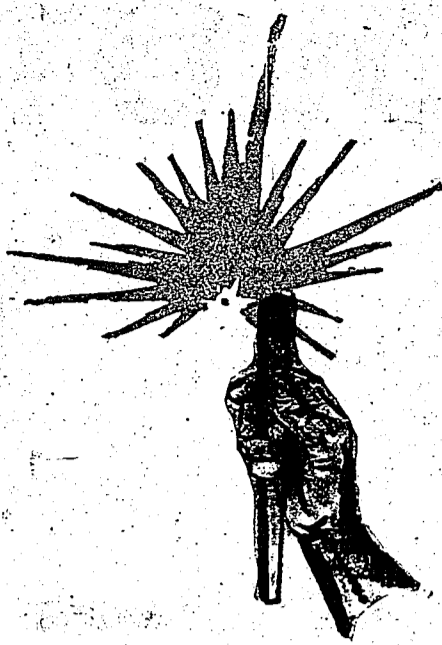


# THE SPARK



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## 1964 IN RETROSPECT

### EDITORIAL

#### TAKING STOCK

1964 is running out. It is the usual practice at this time to make an assessment of the achievements and failures of the outgoing year. We intend to do exactly this; and we do it from the standpoint of the African Revolution.

From the point of view of the African Revolution—with its three interlocking elements of anti-colonialism, fight against neo-colonialism and socialist construction—1964 is a year of consolidation and build-up. The African army has stood its grounds almost everywhere. Its strength has been rapidly augmented quantitatively. Its fighting quality has improved. Its tactical and strategic reserves have been built up. And soon we can claim that the army of the African Revolution is poised for the great battles of 1965. Looked at this way, 1964 has been a year of rapid build-up for the crucial battles of 1965; and these battles will rage over one central issue—continental political union.

1964 has seen the African Revolution make steady and substantial progress on four distinct fronts. Imperialism in general, and U.S. imperialism in particular, have been further discredited and exposed before the African peoples. Events on the continent have brought out the irresistible dynamism of the concept of African political union. With the launching of Kwame Nkrumah's "Consciencism" and with the publication of books on "African Socialism" by imperialist-minded authors of Western Europe and U.S.A., the ideological battle in Africa has entered a higher phase to the net advantage of the African Revolution. And the positive advances made in the field of economic construction and cultural rehabilitation in countries like Ghana, U.A.R. and Algeria have proved that dependence on the former colonial masters is no longer the sine qua non of African development and advancement.

These four trends, if carefully nursed and energetically developed, will

lead inevitably to the complete overthrow of imperialism in Africa. They will lead to the emergence of a politically united socialist Africa.

Let's take a closer look at these four developments.

In the past year, Africans have made important discoveries about the operations of imperialism on this continent. The United States of America, which had the chance to disguise its mission in Africa through references to its eighteenth century fight against British colonialism, through a judicious deployment of its Afro-American citizens, through a cautious use of its great wealth, has only succeeded in exposing herself as the leading imperialist country in the world. Its clumsy manoeuvres in Gabon, its ill-concealed support for apartheid in South Africa, its penetration of Libyan oil and Nigerian banking, and above all its brazen and callous intervention in the Congo have helped Africans to see that U.S. imperialism is more powerful, more deadly, more ferocious, more audacious than any other imperialism that operates on this continent. U.S. imperialism falls behind other imperialisms only on two scores. In cunning, it is less able than British imperialism. And Verwoerd and the Portuguese beat it for first place when it comes to sadism.

In addition to the exposure of U.S. imperialism, 1964 has brought Africans a deeper knowledge of the mechanics of imperialist oppression and control. The desire of imperialism to control sovereign states through links with the army was revealed in Tanzania. Its double dealing and shameless hypocrisy over South Africa have been revealed to all. Its resolve to maintain its position through armed might is demonstrated in the Congo. And the fact that, under certain conditions, the various imperialist countries forge a united front for action against oppressed peoples is dramatically borne out by

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AS the year 1964 comes to an end, we are inclined, as citizens of this country, to cast back our eyes and review, objectively, the main occurrences of the year—with a view to finding inspiration and hope for the coming year through our achievements, and, through our mistakes, to finding out answers to our problems.

To a large extent, what took place this year was heavily influenced by two events that the country experienced towards the end of 1963. These were the launching of the Seven Year Development Plan, and the perverted judgement in the Treason Trials involving Tawia Adamafio and four former high party members, and two others. From the 1962 National Convention of the Party held in Kumasi at which the Party's Programme, Work for Happiness, was approved and especially in 1964, with the launching of the Seven Year Development Plan, it became unmistakably clear that the Party and Government was determined to go socialist: the poverty and lack of development of our people, encouraged and purposefully carried out by capitalist monopoly and its world outlook of imperialism, could only be abolished, and an earthly paradise created in its stead, by the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

Both in the old industrialised countries and the developing countries capitalist or quasi-capitalist modes of economic development had proved its incapacity to solve the basic needs of the common man. Coupled with this awareness of capitalist contradictions and impotence were the original communalistic outlook of the Ghanaian, as a member of the African genre, and the enlightened policy of the leadership of the Party.

#### TOWARDS SOCIALISM

All these had made it clear that the trend was towards socialism. The enemies of socialism and of the leadership of the Party that had determined to go socialist were not happy about the situation. The enemy group had already struck in 1961, with the wave of strikes following the austerity Budget and the Dawn Broadcast. A faction of the same group struck again in 1962, with the Kulungugu incident.

That was one side of the situation. On the other side were the people of Ghana, resolved to go socialist and to smash capitalism and imperialism wherever they saw its rear its ugly head.

Their Party had launched the 7-Year Development Plan, marked on that day by two earthquakes that shook the capital, Accra. The conspirators—those who wished to physically liquidate the leader of the Party and his immediate supporters and take over the reins of government in order to carry out their political ambitions and thwart our socialist objectives—had been put on trial for charges of Treason and/or Misprison of Treason.

Then came the judgement that shocked everybody—certainly those who did not know the forces at work in the country. Tawia Adamafio and others had been acquitted by the Special Court presided over by Sir Arku Korsah. There were protest demonstrations and public criticisms and condemnations of the judgement and the judges all over the country.

The people hit back in several ways: Sir Arku Korsah was dismissed as Chief Justice;

the Government decided to hold a referendum in January/February, 1964 as a step to declaring the country a One Party State committed to socialism and to giving the President powers to set right the Judiciary by adding to his powers of appointment the power of removal from office of the Judges; Parliament passed an Act empowering the President to declare null and void the judgement of the Treason Trial; there was a massive demonstration organised by the Party against students of the University of Ghana, a group of whom, in total ignorance of what was happening, had passed resolutions condemning the attitude of the Government with regards to the Treason Trial, and had shown misguided sympathy for certain lecturers who had been searched or deported for security reasons, one of whom, incidentally, is, at the moment, Tshombe's contact man in London.

In everything there is a left over. The January Referendum, the most decisive open political step in 1964, can only be more fully understood behind the background just given. The Flagstaff House incident, in which Kwame Nkrumah had to engage in a physical fight against imperialism and its agents symbolised by ex-Police Officer Ametewee, signified the people's determination to get rid of the internal network of imperialism inside and outside the Party, by means of a physical fight, if necessary.

#### TWO FUNDAMENTAL YARDSTICKS

Our progress and retrogress in 1964 must be measured by two fundamental yardsticks: progress towards socialism, and social order chosen by the broad masses of the people and their Party, and our advance towards African Unity, conceived, not as a loose confederation of states, united more in name than in reality, but as the political unification of the African Continent made manifest in a Union Government of all Africa.

In this exercise, anything that promoted achievement of socialism constitutes progress, anything that militated against

progress and the revolution (corrupt practices, misappropriation, opposition to socialism etc.) constitutes a failure. Similarly, any move that brought nearer home the ideal of African Independence and Unity was an achievement.

What, then, were our achievements?

The fight for the defeat of imperialism and for the building of socialism in one country calls, first of all, for the expulsion of the colonialists by mobilising the masses and all other sections of the people, injecting into them the fire of nationalism; secondly, for the replacement of the colonial outlook by a clear-cut socialist ideology through which the people shall be redeemed; thirdly, for the articulation and popularisation of this ideology by raising the political consciousness of the people through ideological education and through a socialist press; and fourthly, for the drawing up of Development plans and programme geared towards the attainment of socialism.

This puts on the Party the duty of making explicit and clear the socialist ideology and the ruthless refutation of all ideas or philosophies that do not square with our ideology. In this connection, the activities of the Party's Ideological Institute at Winneba, and the programme of the Party Branches at the Universities, were of significance. The past two years have seen remarkable landmarks in the organisation and programme of the Institute. Extensions have been going on, places have been offered to non-Ghanaian Africans; short term courses for Party officials including Ministers, Ambassadors and High Commissioners have become frequent and the quality of the academic staff is comparable to that of any institution of higher learning. Brief mention must also be made of the increasingly continental outlook of the Institute, with the establishment of French and Arabic departments.

But it is not enough to have a high-powered staff. The standard of the students must of necessity be high. And ideological institute supposed to give ideological light to, and to lead, ideologically blind people; cannot afford to produce students who will carry on the intellectual fight to a very limited point. Perhaps it is with this in mind that plans are going on for degree and post-graduate courses at the Institute. This is a very welcome step.

The ideological army has now got its detachments at Ghana's three Universities.

During the long vacation, some University students were invited by the Central Committee of the Party to undergo a three-months course at the Ideological Institute. The result of this far-seeing step is not only the inauguration of the Party Branches at the Universities, but also the birth of two important institutions;

"The African student", the Socialist quarterly publication of the Universities of Ghana, and "The Nkrumaist Forum" dedicated primarily to the study of Nkrumaism through open lectures and discussions.

These have come to help, in their own little ways, socialist publications and institutions like the "SPARK" which are already in the thick of the ideological war. The hard core of the students orientated at Winneba have resolved that socialism must be made supreme in the minds of the students; for, as Kwame Nkrumah says, a political revolution must have, standing firmly behind it, an intellectual revolution. This explains why they have decided to form a student movement that will openly declare itself socialist, accept only those who subscribe to socialism, and plan its activities on socialist lines. A place that was once looked upon as a bastion of opposition has now become a firm bridgehead for progress. What great achievement!

#### IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Talking about the ideological struggle and the successes we scored in 1964 brings one back to a very important step: the publication and launching of Consciencism in March. Several people are marvelled as to why this little book should become so popular in so short a time—so popular, indeed, that even those of our people who find it difficult to read newspaper articles thought it necessary to possess copies. Some are also baffled by the number of persons who were present at the launching ceremony at the Great Hall of the University of Ghana. The reason is quite simple. Various spurious notions of socialism, put forward from inside and outside the party, had been debunked and Nkrumaism installed in their place. The public ownership of the economy was shown to be one and indivisible; it knew no geographical boundaries; Africans did not have their peculiar kind of public ownership. There was only scientific socialism, the road to which was, in the African situation, Nkrumaism. Now Consciencism came to provide a strong philosophical foundation of this ideology. A theoretical and intellectual defence of Nkrumaism had arrived on the scene. Hence Consciencism's importance and popularity. It was ripe for the moment. To a great extent, Consciencism was, to quote Consciencism itself, a surrogate of the critical disposition of matter.

How did this progress in ideological formulation manifest itself in practical political and economic life?

Socialism aims at ameliorating the lot of the masses by eradicating all anti-social practices, all manifestations of decay and by rapid strides in the economic fields. It brings into play the full force of the workers and their organisation, the Trades Union Congress. Fresh in our memories was the handing over of certain factories to the workers for their own

management. In a socialist state, the worker must be made to feel confident, must be made to feel that the factory is his factory, his own creation, a product of his own initiative. But all that this means is that the worker is managing things for the society; no one should understand this—to mean that the state is bringing the worker up as a petty-bourgeois.

We also had the big T.U.C. clean-up, followed by the T.U.C. Consultative Conference at Winneba in August. The National Secretary had fired some top Executive members of the Congress who had got themselves seriously involved in corrupt practices; and, at the Winneba Conference, he defined the position of the workers' movement in relation to the Party; the workers' body was not separate from, but was a portion of the Party, the vanguard of the entire people. 1964 was indeed a big achievement for the T.U.C. Corruption and standstill can never be ideals in a socialist society.

But it was not only in the T.U.C. that corruption was unmasked. In the course of the year came the goods shortages, some of them involving basic human needs. The Ministries of Finance and Trade were involved. The Akaiyah Commission came out with its report, revealing the misappropriation of fantastic sums by people from whom this habit was least expected. The racket was not confined to Ghanaians alone. We have not forgotten the case of Danawi. There are one or two other important cases of corruption now before the court, comments of which are best suspended since they are sub judice. All these, however, constituted an impressive degree of negative action.

In giving this list of corrupt practices, one does not wish to give the impression that all that went on in Ghana in the economic sphere was the misappropriation of state money. Surely there was the more important achievement of the Volta River Project. The work of which was found to be ahead of schedule. Already the artificial lake has started to form. This project, the brain-child of a Kwame Nkrumah, is at the base of Ghana's industrial and technological ambitions under the Seven-Year Plan launched last year. The number of visitors we received at the Dam Site, some of them businessmen who wanted to assure themselves of Ghana's prospects, gives an indication as to the importance of the Project.

The farmers of Ghana were not completely out of the picture. The Young Farmers League, long recognised by the Government, was removed from the control of the United Ghana Farmers Co-operatives and placed under the Ministry of Agriculture, from where it will now have funds for its programme. Some see this move by the Government as paving the way for a more dynamic and enlightened conception of farming and of the farmers' role in the economic revolution.

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# SCIENCE, REVOLUTION AND POLITICS (2)

THE fierce competition prevailing in the market makes the research itself into a scramble to find new drugs. Hundreds of different compounds are synthesised in the hope (there is little basis yet for rational expectation) that screening tests will discover a few that are of medical value, and without damaging side-effects. £10 million was spent in this way last year by the pharmaceutical industry. (Incidentally £7 million was spent on advertising products.)

It is a grossly inefficient way of searching for new medicines, and it will be the only way until we insist that fundamental studies in the biological and medical sciences are given adequate support. The industry itself does not of course undertake such studies; but they are essential before the process of developing new drugs can itself become a science. The Medical Research Council is the body principally responsible for the kind of research that will provide the knowledge we need. Unfortunately it does not make profits for anybody, and so in the present year to cover virtually all aspects of medical research going on in Britain ranging from molecular biology to clinical studies it receives £6,900,000 from the Exchequer.

Criticism in the preceding paragraphs has been concerned in part with some of the inefficiencies of research carried out under the pressure of capitalist competition. But inefficiency is not the only consequence. The pursuit of profit can only be successful when manufactured goods are sold, and sales promotion becomes as important as any other aspect of economic activity under capitalism. This is reflected in the £500 million spent last year on advertising in Britain: a figure exceeding the total spent on research by industry. And it has a direct bearing on the present theme. It means that much research in private industry is concerned to make goods superficially attractive, in fact to push sales, but without introducing any substantial improvement. One suspects also that in many firms the research laboratory is primarily a showpiece to persuade prospective customers (including government departments) that products are based on extensive research investigations.

## INNOVATION UNDER CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

So far it will be obvious that I have been considering only research and development as these are promoted by the highly trained scientists and engineers working in a well-equipped laboratory. Probably today, and for the future, we must expect major advances, for example in industry, to come in this way. The days are gone when a Whitworth or a Bramah single handed could make revolutionary advances in the manufacturing process. Yet the skilled worker on the shop floor can still make a significant contribution, say, to new metal working techniques (and certainly to the improvement of efficiency in the organisation of production).

The extent to which a class-conscious worker in capitalist industry will be willing to do this however is clearly restricted. The active trade unionist is a worker with a pride in his skill and an intelligent appreciation of the manufacturing process to which he contributes. He is often in a position to suggest improvements, but he will be reluctant to do so when his experience gives him no guarantee that there will be a net advantage to himself or his fellow workers. I know from a number of workers in engineering industry in Manchester and Sheffield that it can be a most frustrating situation.

By contrast, workers under socialism need feel no misgivings in making their contribution to the advance of industrial technique. In the Soviet Union the institution of the "days and meetings of innovators" shows the extent to which there is the fullest co-operation in this field between manual workers, technologists and management. It is evident that the manual worker's role in industrial development is highly regarded; and the function of these meetings is to encourage the adoption throughout the

relevant industry of new ideas and new methods born on the factory floor.

## SCIENTISTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Only a few of the working scientists and technologists see the necessity for a fundamental criticism of capitalism. Even so, every often they are obliged to see the advances they have made possible selfishly used for the profit of the few. More than that, they are in a position to know the greatly increased benefits science could bring if it were placed at the service of the whole community, and if all resources were fully enlisted for that enterprise. Although not prepared to draw radical political conclusions many would in effect subscribe to one or more of the criticisms incorporated above. They might well add to the list; it is not intended of course as an exhaustive or a balanced survey.

But for the most part scientists themselves make their criticisms discreetly and privately. The public voice of scientists as a body is too rarely heard. And we had best acknowledge that scientists themselves in post-war years have done little that could stimulate public concern that science should be fully and beneficially employed. Of course there are exceptions to be made, but taking into account the influence scientists and technologists could now exert their actual impact must be accounted slightly.

Plain careerism deters many scientists and technologists from showing in any effective way a sense of responsibility for the social implications of their work. But there are other reasons. Scientific work is immensely absorbing and we are fortunate indeed who have the opportunity to make it our profession. However, many become completely immersed in their professional work, virtually forgetting everything else. And a number of scientists go further than this, explicitly holding the view that science is too demanding a profession to allow time and energy for other serious interests. The cobbler should stick to his last is the next step.

Nevertheless, on the credit side it must be noted that scientists have spoken out in considerable numbers against the nuclear arms race. It scarcely needs saying that it has been of invaluable help to the whole peace movement that there have been scientists associated with it. Their specialised knowledge has given added authority to the platforms on which they have set. And as public concern develops from a protest against the evil degradation of science in war and preparations for war to a positive demand for its fullest use in the interests of humanity we can be sure again that the adherence of scientists themselves will be an inestimable advantage. Can we envisage ways in which the scientists themselves might be drawn into such a movement?

C. P. Snow has perhaps given one lead in the concluding section of his lecture. The

Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution. He points to the enormous disparity in the standard of living between the industrially advanced and the underdeveloped nations; and he makes it quite clear that this state of affairs will not long be tolerated.

Snow does not spell out for us the dangers of a passive do-nothing attitude faced with the determination of the under-privileged nations to claim their rightful inheritance. We have had warnings enough at Dien Bien Phu, in Suez, in the Congo, and in Cuba. He is concerned to press for positive action to help these nations; and although this concerns all of us, Snow clearly anticipates an especially sympathetic response from those with first hand knowledge of science and technology. They at least (Snow implies) know that, "it is technically possible to carry out the scientific revolution in India, Africa, South-East Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, within fifty years". They particularly would be acceptable for direct help in the under-developed countries. "They want men who will muck in as colleagues, who will pass on what they know, do an honest technical job, and get out. Fortunately, this is an attitude which comes easily to scientists. They are freer than most people from racial feeling; their own culture is in its human relations a democratic one. In their own internal climate, the breeze of the equality of man hits you in the face, sometimes rather roughly, just as it does in Norway."

Snow's lecture is guaranteed fame and not least through the discussion it provoked, though it was disappointing to find the matter of this final "section left" very much on the fringe of that discussion; for surely Snow's insight is right on the mark that our future in this century is to be bound up increasingly with the struggle of the under-developed nations for economic and technological transformation. And Snow himself evidently did not want this issue to be left on the perimeter of discussion.

"Here, in fact, was what I intended to be the centre of the whole argument. Before I wrote the lecture I thought of calling it 'The Rich and the Poor', and I rather wish that I hadn't changed my mind". In fact the theme 'The Two Cultures', with which the Rede Lecture begins, seems so far to have claimed most attention and often in a rather parochial fashion. Nevertheless, no scientists responding sympathetically to Snow's opening arguments, could then be entirely immune to the concluding appeal to his commonsense and goodwill. And clearly this was Snow's design.

But if the gap between "the Rich and the Poor" is to be closed and we are to have any honourable part in the operation then a great deal more than good will and common sense will be needed. Political commitment will be essential: opposition to imperialist interests and to the assumptions of the cold war.

This is not of course the overt message of Snow's lecture, which with apparent calculation, avoids mention of specifically political issues. Indeed to at least one critic, Lionel Trilling, the lecture communicates "the strongest possible wish that we should forget about politics". For Trilling:

"The real message of the Two Cultures is that an understanding between the West and the Soviet Union could be achieved by the culture of scientists, which

reaches over factious, national and ideological differences. The field of agreement would be the scientists' common perception of the need for coming together to put the possibilities of the scientific revolution at the disposal of the disadvantaged of all nations".

By E. V. Rowsell

And there are many scientists in "the west" who would be very willing to be flattered into the mistaken belief that they belong to a community transcending national boundaries that could constitute an effective force for betterment in the world untainted by what they regard as the squalid struggles of national and international politics. But as soon as we proceed from the generalisations of "the Rich and the Poor" and "the scientific revolution" to examine actual cases of underdeveloped nations attempting to get themselves on the road of social and economic progress then we find we cannot avoid politics.

## IMPERIALISM AND SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE

Ten years ago Egypt was just beginning to stand up as a truly independent nation under a leadership determined to break decisively with the misery and the backwardness of the past. The key to Egypt's advance was to be the harnessing of her greatest natural asset, the river Nile, to extend the area of irrigated land, and to obtain hydro-electric power as the basis for industrialisation. She was willing to accept help from any quarter. It came in fact from the Soviet Union, in the form of finance and direct technical assistance. The first stage of the High Dam at Aswan now stands completed, a testament to the enterprise and skill of Soviet engineers and technicians. But the point is that the talent of the Soviet engineers and the necessary funds could be placed at the disposal of Egypt in this way because the Soviet Government wholeheartedly desired to see an Egypt economically and technologically independent.

It would have been quite feasible (at least technically and economically) for help to have come from Britain. But in the event whilst the Aswan Dam stands as a monument to the goodwill of the Soviet Union towards a renaissance Arab world, Britain, for the present, is chiefly known there as the nation leading the attack on Egyptian independence at Suez. To the Arabs this was seen, with good reason, as an attempt to hold back their social progress.

Imperialism can thrive only as a predator on technologically and economically backward nations. And as long as imperialism remains a dominant element in the economic and political life of Britain then her contribution towards closing the gap between the Rich and the Poor will remain at best half-hearted.

Moreover it is an amalgam of imperialist and anti-communist interests on a world scale that is primarily responsible for the cold war, and with it the diversion into continuous rearmament of enormous economic resources of the industrially advanced nations. With the successful achievement of peaceful co-existence here are the resources which could be made available as help to the underdeveloped world.

One may reasonably anticipate increasing political commitment in this direction as it becomes appreciated that

what must be done to aid the underdeveloped countries is also going to be essential for our own economic well-being.

The relatively few advanced industrial nations devote no small part of their manufacturing capacity to producing for the restricted market they themselves comprise. As far as the capitalist nations are concerned this involves competition, each attempting to gain a greater share of the market. In the long run this cannot make economic sense.

Meanwhile the enormous potential markets of the underdeveloped world are being neglected. The reasons for this neglect are obvious enough. Until the underdeveloped countries begin to make substantial economic progress how can they buy from us what they require to make that progress? However, there is one way-out of that dilemma which would be of benefit to both parties. If we were able to make long term loans with low or deferred interest payments then the many underdeveloped countries could begin to get their economies off the ground, buying engineering and chemical manufactures from the industrially advanced nations.

## THE "BRAIN DRAIN"

So far in recent years scientists in Britain have shown open concern principally over their own working conditions. A minority but increasing in number are demonstrating their dissatisfaction with their salaries and research facilities by migrating to the United States. And there is a further attraction in that direction. The scientist joining the "brain drain" knows he is going to the centre of exciting developments.

With the great research resources now mobilised there (a process accelerated in response to the implications of the launching of the first Sputnik in 1957) the pace of development in many branches of science is now set in the United States (at least for "the west"). Varying degrees of complacency and despair have marked official reactions here to this migration. "It doesn't matter where a scientist carries out his research. The results are published in journals, of world-wide circulation, and so made accessible to all interested." This has been one line. It reveals an ignorance of the environment in which research is carried out. The lively scientist makes an impact on the whole laboratory in which he works; and when we lose a gifted scientist our loss is not only that of an individual talent but also a beneficial influence on a whole group of colleagues.

Moreover this line plainly ignores the consideration that many of those joining the brain drain are teachers-cum-research workers, that we are losing the educators of the coming generation of scientists, technologists and school science teachers. And this is happening at a time when there is considerable doubt whether sufficient staff can be recruited to our Institutes of Higher Education to cope with the plans for expansion in student numbers.

But there is another reaction more difficult to contend with. Approximately the same proportion of our gross national product is devoted to research as in the United States; but since the gross national product of the United States is about eight times that of Bri-

tain their total research activity is greater by the same factor. In these circumstances will not the United States always be a magnet for our scientific and engineering talent? A society which trumpets the virtues of the private enterprise system must expect that many scientists will seek the best conditions the world market will offer for their services.

How then can we hope to compete? There could be a way; through an appeal to the scientists' sense of patriotism. But such an appeal will only be effective when we have in operation in Britain a policy for science which serves primarily the interests of the whole people. And it will be reinforced if the social and economic policies with which it is integrated allow Britain to make her fullest contribution in spreading the benefits of science to the whole of mankind.

## NEW SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

Harold Wilson has lost no opportunity to advertise the promise that under his leadership high on the list of priorities for a Labour Government would be the introduction of measures designed to put Britain in the vanguard of the new scientific and industrial revolution. Wilson's healthy exasperation with a society which makes so little use of its great potential of scientific ability is evident, and so is his concern to bring about a society in which productive talent rather than financial cunning will be rewarded. And one imagines that this particular appeal for political support will receive a positive response, not least among scientists and technologists. Yet the leaders of the Labour Party have little to say of the radical, social and economic changes that will be needed if the scientific revolution is to be carried through, and if we are all to enjoy its benefits. That, we are left to assume, would be an inevitable result.

We need not doubt that we are on the threshold of technical advances which could guarantee abundance for all. There are novel elements in the present situation which fully justify the assertion that we are moving into a period of a new scientific and industrial revolution. We are all well accustomed to machines that substitute for human muscle power and manual dexterity, but now control and calculating devices are taking over aspects of work in the manufacturing process and in office routine for which our eyes and our brains were once essential.

Indeed the mechanical or electronic device employed usually is a great deal more reliable and very much faster at its set task than we would be. And this development (though perhaps an especially dramatic and publicised example) is symptomatic of a more general change, towards a technology that increasingly is consciously based on the most advanced science.

## AUTOMATION UNDER CAPITALISM

But although these changes carry the potential for a great increase in industrial productivity, under capitalism, history warns us, the fruits will not fall automatically to the whole community. By the beginning of this century refinements in the machining of metals had made it possible for the unskilled assembler to replace the skilled fitter, and the road was open to the assembly line and mass production techniques. The result was a tremendous advance in productivity in a number of industries. However, a

general improvement in the standard of living was not the most evident immediate effect. Large sections of the population in the industrially advanced nations now enjoy the benefit of this earlier revolution in production. But before this measure of social progress was achieved, mass unemployment, war, fascism in some countries, had to be endured; and these also were some of the consequences we must attribute to improvements in industrial technique when these are introduced within capitalist society, unrestricted in its profit seeking operations.

We have been told that the capitalism history describes no longer exists. And we are invited to believe that it is now able to monitor and control its own development, so that the social upheaval which has hitherto accompanied revolutionary advance in industrial technique can be avoided.

It is suggested in fact that capitalism of its own volition is now able and willing to introduce automation techniques in such a manner that hardship is avoided, that all may immediately enjoy the benefits of increased production and leisure. Yet even amongst those who clearly prefer to see the continuation of the private enterprise system there are a few objective enough to acknowledge that where automation is introduced for the sake of maximising profit (and there can be no other motive under capitalism), then enormous human and social problems must be involved, and honest enough to admit that capitalism has not yet demonstrated its ability nor any serious inclination to cope with them. A critic of this calibre is John Billera, a leading executive of one of America's largest manufacturers of automation machines:

"We have allowed many entirely misleading and widely broadcast myths about automation to be accepted as fact; and particularly in regard to its effect on the worker. The worst of these myths is the belief that automation is not going to eliminate many jobs. Yet the price is written in cold figures for all to read. In the United States, in the three years from 1955 to 1958, while productivity climbed the number of production workers declined 13,500,000 to 11,900,000.

"The National Planning Association in the United States has made a study showing that the numbers of chronically unemployed rose from about 500,000 in late 1953 to about 2,000,000 in 1960. In one plant automation reduced the work force by half. In the electrical industry output increased 21 per cent between 1953 and 1961 while unemployment declined 10 per cent.

"Another myth that needs to be laid to rest is that those who lose their jobs to automation can be retrained and put into other jobs requiring higher skills and paying more money. Automation must result in a decrease of available jobs, of what advantage would there be in automating?"

Some progress has been made in coping with these problems. "The shorter working week is an outstanding example. It is estimated that as the result of the electricians' union in New York going on a five-hour day, more than 1,000 new jobs will have been made available." Yet unemployment in the United States has increased, today exceeding 4,000,000 level.

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# Alienation Under Socialism

JUDITH Cohen writing in a British journal may well feel puzzled as to what happens to alienation in socialist society; for despite its extreme importance, this is a subject which has hardly been treated by Marxists at all. Yet Marx showed quite clearly what his own attitude was, though he never explicitly dealt with the theme. The primary point is Marx's linking of alienation with division of labour, which in turn is linked with class-division and exploitation. It follows that only with the ending of the division of labour can alienation end, and that means also the ending of all that is born with that division—commodity-production, money, and above all the state.

It follows further that socialism is the phase in which the problem of reversing all the distortions and dehumanisations developed under class society (without losing the gains) is carried out. Communism is the phase when alienation has been ended. The failure to grasp these simple points has made many Marxists take a metaphysical all-or-nothing attitude, to the problem as though the proclamation of socialism must either annihilate alienation once and for all or must carry it on just as it is in class society. Class society cannot do other than increase alienation. Socialism reverses the whole trend and makes possible the annihilation, but it cannot wipe out the whole of past history by a magical gesture.

When one talks of socialist society carrying into itself bourgeois survivals, one is not speaking primarily of individual elements of regression but of the fact that socialism has to tackle the problem of alienation while inheriting the whole mechanism that created it (the state, division of labour, commodity-production). Because it eliminates the key-factor of exploitation, it changes the whole direction and creates a society which is perpetually shedding aspects of alienation as it struggles towards communism. But the idea that the advent of socialism can automatically end alienation gets no support whatever from Marx, and could only be advanced by thinkers who had no idea of what he meant by the term. Indeed, the least acquaintance with Soviet society and its culture would make clear how profound and widespread are still the roots and manifestations of alienation. The idea that a socialist society at once sheds alienation is indeed identical with the Utopian error that one can step straight from capitalism into communism. We might even define socialism as the phase in which alienation is steadily broken down and eliminated.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR

That means that socialist society must set before itself the aim of ending the factory system as we know it, of ending the fragmentation and division of labour, commodity production, and the state. To the extent that it achieves these aims, it is ending alienation. The ending of exploitation, moreover, cannot but have a continuous overall effect, enhancing brotherhood without the treacherous contradictions that work in class society, and drawing together all the anti-alienation elements in a grand onward movement.

Against this point we must set the fact that, under certain conditions (e.g. especially of a socialist society enveloped by imperialist states), there can hardly be other than an intensification of state power and of elements derived from it, which impedes the liberation from the alienating process. At any given moment then the pattern is liable to be complex, working in different ways and at different paces on various individuals and groups (e.g. under Stalin the peasantry could not but be much more backward and alienated than the working class). Now let us glance back at Marx, he probably ceased using the term alienation because he was tired of addressing a limited audience of neo-Hegelians and of being entangled in their interminable arguments and debates. Turning to the working class as the one great potential revolutionary force, he concentrated on the term "division of labour", which he had already in effect identified with alienation and which the workers could comprehend out of their own experience, without a difficult philosophical training. Thus

the continuity between the Marx of 1844-45, who was obsessed with the problems of alienation, and the Marx of *Capital*, lies, in the idiom mainly provided by the concept of division of labour, to which *Capital* gives exactly the same meaning as the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts* of 1844.

We can trace the process. In the lectures on *Wage, Labour and Capital* (1847), published in 1849, Marx says of the free labourer that he "sells his very self, and that by fractions"; and becomes "transformed into a simple monotonous force of production, with neither physical nor mental elasticity.... In the same measure in which labour becomes more unsatisfactory, more repulsive, do competition increase and wages decrease". He stresses the "disastrous effects of division of labour". In 1865, in *Wages, Price and Profit* the term alien forces its way in. The factory-worker is "a mere machine for producing alien wealth, broken in body and brutalised in mind". The same conception appears in *Capital*:

## DIVISION OF LABOUR

"Since the instruments of labour confront the labourer as independent, economy in their use also appears as a special operation which has nothing to do with him and which is therefore separated from the methods which raise his personal productivity (first vol.)."

Finally, as we saw earlier, in actuality the worker treats the social character of his work, its combination with the work of others for a common purpose, as a power alien to him; the instrument necessary to bring this combination into being are alien property to him, to the waste of which he would be quite indifferent if he were not forced to treat them economically (3rd vol.).

The whole analysis of the capitalist system in *Capital* proceeds along these lines. Marx notes how even Adam Smith saw that factory work stunts the worker; it "corrupts the courage of his mind... It corrupts even the activity of his body". And he cited D. Urquhart: "To subdivide a man is to execute him; if he deserves the sentence; to assassinate him, if he does not... The subdivision of labour is the assassination of a people." In a footnote he adds, "Hegel held extremely heretical views concerning the division of labour. In his *Rechts-philosophie*, he writes: "When we speak of educated men, we mean primarily, those who can do anything that others do."

Factory life, says Marx, converts the worker "into a cripple, a monster, by forcing him to develop a highly specialised dexterity at the cost of a world of productive impulses and faculties... Not only are the various partial operations allotted to different individuals, but the individual himself is

split up, is transferred into the automatic motor of some partial operation". Again he says: "Factory work confiscates every atom of freedom, both in bodily and intellectual activity." He cites the Scottish historian, A. Ferguson: "We make a nation of Helots, and have no free citizens". In such ways he packs into his concept of divided up or fragmented labour his passionate concern about alienation. Engels in *Anti-Duhring* repeats Marx's notion of the narrowing, stultifying, and crippling effects of the division of labour on manual and mental worker alike.

But there is no need to multiply quotations; the point is beyond dispute. Marx is attacking the factory system as such, the factory system as a product of capitalism but as a form which has its inherent disabilities whatever the form of government or of ownership. He saw communism as necessary because it alone, by ending exploitation, allowed the fragmented humanity of the factory-worker to regain wholeness by ending the division of labour in all its forms (which implied also an ending of the division between country and town). He did not feel the need to discuss transitional forms, in which the state and labour-division were still carried on during political, economic and cultural struggle that made men into matured Communists (all-round men). But he made his position clear and we must pay him the compliment of assuming that he meant exactly what he said.

## ALIENATION IN "CAPITAL"

In *The Critique of the Gotha Programme* he defined the higher phase of communist society as that which comes "after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therefore with also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly." Lenin took these words up in *State and Revolution* (published early 1918) and enthusiastically endorsed them. We may then identify the first or lower phase of Marx's communism with what we now call socialism; his higher phase with what we now call communism.

But though the concept of the division of labour thus played a key part in Marx's translation of the difficult concept of alienation into everyday language, we cannot limit the carrying on of the concepts solely to this form. The concept, like the Hegelian logic itself, underlies the whole of *Capital*. The more we analyse *Capital*'s main ideas, the more we find that they have roots in the *Manuscripts*. Thus, the change from the idea that labour is sold, to the idea that the sold thing is labour power, comes from thorough working out of the conclusions drawn from alienation. The worker is robbed, not of his labour, a thing, but of his productive or creative force, his innermost self. Similarly, Marx's whole concept of value and surplus value shows a permeation by the alienation concept. It has been well said:

"The possession of money, or that of the instruments of production, of capital in its various forms, makes it possible for the capitalist to buy labour power, which we must not confuse with the productive power of work and the social capacity of production. This

labour power is the sole source of value. It is the subject that is alienated in the whole process. This becoming-object of the creative subject, is as Marx explicitly says, the key of the system. "But the way in which one gives surplus value the form of profit by making it pass through the rates of profit is only a continuation of what we have established in the process of production, the confusion of subject and object... We have seen that all the subjective productive forces of work take the shape of productive forces of capital. On one side, value, past labour that dominates present labour, is personified in the capitalist, on the other, the workers appear simply as materialised labour power, as a merchandise. Alienation thus realised conceals the theory of surplus value."

The concept of alienation again appears in that of commodity-fetishism in *Capital*. Marx clearly feels that he can thus show the more complex relations, inner and outer, of alienation without recourse to a philosophical system far beyond the normal reader's range and while keeping within the sphere of political economy, though with a dash of fantasy needed for opening up new vistas. In the *Manuscripts* he had used the analogy of the fetish to define the condition of peoples who had not yet developed a monetary economy and were still dazzled by

by  
Jack Lindsay

the sensuous splendour of precious metals. In *Capital* he deepens the concept of the fetish, seeing in the commodity of capitalist production the alienated essence of the producer, which the latter worships as something outside himself, something that incarnates the abstracted money-power, mirroring and yet hiding the social character of the labour that produced it. The relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labours is presented to them as a relation, not between people, but between things.

To find an analogy we must enter the nebulous world of religion. In that world, the products of the human mind become independent shapes, endowed with lives of their own and able to enter into relations with men and women. The products of the human hand do the same thing in the world of commodities. I speak of this as the fetishistic character which attaches itself to the products of labour, as soon as they are produced in the form of commodities. It is inseparable from commodity production.

Inseparable from commodity-production in itself, we must note, not merely from commodity-production under capitalism. Marx, we have seen, conceived of commu-

nism as by its very nature functioning without commodity-production and continues, alienation continues, even if, in a socialist society, it is being continually lessened by the struggle for communism.

## WITHERING AWAY OF THE STATE

There remains the question of the state, which has been born from the need of organising a society of alienated persons working in a system of labour-division. "Marx always defined the state as the result of the division of labour. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* he stated that by the term state is meant "the government machine, or the state in so far as it forms a special organism separated from society through the division of labour". Lenin, in *State and Revolution* developed this definition at length, showing that the state was "the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. The state arises when, where, and to the extent that the class antagonisms cannot be objectively reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable."

He cites with approval Engels' statement that "the society that organises production on a new basis of a free and equal association of the producers will put the whole state machine where it will then belong: in the museum of antiquities, side by side with the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe." And he pours scorn on those who mouth such words only to make a formal obeisance and then to forget them. He goes on to discuss the withering away of the state and the economic base for this withering. He is emphatic: "Where the state exists there is no freedom. Where there is freedom, there will be no state."

It follows from such arguments that the socialist state will only continue to exist while coercive measures are necessary against large sections of the people, while class antagonisms are still strong, or while the society is still far from being "a free and equal association of the producers". We can see that such conclu-

sions were impossible under the later rule of Stalin. The Kommunist of October 1961 declared that near the end of the 1930's or in the early 1940's the economic and social conditions of the U.S.S.R. were ripe for the winding up of the dictatorship of the proletariat; but Stalin initiated large-scale persecutions just when a decisive end should have been made to such measures. That is, an important turn in the movement towards the withering away of the state was possible, but was not made. Stalin needed the theory of intensifying class struggle under socialism in order to justify his un-Marxist strengthening of the state. Such a distortion was at least in part made possible by the war situation which was impeding the natural trends of a socialist society. (Marx's picture apparently assumes world communism; certainly it could not reflect a socialist society under the threat of a shattering war attack.)

But to continue the analysis of the problems of alienation in a socialist society would extend this note too far—though a detailed consideration is urgently needed. What I have been concerned with here is to indicate the main lines of Marx's thought that bear on the problem. I should like, however, once more to stress that the existence of alienation in a society-like that of the U.S.S.R. does not mean the least to identify the human condition there with what we find in a capitalist world. The ending of exploitation is the crucial step.

While, in the countries where capitalist exploitation exists, the general trend can only be to a worsening of the alienating process, in a socialist land the fundamental trend is to throw off alienation. Every step towards the full socialist stimulation and inspiration of the people, towards the implementing of a polytechnical education, towards the democratic implication of the masses in all forms of political and social activity, towards the raising of the cultural level, and so on, is powerfully loosening the grip of alienation and preparing the ground for a communist world in which that grip is finally broken.

We hold all these firmly together within the strong matrix of dialectical materialism. While admitting the universal validity of the canons of socialism, CONSCIENCISM has helped us to see that the institutional forms vary with different social milieus, since the pattern of social organisation owes much to the history, the traditions and the psychology of a people. But perhaps the greatest contribution of "Consciencism" to the science of social change is the formulation of the concept of positive action in conflict with negative action. Positive action is the sum total of all the progressive aspects of the many contradictions in contemporary African society while negative action is the sum total of the reactionary aspects of these same contradictions. This formulation is a vindication, within the African context, of the Marxist concept that the motive forces of social change are to be found in the conflict between oppressor and oppressed within a given society.

Two other gains have been registered in the ideological battle. It has been shown in "Consciencism", and confirmed by experience, that effective

## EDITORIAL

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the combined U.S.-Belgian-British operations in Stanleyville.

The lessons here are clear.

First, neo-colonialism is a deadly reality; and the newly emerged African states have to take positive steps against it. The most potent weapon in this crusade is a mobilised people.

Secondly, the collective operations of imperialism need a collective force by all Africa if it is to be checked and defeated.

Thirdly, the African peoples, if they are serious about defeating neo-colonialism, have been pushed to the position where they have no alternative but to take up arms against the enemy who is himself armed to the teeth.

The second achievement during 1964 has been the growing realisation that the only meaningful form of African unity is continental political union. This has been forced on leaders and rank and file alike by events on the continent and by the demands for all-round development within the context of national independence.

We are awakening to the truth that effective

resistance to imperialism will come only through co-ordinated effort on a continental scale. As colonialism was chased out of individual African countries by political action, so political unity on a continental scale is the ultimate weapon in dealing with imperialism throughout our continent. What is more, African leaders have begun to see that the independence of a single African country is insecure as long as imperialism is free to operate in other parts of the African continent.

In addition, we are getting to see that all-round development at a quickened tempo, which we all desire, is inextricably intertwined with the struggle for continental political union. The alternative to this approach is over-dependence on foreign capital. But, the more we rely on foreign capital to prime the pump of development, the more we sink into the quagmire of imperialist control. And this has proved the undoing of many African political leaders.

In the third place, the ideological struggle in Africa has deepened. Through his book "Consciencism" Kwame Nkrumah has given Africa a powerful thought system on which the new African society can be securely built.

In reply, the imperialist powers are busy forging a new ideology for Africa. This is conveniently labelled "African Socialism," in an attempt to beguile the unwary. It is significant that in 1964 alone at least three books have appeared on "African Socialism". And it is no mere coincidence that all these are written by non-Africans, that the authors are all from the imperialist nations of the world; that one of each of these books is published in France, in Britain and in U.S.A.

The emergence of philosophical consciencism has helped to clarify the two aspects of socialism—the universally valid principles and the institutional forms which bear the stamp of the social environment. As a result, we have extracted the canons of socialism—egalitarianism and public ownership of the means of production and distribution—which are universally valid. To these we have added the essence of traditional African life—group responsibility for the individual, and individual welfare being conditional on group well-being. And

we hold all these firmly together within the strong matrix of dialectical materialism. While admitting the universal validity of the canons of socialism, CONSCIENCISM has helped us to see that the institutional forms vary with different social milieus, since the pattern of social organisation owes much to the history, the traditions and the psychology of a people. But perhaps the greatest contribution of "Consciencism" to the science of social change is the formulation of the concept of positive action in conflict with negative action. Positive action is the sum total of all the progressive aspects of the many contradictions in contemporary African society while negative action is the sum total of the reactionary aspects of these same contradictions. This formulation is a vindication, within the African context, of the Marxist concept that the motive forces of social change are to be found in the conflict between oppressor and oppressed within a given society.

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# Ghana T.U.C. and Our Revolution

THE attainment of independence and nationhood opened up a new era of challenge for the Ghana Trades Union Movement. This challenge hinges on the fact that national independence provides the ideal political climate for re-orientating the minds of the rank and file of the Unions for the Socialist reconstruction of Ghana.

The great and noble crusade for economic and social construction needs the same sense of urgency and drive which the working people of Ghana gave to the clarion call for the fight for independence.

It is in this same light that the Labour Movement resolved to play its full role in the drive for industrial and social reconstruction.

No one in Ghana is more interested in the Nation's economic advancement than the workers who form the Ghana Trades Union Movement—the Industrial Wing of the dynamic Convention People's Party, the people's vanguard organisation—patronised by its illustrious Leader, Kwame Nkrumah, Life Chairman and General Secretary of the Party and President of the Republic of Ghana. It is characteristic of the change in mentality and outlook that has occurred among the working people of a liberated and free Ghana that they begin to comprehend that in a society and with an economy advancing towards socialism, the workers have a tremendous stake in the transformation of industries and services into efficient and productive units as part of the broad pattern of planned progress towards prosperity and economic independence. Indeed political independence cannot long endure if a new nation does not embark quickly in taking firm steps in the direction of standing on its own feet economically.

Ghana has embarked upon an ambitious programme of industrialisation and new projects have been and are being inaugurated in great numbers. Existing industrial activities are being intensified and enlarged in scope in accordance with the same urge to have and utilise the vast natural resources in Ghana for the benefit of the Nation.

This great dream of a prosperous, healthy, educated and happy people is being translated into reality by steady and sure-footed advance towards the goals of social reconstruction which Kwame Nkrumah set before the Trades Union Movement.

But the progress on this chosen path of rapid economic and social advance depends not only on the wealth with which Ghana, is endowed nor even upon the modern machines and devices which advanced science will provide—these are only a part of the picture which must be complemented by any human element, but also upon the application of the muscles and brains, goodwill and enthusiasm, devoted and honest effort of the Trades Union Movement at every stage of productive process.

This is essential not only at the machine but at every single corner and post in the national economy. Efficiency and productivity are not the preserve of the engineer and technician alone. These are concerned with the way every single worker expands his efforts and what the results are. Neither the roadpaver nor the civil servant in his office is exempted from this. Both teacher and cleaner learn to do their job better as a result of the application of new methods.

Having emerged finally and victoriously from the bonds of colonialism every worker realises that waste of time at work, energy, materials or equipment is tantamount to the throwing away of valuable assets belonging to the Nation.

The Trades Union Movement ensures that the worker who causes the squandering of any of these or who does not because of carelessness or sloth take fullest advantage of their use, becomes an impediment

in the productive process of the Nation and robs his fellow workers and himself of his.

Ghana has embarked on the road to socialism. This means that she is endeavouring to create a society within which there will be no exploitation of man by man and where the results of the efforts of the workers will accrue to them collectively as a nation and individually in terms of better life for all the people.

## POSITIVE ROLE

The role of the Ghana Trades Union Movement in this process is therefore a positive one, namely ensure that its members understand that the task facing them is the successful transformation of Ghana into a socialist State and to regard themselves as part of the Party—which forms the Government and which is waging a relentless war to eradicate the vestiges of colonialism, as well as poverty, disease, ignorance and squalor. Workers in Ghana are fortunate to have the status of the labour movement elevated to a dignified and responsible position. The Labour Movement's achievements on behalf of the workers have been considerable.

With the legal position of the Labour Movement being guaranteed by the Industrial Relations Act enacted in 1959, and its subsequent amendments and the integral connection with the dynamic Convention People's Party the difference between its present position and role those of colonial days when it had to struggle against antagonistic governments become apparent.

Because the Trades Union Movement and the workers know how the tremendous value of a productive economy to the Nation, the working people are determined not to take a passive role in the promotion of methods, systems, and programmes to achieve these ends. The Ghana Trades Union Congress desires to take an active and enthusiastic part in modernizing Ghana's economy. The workers understand and co-operate willingly in the great challenge facing the Nation. They rest assured that their leaders will do all in their power to bring this objective of better planning for better work for the benefit of all, to fruition.

## JOINT PRODUCTIVITY COMMITTEES

For sometimes, now, Ghana Trades Movement and the Ghana Employer's Association have been consulting each other on topics of mutual interest with a desire to evolve the spirit of harmony in their decisions, goals and policies in the private sector of the economy.

It is anticipated that the approach will enhance the stabilisation of industrial relations and bolster up public confidence in the ability of labour and management to resolve their differences and co-operate in building our economy. These joint consultative meetings have resulted in the setting up of joint Productivity Committees to cover employment both in the public and private sectors. The objects of the Committees are to improve productivity, efficiency, and the quality of goods; to achieve more competitive prices and delivery; to improve management techniques, to institute training at all levels of industry and to undertake industrial research and dissemination of technical information.

Four representatives each from the two organisations make up the Committee. Provision is also made for additional expert masters for co-optation.

## PRODUCTIVITY STUDY COURSES AND CONFERENCE

Over a year ago, in pursuance of the exhortations embodied in Kwame Nkrumah's talk to the First Biennial Congress of the Movement in connection with the increase in productivity of goods and services in the country and following the publication of the Party's Programme for "Work and Happiness", a Productivity Promotions Department of the Movement was created and charged with the organisation of courses and seminars to prepare the workers and Trades Union officials to play well their leading role in the industrial revolution now taking place in Ghana.

The Department accordingly organised courses for a period of one month with the following subjects as the curriculum:—

1. Job Evaluation and Classification
2. Time and Motion Study
3. Personnel Administration Organisation and Practice
4. Collective Bargaining
5. Industrial Psychology
6. Aptitude Testing
7. Operational Methods
8. Incentive Schemes
9. Group Dynamics
10. Joint Productivity Councils
11. Sales Management and
12. Purchasing and Store-keeping.

On completion of the course, the trainees were posted to various State-owned factories and establishments to enable them to gain practical experience—these attachments lasted for a month.

Thereafter, refresher courses were arranged for them followed by other postings and advanced Productivity Courses for selected candidates in overseas institutions and factories.

Soon after the local courses for the workers and Trades Union officials, a National Productivity Conference was held at the University of Ghana, Legon, which brought together representatives of labour and employment in all sectors of the economy including academic institutions and productivity experts from Ghana and abroad to study and discuss the various aspects of the problem of increasing productivity in Ghana's industries and services.

The Trades Union Movement in initiating this activity responded to the challenge placed before the organised workers of Ghana at the First Biennial Congress of the Movement by Kwame Nkrumah.

Barely nine months ago, he launched Ghana's Seven-Year Development Plan which aims at setting Ghana on the road to socialism.

## THE TRADES UNION MOVEMENT AND THE PLAN

In response to the call for the last onslaught, the Trades Union Movement is charged with the expansion in every possible way, through a variety of forms of ownership, the productive capacity of Ghana; so that, on the basis of this expansion of productivity forces and the growth of actual material values, socialism can be constructed in Ghana.

The Trades Union Movement therefore, in a transitional stage between capitalist and socialist relations in industry and in some sections of the

country's agriculture. This transition called "the mixed economy" presents very complex problems for the Movement because it has to work under conditions of different sets of production relations to achieve one aim, namely, the success of the Seven-Year Plan.

Basically, the Seven-Year Development Plan has the following features:—

- (a) The economy must be developed rapidly and efficiently so that within the shortest possible time it can assure a higher rate of productivity and a high level of living for each citizen.
- (b) The incomes which accrue to people as a result of organising their physical assets and human labour should be utilised for socially purposeful needs.
- (c) The community as a whole should play a positive role in the economy in order to ensure the attainment of a high level of economic growth.

The essence of the socialist economic policy is concern for the needs of the people and steady improvement in the material and cultural living conditions and labour of the working people. Steady improvement in the material living conditions of the people, however, necessarily depends on interrupted development of the productive forces of the society and on raising productivity of labour only by steadily increasing the production of material wealth is possible to guarantee substantial improvements in the living conditions of the working people of Ghana. And this, in turn, is an essential factor in, and a prerequisite for, stimulating the development of the productive forces and increasing production of labour.

The Trades Union Movement believes that education of its rank and file—both ideological and technical—example and incentive all combined, will lead to a big upsurge in the ranks of organised labour for the achievement of the Plan in the shortest possible time—if not ahead of the scheduled Seven Years.

The regulation of relations and the definition of spheres of work of the various wings of the Party is very important, though the dividing lines cannot be rigid. The Party is a mass party and mobilises hundreds of thousands of people for the all round political, social

and economic struggle for the general aims of the Plan and for the building of Socialism. This is the leading force in the Ghanaian society and cannot be replaced by any other organisation whose functions, while vitally important is to operate on a less general level. Every worker is a member of the Trades Union by virtue of his presence at some point of production, but every worker is not a member of the Party in the active sense.

## ORGANISATION

The Trades Union Movement, therefore, organises the workers in precisely that capacity and it is at the point of production and in his production relations that the Trades Union Movement will affect most directly. It is indeed through these mass organisations that the Party strengthens its links with the masses.

The Trades Union Movement, however, has a specially important part to play because it organises the most advanced section of the people, the working people; those whose basic interests have no important links with the past and who have everything to gain by the building of Socialism.

The Movement encourages both ideological and technical education of its members

through series of courses offered at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute based at Winneba. It also provides education for all levels of the Movement especially those who give the day to day leadership at branch and factory level, gives them general socialist understanding, a grasp of scientific socialist principles, and teaches them how society develops and changes, how they can create a new society, how man changes himself. It also teaches the basic law of Socialism and other aspects of political economy. The Trades Union Movement of Ghana desires to create a type of worker, the worker intellectual, who will be in the vanguard of socialist labour and construction.

## AFRICAN UNITY

African Unity is recognised among all trade unionists as a necessity for the future of Africa. It is the duty of the Ghana Trades Union Movement to press for it on all fronts within Ghana and in Africa. The Movement makes the people continuously aware of the fact that they belong to an African Continent and must begin to think seriously in terms of being Africans, first and foremost. This ensures that when the time comes for unity the conscious-

ness of the people will be ready for it.

This point is entrenched in the Republican Constitution of Ghana i.e. that Ghana is prepared to surrender its sovereignty in order to create unity. Kwame Nkrumah's books—"Africa Must Unite" and "Consciencism" advocate for this most important aspect of the African Revolution. The time is ripe for these ideas to be presented to Africa.

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Ghana Trades Union Movement supports the non-aligned policy pursued by the Party and Government in International Affairs; and maintains close liaison with all International Trade Union Organisations ensuring, however, that the interest of African labour organised in the A.A.T.U.F.—All African Trade Union Federation—remains the cornerstone of its policies and activities.

by

Sami vander Puije

## SCIENCE & POLITICS

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A new scientific and industrial revolution is not in itself a sufficient guarantee of universal well-being. It certainly cannot be a substitute for social revolution; and we delude ourselves if we imagine any such choice is open to us. The major significance of the increasing power of science and technology is that it must make more urgent the demand for a revolutionary change in social structure.

## SOCIALISM

Only a socialist revolution will serve. The fantastic potential of the new techniques can only be controlled to give us a maintained increasing national wealth, with the degree of planning of industry and trade that is only possible with the social ownership of national resources. And only in social ownership have we any guarantee that the increased

wealth will appear in the form of a general enjoyment of prosperity, rather than luxury, power and privilege for the few. The new scientific revolution can only come to full fruition with the nurturing of all the talent in our people; and again socialism is the only society where the barriers of educational privilege can be completely broken down.

The argument is not that we should put aside any serious concern for the new scientific and industrial revolution until socialism is achieved. There are a number of policies for which we must work now. The expansion of opportunities in education at all levels; the improvement of facilities for research in science and technology, in universities and colleges; the expansion of medical research; the extension of public ownership of industry, which could ensure proper technological development; and these are in fact some of

the signposts along the road of the new scientific revolution. Such policies deserve and need the wholehearted support of the working class movement.

At the same time let us make certain they are not pursued lending support, in effect to an attempt to infuse new blood into capitalism. British workers are not Luddites. They want to see Britain making the fullest possible use of "the opportunities offered us by the scientific revolution". But it would be a tragic humiliation for the British Labour Movement if its political strength were lent to help in the sort of modernisation which resulted first and foremost in the greater exploitation of British workers and workers of other lands. It is the responsibility of Communists to ensure that the Labour movement campaigns around these issues as part of the fight for socialism. We must keep our priorities right: heading the list must remain the socialist revolution.

## Editorial

Continued from page 3

development of this ideological offensive. The fourth gain by the African Revolution in 1964 is made up of the solid achievements recorded in the economic and cultural spheres in the countries of radical African nationalism. While Ghana, U.A.R., Algeria, Mali and a few others have commendable progress to report, other African countries, who seem to rely primarily on hand-outs and subventions from the former colonial masters, have nothing to show but growing unrest among their peoples. This fact constitutes a major triumph for the African Revolution. For once the policy of self-reliance can chalk up greater successes than the much-vaunted partnerships with the former masters, a great myth is exploded. African states can now assert their per-

sonalities, confident that there is an effective alternative policy to that of over-dependence on foreign capital. As if to dramatise this truth, the evidence of the past few months is that foreign capital is making every effort to enter precisely those African countries where economic development is based on the principle of self-reliance. In short, to act the obedient boy is no longer the passport to foreign assistance and economic growth. To enumerate these achievements is not to aver that it has been all progress in 1964. In the Congo, the African Revolution has lost grounds, though our forces there are still capable of mounting a big new offensive in the near future. In South Africa, apartheid is still firmly entrenched thanks to military and economic support from the western powers. The Portuguese fight on in Angola and Mozambique

thanks to NATO arms supply and U.S. economic support. In Southern Rhodesia, the African Revolution has made diplomatic gains but it seems everything is being done by imperialism to create a stalemate. And in most independent African states, neo-colonialism still seeks to perpetuate itself through economic and military control.

All these adverse aspects; however, point to one conclusion: we cannot hope for big new advances in these sectors without a great measure of co-ordinated action on a continental scale. In other words, the problems facing the African Revolution pose the need for continental political union. Looked at from this angle, even the reverses suffered by the African Revolution indirectly help the forward march of our cause. Because these reverses spotlight the greatest weakness in our strategy—the absence of continental political direction.



# Letter on the One-Party System

DEAR Comrade Ikoku,

Your excellent article on "The One-Party System in Africa" appeared in the December 4 issue of THE SPARK. I found in it a great wealth of information and several new points which I have not seen in other places. Such, for instance, was your statement, "To shut the door politically on the incipient African capitalist class is to handicap the operation of neo-colonialism".

In the course of this article, however, you used as your second supporting contention "that the big capitalist powers of the world today did not start as multi-party systems." You attempted to include the United States: "From the Declaration of Independence in 1775 to the formation of the Republican Party in 1856—some 80 years—the U.S.A. was a one-party state."

The facts do not bear out this statement. I am constrained—purely in friendly fashion—to bring against you your own remark, "The greatest mistake we make in assessing political systems is to confuse the form with the substance."

The U.S.A. HAS been and NOW is a one-party state IN ESSENCE. But it was not so until the 20th century. The reasons for this are as follows: political parties, as we know, express, on the purely political level, definite CLASS interests; usually ruling classes, as you have pointed out. However, during the bourgeois democratic revolutionary upsurges of the 18th Century and early 19th, for perhaps the first time in history, the masses of people were on the move. They were correctly convinced that the interests of the new rising burghers were also—even if it turned out to be a temporary condition—their own. Thus, different OWNING classes found it possible to gather around their particular interests a mass base.

The very fact that the Federalists represented counter-revolution explains why, with the success of the revolution itself, their class base was undermined and their party began to disintegrate a process completed on a country-wide scale following the party's last national campaign in 1816.

### "ONE-PARTY ERA"

From the latter year until 1821, occurred in the U.S. what has usually been CALLED a "one-party era"—a mere eight years, which was the ONLY period in early U.S. history when no contending parties existed IN NAME. But did this represent in the sense you used it in your article, "a one-party dictatorship of a new ruling class?" I offer page 240 of "The Rise of the American Nation," by Francis Franklin, one of the few attempts by U.S. Marxists to examine American history (in this case, up to 1824 only) in detail from a Marxist viewpoint:

version of the present Electoral College by the adoption of the 12th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1804, only 15 years after Washington's inauguration as first President).

From 1832 to 1856, when you noted the founding of the Republican Party of today, the Whigs, who were also known as "National Republicans," contended with the Democrats, as Jefferson's party became known from Andrew Jackson's time on.

Again, these political parties expressed basic CLASS DIFFERENCES and were REAL political parties. In the 1890's, the Populists for a time expressed the aspirations of the then large numbers of American small farmers. William Jennings Bryant's "Free Silver" Party was probably the last political party to represent the "little man".

### BIG BUSINESS

For, in 1876, with the falsified election of Rutherford Hayes, the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln SOLD OUT to Northern Big Business. This deed, expressing the national consolidation of a growingly powerful capitalist class, laid the basis for what has become a TRUE one-party state IN ESSENCE, though not in form.

From the end of World War I, when U.S. capitalism emerged on the international scene immensely strengthened out of their economic shenanigans with "the Allies," the two major existing parties began less to represent any difference in CLASS interests. They contended over spoils and methods. Even Franklin D. Roosevelt, beloved by the American people in his time, did all his great work in the interests of saving U.S. and world capitalism—which he accomplished.

### EVIDENCE OF A DICTATORSHIP

Therefore, as Kofi Baako has also noted, the U.S. DOES furnish evidence of a one-party dictatorship, but NOT in its EARLY history. Actually, you yourself do not confine your demonstration of one-party realities under capitalism to the formation of bourgeois rule. On the contrary, some of the one-party systems you name express DYING rather than RISING NEW classes, as in the cases of Hitler and Franco.

The basic touchstone, it seems to me, is the CLASS STRUCTURE of a given society, rather than a FORM—the single political party.

The one-party state in Africa, solely in a socialist context of course, expresses and implements the FACT that not just one class but the ENTIRE AFRICAN PEOPLE of all classes have been and are exploited by INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALISM. Since there were MANY ge-

nuine classes of varied interests in early U.S. genuine one-party rule not only did take place; it could not have, as Marxist analysis confirms.

If early U.S. was NOT a one-party system, but modern U.S. IS, this is the inevitable consequence of the fact that today, the minority ruling class in the U.S. is ONE—Kwame Nkrumah's "fascist imperialist" finance capital in all the ugliness of its "military—industrial complex." Thus THEIR one-party system represents the REACTIONARY rule of a MINORITY OF OPPRESSORS. OUR one-party system represents the PROGRESSIVE rule of an ENTIRE SOCIETY, using its State to repress ONLY the few OUTSIDE FORMER OPPRESSORS, gradually to eliminate them AS A CLASS, and to prevent their extension of exploitation through the small beginnings of an African capitalist class.

### NOT NECESSARY?

May I suggest that it is not necessary, in order to prove the excellent points you brought forward for the one-party system in Africa, to prove that ALL bourgeois revolutions used one-party systems.

I hope you will forgive me for taking exception to you, especially since I am a fan of yours. My experience has been that FACTS always work FOR Marxists, who have no cause to fear them. I assume you were unacquainted with these particular facts. The dis-

ussion I offer is only important, since it is a minor point, insofar as such a misstatement can lay your entire argument open to specious "refutation" simply on this small basis, by

such enemies as, for instance, U.S.I.S.,

Comradely Yours,  
H. W. Edwards,  
P. O. Box 3441,  
KUMASI.

### NOTE:

We publish the above letter unedited from one of our regular readers, on the request of Mr. S. G. IKOKU.

The fact that small parties mushroomed and withered in early U.S. history does not invalidate Mr. Ikoku's point that the U.S. started its life as a one-party state. Furthermore, these parties, one replacing the other in rapid succession, were all mouthpieces of the same class—the capitalist class even though elements of this class operated in different spheres like agriculture, industry and commerce.

The letter highlights an important point in the politics of bourgeois society. The several political groupings merely express to the political class demands of rival economic interests that make up the capitalist class.

Comrade Edward's assertion that the one-party system in Africa "implements economic homogeneity. It is the FACT that not just one class but the ENTIRE AFRICAN PEOPLE of all classes have been and are exploited by INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALISM" is unacceptable to us.

First, it is incorrect. There is abundant evidence that some classes (or social strata if you prefer) came into being or became privileged sections of

our African society as a direct result of the impact of imperialism. And as the struggle against imperialism gained momentum these elements took up positions more and more as allies of imperialism mushroomed and withered in early U.S. history does not invalidate Mr. Ikoku's point that the U.S. started its life as a one-party state. Furthermore, these parties, one replacing the other in rapid succession, were all mouthpieces of the same class—the capitalist class even though elements of this class operated in different spheres like agriculture, industry and commerce.

Secondly, Comrade Edward's assertion leads logically to the view that there are no classes—economic classes with conflicting interests and viewpoints—in contemporary African society. But there are, even if the capitalist class is incipient, weak and parasitic.

The one-party system in socialist Africa, therefore, is not an expression of social and economic homogeneity. It is the FACT that not just one class but the ENTIRE AFRICAN PEOPLE of all classes have been and are exploited by INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALISM because it allows the will of the masses to register and denies neo-colonialism and her allies in contemporary African society the room for effective operation.

—The Editor.

### OPPOSING POLITICAL DIVISIONS

W. E. Woodward, in his "New American History", says, on pp.267-270: "With the passing of time, the people of the country drifted slowly into one or the other of TWO opposing political divisions.

On one side were the Hamiltonians, called Federalists. This was the PARTY OF CONSERVATISM, DEVOTED PRIMARILY TO THE INTERESTS OF THE CAPITALIST AND MERCANTILE CLASS... In the other camp were the Jeffersonians, who called themselves Anti-federalists at first, but this name was soon succeeded by Republican, or Democratic-Republican. In a few years... Jefferson's party became (known as) the Democratic Party... Although among the followers of Jefferson were many large planters, the party in the main represented the common people—the small farmers, little merchants, and the workmen of the towns... As a party, it was largely AGRARIAN in aim and outlook." (ALL CAPS in quotations are mine—H.E.)

These two parties not only contended, but did so with a bitterness seldom equalled even in bitter U.S. political history. Woodward's explanation, on p.290, op. cit., is that, whatever the immediate issue, "the fight in reality was a battle between the agrarians on the one side and the capitalists on the other. IT WAS A CLASS WAR, WITH DISTINCTIONS SHARPLY DRAWN." This comment is not satisfactory to Marxists, because it obscures the MAIN point, which is that the struggle between these two Political Parties was in reality the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution.

It was not fortuitous that the Hamiltonians were at first derisively dubbed "the English party." Thus, the "agrarians" were also capitalists—but the new rising MODERN capitalists—whose first revolution was successfully carried through in the New World. The ones Woodward calls "capitalists" were the OLD mercantile interests which would gladly have strangled the "agrarians." But it WAS, certainly, a CLASS WAR, as Woodward notes.

When the Federalist Party thus fell apart, Franklin explains, "Its members moved into the Republican Party, for there was nowhere else to go (not a ruling class tactic, therefore—H.E.). So discredited were the Federalist leaders that not even a new party could be formed. Thus, after 1816, the (Jeffersonian) Republican Party began to embrace all free classes. ON THE SURFACE, party strife on a national scale ceased. Not until 1832 was a second party—the Whigs—OFFICIALLY formed, although in 1824 organized factions openly and officially ran candidates for the Presidency. For this reason, the period of 1816 to 1824 has generally been called the 'Era of Good Feeling' or the 'Period of Harmony'... However, the UNITY WAS SURFACE-DEEP, and expressed merely the fact that THE CLASSES CONTENDED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ONE PARTY."

There was unity only because the strength of democracy was such that none of the exploiting classes—merchants, industrialists, or slaveholders—could find a mass base outside of the Republican Party. THE CLASS CONFLICT, therefore, took place within (original emphasis—H.E.) that party and led to the formation of factions which, in 1824, tore it asunder... The superficiality of the so-called "harmony" was revealed by the fact that it was during the years of the greatest formal unity within the Republican Party that there occurred the bitter fight over Missouri, during which for the first time the THREAT OF SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR arose from the slaveholders of the South."

### METHOD OF ELECTION

(But perhaps, in your U.S. one-party reference, you had in mind the fact that a method of election was used in the first few Presidential contests which resulted—for instance—in Federalist John Adams becoming the second President with a Democratic-Republican Vice-President, Thomas Jefferson? If so, the representation of both parties as top officials of U.S. Government did NOT represent UNITY at all, but a defect in the electoral system. Accordingly, the latter was altered to an early

## A DISCUSSION ON:

# The Quest for Happiness

I AM not at all sure that in their discussion for "The Quest for Happiness" Jean Feldmar and Jane Winter do not tacitly incline towards a view of the nature of man which undermines their apparent purpose. They are supported in this inclination by Professor Schaff who, as they remark, "reminds us that Marxism originated from concern about the individual and his welfare". They then follow Schaff in claiming that there has been a "theoretical gap" in the development of Marxism between this concern and that for economics and politics which Marxists have been forced by circumstances to concentrate their attentions upon. If this is so, then we should make some effort to close the gap in view of the importance the plight of the individual assumes under modern conditions both in the socialist and non-socialist world.

It seems to me fruitless to pursue this line of argument without some preliminary consideration of the basic presumptions that are being made. To begin with, if I am right in presuming that the claim "that Marxism originated from concern about the individual and his welfare" refers to the early views of Marx, those of about 1844, then this suggestion is misleading. Unless I have gravely misunderstood the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, Marx's view appears there to be that the plight of the individual is fabricated by the process he refers to as "alienation"; man begins to feel his plight to be individual rather than social as a result of his estrangement from other men. This estrangement and the isolation (and hence loneliness) of the individual which it creates is of fundamental importance to the discussions launched by Jean Feldmar and Jane Winter. The relevant document for considering Marx's early views on the matter is Private Property and Communism etc. in the volume already mentioned.

In this series of notes Marx sets forth, amongst other things, his opinions on the nature of man. It is, he observes, only in social activity that man's "natural existence becomes his human existence"; man, that is, ceases to be merely animal and becomes specifically human only through social activity. And Marx goes on to point out that even in their solitariness men remain social beings:

### NATURE OF MAN

"...when I am engaged in activity which I can seldom perform in direct community with others... I am social, because I am active as man. Not only is the material of my activity given me as a social product (as is even the language in which the thinker is active); my own existence is social

activity, and therefore that which I make of myself, I make of myself for society and with the consciousness of myself as a social being. My general consciousness is only the theoretical shape of that of which the living shape is the real community the social fabric, although at the present day general consciousness is an abstraction from real life and as such antagonistically confronts it."

Finally, he issues a warning which we would do well to remember in trying to reach some fuller understanding of the plight of the individual: "What is to be avoided above all is the re-establishment of 'Society' as an abstraction vis-a-vis the individual. The individual is the social being."

Marxism, then, originated in a rejection of the liberal humanitarian emphasis upon the individual which we find in

"The Quest for Happiness". It was rejected because it depends upon a false distinction between the separate individual and the social being such as is explicitly made by Jean Feldmar and Jane Winter when they express misgivings at the thought of any attempt "to make children into social

by Raymond Southall

beings before they have fully emerged as separate individuals". The juxtaposition of a "concern about the individual and his welfare" and "politics and economics" is only a more general form of the same distinction.

### CONCRETE RELATIONSHIP

Fundamental to this latter distinction is the belief that politics and economics deal in abstract relations which, because they are abstract, have no specific bearing upon the individual plight. In The Poverty of Philosophy (1846-7) Marx pours scorn upon Proudhon for adopting precisely this bastard-Hegelian point of view. Marxism originated not in abstracting the plight of the individual from the study of politics and economics, but in the perception that the content of politics and economics is the concrete relationships of actual men and women; and it is only in such relationships that men and women realise their individuality and come to exist as men and women.

Happiness, fear, anxiety, tragedy, etc., are not, therefore, ness upon them—and feel only

to be considered as states of mind and feeling of an individual in the liberal humanitarian sense (i.e. as an isolated being) they are qualities of human relationships, relationships made in the pursuit of other ends and for the satisfaction of other needs. These other ends and other needs are those which can be generally described as political and economic. Marxist economics, for instance, reveal how in capitalist society relationships between people take upon themselves the appearance of relationships between people and things and how it is, therefore, that people become emotionally dependent upon things—they hate them, love them, fear them, found their happi-

obscurly the human relationships that private property represents. Their world is filled with a dim and undetermined sense of unknown modes of being disembodied forces working obscurely to shape their destinies, as Wordsworth felt them to be shaping his. And "The increase in the quantity of objects," Marx remarked, "is accompanied by an extension of the realm of the alien powers to which man is subjected."

Their hatred and fear, their happiness, love and anxiety appears to depend upon forces over which man can have no control and which are beyond the scope of human understanding. There then appears to be, as Jean Feldmar and Jane Winter bear witness to, areas of human behaviour motivated by dark irrational forces. And with the growth of affluence (what Marx calls "The increase in the quantity of objects") the dark irrational forces extend their powers.

### CAPITALISM AND FRUSTRATION

It is not uncommon, as Jean Feldmar and Jane object; the frustrations created by an emo-

tional dependence upon things and the alien, inscrutable forces which surround them will take for the object almost anything which chance throws up—a particular situation, a policy, a person or persons, money, clothes, pets, cars, houses. Of course the passion these things release is irrational; megalomania—(over-specialisation) has become a common-place and more and more people are failing to find a suitable object for their frustrations and are either sinking further and further into the Slough of Despond (or depression, if you like) or are creating fantastic objects, like Harvey in the film, and retreating into a private world of dreams, leading their own secret life of Walter Mitty. One could put the whole matter crudely but succinctly by saying that the dissociation and emotional deterioration associated with schizophrenia is what we actually find Marx describing when he writes of estrangement. And that, similarly, depression and anxiety are symptomatic of a social condition.

### AREA OF PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The fact that in class society, capitalism particularly, human relationships are continuously frustrated and that men and women are consequently prevented from a satisfactory realisation of their own humanity (sociability) indicates a fruitful area of psychological research. Is it purely accidental, for instance, that at the highest stage of development of class society, when it is already beginning to break down, stress diseases become so widespread.

### SELF-CRITICISM

To believe that this suffering and deprivation will automatically disappear with the advent of socialism is ridiculous. Immeasurable damage has been done to the emotional life of man throughout the millennia he has lived in class society, and it passes to socia-

Continued on page 6



# AGGRESSION IN THE CONGO

IN the last few weeks there has been a spate of virulent attacks on Africa in the Western press. This has been precipitated by recent events in turbulent Congo. In a five-page article punctuated with photographs and maps, the "Time Magazine" of the U.S. said inter alia "Black African civilization—with its elaborate trappings of half a hundred sovereignties, governments and U.N. delegations—is largely a pretence. The rebels were after all, for the most part, only a rabble of dazed, ignorant savages, used and abused by semi-sophisticated leaders."

In the U.N., Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. Permanent Representative has described African protests against the U.S.-Belgian invasion of Stanleyville as "irrational and irresponsible". Accusing African states of racialism, he continued: "We had hoped that the era of racial discrimination which has poisoned the atmosphere of Africa was coming to an end."

This vernom is in sharp contrast to the overwhelming condemnation which the U.S.-Belgian aggression has received in most other parts of the world. What are the arguments of the two sides?

In fine the West maintain that this aggressive intervention was justified on two grounds. First and foremost, the action was humanitarian and was made necessary by the intransigence and the unacceptable demands of revolutionary President Gbenye and his men. Secondly, the revolutionaries are as the *Time* has said, in reality savage rebels fighting the legitimate government of the Congo. For these two reasons the Western world feels pious enough to express shock and distress not only over the "barbarity" of the Congolese "rebels" but even more so over the "inhumanity" African states which have condemned the "holy crusade" in the Congo.

One would have liked that the calculated action were pure and unacted by any ulterior motive and that this piety, this shock, this revulsion for human suffering were truly humanitarian and unlimited by any line or wall of prejudice. For that would have meant a

change of heart, the beginning of the reign of justice and a new hope for the world.

## HUMANITARIANISM?

But the shallowness of their excuse for the aggression and the prejudices that have actuated their abhorrence and sorrow are all too clear. To accept the plea of humanitarianism for this act of aggression, we would have to know the Western definition of it. According to the *Time Magazine*, "The marble steps below the rain-blanching image (of the late Patrice Lumumba) were discoloured with the blood of more than 100 Congolese executed in recent months: even before the rebels turned on the whites, they had brutally exterminated black opponents of their arcane revolutionary cause."

One naturally wonders whether the 100 Congolese executed and those others "brutally exterminated" were not hu-

manbeings. If they were, why was no humanitarian mission sent to save their lives? Was it because they were black? What did the godly West do about the three men recently executed in South Africa and the many more known and unknown who have suffered horrible deaths at the hands of Verwoerd and his gang? Has any Christian nation sent any humanitarian mission to South Africa? It seems "civilized" and "merciful" U.S. has conveniently forgotten the three civil right martyrs of Mississippi.

Surely for humanitarian reasons the African countries wish they were powerful enough to send mercy missions to the U.S., South Africa and Rhodesia to save the lives of countless oppressed people whose lives may be ended any moment by the callous hand of a white man.

In the heart of "civilization", in the U.S., "the greatest power on earth", "the greatest civilization in history", "the seat of democracy", 22 million people are denied basic human rights and are butchered for their cry for freedom and equality. Upon this pinnacle of Western civilization, the K.K.K. holds men in constant terror because of the colour of their skin and raving racists like Wallace and Goldwater hold or aspire to hold the reigns of power and of justice.

Yet despite this horrid catalogue of racial bigotry and

atrocities, the U.S. Permanent Representative to the U.N. has the nerve to charge African states with racism. The proverb says: "When the opportunity falls first to the pot, it tells the dish: 'You are black'."

by  
**Obotan Awuku**

But one would even ask: Who is it that practises racial discrimination in Africa, Black Africa or "white" South Africa and Rhodesia?

And isn't it just naive for the 'honourable representative of the U.S. to think that mere condemnation of apartheid is enough to dispel the racial poison in South Africa? Surely, among decent nations the U.S. is least qualified to criticize any other nation on racial discrimination. Certainly thinking Americans (and I am sure there are many) will wince at the fact that the representative of the "greatest nation on earth" made such a poor show at the greatest gathering on earth.

Far from being humanitarian, the U.S.-Belgian airlift to Stanleyville was a simple act of aggression and of treachery. It was an aggressive act because it was an operation by foreign powers calculated to smother the legitimate aspirations of the Congolese people. It was treacherous because it was a preconceived act whose initiation only awaited an opportune moment. That moment came when Gbenye was alleged to have bluffed about wearing the hearts of Belgians and Americans and dressing in their skins as fetishes. As the *Time Magazine* itself says, the invading troops had been lying in readiness on Britain's Assension Island for (at least) a week before the airlift. This was while the O.A.U. Conciliation Commission on the Congo was strenuously trying to conciliate the opposing forces, the revolutionary government of Stanleyville on one side and Tshombe's Leopoldville government supported by

the U.S. and Belgian on the other. Clearly, the O.A.U. negotiations were simply used by the aggressors as a screen behind which preparations were being made for the attack upon the earliest possible pretext.

As to the legitimacy of Tshombe's government and of the revolutionaries being rebels, one would have to consider the whole question of the justification for any revolution, any struggle against any form of domination and oppression. The current Congolese government is a classic example of how legality can be made a cloak for injustice and domination. The infamous role of the U.S. in the Congo, the subterfuges, stratagems and intrigues by which she hoisted Tshombe unto the seat of power, are well-known. It is the filthy fruits of these ignoble deeds that now constitute legality in the Congo and the basis for legitimate action by intruders and interventionists. Truly imperialism has as much conscience as a snake has hips. The episode makes nonsense of democracy and constitutionality.

## THE TRUTH

But who in this age would deny a slave the right to break his chains? Who but the most laggard and unenlightened of colonialist powers and the most inveterate of quislings can condemn a colonial people for taking arms against foreign domination? The people of the Congo justly feel that the Government of Leopoldville is not their own, that it is in actuality a puppet regime in the hands of the U.S. and her allies. They feel in effect, that it is a colonial government dressed in Congolese garbs. This is the unalloyed truth and the sole reason for revolt and unrest in the Congo.

If colonial struggle can be justified, as it is in our age, then the Congolese people's struggle must also be justified. If sovereignty anywhere can be said to rest with the people, and that the will of the people constitute legitimacy in a democracy, then the people of the

Congo have every right to set up a new government anywhere in the country and their expressed will must constitute the basis of legitimacy. But perhaps the democratic West are prepared to admit that they are instituting a dictatorship in the Congo.

It seems some people must begin to put on their thinking caps. But it is these very people who lament over the flight of judgment to "brutish beasts". Says the *Time Magazine*, "For the foreseeable future, Black Africa is beyond the reach of reason." Reason—some reason indeed! The lust for gold can so distort the minds of men that what is seems not to be and what is not seems to be. Which is the sane part of the world which the *Time* speaks of? That part which sees the inevitability of freedom, justice and equality over the earth or that part which does not?

The magazine talks of mercenaries fighting for Tshombe's government out of conviction. What sort of conviction—white supremacy, neo-colonialism and economic domination? And whom are these mercenaries fighting, foreigners and enemies of the country or millions of Congolese nationals crying for a chance to shape their own destiny? Can the West have so short a memory? If reason which is beyond Africa is with them, can they then not see that the same spirit that made them fight Hitler animates Africans in their struggle for freedom and that the same sentiment that makes them sing their national anthems inspires us to die for independence?

But this is not a matter of reason. It is a matter of a callous desire to dominate and exploit, a matter of being incensed over stubborn resistance to such domination.

It is natural to express sorrow over wanton loss of life. But are the West justified in saying that such occurrences are evidences of savagery, and that any civilization is for that reason a pretence? Then is Western civilization a pretence, Western ethics a sham and Western democracy a parody. For who can match the West in atrocities? What savagery can atrophy the Nazi holocaust? What callousness can parallel the bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki? What bestiality can compare with Portuguese and South African inhumanities in Africa? All these have occurred very late in the twentieth century. We are not even counting now the inhuman slave trade and the extermination of Red Indians in America and the Aborigines in Australia.

To every atrocious act by Africans, there are numerous ones committed by Western plunderers and imperialists. To every Paul Carlsson, we have numberless Lumumbas killed not by accident but murdered in cold blood. To every murdered nun or monk there are countless lynchings, mutilations and tortures of people of African descent in the Western world.

Surely Africa is no darker than Europe or America. Perhaps the black green canopy of the kingly trees in Africa may remind a stranger of "the earliest beginnings of the world". But the hearts of the people underneath, are warm, friendly and humanitarian! Men are more human, I say, under the prehistoric trees and along the "oddy lyrical little paths," than they are beneath the skyscrapers and besides the machines. Perhaps a little prehistoric warmth will do well in the concrete and steel civilization where men's hearts are as hard and cold as their machines.

## French and Arabic Courses at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba

Mr. Kodwo Addison, Member of Presidential Commission and Director of Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, recently inaugurated the French Department at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute. The courses of studies will be conducted in the French Language for Students from Congo Brazzaville.

A week earlier the Arabic Department was opened at the Institute.

The Institute now conducts courses in three languages—English, Arabic and French.

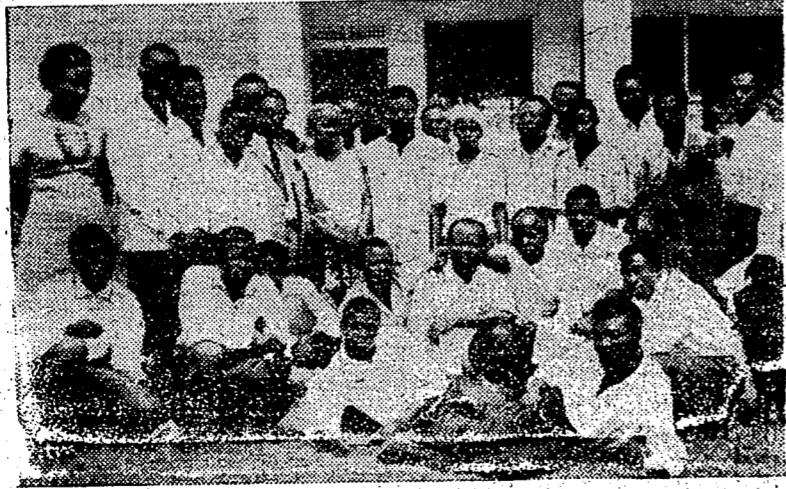
Speaking at the ceremony, Mr. Addison outlined the role of the Institute in the furtherance of Ghana's African policy. The full text of the speech is given below.

IN keeping with the principles of Nkrumaism the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute considers it imperative to establish a French Department in the Institute. The benefits of such a department to Ghana and Africa are many for the department will serve as the main hinge upon which African Unity can be realised while the lecturers, students and other workers in the department will be the connecting links between various sections of the African Community.

Decolonisation and the Unity of Africa are among the greatest phenomena taking place in the world today. These two phenomena, which require well organised disciplines, can only succeed if there is proper ideological orientation. Such orientation is provided by the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute and it is only logical that a special department in French should be opened to cater for the ideological education of our French speaking African brothers and sisters.

A similar department has been opened in Arabic recently. It can be seen therefore that a clear attempt to bring all sections of the African Community together has been made and that the students who will study in this Institute in the various languages—English, French and Arabic—will be able to foster those links very indispensable to the decolonisation and unity of Africa. These students must consider themselves as the

vanguard activists with a common cause, a common goal and one determination. In this way, Africa will be able to pull her man-power sources together for the great revolution of our times, namely, the unity of our continent and its subsequent reconstruction.



Picture shows group of students from Congo Brazzaville and Mr. Kodwo Addison (middle), Member of Presidential Commission and Director of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at the inauguration of the French Department of Ideological Studies.

Standing (third from left) is Mr. S. G. Ikoku, Head of Education Department of the Institute.

The past history of our continent leaves no room for dissensions or differentiations among our various communities. It is in the light of this that Nkrumaism aims at a continental organisation and has its foundations in the conception of one and united Africa.

We have the wisdom of our leaders and the richness of traditions at our beck and call. We have the advantages of modern science and technology at our disposal. So, armed with these all-powerful weapons, we hope to march forward together in that unity and singleness of action which will enable us to build a new African society in which the free development of each shall be the condition for the free development of all. We have Philosophical Conscientism as our sole guide in the acquisition of knowledge.

Long live Kwame Nkrumah, Founder of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute.

Long live the African Unity.

## The Quest for Happiness

Continued from page 5

lism as a legacy of capitalism. Nor are the objective conditions of life under socialism such as to automatically rule out a warping of the emotional life.

We hardly need to be reminded that even under socialism emotional immaturity has manifested itself in the elevation of a hero to embody the hopes and achievements of society at large and in the production of scapegoats to embody he fears and failings. Belatedly his has been recognised and there is still a struggle taking place to ensure that people in practice realise that under socialism the responsibility for both success and failure, the centre of our hopes and fears, cannot be delegated. Self-criticism is thus coming to assume its real significance.

Jean Feldmar and Jane Winter suggest that "we should perhaps ask whether the demand for 'self-criticism' places too much emotional stress upon individuals". But it is the very difficulty of practising self-appraisal that makes self-criticism so valuable. To encourage self-criticism is to encourage a man's confidence in himself, to reveal to him the possibility of enhancing his control over his own previously recalcitrant behaviour. You do not create "the sense of mutual confidence" and then proceed to self-criticism; that again implies the false distinction between the individual and the community. How can you have

mutual confidence without mutual honesty and mutual frankness? And how can one have this without self-criticism? The practice of self-criticism creates the realisation that one's decisions, actions, successes, failures, are not those of a solitary man, one is not deprived of the help and succour of others.

One does not create mutuality in this way, one realises it, and that realisation is what produces confidence. Jean Feldmar and Jane Winter betray a misunderstanding of what is implied by "self-criticism" when they write of the "demand" for it. What they then go on to remark shows plainly, I think, that by "demand" they mean "order" or "command". You cannot command people to practice self-criticism, partly for the reasons Jean Feldmar and Jane Winter suggest; but to say that commanding people to practice self-criticism is futile and even damaging is not to say that self-criticism is futile and damaging.

We do not need to order people to praise and blame themselves; people do this anyway. What we must do is to ensure that such praise and blame, such assessments as they make of their own efforts and of themselves, are reasonable and sane, positive and forward-looking, that they are aids to future living and not just mortems.

## 1964 in Retrospect

Continued from page 1

To talk of Ghana's political and other activities without seeing their bearing on the problems of African independence and unity would be incomplete. This is a natural sequel of the declaration made in 1957 by Kwame Nkrumah that the independence of Ghana was meaningless unless it was linked up with the total liberation of the African continent. Now we should perhaps add: with the total liberation and unity of the African continent.

In 1964, there was the big Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, at which our President, together with other Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth, fought out the issue of the Southern Rhodesia independence. Our great achievement here was that we forced British opinion and the British Government into realising their obligations towards the colony and openly stating its determination to stop Southern Rhodesia from declaring itself independent unilaterally.

Then there was the Cairo Summit Conference in July. Ghana's achievements in the fight for Unity are many; what we achieved this year was, however, remarkable. When all the talk about African Unity had been done, it was necessary to put down concrete proposals for its realisation. Our leader managed to get the other Heads of State to agree to study the simple and yet effective steps he laid before them at this Conference. This was a great success for Kwame Nkrumah, and Kwame Nkrumah's success is our success, and Ghana's success is Africa's success; and Africa's success is the success of man.

1964 was certainly not a bad year. True, we look back with disappointment and despair at the results of the Floyd Robertson/Sugar Ramos fight, the performance of the Ghana Team at the Olympic Games in

Tokyo, and the tragic death of some workers in the Prestea Mines. But it was a year in which we made important strides in the political and economic spheres; it was a year in which we strengthened our solidarity with the Afro-American struggle by the visits of Malcolm X, the militant leader, and Cassius Clay (Mohammed Ali), the great showy boxer; it was a year in which we expanded our social and cultural programme with the vigorous activities of the Institute of Art and Culture and the School of Music and Drama, and the visit of Cuban singers.

As we go into 1965, we must not lose sight of our two main objectives: Socialism and African Unity, which will themselves promote world peace. Every move, every step, every decision we take, must be nothing more than the promotion of these ideals. Internally, the fight to build socialism must be intensified. The socialist outlook and personnel must go everywhere—in the State Department, in all Party Wings, in Parliament, in the educational institutions. It would be suicidal for us to relax and dream that some day, somehow, socialism will be the social order in Ghana. Socialism is not like manna, which occasionally falls of its own accord from heaven; Externally, the fight against imperialism must be waged with brand new arms. There can be no compromise with imperialism. We must not merely fight; we must fight to win.

On the African scene, we should make sure that the next conference of Heads of State in Accra marks the beginning of the Union Government of Africa committed irrevocably to Socialist freedom. This is not impossible; to quote Kwame Nkrumah, "a revolutionary people, armed with a revolutionary ideology, can move mountains".

And we are a revolutionary people, armed with a revolutionary ideology.