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GHANA'S POLICY**

AT HOME AND ABROAD

Text of Speech

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GHANA PARLIAMENT

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by

Dr. KWAME NKRUMAH

Prime Minister

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GHANA'S POLICY AT HOME AND ABROAD

Mr. Speaker,

It is now nearly six months since we achieved our Independence and I should like to make a general review of what the Government has done in that time. Six months is, of course, too short a period in which to make judgments — experience in other countries which have won their Independence shows that at least five to ten years is needed in which to show significant results. However, I wish to keep the House and the people of Ghana fully informed of what we are doing and I intend, in future, to make reviews such as this at regular intervals.

On the eve of Independence — 5th March, 1957 — I made a general policy statement to this House. Members will recall that I stressed three main elements in that statement.

First, as to our foreign relations, I said that we intended to follow an independent policy and not to align ourselves with any particular bloc or group of powers. I emphasised that such a policy did not represent neutralism and that we intended to adopt policies, as necessary, which would best suit our national interest. We achieved Independence in an atmosphere of goodwill towards all nations and this spirit, which was reciprocated, became amply evident when we saw the remarkable number of delegations which came from all parts of the world to our Independence celebrations. I spoke of our entry into the Commonwealth and I expressed the hope that we could soon join the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, within a remarkably short time we were unanimously welcomed into the United Nations. This was a great tribute to our country and to our people.

We shall shortly be taking our place formally in the United Nations when the General Assembly opens in the middle of next month. Although we have no illusions regarding the impact that Ghana as a small nation can make, we realise that the goodwill shown by all the nations that voted us unanimously into the United Nations should be matched by our willingness and ability to play an effective part in this Assembly. I am sure that the delegation that we shall be sending to the next Session of the United Nations General Assembly will be able to play a useful and creditable role.

Very shortly after the attainment of our own Independence, we had the greatest pleasure in sending a ministerial delegation to Tunisia to participate in the official celebrations marking the first anniversary of that country's Independence.

Recently a ministerial delegation returned to Ghana after a very successful visit to Israel. Another ministerial delegation has also within the last few days completed a most useful visit to Egypt and the Sudan. We intend to arrange further visits in the near future, particularly to countries in other parts of Africa.

Next month we look forward to receiving a goodwill mission from Western Germany, and missions from other countries are expected shortly afterwards.

I myself have been honoured by invitations to visit many countries, and I hope that next year it will be possible for me to go abroad and carry the good wishes of the people of Ghana to as many of them as possible.

Our High Commission in London has been operating effectively for some time. Our Ambassador to the United States will be appointed shortly, and our High Commissioner to India should assume his post in September. Ghana's Ambassador to Liberia will also take up his appointment in the near future.

We, in turn, welcome to Ghana the representatives of foreign Governments who have now established their Embassies here.

In June, I attended the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. Here we made history – the first African State to enter that great and free association of States stretching across the world, and the first African Prime Minister to attend such a Conference. I have spoken elsewhere of the warmth of welcome extended to Ghana and to me personally, and of the benefits gained from the Conference – in particular the opportunity for establishing personal relationships with the other Prime Ministers and political leaders.

The experience of the discussions in the Conference confirmed for me what we had always understood to be one of the strengths of the Commonwealth association, namely, the free and frank exchange of views on terms of complete equality between member nations, without in any way interfering with the independent action and policy in domestic and foreign affairs of member

nations. Our discussions were completely free and frank. There was no attempt to reach agreement or to formulate a Commonwealth policy in any matter. The information given, the experience related and the view expressed by each Prime Minister provided a many-sided view of any subject discussed and a greater understanding of the issues involved. These obviously are bound to be of immense value to Prime Ministers in policy formulation in their own countries.

The family relationship between members which we experienced in this Conference and which brings together countries poles apart in race, religion, social background and domestic and foreign policy is an example of international association which should be supported for so long as it lives up to the standards of sound democratic principles and respect for the sovereignty of member nations.

I have already stated our broad position in relation to Africa. My Government has taken the initiative in soon bringing together the governments of the independent States of the African Continent for an exchange of views on problems the solutions of which are vital to the well-being and prosperity of the peoples of this great Continent.

This Conference of African States which we anticipate will take place early next year in Accra will, I hope, be a landmark in the progress of Africa. Provided there is goodwill and understanding among all the independent nations of Africa, the consequences that will flow from our deliberations will affect the destinies not only of the nations that take part, but also of the other na-

tions which unfortunately do not enjoy the independence which is their birthright. My Government is in active touch with the other Governments, through our High Commissioner and the Ambassadors of the participating States in London, and one of my Ministers has just returned from holding discussions with members of the Governments of Egypt and of the Sudan on the arrangements for this Conference.

In so far as it lies in our power, my Government intends to pursue in the international sphere a policy of exerting our influence on the side of peace, respect for the independence of other nations, the rights of all people to decide for themselves their own government and the protection of the right of all men to lead their own lives in freedom and without fear.

Above all our international policy must be realistic. Ghana is too new and too small a country to presume to judge between the great powers on an ideological basis. Our relations with the United Kingdom must of necessity be close because of the very many economic and historic ties which bind us together. Of the other great powers France is our neighbour and we are on all sides surrounded by French territory, and it is therefore in both our interests to maintain close and friendly relations. The United States of America has always taken a lively interest in the development of the emergent states of Africa. In the present stage of our development, investment from the United States will be of the greatest assistance to us. Nevertheless, although we have those special relationships with these three great powers I am sure that they would be

the first to appreciate the realistic reasons why we as a small country should endeavour to preserve normal relations with the two other great powers of the world today — the Soviet Union and China.

Later on in this statement I shall emphasise the vital importance of cocoa and other exports to our continued political and economic development. Cocoa is our life blood and we must do everything possible to increase its export. Accordingly it is the Government's intention to invite the Governments of Japan, China and the Soviet Union to receive a trade mission from Ghana. I hope that the mission also may be able to visit India and possibly other countries of the Far East. If it is possible to arrange for this visit, I believe that it would strengthen friendly relations between the Government of Ghana and the Governments of the countries which the mission will visit and may lead to closer diplomatic relations.

Finally, let me repeat and re-emphasise once again what I said in regard to foreign affairs in general on the 5th March. Ghana has been born into a world torn and divided in its political relationships. We of Ghana feel, therefore, that at this stage our country should not be committed in any respect of its foreign policy and that it should not be aligned with any particular group of powers or political bloc. But at the same time, our new State does not intend to follow a neutralist policy in its foreign relations. It is our intention to preserve our independence and to act as we see best at any particular time.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the record I have related shows that the

Government has already begun to carry out its foreign policy quickly and effectively.

The second element in my policy statement of 5th March dealt with our national economy. I stressed our desire to reinforce our political independence by achieving economic independence. Here our primary objectives were stated to be the attainment of greater agricultural productivity, greater concentration on all forms of tropical research, and the effective application of successful research. I emphasised particularly that we believed the Volta River Project would provide the best means of diversifying and strengthening the national economy.

In the economic field we have introduced into this House the First Budget of Ghana as an independent State. We have given ourselves until the middle of 1959 as a limit for reaching a decision about the Volta River Project and on that basis we have prepared a Consolidated Development Plan. That Plan is already being implemented, and I should like to remind Members that despite the financial limitations imposed upon us by the world price for our cocoa we are still spending over £1 million each month on constructive development schemes. In considering projects we have paid particular attention to those which could do most to create employment.

As to the Volta River Project, Members will be aware that a group representing American interests came here in April and indicated their belief that they could mobilise sufficient capital to underwrite the Scheme. Without prejudice to our relations with our original partners — the British Government, Aluminium

Limited of Canada, and the British Aluminium Company — we gave the American group an undertaking that for ninety days we would not initiate negotiations with any other interest. At the end of that period the American group had not advanced specific proposals and the Government of Ghana accordingly announced that it felt itself free to negotiate with any interests. Meantime the American group, and indeed other interests, have continued to express an active interest in the project.

The Government feels that the time has now come when a general review of the project should be made with Aluminium Limited and arrangements have been made accordingly for a meeting to be held in a few weeks time. I will keep Members informed of developments, and wish to assure the House of two things.

First, the Government intends to do everything in its power to bring the Scheme to life, so long as an agreement could be negotiated which would safeguard the basic interests of Ghana.

Second, as I have said before, any agreement would be brought before this House for general debate before it was signed by the Government of Ghana.

In the economic field, the price of cocoa has remained a matter of constant concern to the Government. The appreciable drop in the world price has created many difficulties for the Government and is one of the reasons for our decision to send trade missions abroad. It has also underlined the vulnerability of our economy with its disproportionate dependency on this single crop. It is this vulnerability which makes the

Volta River Project so essential to us.

Mr. Speaker, it is appropriate, I think, that I should emphasise here the fact that there are very definite limits to the possibilities of increasing our agricultural – and indeed our mineral – production. The Volta River Project therefore represents the best way of solving our economic problems.

The marked fall in the world price for cocoa made it inevitable that the Government would have to reduce to some extent the price paid to the farmers in our country. Fortunately, thanks to our prudent policies of the past, it was possible to cushion the effect of this fall and its full impact was not passed on to our farmers. I wish, however, to pay tribute to the cocoa farmers of Ghana for the reasonable and realistic way in which they have accepted the reduced price.

Reverting now to our banking system, the Bank of Ghana opened for business on the 1st of August. I want to emphasise to the House how important it is that we should have a Central Bank. One of the greatest problems of financing development is the raising of the capital necessary. In a country without a Central Bank the borrowing of money by the Government always presents difficulties because there exists no local money market to which the Government can go. One of our most important tasks is to use most effectively our resources which now consist of investments in Britain and in other countries. By investing a far higher proportion of our savings in Ghana we can achieve a much more rapid rate of development.

Ghana has joined the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund – two of the most important of the International Organisations. We have already established a useful working relationship with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and as a result of this, and in consultation with the United Nations, action is being taken which should appreciably strengthen the Government's economic staff.

In recent weeks the Government of Ghana has entered into separate agreements with the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the United Nations, each of which will provide for various forms of economic and technical assistance being given to our country. I am sure that the House will join with me in expressing our appreciation to the two Governments and the United Nations. In addition we, for our part, hope that Ghana will be able to provide technical help to other countries, particularly those in Africa.

Mr. Speaker, in my statement of March the 5th, I called attention to the need for modernising our commercial and company law and putting our law generally on a modern basis.

Under the mutual agreement which we have entered into with the United Kingdom, we recently had a visit from Sir Noel Hutton, First Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury in the United Kingdom. We hope that as a result of this visit we will secure from the United Kingdom technical aid which will enable us to overhaul bit by bit our whole system of law to bring it into line with what is required in a modern state.

As to research, we are continuing our investigations into the possibility of increasing and strengthening all research activities which could be beneficial to our economy and to public health. With the attainment of Independence, problems of controlling the research stations previously run on a West African basis arose and the Government is consulting with the other West African Governments as to the best means of administering these stations in the future to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

We are fortunate that the new Principal of the University College — who is due to arrive here next month — is himself a distinguished scientist and I am sure that he will be able to make an important contribution to our research activities in addition to his vitally important duties at the University College, which we hope will, in the not distant future, be transformed into a fully-fledged University.

I am also happy to announce that arrangements will soon be completed which will enable us to inaugurate a Shipping Line to be known as the "Black Star Line" and thus start the nucleus of the Merchant Navy of Ghana.

The Government recognises the important roles which can be carried out by the various statutory corporations. It is desired to strengthen and to improve the efficiency of these bodies, and the Government is in consultation with certain authorities overseas who may be able to give us useful assistance.

Such is our record on the economic front and I believe that it is

one of which the Government and people of Ghana can be proud.

The third and last element which I emphasised in my policy statement on 5th March dealt with problems which were of personal concern to every man and woman in this country. I spoke of our desire to maintain the momentum of our educational programme, of our desire to improve our social services, and to increase the possibilities of employment.

What has been our record?

First of all, our great programme of education has been maintained. Sometimes, I feel that all of us fail to realise the extent of that programme and of all that has been and is being done. We are spending over £7 million a year on education and that means that practically £1,000 is spent during every hour of every day in the year. This effort imposes a great strain on our financial resources, but I am sure that everyone will agree that there is no better investment in the future than that our children of today should be the well educated and responsible citizens of tomorrow.

Our social services have continued to provide valuable facilities and opportunities throughout Ghana, and we shall do everything we can to maintain and develop them.

The Government remains constantly and particularly aware of the problem of providing sufficient opportunities for employment throughout the country. This is a special problem in every country throughout the world and there is no easy answer to it. In Ghana much of the employment is created by Government expenditure, and here again we are

once more at the mercy of the world price for cocoa.

As I have said already, much thought has gone into the present development projects in order to ensure that they should provide as much employment as possible, and we shall continue to follow this policy in future.

The House will be aware that Government has special plans for dealing with this particular problem and that it intends to establish a national Builders Brigade.

At the same time the Government is making plans to initiate a system of compulsory National Service for Ghana and details of this will be made known as soon as they have been formulated. Side by side with this, it is proposed that a Territorial Force should be established. This Force would be voluntary and all persons who join it can perform useful service to Ghana and at the same time enjoy the benefits of the kind of training which the discipline of a Force of this kind requires from its members.

Mr. Speaker, once again I believe that the Government can claim that its record in the social field over the last six months shows it to have been energetic and effective.

Taking these three main elements together, I believe that the Government of Ghana can reasonably claim that during the Nation's first six months of independence its record of effort and achievement is one of which any young country could be proud. It is obvious that great and difficult tasks remain to be accomplished, and that we are only at the beginning of many of the difficulties which must inevitably arise with the

attainment and practice of political independence and national sovereignty. Nevertheless, we claim that we have made a good start.

I should now like to offer some general comments.

Just before the opening of the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, I spoke to the Commonwealth Correspondents' Association. At that time I made three points to the Association.

First of all, I asked that the Ghana Government should be given time in which to sort itself out. Any objective examination of the problems facing any country on the attainment of Independence will demonstrate that several years of trial and error are essential before the main lines of policy can be worked out. Like any other country, Ghana will make its mistakes; but I asked those making judgments on our record to preserve a sense of proportion and to judge the whole of our record, but not isolated incidents.

Secondly, I said that I believed that an African way of doing things would undoubtedly emerge. I would not attempt to predict how this may evolve or in what particular ways. The point I wish to make here, however, is that when an African way of doing a particular thing does emerge there is no reason why it should be any less effective in achieving its objective than the techniques employed by people in other parts of the world.

The third point I made to the correspondents was that we welcomed criticism so long as it was based on truth. What we did not like – and do not like – is inaccurate and sometimes malicious speculation.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that everyone with the interests of Ghana at heart should consider those three factors. In addition to our own people and representatives of our Press, I ask particularly that foreign correspondents should bear them in mind when reporting on our affairs.

The interest which other countries of the world are taking today in our internal affairs shows that what we do in Ghana has a significance far out of proportion to the size or the strength of our country. People all over the world are interested in us because they see exemplified in Ghana the struggle for the freedom of the African Continent.

The enemies of African freedom wish to see us fail. We can be certain that any small failing of ours will be noted and commented upon in their press. On any action of ours the enemies of African freedom will put the worst interpretation, not because they wish in particular to discredit the Convention Peoples' Party but because they wish to discredit the cause of African freedom as a whole. In such circumstances, the Government and people of Ghana have a very heavy responsibility. But if any people, wishing to discredit the Government, circulate untrue, malicious or exaggerated stories, and try to create violence and disorder, they are harming themselves and the cause of freedom throughout the African Continent. No Government can tolerate a situation like this.

We have witnessed recently a unique interest in the affairs of Ghana. The deportation of three people from this country has aroused the attention of the press of the world, sections of which often pass over in silence many of the arbitrary

executions, arrests and detentions which unfortunately occur in other parts of the world.

The reason for this concern with our affairs is one of which we should be proud. Deep interest is taken in what we do by our many friends and well-wishers abroad who are eager and anxious to prevent us doing anything which will, in their view, impede or hinder us achieving the goal which we have set ourselves of being the prototype of the new free nations which will emerge in Africa. I do not in any way resent the criticisms which have appeared in liberal European papers in regard to the recent deportation proceedings. I think that the critics have not been fully informed of the facts and, therefore, their criticisms are based on a misunderstanding of the situation. But I think that we all should be glad that so much interest should be taken in what we are doing here. It is a tribute to the importance of Ghana as a symbol in the world.

It is also flattering to us that our enemies should have taken so much note of events in Ghana. This too is a measure of the importance of our influence which is, as I have said, far greater than our political experience and economic strength would justify.

What is even more encouraging is the understanding shown in many foreign quarters of the problems which Ghana has to face. One of the most interesting examples of this understanding of our position is contained in a leading article in the London "Times" of the 10th of August, this year.

Mr. Speaker, in order that the House may see how our problems

appear to others I propose to quote from this leading article and then to explain how the Government proposes to deal with the problems which, the London "Times" points out, face us.

The "Times" begins by saying that there is no evidence to support the far fetched idea that democracy can be wished on people by providing them with a constitution and the formalities of parliamentary democratic government. The article then goes on as follows, and I quote:

"For centuries, the people of Ghana were ruled on a system which most approximates, in terms of European political development, to that of Homeric Greece . . . There was probably the sort of rough and ready democratic freedom of expression which goes with early tribal and clan societies. The enforcement of laws, at any rate among the Ashanti, was excessively cruel, even by early European standards. The colonial power profoundly modified, but by no means destroyed, this system . . . On the political side, British influence, even up to the Second World War, was largely negative. It consisted in putting an end to abuses, and giving the inhabitants a more peaceful if, in some ways, a more boring existence. Its chief impact on the political structure was the revolutionizing, partly unintentionally, of the status of the chief. The British made him subservient to a central government that never existed before and at the same time weakened the constitutional

checks and balances that had formerly restrained his power over his people. Their great positive gifts were educational and economic. They produced a middle class with respect for British political and legal institutions and enough money to adopt western ways. On to this structure has been grafted, roughly within the past ten years, universal adult suffrage by secret ballot, single chamber government, the Cabinet system, and — largely as an afterthought — local, rural and urban councils on the British model. Underlying this modern framework, propping it up in places and obstructing it in others, the chieftainship and the old colonial administrative network still exist . . . These are the factors which Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention Peoples' Party's Government are trying to harmonize. It would be enough to test any man. The test appears even more exacting if one relates the foregoing factors to existing party divisions. There is in Ghana a struggle between the old and the new, a struggle on the one hand to digest the western parliamentary democratic system and on the other to revert to, or to adapt, traditional institutions. Dr. Nkrumah and the C.P.P. are pledged hilt and hand to developing the former. The opposition is composed largely of men who believe, instinctively or intellectually, in the latter. The one is

centralizing, the other regional and centrifugal. The C.P.P. is, moreover, a radical party, and ... it is determined to pursue a modernizing economic programme. Dr. Nkrumah's dilemma is therefore plain. How is he to maintain and strengthen the modern elements in the political, social, and economic fabric?"

These are the views of the London "Times" and I quote it for the information of us all.

Mr. Speaker, let me now answer the questions posed by the "Times." As the "Times" implies, one of the difficulties in Ghana is how to harmonize the old and the new. We must, however, achieve this for we cannot make a distinctive contribution to African development if we merely mechanically adopt Western ideas. We can only make our contribution significant if we succeed in showing how an African society can be transformed without losing its essentially African character. We must seek methods by which the old and the new can be blended.

A fundamental requirement is that we should be able to explain, by the development of our information and broadcasting services, the nature of an independent state. Democracy does not mean indiscipline, anarchy, civil disorder, abuse of those in authority and disrespect for the law of the land. The law is not made by a self-appointed dictator but by the popularly elected Parliament of the sovereign people.

In the older democracies, such as Britain and the United States certain conventions of public life are

observed. The Opposition conducts itself in a sober and responsible way because the Opposition Party has been in power before and knows, therefore, the problems of office and is expecting to return to office again. In Ghana, the Opposition has never held office. There does not as yet exist in this country a respect for the self-imposed rules of restraint which are necessary on all sides if democracy is to be successful. For example, attacks upon the integrity of Judges would never occur in an old established democracy, not because such attacks are contrary to law, but because the citizens of the old established democracies believe that to indulge in them would destroy the basis of democracy.

It is, therefore, necessary in Ghana to impose by a positive discipline what in the older democracies is done subconsciously.

I do not in any way object to any political attacks made on me or on my Party or on my colleagues in the Government. Such attacks are an essential part of democracy. What is completely destructive of democracy, and what the Government will not tolerate, are unfounded and unwarranted attacks upon the Judiciary, Police, Civil Service and the Army. The Government intends to take every step necessary to protect these from criticisms which should be directed towards the Government whose policies the security forces and the civil service are merely carrying out.

We have a tremendous task before us. We have to achieve in the space of a few years a degree of progress which has taken many other countries hundreds of years to achieve. A change as rapid as this is bound to result in strains and stresses and,

therefore, a firm and vigorous government is essential.

Mr. Speaker, we are attempting to do two things, both of them difficult in themselves. We are trying on the one hand rapidly to raise our standard of living to the stage which has been reached by European countries. On the other hand we are trying to evolve a free and democratic society, to provide justice and freedom for all. Many countries have attempted to achieve these two objectives and history is full of examples of cases in which countries were forced, in order to achieve economic progress, to abandon liberty and democracy. There are also examples of democratic countries which just because of their democratic practices have failed to achieve the economic progress which they might otherwise have secured.

The reason for this is clear. As I said to the House when I spoke on the 5th of March, we can only develop our economy with the help of savings. Those savings may either be our own or the savings of peoples and governments in other lands who choose to invest here.

So far as our own savings are concerned, in the present state of our economy, they must be derived in the main from public saving by way of export taxes of such commodities as cocoa, minerals and timber. In a community where the means of explaining the objectives of government policy are not yet fully developed, it is very easy to raise a political agitation against the steps which are absolutely necessary if there is to be any economic progress. A democratic government attempting to pursue the policy of austerity which is essential if we

are to have industrial development is always open to demagogic attacks by those who promise as an election bait the distribution of the accumulated surpluses collected by the State for capital development.

The rough and tumble of political life in a newly developing country, such as Ghana, results in there being given to the world a picture of political instability. Indeed, a democratic system obviously involves the principle that there may be a change of government and if the Opposition make irresponsible statements about disowning of contracts and other commercial undertakings entered into by the previous government the foreign investor is likely to think twice before he puts his money into Ghana.

It is unfortunate for the progress of democracy that foreign investors are not always concerned with whether a country is democratic or not. If one looks around the world one sees a great deal of important foreign investment in countries which have no democratic forms of government at all and where the word of the ruler is absolute. The reason for this is not far to seek. The foreign investor looks for stability, and my Government is determined to maintain a stable administration in this country.

Mr. Speaker, it is the policy of my Government that Ghana shall afford an asylum or refuge for all Africans who suffer from religious, racial or political persecution and intolerance. But if we are to achieve this objective and make economic progress, the House must realise that we must have a much greater degree of self-discipline than we have had up till now. The Government is determined to deal firmly and effec-

tively with any individual or group who indulges in subversive activities calculated to undermine or coerce the Government in any shape or form.

Internal security is essential if we are to have either prosperity or democracy. We have in Ghana a first rate Police Force and the Government's object will be to take every step to see that their morale is not undermined by political attacks on them and that those who physically attack the police, from whatever quarters they come, are dealt with quickly in accordance with law.

Our country's stability also depends on an effective, loyal, impartial and efficient Civil Service. My Government has demonstrated by word and by deed many times in the past that we are determined to preserve the status of the civil service and to guarantee the terms and conditions of service which will ensure that civil servants are able to discharge their functions of advising the Government and executing the policies and instructions of the Government of the day in an atmosphere of complete security and impartiality. But it is necessary to remind ourselves that these guarantees should not be regarded as one-sided. Rules for the conduct and administration of the civil service have been in existence for some time and civil servants for their part must be expected to observe these rules scrupulously. It is to be observed that no government can tolerate disloyalty from its civil servants and in a democracy such as ours the only step open to any civil servant who feels out of sympathy with the policies of the Government of the day and finds himself unable to carry them out is to resign or retire. The Government has stated over and over again that it desires to

retain the services of all civil servants and has invited particularly the expatriate civil servants to remain and give their services to the country. The Government still abides by this policy. But the Government must also make it clear that civil servants who wish to take political action must do so outside the civil service. The Government is determined that strong disciplinary action will be taken against any civil servant who openly or secretly indulges in disloyal, subversive and political activities.

Mr. Speaker, I think that it is appropriate that I should announce here certain changes in portfolios and in administrative machinery which the Government has approved.

Firstly, I have decided that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry should be redesignated as the Ministry of Trade and Development, a name which should reflect more accurately the work of the Ministry. The Ministry will be responsible for all matters relating to Trade and also problems relating to Industrial Development. There will be no change, however, in the existing organisation for the central control of general development policy by the Cabinet through the Development Commission and the Standing Development Committee. The responsibility for the work of the Development Commission, particularly in respect of the Volta River Project, will be retained by me. It will, of course, be necessary for the Development Commission and the Ministry of Trade and Development to work in continuous and close consultation, and I am satisfied that this can be achieved without difficulty. The Minister of Trade and Development will reply to questions relating to development matters which are

raised in Parliament. The Honourable Kojo Botsio will have responsibility for the Ministry.

Secondly, the Ministry of Labour, Co-operatives and Social Welfare will be redesignated as the Ministry of Labour and Co-operatives. The Minister will continue to be responsible for the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, but the change is made for convenience and and the sake of brevity.

Thirdly, Mr. Speaker, I consider that the time has come for the creation of a separate ministry of Justice, and the present Ministry of the Interior and Justice will be reconstituted into the two Ministries, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice. The Honourable Ako Adjei will be assigned responsibility as Minister of Justice, and he will be responsible for the functions of the Land Boundary Settlement Commission, financial and ministerial matters in relation to the Supreme Court, Local Courts and Customary Law and Foreign Processes. He will have responsibility for the Attorney-General's Department to the extent provided in the Constitution and also for the functions of the Registrar-General. The new Minister of the Interior will be Mr. Krobo Edusei, who will be responsible for the Police and general internal security. Mr. N. A. Welbeck will become Minister of Labour and Co-operatives and Mr. F. Y. Asare will take over the portfolio of Communications.

Honourable Members will have seen in the current Estimates under the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, that provision has been made for the cost of organising an Intelligence Service. This Service, which the Government intends to establish

as a matter of urgency, will be under the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs and will form part of the Foreign Service organisation of Ghana. It will be concerned with providing the Government reliable information from overseas centres which affects the security of Ghana and her Government. It will also provide honest and reliable information on the reactions of the outside world to the policies adopted by the Government of Ghana. The provision of intelligence from this source as well as from the Police Special Branch and Military sources should eventually give the Government a good and comprehensive picture of the local and international situation which will enable it to arrange its policies to suit the interest and prosperity of the country.

It is proposed to create as soon as possible a post of Chief of the External Intelligence Service to which a suitable Ghanaian will be appointed. His office will be at Government House and he will work directly to me. As soon as he has been appointed, I propose to arrange for the Head of the External Intelligence Service to be attached for a short period to the Security Organisation of a friendly Commonwealth country so that he can acquire knowledge and experience of the organisation and administration of External Intelligence Service.

Mr. Speaker, what does the future hold for us?

I have already made reference to the obvious difficulties which face our young country. As to foreign policy, I reaffirm the broad lines of my statement on 5th March, 1957. In the economic field, we will do everything we can to strengthen and diversify the national economy and, in par-

ticular we will do everything in our power to bring the Volta River Project to life. In the social field, we will do all we can to increase the opportunities for employment, and to maintain the wide range of social services which now extends across the country.

I hope that we shall shortly welcome to Ghana the new Governor-General, the Earl of Listowel. I am sure that the House will join with me in assuring him of a warm and friendly welcome.

I know that at this time all Members would wish to join with me in paying tribute to the manner in which the Acting Governor-General has discharged his office. Graciously supported by Lady Korsah, he has maintained the dignity of that high office in a way which must command the respect and admiration of all.

Mr. Speaker, I have made this statement in the National Assembly, first, of course, so that there may be a debate if the House wishes it, but also because I believe that, in so far as it is possible, all major state-

ments of government policy should be made first to the Assembly.

It is essential for the development of democracy in Ghana that we make Parliament increasingly more and more the centre of our political life. We must develop a vigorous Parliament with vigorous debates and with full opportunity to the Opposition to put their point of view. Above all, however, we must develop a sense of responsibility as regards how we conduct ourselves in the House.

In conclusion, I appeal to every one — the Members of this House, the men and women, youth of Ghana, our farmers, the business community, our Trade Union Movement, our Ex-Servicemen, the Churches of the nation, and those who represent the living heart of Ghana, to work together in harmony for the common good and stability of our country, and our new State. This is a time when we must demonstrate to the world that national unity, sense of purpose and determination will truly make Ghana an independent, stable and happy Nation.



**Ghana's Policy At Home and Abroad. Text of Speech given in the Ghana Parliament,
August 29, 1957** by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH (1909-1972), one of the most influential Pan-Africanists of the 20th century, was the leader of Ghana and its predecessor state, the Gold Coast from 1952 to 1966. The political leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah liberated the Gold Coast into the State of Ghana on March 6, 1957. In this time period the continent of Africa was experiencing the political changes of its people against imperial rule of powers such as, France, Britain, Poland, and Portugal. When colonial rule ended in Ghana, there were only eight independent African States Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Liberia and Sudan. A firm believer in African liberation, Nkrumah pursued a radical pan-African policy, playing a key role in the formation of the Organization of African Unity in 1963.

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