently.

In organising the workers of South Africa and Basutoland to defend their common interests, he appealed for co-operation and mutual understanding between the Basutoland and South African Congress of Trade Unions.

The chairman of the meeting, Mr. C. P. Mokeki, said the trade unions in Basutoland must distinguish themselves by deeds rather than words.

Mr. N. N. Mefane said the workers were still facing the eternal struggle against their bosses, and the governments and politicians were poised to destroy the trade unions with all sorts of intimidation.

Mr. S. S. Lefoka reported on the trip of a delegation of trade unionists who attended the recent conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Moscow. In many of the countries they visited, he said, the governments were controlled by the workers.

Successful demonstrations of workers were also held at Mafeteng and Molehohok.

Sonia Bunting, a named Communist.

When Mrs. Bunting applied for membership some while back, the Cape Western Region of the Black Sash appointed a commission of three to interview her. The members of the commission were Mrs. Eulalie Stott, Mrs. Frank Robb and Mrs. M. Petersen.

The commission questioned Mrs. Bunting about her political views and sought from her an assurance that if a Communist Government came to power it would allow more than one political party to function and would respect the civil rights and liberties of all sections.

RELIGION

The commission also questioned Mrs. Bunting about her attitude to religion. "We are Christian ladies," said Mrs. Robb, "and we very often start our meetings with a prayer."

The commission also raised the question of methods of political struggle and expressed opposition to the use of force and violence.

In reply, Mrs. Bunting wanted to know why she had been singled out for this discriminatory treatment. The Black Sash consisted of women of many different political persuasions. To the best of her knowledge, none of them had previously been subjected to this process of political screening.

Mrs. Bunting insisted that she was willing to belong to the Black Sash and abide by its rules if her application for membership was accepted.

IN CONFLICT

In the letter informing Mrs. Bunting that after "thoughtful and careful consideration" her application had been rejected, Mrs. Stott said:

"We believe that the concept of 'civil rights and liberties' professed by the body of political thought with which you are generally associated, is ultimately and fundamentally in conflict with that on which the whole of Black Sash policy rests.

"While we would uphold your right and the right of all to have and publicly to canvass their own political views, to admit you as a

member would in our opinion give the wrong impression that we either accept or condone the political ideologies with which you are associated.

"At the same time, we should like to place on record our admiration for the stand you have taken against the injustices in this country and for the great personal sacrifices that you have made, and of your courage in continuing despite the hardships you have incurred.

"We should also like to let you know that although we must reject your application for membership, we shall be glad to co-operate, as we have done in the past, with you or other organisations on specific matters of common interest, where there has been mutual agreement about the methods to be used."

APPEAL

Mrs. Bunting had intended taking the matter on appeal, but on making inquiries was informed that the decision of the Cape Western region had already been endorsed by the National Executive. She will now appeal to the national conference.

FOOTNOTE: In her presidential address to the Black Sash conference towards the end of last year, Mrs. Stott said: "Members of the Black Sash should understand that people may legitimately differ in their opinion of which party is able best to supplant the present Government or to effect the necessary changes, and that fellow members of the Black Sash should not have their integrity questioned because of the political party they see fit to support. Inside the Sash we do not deal with party politics . . . I consider that the Black Sash should do all it can in the coming years to persuade people openly to support a policy which will uphold the rights and liberties of every citizen, and that it should do what it can to act as a catalyst in bringing together all people who share this aim."

Apparently Nationalists, the instigators and supporters of apartheid, are welcome in the Black Sash.

The Sash is not worried that their admission into the organisation will give the wrong impression that the Sash accepts or condones the political ideologies with which they are associated.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"Well, well, waddya know . . . wrong guess again . . .!"

Vandeyar Explosives Case

COUNSEL COMPLAINS ABOUT STATE TACTICS

JOHANNESBURG.

MR. A. Gani, counsel for the defence in the Vandeyar explosives case, protested strongly against the methods pursued by the State when the case was again remanded to March 9 in the Regional Court last week.

Mr. Gani addressing the Magistrate said that he was bound to bring certain matters to the attention of the court.

"On February 10 when the matter was remanded to the Regional Court, the prosecutor, Mr. Hodes, had expressly informed us that all allegations arising against Vandeyar under the Explosives Act were being abandoned. When the matter was called in the Regional Court at a later date, the charge was still of 'being in possession of an illegal firearm.'

"In the meantime Vandeyar's wife had been arrested on the same charge but this morning we discovered that the explosives charge had been added. The charge sheet had only been prepared at 10 a.m. and we were never informed of this until then."

This was not an isolated instance in relation to this case, said Mr. Gani. Earlier on when the accused was to appear before the ordinary

court where application for bail was to be made on his behalf, he was not produced although he was waiting in readiness at the Fort. The prosecutor then informed the court that Vandeyar was ill in the jail hospital.

"This was untrue. As a result certain allegations were made against him which he was not present to answer and therefore bail at that time was refused."

Mr. Gani continued: "Either this is a case of gross incompetence or a deliberate attempt to embarrass the accused and the matter should be brought to the attention of the proper authorities."

The magistrate, Mr. Van Heerden, advised that Counsel should write to the Chief Magistrate about this matter.

S. AFRICAN REFUGEES IN BASUTOLAND



Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, Mr. T. T. Tshume, Mr. N. Sejake and other members of the South African Refugees' Committee in Basutoland discuss the statement they issued calling for the right of asylum in Basutoland to be clearly defined.

50 MEN GUARD BOTHA SIGCAU

CAPE TOWN.

A TOTAL of 13 chiefs and 11 headmen in the Transkei, Ciskei and Natal have been supplied by the Government with home guards for their protection, according to a statement in Parliament by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. de Wet Nel.

The cost to the nation of this service is R3,700 (£1,850) a month.

The home guards are armed with knobkerries and assegais supplied by the Government at a cost of R194.78.

The most heavily guarded chief is Botha Sigcau, Paramount Chief of Eastern Pondoland, who has 50 men to look after him. Next in unpopularity comes Chief Gangata at Bizana, who has 30 home guards.

Eight chiefs and headmen, including Cyprian Bhekuzulu, the Paramount Chief of the Zulus at Nongoma, have bodyguards of 20 men. The chairman of the Transkei Territorial Authority, Kaiser Matanzima, has 10.

Naicker Condemns Marceau Colour Bar

DURBAN.

Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress, in an interview with New Age condemned the colour bar performance of the world-famous French artist, Marcel Marceau.

Dr. Naicker was commenting on his refusal to accept an invitation to see the show at the M. L. Sultan Theatre as a guest of Professor Elizabeth Sneddon, who has been closely associated with Marcel Marceau's South African tour.

"To make a person feel that he is unwelcome and unwanted at one theatre and then to allow him to see the same performance in another theatre is to make him suffer a great indignity," said Dr. Naicker.

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