

Towards the Goal



KWAME NKURMAH

The Manifesto

of the

Convention People's Party

FOR THE FORTHCOMING GENERAL ELECTION
(FEBRUARY 1951)

Issued by

The National Executive of the C.P.P.
National Headquarters, P. O. Box 821, ACCRA.

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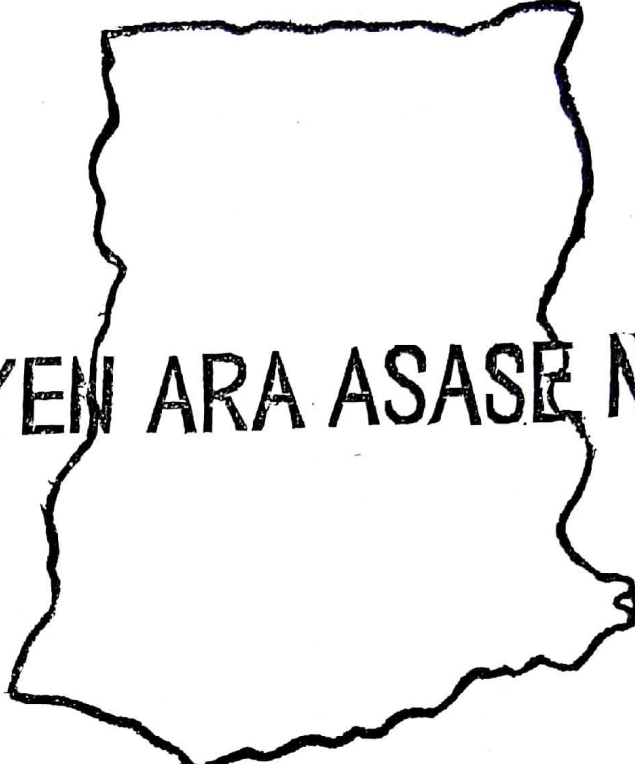
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C.P.P. took the lead on June 12, 1949, in the struggle for Ghana's liberation, and has maintained that lead in spite of imperialist prosecutions, imprisonments, fines, libel actions, intimidations, and other forms of persecution for subduing a colonial people's struggle for freedom. Twenty months have passed, yet Ghanaians are uncowed,, but more determined. The struggle continues and will continue with rising intensity till victory is achieved.

In our own God given land, give us Liberty or give us Death



YEN ARA ASASE NI

Convention People's Party C. P. P.

1951 General Election Manifesto

Our Appeal to the People of Ghana to Vote C.P.P.

GHANAIS!

1. If you believe in the justness of our cause.
2. If you believe that we too must be free to manage our own affairs in our own country as the British do in theirs.
3. If you believe that imperialism is a hindrance to our national progress.
4. If you believe that we too, given the opportunity can achieve greatness for our country and leave noble heritage to our country.
5. If you believe that no foreigner, no matter how sincere he is, under an imperialist Colonial Government, can make greater sacrifices for our country than we can to improve her.
6. If you believe that our natural resources must no longer be exploited mainly for the benefit of Aliens, but for our benefit too.
7. Above all, If you believe that Self-Government is the only solution to the evils that plague us, and therefore must be fought for and won now, then your duty is clear..... VOTE C.P.P. AT THE GENERAL ELECTIONS.

WHY THE C.P.P. IS CONTESTING THE 1951 ELECTION

A. THE COUSSEY COMMITTEE

We were not surprised when the nominated members of the Coussey Committee, in spite of hundreds of telegrams, memoranda and newspaper articles, sent to them by the general public demanding immediate self-government, produced half-baked proposals which they considered acceptable as the basis for the improvement on of colonial rule. True to type, the nominated men turned deaf ear to the whole country's demand for S.G. NOW, and the people were justified for believing that "Nominations by Colonial Governments in any shape of form are an abomination."

The nominated Coussey Committee let the country down in not making a bold bid for full Self-Government. If the people must be free, if the country must be saved from imperialist domination and colonial misrule, they only CAN save themselves. Nominated persons who do the bidding of colonial officials cannot save Ghana. Therefore it is crystal clear that only under the dynamic leadership of the C.P.P. can this tremendous task be accomplished.

WHAT CAN THE C.P.P. DO?

At the time when its foremost leaders were in prison, it was able to mobilize its forces with unparalleled enthusiasm and won all seats in 4 municipal elections. It has organized itself into a formidable political force which is now the vanguard of the liberation struggle. It has the stamina, the organizational ability and, above all, the sincerity and determination to wage the war against imperialism, till victory is won.

Other political leaders, whom the masses have followed at no small cost, have shown by their political unreliability that they do not understand the colonial struggle and therefore should not be trusted to lead it to the end. Only the C.P.P. can achieve this, and recent events have proved that the whole country is looking up to the C.P.P. to save her from the paralysing grip of imperialism. We must therefore enter the Assembly and fight for the Self-Government which the Coussey Committee denied us.

HOW DID THE COUSSEY COMMITTEE LET THE COUNTRY DOWN?

Among other objectionable proposals, the Coussey Committee recommended that Ghana should remain under colonial servitude and degradation for many more years.

1. That the British Governor should retain as much power as he had under the old Colonial system, by wielding the powers of VETO and CERTIFICATION; thus, bills passed by all the 75 representatives of the people could only have the force of law if the governor agreed.
2. That the most important ministries of DEFENCE, FINANCE (the country's life blood) EXTERNAL AFFAIRS and JUSTICE should NOT be held by the people's representatives but by civil service ministers "who will be appointed by and be ultimately responsible to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in far away—London.
3. That the election of the representatives in all but the 4 municipalities of Accra, Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi and Kumasi should be indirect, which process can easily lend itself to corrupt practices and abuse in a country where bribery and corruption are rife

The task of fighting to remove these objectionable proposals cannot be entrusted to the same men who framed them. Only the Youth and progressive people in the country, who were not party to these proposals can conscientiously fight for their eradication. To remain any longer merely as political agitators from the platform, would spell national disaster.

B. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL MODIFIES COUSSEY

Unpopular as the Coussey Report was in many of its more important aspects, it was anything but proper that the same people whose views they were should have been allowed to meet in the Legco. to pass them into law. The C.P.P. protested against the report and asked for a Constituent Assembly which was ignored by the Government.

The more important modifications made and adopted by the unrepresentative Legislative Council were:

1. That the one three-quarter million people of the Northern Territories should be disfranchised and their 19 representatives, nominated persons "elected" in the usual Territorial Council fashion.
2. That the Governor should select the men he considers fit for ministerial appointments, subject to the approval of the Assembly.
3. That instead of a bicameral legislature there should be only one Chamber.

WHAT DOES THE PARTY STAND FOR ?

You know, we all know, the whole world knows that C.P.P. stands for full SELF-GOVERNMENT NOW and the end of foreign control of our affairs.

"YEN ARA ASASE NI" This is our native land and we can no longer tolerate a foreign imperialist government; we are of age. Let all people in Ghana therefore rally round the C.P.P. and help the struggle for our freedom. VICTORY WILL BE OURS.

REMEMBER!!

The C.P.P. has been built on service, sacrifice and suffering, yet it has proved to be the most vigorous Party ever born in this country. Our sufferings have been turned to advantage and the eyes of the leaders are always open to our needs. Our representatives in local municipal councils have proved that they are of the masses and know their needs and have fought and are fighting for them.

REMEMBER!!

The C.P.P. is a Party of the People "In ourselves we are nothing; it is the people who give us strength": so said Kwame Nkrumah when he launched the Party.

REMEMBER!!!

The road to Self-government of any down-trodden and subject peoples is a long and tedious one. There is no short cut; it has always been a bitter and hard struggle, and ours cannot be expected to be different. We must be prepared for all the trials that will beset us if we really want to be free. The tree of Liberty is watered by the blood of martyrs. Ours has been and is growing to full bloom.

C. OUR MESSAGE TO GHANA:

This is not the time for platitudes. It is perhaps the most important era in our national history—the era of transition from British Colonial misrule to an era of responsible democratic rule, and we cannot afford to play with the issue. The fate of this country for years to come is in our hands today, and we must decide once and for all. The country must send into the Assembly men tried in the furnace of national tribula-

tion and not found wanting, men who are ready to suffer anything and if need be to die to save their country—these men will see to the liquidation of imperialism. There are some in this country today who call themselves leaders who know the truth but are afraid to speak their minds for fear of imprisonment, etc. The C.P.P. speak its minds in the teeth of all opposition and persecution and bravely suffers for its convictions.

Let us therefore dare to be brave today, let us be prudent and wise in our decisions; let us so act that our children will not be ashamed of us in the years to come. The C.P.P. is in the fight till death or victory—there is no turning back for us. Ghanaians, yours is the task of deciding whether you will be free NOW or subject yourselves to years of meddlesome oppressive foreign colonial rule. Your fate is in your hands and your votes will decide which way you will have Ghana go.

In voting for the C.P.P. Candidates you will be laying the foundation for prosperity and peace in Ghana. Finally, remember the struggle for Self-Government will only start on the final stages when we enter the 1951 "Coussey" Assembly. Once the right men get in, Victory will be ours at no distant date and NOT in 15 or 20 years as imperialists have been promising us.

THEREFORE

Vote wisely and God will save Ghana from the imperialist.

Long live the Convention People's Party.

Long live Kwame Nkrumah.

Long live the forward march of the Common people of Ghana to their rightful and just inheritance,

SEEK YE FIRST THE POLITICAL KINGDOM AND
ALL THINGS WILL BE ADDED INTO IT

OUR PROGRAMME

As stated elsewhere in this Manifesto, our entry into the Assembly in full strength will open up better opportunities to struggle for immediate Self-Government. Whilst that struggle is proceeding the C.P.P. will do all in its power to better the condition of the people of this country; it must be pointed out however that the implementation of this development programme can only be possible when S.G. has been attained, and we are in full control of our own affairs.

(A) POLITICAL

1. National Assembly

The aim of the Convention People's Party is full **SELF-GOVERNMENT NOW**. It will fight for and get the following for the country.

(1) A free and democratic National Assembly elected on the basis of Universal Adult Suffrage at 21 years;

(2) Direct elections with no property or residential qualifications for candidates seeking election;

(3) Not less than 100 Constituencies of about 50,000 people each to elect representatives to the National Assembly.

(4) A Senate for chiefs

The struggle to emancipate this country from poverty, want, ignorance, unemployment and other evils due to imperialistic oppression and exploitation does not end with the forthcoming election, since it will only give us an administration in which the Colonial Government will still retain power; but it will give the people of this country a better opportunity to press for full self-government now. It therefore behoves all qualified people to vote for C.P.P.

Without self-government now, we can hardly remedy the appalling economic and social ills that militate against the progress of the people of this country. The scandalous appointment of only Europeans to permanent secretaries under the new constitution confirms the fact that any thing less than self-government now can never be for the benefit of the people of this country.

Therefore the Convention People's Party is asking the country to back it and vote C.P.P. in the forthcoming General Election so that it can be in a better position to fight for the implementation of the political, economic and social plans set forth in this manifesto.

2. Local Government

The Convention People's Party envisages a local government machinery more or less on the lines contained in the report of the Cousey Committee together with improvements where ever desirable. Local Government employees, upon whom rests the burden and success of the new Local Government machinery, and who form the pivot of any democratic government, ought to be accorded their just recognition. Accordingly, they are entitled to gratuity and pension as are civil servants. The Convention People's Party recognises this claim, and will see that local government employees get what they deserve. Local Government bodies will be given every encouragement and assistance to work in the interest of the people of this country.

3. Courts, Justice and Police

A unified system of the courts with cheap and speedy administration of justice is a sore need of the country today, and the C.P.P. intends to see to the appointment of a commission, including experts from Britain, to effect the change.

Policemen are peace officers are friends of the people, not terrorists as we often witness in this country. But a needed change in our Police Service can only be effected when this country is free from foreign rule. Under full responsible democratic government we can have a unified system of police for local and central government duties. If our police are more efficient, well trained and well paid, and working under decent conditions with opportunities for promotion, then, we can be sure of a new era of peace and happiness. These are some of the aims of the Party.

(B) ECONOMIC

4. Introduction

The Convention People's Party aims at launching a Five-year Economic Plan for both social and economic development of this country in order to afford the people an increasingly higher standard of living which has long been denied to them under the Crown Colony system of government. What follows is a brief account of what the Party intends to do when the country gets Full Dominion Status and the Party is entrusted with the running of the government.

5. Electrification

The Party considers the Volta Hydro-Electric Scheme as of prime interest to the country. Such a scheme will provide the necessary fuel and power for the development of industries, the building of factories, the operation of electric railways, public utilities and domestic appliances.

The immediate materialisation of the Volta Hydro-Electric Scheme and the electrification of the whole country is one of the prime objectives of the Party for economic and social development and for affording the people a higher standard of living.

6. Transport

The immediate development of facilities for a modern communication and transport system in this country is another major objective of the Party. Accordingly, the Railway System will be modernized (e.g. double track railway) and extended to the Northern Territories and Trans-Volta. Various branch lines, and a coastal line, extending from Half-Assini to Aflao will also be built.

Roads also will be modernised and extended to bring towns and villages within easy reach of each other, and to afford the people the opportunity of travelling with safety, comfort and convenience, as well as sending goods cheaply and quickly to any part of the country. Water transport will also be encouraged by the building of canals to join rivers, whilst other means of transport, such as by air and sea, will also be developed.

7. Agriculture

Though farming produces the main wealth of the country, our farmers are some of the most exploited and poverty-stricken people in the community and they are compelled to use rather primitive and wasteful methods of cultivation and transportation. The Party therefore aims at a progressive mechanisation of agriculture, modern means and methods of transportation and marketing. It also aims at raising the standard of living among the peasants by bringing pipe-borne water, electric lights, good housing, education and other social and cultural amenities to the towns and villages.

Special attention will be given to the Swollen Shoot Disease that has affected the cocoa trees. Farmers will be given control of the vast funds with the Cocoa Marketing Board to use for the benefit of the farmers primarily, and the country in general. One of the important objectives of the Party is to redeem, for the farmers, the numerous farms that have been mortgaged. The cultivation of all kinds of agricultural produce, both for home consumption and export, will be encouraged, and agricultural colleges and scholarships will be established to help promote agriculture in the country.

A country-wide system of silos for grain storage will be established to ensure regular distribution of corn, rice, groundnuts and other agricultural products.

8 Forestry, Fishing, Animal Husbandry

The Timber industry will be controlled and expanded for the benefit of the people, especially to enable them to buy boards, etc. at cheap and reasonable prices. A large programme of afforestation will be undertaken and measures will be taken to check and remedy soil erosion. Irrigation of arid areas for farming on a large scale also will be undertaken.

The fishing industry will be helped with the provision of canning factories, a net work of cold storage plants all over the country, and modern facilities for catching fish and marketing same.

Animal Husbandry and the Dairy and Poultry industries will also benefit from the canning factories and the cold

storage system as well as from a modernised system of transportation and marketing.

9. Industrialisation

The industrialisation of the country is one of the principal objectives of the Party, and under Dominion Status, it will carry it out with all energy. Imperialism is incompatible with industrialisation of a colonial country. It is only under self-government that this country can be industrialised in the way it should.

Under the industrialisation programme, the Party envisages numerous manufacturing factories (e.g. canning, meat, electrical goods, building materials, machinery, cutlery, crockery, provision, hardwares and textile plants springing up in all parts of the country. It is under industrialisation — which colonialism abhors — that a higher standard of living for the people of this country can be guaranteed. That is why only full self-government now can offer the oppressed people of this country a new era of opportunity and achievement.

10. Retail Trade

The retail trade in the country needs great improvement by the allowance of fair discount on wholesale prices, so that the Market women and the smaller African retail traders can have a fair margin of profit on their sales.

Prices are to be controlled, whenever necessary, especially in the case of essential commodities, and improved means of transport and communication will facilitate the avenues of marketing and distribution, and thus obviate high overhead costs and unnecessary high prices.

By a regulated system of freight charges imported goods as well as local foodstuffs should be sold at reasonable prices every where as is envisaged by the Party. Improvement in the retail trade constitutes one of the principal aims of the Convention People's Party, and it will be done in order to ameliorate the appalling conditions of the people and to raise their standard of living. Co-operative enterprise of all kinds will also be promoted.

11. The National Bank of Ghana

To control the economy of the country, it is imperative that a National Bank be established: this will be done by the Party immediately upon the attainment of self-government. It is a long felt need and its immediate establishment is one of the principal aims of the Party.

(C) SOCIAL

12. Jobs for All

A great number of the people of this country especially in the towns, are without work or any useful employment:

most workers do not enjoy any security in the jobs in which they are at present engaged. Wages are generally poor. Consequently, the standard of living of the people is very low. Hence one of the first objectives of the Party is to create avenues of employment for all, with good pay and better conditions of work.

Jobs for all will be achieved through the expansion of Agriculture, transportation, utility services, the electrification and industrialisation of the country. The establishment of Employment Bureaus all over the country will help people to find jobs. Work will be found for all unemployed Youth, men and women, Ex-servicemen and all other unemployed members of the community.

13. Weekly Wages

An important innovation which the Party intends to introduce into the country is the system of weekly wages. This will overcome the unpleasant and regular occurrence of "Passion Week" every month, with its inevitable resort to unscrupulous money lenders. Besides, this new system will promote bigger and regular weekly turnover in trade, and thus be a boon to traders.

14. Hire Purchase System

To enable workers earning weekly wages to buy expensive goods, the Party will help promote Hire Purchase Systems with reasonable safeguards for the traders.

15. Education

The country needs a unified system of education with free and compulsory elementary, secondary and technical education up to the age of 16 years. Numerous high institutions for liberal, scientific, technical and agricultural education are also needed and would be established for the development of the country. This is the aim of the Party.

The Party will bring the University College to a full university status at once and establish Graduate and professional schools and colleges. Eminent professors will be invited from other countries to augment those that the University can secure from Britain for the work. Research institutes of all kinds and at all levels will also be established.

The Party lays special importance on Adult Education, and it will see to it that a planned campaign to liquidate illiteracy from this country in the shortest possible time is vigorously undertaken.

Under the new scheme, teachers are assured of every facility for carrying out efficiently this very important national duty. They are also assured that as soon as possible they will be granted gratuity and pensions such as those for civil servants.

16. Scholarships

Elementary and secondary education as well as trade and technical schools will be free. In the case of higher education of all kinds, scholarships and bursaries will be awarded every year to all deserving students.

In addition, a large number of students will be sent every year on scholarship to countries abroad to study science and technology, for the benefit of the country. This is a very important part of the educational scheme of the C.P.P.

17. Family Assistance

Even, if elementary and secondary education be free, parents will be required to undergo various expenses on behalf of their children, e.g. clothing, school materials and food which will tell heavily on them. To help ease the strain on parents and to help give children a decent start in life, ways and means would be found to assist parents to carry out their noble task conveniently. This will be in addition to the free educational and medical services promised by the Party.

18. Recreation

The Party's aim is to promote a net-work of recreational activities all over the country in both towns and villages, by the establishment of Stadiums, theatres, concert and Dance Halls, cinemas, community centres, holiday resorts, Parks, swimming pools, playgrounds for children, libraries, museums, Art Galleries, Exhibitions and other cultural activities for the welfare and happiness of the people.

19. National Health Service

The death rate especially of infants, in this country is one of the highest in the world, due to the appalling lack of medical, dental and other health facilities.

The scandalous insanitary conditions in towns and villages are some of the gravest indictments of the imperialist regime in this country, and constitute some of the fundamental reasons for our demand for full self-government—NOW. Imperialism and the Crown Colony system of government cannot help us. For one of the unwritten laws of imperialism is to keep colonial people poor in mind and body so as to exploit them the better.

The aim of the Convention People's Party is to remove this stain; it intends to establish Hospitals, Infant and Maternity Clinics and Sanatoriums all over the country and to inaugurate a Free Medical Service. It also intends to promote Health and Physical education by all available means. In this connection, the Party intends to build

Medical Colleges and schools for training of Doctors and Dentists, and also increase those for Dispensers and Nurses.

Specialists will be engaged to man both the Hospitals and Medical Colleges. A School of Medical Service will be established; and the Party will see that expectant mothers are given the medical attention they deserve. The Family Assistance Scheme will be one of the Corner Stones of the National Health Service.

20 Housing

The appalling shortage of houses in this country and the almost indifferent attitude of the present Government here cries to heaven for redress. It is one of the major problems facing the country. The Party intends to remedy this situation with all energy: it will see that new houses, and blocks of flats are built to give the people better homes fit for human habitation and that these new homes will be fitted with water and light. The barrack-like houses one finds at Takoradi and other Government housing estates are out-dated and undesirable.

Rents will be controlled, and the Party envisages the day when it will be a common thing to find not only the European bungalows, but African houses too supplied with running water, electric lights, toilet basins, water closets, refrigerators, radios and telephones.

21 Town and Village Planning

Progressively with the development of agriculture and the industrialization of the country will go the re-planning and modernization of existing towns and villages. Accra, Kumasi—to mention only two towns—must be rebuilt as speedily as possible to reflect the New Ghana. New and modern towns and villages will be planned and built with water sewage system in all the four Regions of the country.

22 Water Supply

Undoubtedly, the greatest source of disease and ill-health in this country is bad water. In many parts of the country the scarcity of water is a constant threat to life. The C. P. P. intends as one of its principal aims to establish a country-wide net-work of pipe-bourne water supply for use in homes and factories. At no very distant date it should be possible to see water on the tap in most homes in the country.

23 National Insurance

The Convention People's Party aims at elimination of insecurity and fear of the future through the establishment of the system of a National (Social) Insurance

to protect every working man, woman and child against the contingencies of sickness, accidents, old age and death. A National Insurance Scheme will be established without delay.

24 Miscellaneous

The Government Broadcasting Service will be developed, and a Film industry established so that both can serve as some of the available means of entertainment and education. This will form part of the drive to raise the standard of living in the country.

The Party intends to modernize and expand the postal, telegraph and telephone services in conformity with the general economic and social development of the Country. It also hopes to see mails (letters and parcels) delivered to people in their homes.

25 Hard Work

Self-Government or Dominion Status by itself does not produce bread or kenkey; it only releases at colonial people from imperialist bondage and exploitation, and enables them to get work, decent wages and to attain a higher standard of living.

The realization of the economic and social schemes out-lined in this Manifesto for the welfare of the people means hard work. With the co-operative effort on the part of all, the country, under a bold and dynamic leadership of the C. P. P. will be ushered into a new and glorious era that will astound even our imperialist critics, detractors and exploiters.

The Convention People's Party has confidence in the mass of the people of this country to rise to the occasion and know that with hard work and love of country they can build the New Ghana which is the object of our endeavours, our dreams, our hopes and our desires.

26 The Party's Five-Year Economic Plan

During the early part of the last war the Colonial Government promised the people of this country a Ten-Year Development Plan. It is now 1950 and the much-talked-of Plan has not even seen the day of its birth.

As against this Ten-Year Development Plan, the Convention People's Party proposes to launch a Five-Year-Economic Plan briefly as outlined in this Manifesto for an intensive economic and social development of this country, to meet the wishes and aspirations of the people.

Jobs for all, free and compulsory education, Family Assistance, better housing, a National Bank, etc. etc.

The keystone of the C.P.P. Economic Plan is the modernization of Agriculture and the electrification and

industrialization of the country without which full employment and social security become impossible to achieve. The Colonial Government's Ten-Year Development Plan means continual Colonial misgovernment, oppression and exploitation. The Convention People's Party's Five-Year-Economic Plan means, "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." It means the gradual elimination of poverty, disease, ignorance, illiteracy and want.

27. Taxation

Under the present Colonial rule, taxation has been most unpopular because people do not get returns commensurate with taxes they pay.

Under self-government, taxes would still be levied on all who should pay taxes but the C.P.P. would see that taxation brings with it, social, educational, medical, cultural and economic rewards for the whole community.

28. C.P.P. Calls, Your Country Needs You !

Under the dynamic leadership of the Convention People's Party the country will unmistakably emerge from Colonial Servitude and exploitation to an era of freedom and achievement. What is needed now to complete the work is only your vote, which you are to exercise at the forthcoming election to select candidates for House of Assembly—candidates who will see to it that Full Dominion Status is granted to the people of this country NOW.

Oppressed and exploited Ghanaians, and this is your chance to save your Country!

VOTE C. P. P. !!!

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