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First Anniversary of "Consciencism"

by S.G. Ikoku

The Philosophy of Our Revolution

EDITORIAL

FIRST MILESTONE

ON the 2nd of April last year, in the Great Hall of the University of Ghana, Legon, the book *Consciencism: An Ideology for Decolonisation and Development* was launched. This event heralded the release on a gasping world of a carefully worked out philosophy the historic mission of which is to guide the unfolding of the African Revolution. It is no surprise that the leading architect of continental African unity Kwame Nkrumah should be the genius behind the philosophy that throws light on the path of evolution of a united Africa free from imperialism and founded on socialism.

Consciencism has made a great impact on world intellectual circles. On our continent, it has become the supreme theory of progressive Africa. In the face of its advance, all apologetic ideas are in flight.

In Western Europe, its creativeness is readily acknowledged even in the traditional seat of Western thought and learning, Paris. The socialist countries are awakening to its dynamism. In the Middle East and in the Caribbean, the advent of Consciencism has brought a new ray of hope to intellectuals in quest of an analytical tool specially fashioned to meet the needs of emergent nations.

And here at home, the arrogance and conceit of the old anti-C.P.P. intellectuals have melted under the hammer blows of the new philosophy. Facile assumptions have been punctured; and the foundations of the old colonial thought system have been shattered. The utopian socialists, who in Africa masquerade under the label of "African socialism", have found the ground cut from under their feet and the mask torn off their faces.

* * *

Why has Consciencism scored such great victories in so short a time?

In the first place, it is a philosophy that springs directly from the concrete circumstances of emergent Africa. It grapples with problems peculiarly African, though not without significance far beyond the borders of Africa. Its creator himself is at the very hub of the African Revolution. Accordingly, Africans no longer have the difficulty of always trimming a non-African philosophy to fit Africa's conditions and circumstances. Consciencism, a philosophy of action and reconstruction, is captivating and compelling because it is a harmonious blend of theory and practice, of aspirations and experience. It is a living philosophy the vitality of whose conclusions are daily revealed and confirmed by practical events.

Secondly, Consciencism, though rising out of an African social milieu, is based on theoretical foundations which are universally valid. It enjoys world appeal because it has openly accepted and fully measured up to the norms of world thought.

Thirdly, Consciencism provides theoretical support for the view that the essence of social living in traditional Africa can be recaptured within a modern technological society. In Consciencism Africa's glorious past reasserts itself in modern surroundings.

Fourthly, Consciencism is a great stimulant to and source of confidence for the new Africa because it evolves a rational doctrine of self-induced development. It salvages African thought from the crippling

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AFRICA needs a philosophy which will be both a rational exposition of her past experiences and an intellectual stimulus to her renaissance. Should Africa seek this in the wholesale, indiscriminate importation of foreign ideologies? Or should Africa turn back on world knowledge in a sort of philosophical isolationism?

The first alternative is undesirable because a living philosophy which seeks to explain man's experience and provide a rational guide to his action must reflect and explain the social milieu in which man finds himself.

The second alternative is impossible because in the final analysis, human knowledge belongs to one world pool and in any case, Africa for the past centuries, has become so influenced by various strands of civilisation and culture that she just cannot now cut herself adrift.

COMMON POOL

What then is the solution? Africa must evolve a philosophy that can provide the intellectual cohesion we so urgently harmonise the dominant intellectual strands in Africa's historical experience, reinstate what was noble and elevating in traditional African society and have itself firmly linked with the common pool of world knowledge.

The need is for a new philosophical synthesis which is both general and specific. General, because its intellectual roots can be traced to the common pool of world knowledge. Specific because it grows out of and seeks to explain and guide the African social milieu.

This new synthesis is philosophical consciencism, which is the subject matter of Kwame Nkrumah's *Consciencism*, first published a year ago.

The world knows Kwame Nkrumah as a politician, a statesman and as a leading architect and protagonist of the concept of the political unity of Africa.

BIG IMPACT

With *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology of Decolonisation and Development* Kwame Nkrumah emerges as a philosopher. This philosophical work is destined to make a big impact on the entire world.

Although its driving motive is the reinstatement of the best in the traditional African way of life, its intellectual tools are drawn from world philosophy after a most careful examination and evaluation of various schools of thought.

In the process a new philosophy has emerged. It overcomes the conflicts in African intellectual life, provides a positive guide to purposeful action in emergent Africa, and at the same time enriches world knowledge.

ORGANIC PRINCIPLE

It was Giuseppe Mazzini, the Italian political writer (1805-1872) who wrote as follows:—

"Every true revolution is a programme; and derived from a new, general positive organic principle. The first thing necessary is to accept that principle. Its development must then be confined to men who are believers in it, and emancipated from

every tie or connection with any principle of an opposing nature".

What Mazzini refers to as "general, positive organic principle" we call ideology, in modern terminology. Mazzini's precept that "the first thing necessary is to accept that principle" in practice means the wide diffusion and vigorous propagation of the organic principle.

COMMON REACTION

In short, ideological education. History remembers Mazzini as the philosopher of the independence and unification of Italy or as some call it, the Italian resurgimento.

"Consciencism" holds the same view as Mazzini on the need for ideological education. Every society has its range of behaviours. This range of conduct is defined by the ideology of the society.

It is vital to secure widespread acceptance of this ideology if compliance with the

END THIS PROTECTION RACKET

AMERICAN intervention in the Dominican Republic has been greeted by a storm of protest not only throughout Latin America, but throughout the world.

Thousands of U.S. Marines and paratroops have poured into the Republic, where the ruling military junta are trying to suppress a popular uprising which aims at restoring ex-President Juan Bosch to power.

*

President Bosch won 63 per cent of the votes in elections held in December, 1962—the first after the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Trujillo dictatorship which had ruled the Republic since 1930.

Washington, alarmed by President Bosch's Liberal policies, engineered an army coup which ousted him less than seven months after his inauguration.

The official U.S. excuse for its latest intervention is that it must protect U.S. citizens—but U.S. correspondents have pointed out that there are now more than two U.S. soldiers for

every U.S. citizen in the Republic which occupies half an island in the Caribbean (the other half is Haiti) 800 miles from the U.S. coast.

*

We in Africa are all too familiar with the Western Powers' "protection racket": we very well remember that it was to "protect" their citizens that Belgium and the United States, aided by Britain, launched the Stanleyville operation to make the Congo safe for Tshombe and Western Big Business.

It is a technique as old as imperialism itself. There is no place for it in the modern world. It can be resisted only by the united action of all nations determined to decide their own destiny.

That is why Africa must unite for in unity lies our strength and only hope for resisting the encroachments of neo-colonialism. That is why the question of continental unity stands high on the agenda of the September Summit meeting in Accra.



KWAME NKUMAH

given range of behaviour is to become general. Hence asserts *Consciencism*:

"Every society stresses its permissible range of conduct, and evolves instruments whereby it seeks to obtain conformity to such a range..... (These instruments) become means of cohesion by underlying common values, which themselves generate common interests, and hence common reactions. It is this community, this identity in the range of principles and values, in the range of interests, attitudes and so of reactions, which lies at the bottom of social order" (P.60/61).

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the early Greek thinkers to philosophy is the postulate that man is a social being. This fact immediately faces man with a seeming contradiction. He is at one and the same time an individual and a member of a group.

WELFARE

He seeks his personal well-being; but this legitimate endeavour has, of necessity, to be reconciled with the welfare of the group to which he belongs. We use the term well-being here in its broadest sense to connote the fullest possible satisfaction of the material, cultural and spiritual needs of man.

There has, therefore, from the earliest times, been a conflict between individual well-being and group welfare. And contentment exists only where

the correct balance has been struck between the two elements.

However, to say that there is the need for a correct balance between these two forces is not to say that man has so far found a final answer to what this balance should be.

There is therefore an unending argument as to how society is to be organised in order to reconcile individual well-being with group welfare. This argument centres around what should be the social objectives of society and how these objectives are to be achieved.

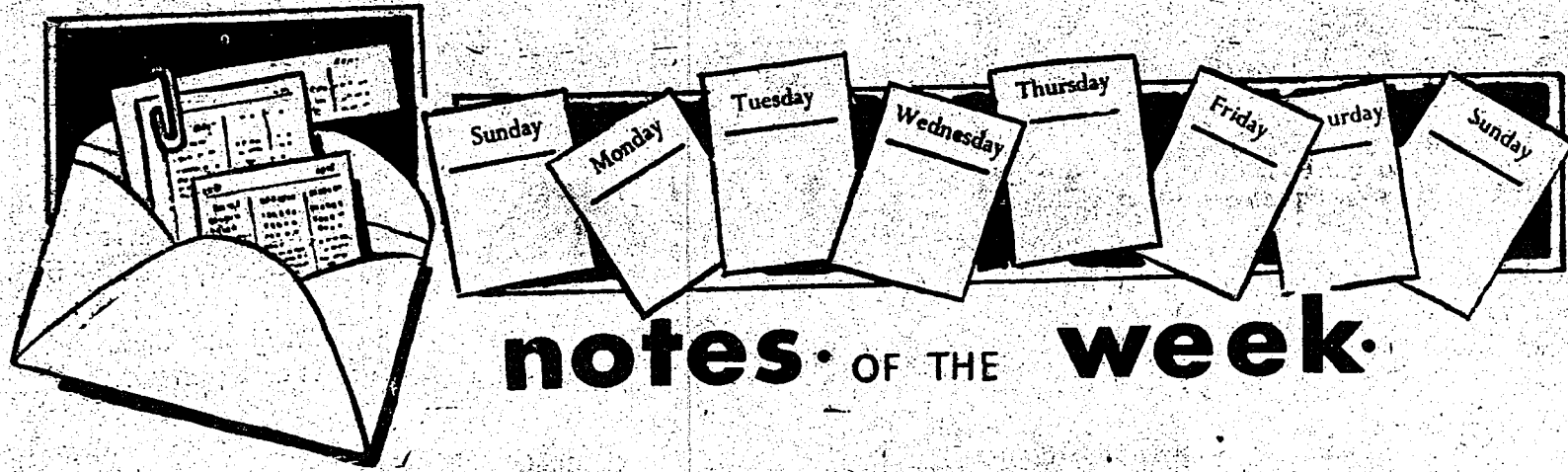
SOCIAL ORDER

Every position in this argument has become a cardinal principle on which the advocacy of a particular social order has rested. This cardinal principle thus becomes the ideology on which the given social order is organised.

It can therefore be concluded that every society has, standing behind it, an ideology. In some cases, the ideology is clearly formulated and explicitly stated. In others, it is diffused and implicit, issuing in customs, beliefs, folklore, totems and taboos. The important point, however, is that the ideology is there and it points to a particular social order.

A corollary of great importance flows from this. Since every social order is underlain by an ideology appropriate to it, then any attempt at social reconstruction must start with

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THIS week is the 20th Anniversary of Victory in Europe Day. Millions of people will celebrate the defeat of fascism and at the same time will reiterate their yearning for a peaceful world.

Very few of those who danced in the streets of Europe's capitals in 1945 to celebrate their liberation would have thought that almost immediately they would be faced with the threat of a third world war. This was, tragically enough, the case.

Mr. Winston Churchill went to receive his honorary degree from the University of Fulton and launched the Cold War.

Exploiting his prestige as a wartime Prime Minister he fabricated a myth of communist aggression, presented a picture of an imminent war to be launched by the Soviet Union and created the atmosphere in which a great rearmament drive could be initiated by the United States and Britain, and the militarisation of the economy and culture of the so-called free world could go ahead.

For nearly 20 years world politics have been conditioned by this big lie. While the Western Press and capitalist statesmen have screamed about the need to protect their system from communism, they have managed to guarantee vast profits for the arms industries and hold back the development of education and social services and wage levels of their working people.

In the meantime in spite of all the difficulties of overcoming the vast destruction of the

war and the economic and diplomatic boycotts, the Soviet Union and the other socialist states have made their advances.

While the Western propaganda machine continues to churn out variations of Churchill's big lie, more and more people are wondering how the theme of communist aggression squares with reality.

Any dispassionate observer will hardly fail to notice that every major danger spot exists because of the presence either of British or American troops. In Malaysia, in the Yemen, British troops are actively defending the remnants of the British Empire.

Above all it is clear that the place of Nazi Germany as an aggressive militarised state has been taken by the United States of America.

Brandishing her H-bombs, mouthing slogans about resisting Communism or defending the free world, the United States interferes more and more openly in the internal affairs of other nations.

Her aim is to try and prevent any changes inside any states in the capitalist world in case her imperialist interests are threatened. Lenin showed in "Imperialism" how the fight between capitalist powers for the re-division of the world leads to war.

We see the strongest Imperialist state, which is run in the interests of big business threatening every progressive movement. In the Korea, in Viet Nam, in the Congo, in Cuba, in Guatemala, in Panama, in the Dominican Republic, America has created the tension and the danger.

Unilateral Independence

It seems that Rhodesian Commercial interests have been alarmed by Mr. Wilson's threat to impose an economic boycott on Southern Rhodesia if the racist Government tries to declare independence. Their panic is revealed in the secret reports which they submitted to Ian Smith and which he hoped to avoid publishing before the election. They show that the whole basis of their commercial structure would collapse in ruins if Wilson's threat were carried out.

This very fact shows how stupid are the claims of the British Government that they cannot act in Rhodesia. If they wanted to stop the election, which will be used by Smith if at all possible to declare independence and take action against the African majority, they could begin to operate an economic boycott immediately and bring the white settlers to their senses by attacking their profits.

The report reveals, though unintentionally, the political instability of the white racist regime without the support of the British Government. It points out that if British Government support is withdrawn investors will be reluctant to export their capital to Southern Rhodesia.

We have always said that the most powerful force in the situation, after the African people themselves, is the British Government. Instead of allowing itself to act as a source of political strength

and stabilisation to the Smith Government, the Labour Government should immediately switch the whole weight of its power to the side of that of the African peoples.

The report proves that military action would not be necessary but that the use of Britain's economic power would be sufficient to bring the racists to heel.

It is tragic that Britain continues to isolate herself from public opinion. The United Nations Special Commission on Colonialism has passed its resolution calling on Britain to stop the elections, due to take place and to suspend the 1961 constitution and hold talks on the future constitution.

The British delegate, Mr. Francis Brown, convinces no one when he claims to believe Mr. Smith's assertion that the elections have nothing to do with the independence issue.

If the Rhodesian business interests are really frightened by Britain's threat, Smith may fail to get the two thirds majority he is seeking, but that is too great a risk for any one to gamble on.

Instead of pleading 'wait and see' Britain should recognise the terrible urgency of the position and take action now to accede to the request in the resolution.

Only by a firm challenge can the Smith gang be defeated, the power to do that lies with Wilson and Bottomley; on them will lie the responsibility for terror, violence and bloodshed, if they allow the election to take place.

They have been warned by the nations of the world what the consequences will be; they have only hours in which to act.

The myth of communist aggression is wearing thin; the truth about capitalist aggression, blatant interference and militarism is being seen by increasing numbers of people.

On the 20th Anniversary

May Day 1965

MAY Day 1965 will stand out as a historic landmark in the history of Ghana. At the demonstration at Black Star Square, the first to be held there by the Trades Union Congress, the number of participants, the colour, the imaginative displays, the slogans and the enthusiasm showed the working class of Ghana in all its greatness.

The emphasis on unity, on the dignity of labour, on the responsibility of all workers for the success of the Seven Year Plan, were symbolic of the growing recognition by our working class of its leading role in the construction of our socialist state.

In his speech to the nation on the eve of May Day, Kwame Nkrumah expressed the confidence that all working people feel in our ability to overcome current difficulties and to provide for future generations, conditions which will indeed give them the fullest possible cultural and material opportunities.

Kwame Nkrumah showed conclusively that in the construction of socialism, in the transformation of our economy from the present colonial pattern to that of an economically independent nation striving to build socialism, the main responsibility must be undertaken by the working people.

This is because they stand to benefit to the full from this transformation, they have no stake in the preservation of any features of the old capitalist system. Their conditions

Ghana's Economy

In recent weeks Ghana has been the target for attacks in the Western Press because of its economic difficulties. Western writers have attributed these difficulties "to wasteful prestige spending" at home and abroad.

Kwame Nkrumah has repeatedly explained that Ghana's present economic difficulties are due primarily to the fall in an all time low in the price of cocoa, which is still the mainstay of our economy.

The weekly voice of British Big Business, *The Economist*, has now admitted (24.4.65) that Ghana's present economic problems are due primarily to the fall in cocoa price.

The Economist also attributes our difficulties in part to the inefficiency of some of our State corporations—but action is already being taken to remedy this.

Kwame Nkrumah has directed that Ministers will be responsible for these corporations in Parliament, while the State Enterprises Secretariat, which is directly under the President, will have the overall responsibility for ensuring that these corporations are run efficiently and profitably.

Now further measures have been announced to re-examine Government expenditure, to divert Government spending to productive as against non-productive expenditure, and

of the defeat of Fascism the opposition of the ordinary man and woman to the United States policy of bullying, interference and open military aggression, will be demonstrated as growing stronger and invincible.

of work enables them to combine together as a conscious, disciplined force to achieve their objectives.

The response of the workers to the call of the T.U.C. to demonstrate on May 1st was tremendous, exceeding even the most optimistic expectations. It is clear that this enthusiasm, political clarity and organisational ability is the guarantee of our socialist advance.

The demonstration too, was a warning to those who think they can exploit current difficulties and fleece the workers of their wages by creating shortages and forcing up prices. The workers will be able to deal with these people if they are given the go ahead. Mass democratic action will rid Ghana of those parasites and racketeers among us.

It was a tremendous pleasure to see the delegates from other countries. By their presence, they embodied the basic slogan of May Day 'Workers of All Lands Unite'.

Last Saturday, we were not only celebrating achievements; we were expressing our support for our African brothers still unliberated, we were showing our unity with the people of Vietnam fighting against U.S. aggression and we were pledging all our efforts for the building of a socialist Ghana.

We congratulate the T.U.C. on their great achievement; we greet Ghana's workers, confident that they struck a great blow in their struggle for Ghana's socialist future.

to stabilise the cost of living and check hoarding.

Other measures taken also include:—

1. The examination of the possibility of zoning the country's Foreign Missions to re-organise the number of Missions and Foreign personnel abroad in order to save Government expenditure in the running of these Missions.

2. The expansion of the Budget Committee in order to ensure effective co-operation in the execution of fiscal policy.

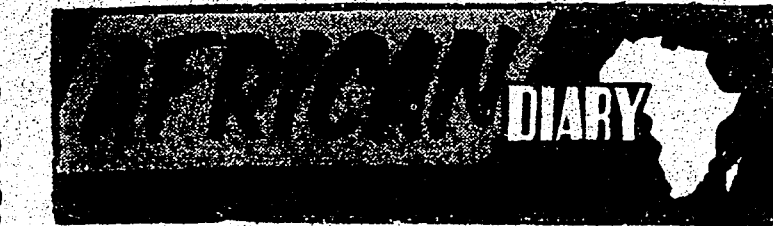
These and other measures already taken demonstrate our Socialist Government's determination to tackle Ghana's economic problems.

A four-man Economic Mission from the International Monetary Fund is now in Ghana to discuss with our Government the possibility of arranging for re-negotiation of Ghana's Suppliers' Credits so as to spread payments over longer periods.

But some in the West have not concealed their hope that the Mission will enable them to put pressure on Ghana to force it to renounce its socialist aims.

Our mood of determination, and our refusal to deviate from our socialist aims was expressed in Kwame Nkrumah's Easter Broadcast.

His warning to these inside our country who try to exploit our difficulties should be heeded by those abroad who would like to do the same.



27th APRIL:

SUDAN: Three Sudanese Ministers, Clement Mboro (Interior) Hilary Hogari (Communications) and Gordon Mourit (Public Works) in a statement to Premier Sir El Khalifa today have threatened to resign unless they are assured that the armed forces will not be used against the people in the South.

SOUTH AFRICA: The apartheid regime of South Africa has called on the international court of justice at the Hague to throw out the contentions by Liberia and Ethiopia over the South West Africa issue.

NIGERIA: Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Federal President has stressed that African Heads of State and Government are bound by their decision at the last conference in Cairo to attend the Accra September Summit, unless there is compelling reason.

* Commenting on Nigeria's \$40 million trade deficit, Dr. Mbadive, Nigeria's Trade Minister has said that Nigeria will not buy from Countries which refuse to buy from her.

* Mr. Ijaga has told Hamburg Court that Mr. Fascher, a bar manager, asked him to take off his spectacle and shouted at him: "go back to Africa, damned nigger".

GHANA: President Nkrumah has sent message of congratulations to Sierra Leone Premier, Sir Albert Margai and President Nicholas Grunitzky of Togo on occasion of the fourth and fifth anniversaries of their respective countries, independence.

TANZANIA: In his message released in Dar-es-Salaam today on the occasion of the first independence anniversary of Tanzania, President Julius Nyerere has said that his country will not allow practical difficulties or intrigues to destroy or weaken the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

ETHIOPIA: A three-man Entente Commission representing Ivory Coast, Upper Volta and Togo has had talks with Emperor Haile Selassie in Addis Ababa today in connection with its imperialistic aim of boycotting the September African Summit Conference in Accra.

28th APRIL:

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Joshua Nkomo, African nationalist leader has warned that any attempt by the white settler regime to declare unilateral independence will be resisted by the Africans with all forces at their command.

GHANA: Following editorial comment by a Zambia newspaper—*The Northern News* criticising President Nkrumah's economic and political policies, Ghana High Commission in Lusaka, Zambia, has said that Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana has no desire much less ambition to be the political leader of Africa, * Ghana's delegation led by Mr. Kojo Botso, Foreign Minister have been given warm welcome on their arrival in Peking, China, today.

MOROCCO: The three-day meeting of the International Council of the Accra Assembly of the World Without the Bomb meeting in Rabat has ended today with a unanimous declaration of the Councils opposition to all forms of aggression.

UGANDA: A Gazette notice published today has said that all areas of Uganda west of the line near Nimule on the Sudan border to the Tanzania border near Jilake Victoria have been declared prohibited under the country's official secrets act.

29th APRIL:

BASUTOLAND: Basutos go to polls today to elect their first African independent Government.

ANGOLA: Petitioners from Angola have been granted hearing before U.N. General Assembly's special Committee on Colonialism.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Kotsho Lloyd Dube of the banned Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) has been granted permission to read his petition before the U.N. General Assembly's special Committee on colonialism.

* O.A.U. will soon hold an extraordinary meeting in Addis Ababa to discuss Southern Rhodesian situation.

TUNISIA: Following his proposal for compromise between Arab states and Israel over the Palestine issue, President Bourguiba of Tunisia has been accused of treason and espionage by Arab Students in Cairo.

GHANA: A Ghanaian trade delegation led by Mr. Aboagye Mensah, Deputy General Manager of G.N.T.C. invited by Chinese Government has arrived in Peking.

* Mr. S. G. Ikoku, senior lecturer at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute has said at Koforidua today that the success of Ghana's socialist revolution rests on state functionaries and Party activists as they are the direct links between the Party leadership and the people.

MOZAMBIQUE: In a communiqué issued in Dar-es-Salaam today by the Mozambique Liberation Front, has said that 36 Portuguese soldiers have been killed and 17 more wounded by the nationalist forces in the recent actions in Mozambique.

30th APRIL:

GHANA: In his May Day message to the nation, President Nkrumah has called on trade unions to help step up production by encouraging and conferring distinctions on those workers who set examples of a full and efficient day's work.

* In a message received by the Publicity Secretariat in Accra, Malian students in France have pledged their unequalled support for Ghana in her struggle to achieve African Unity and denounced the anti-African and reactionary campaign of some African countries.

SUDAN: Sudanese Government has asked its Ambassador in

Leopoldville to protest to the Congo (Leopoldville) government against the violation of frontiers by Congolese troops.

MALI: President Modibo Keita has said in Bamako today that Mali and Mauritania will continue to strengthen their unity despite the imperialist plot against the unity of Africa.

KENYA: Kenya Government has rejected a shipload of arms presented to Kenya by the Soviet Union "because they are old and second-hand".

TUNISIA: Tunisia has decided to close down her embassy in Cairo because of anti-Tunisia uprising there.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Harold Wilson British Premier has warned Southern Rhodesian white settler minority government in British Parliament today that any attempt to declare unilateral independence will be very dangerous for the settlers in that country.

SOUTH AFRICA: Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa will hold a rally in London at the Nyaniba House tomorrow to launch the Party's Liberation Programme in United Kingdom and Europe, a statement released in London has said.

1st MAY:

NIGERIA: Nigeria's Minister of Defence, 55-year-old Alhaji Rabudu has passed away at his home after a short illness, it has been announced in Lagos.

BASUTOLAND: The Basutoland Congress Party which opposes any compromise with South Africa has won 16 seats out of 30 results already announced. Thirty more results are yet to be announced.

TANZANIA: Thirtythree page report of Tanzania's adoption of one-party system will be discussed today by the Executives of both Political parties of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

KENYA: Kenya Parliament has approved of the Government plan to put the Lumumba Institute in Nairobi under Ministry of Education.

SENEGAL: Mr. Doudou Thiam, Senegal's Foreign Minister speaking at U.N. Security Council in New York has criticised Labour Government's administration in Southern Rhodesia. He accuses British Government of being more interested in defending the few European settlers there.

EDITORIAL

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and enervating dogma of partnership with international finance capital as the only strategy for development in the post-independence era.

As we pass the first milestone, Consciencism still has formidable foes to combat and new grounds to break. The enemies are colonial mentality, intellectual imperialism, and idealism which manifests itself in mysticism, supernaturalism, and subjectivism. Consciencism has to break new ground by permeating the various disciplines in our colleges and universities and by giving a new appraisal to our history and a new content to our art, literature and related studies.

The conditions for further success are two. There must be a vigorous propagation of the tenets of Consciencism within our society, in Africa and beyond. And the propagators must be a formidable and knowledgeable team of comrades, dedicated to the cause, emancipated from every notion of a contrary nature, scientific and objective in their style of work, speaking with one voice. This band of crusading comrades must conduct unending research into all branches of intellectual life to see how these disciplines could be given a consciencist content and perspective.

In addition, the ideas of Consciencism must be brought to the masses of Africa. For an idea becomes an irresistible force only when it has gripped the masses.

The African Revolution is one of the great revolutionary movements of our time. But there can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory. Consciencism is the revolutionary philosophy, of our own creation, to animate and activate the African Revolution. The more we understand it and the more we apply it, the more will the African Revolution unfold in its all-conquering majesty.

DAY OF WORKERS' SOLIDARITY

Speech by Mr. J. K. AMPAH, National Secretary, Ghana Trades Union Congress, on May Day.

TODAY we meet to celebrate the workers' festival of May Day. This is the first time we have met in our national square, the Black Star Square marked by monuments to our national liberation. It is right that we should do so, for the organised workers played a major part in that liberation.

This is the first time that we review our strength in front of the President of Ghana and the General Secretary of the Party, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The presence of the Head of State reminds us that we have a major responsibility in the building up of our country.

The presence of the General Secretary of our Party reminds us that we, the workers of Ghana, are an integral and vital part of the ruling Party of our country, that we look to its policies and ideology for our future, and that we, on our side, devote and pledge our strength to the fulfilment of its socialist principles.

WEALTH IS BORN

As Osagyefo has said "it is upon the workers and poorer farmers that the construction of our country depends".

This is the first time that we meet in company of the delegates of workers from other brother African countries, and from brother socialist countries. This is to remind us that workers everywhere from whatever country are brothers in the common struggle against the common enemy of mankind—imperialism.

For more than seventy five years the workers of all countries have met to celebrate May Day. We meet first to remind ourselves that in the sweat of the body and the ache of the back and, yes the frowning of the brow and the racking of the brain, the world's wealth is born. The earth is the mother, but work is the father of all wealth. Let us never forget this, and let us never allow others to forget it.

We who do the back breaking routine jobs know best the cost

of such labour. We are the first to welcome the machines of science which will lighten our labour and give us the opportunity to use our brains as well as our hands to the full.

That is why we want to build up our socialist industrialised economy as fast as possible. But that takes time. In the meanwhile there is much hard, backbreaking, manual work to be done. And we have the right to insist that we who do it shall be respected as the foundation of our society.

We meet, secondly, to remind ourselves that we are many, that the workers by hand and brain are the overwhelming majority of the people of any country, and so assert our right that in our people's Parliamentary democracy it is the interests of the majority, the working class and their brothers the working farmers, which shall prevail.

COMMON LOT

We meet, thirdly, to remind ourselves that we are an organised and disciplined force. In capitalist countries, especially in those subjugated by imperialism, the ruling minority have always demonstrated their power in the form of disciplined soldiers and police. They have sought to glamourise their instruments of war and oppression with the military parade and the pomp and ceremony of the law courts.

Workers who have learned their discipline in the labour of the workshop, mine, and field, who have learned their unity and solidarity in the struggle to improve their common lot have demonstrated for life, to assert the colour and vitality of life, to show to themselves that the will to live cannot be crushed out of them.

But under capitalist and imperialist conditions, May Day has not been and cannot be solely a day of rejoicing. For there the worker is exploited and oppressed.

May Day therefore becomes a means to strengthen the struggle against oppression, a time when the worker shows to himself and to his masters

that he is not sitting down under exploitation but is fighting for his emancipation, and that he knows how to organise.

CONTROL OF RESOURCES

Under socialist conditions, where workers have taken control of the resources with which they work, they demonstrate first to celebrate their emancipation, to remind themselves of their victory, to remind themselves of what remains to be done to consolidate and extend it, to remind themselves above all of the tasks ahead—the tasks of increasing the wealth at their disposal, of raising the skill and productivity of human labour, of producing more and better machines to lighten labour.

Instead of carrying water on the head we shall carry it in pipes; instead of walking we shall ride; instead of lifting heavy loads we shall have cranes and hoists; instead of hand saws, electric saws; in place of hand power, electric power; in place of charcoal, electric stoves; in place of kerosene lamps, electric light.

But so long as imperialism exists, so long as our own security is threatened from outside, so long as our brothers in other countries in the Congo, in Alabama or in Vietnam, are oppressed, we cannot devote our thoughts solely to the joys and fruits of creative labour in our hand. We have a responsibility and an interest in the defeat of our common enemy.

The Congress of Berlin dismembered Africa in 1885. It is not accidental that the first May Day took place four years later. The international character of May Day arises from the international defence of all working people against the growth of world imperialism.

MASSIVE SUPPORT

That is why May Day has always been celebrated as an international day. That is why the workers who had achieved legal rights to organise and to form political parties demonstrate their support on May Day for those who are living under illegality and police persecution.

That is why the best and most advanced workers in the imperialist countries have always carried slogans against colonialism, racism and war, because they know only too well the truth of Marx's phrase that he who enslaves another cannot himself be free.

That is why we today have brought here reminders of the struggles of our brothers elsewhere, why we remind ourselves of Alabama, of Sharpeville. That is why we have invited here delegates from our brother members of AATUF. This is not a piece of empty show. Their struggle is our struggle because united we stand, divided we fall.

Once the people have taken political power into their hands and begun to build a socialist economy, their ability to defend themselves against outside pressures and intrigues from within and defend their precious independence depends upon their successes on the economic front.

How soon will they convert their economy into one which can stand on its own feet and meet the buffeting to which a bitter and deprived imperialism will subject it? That is the vital question. That is why the success of our efforts to build up our economy, to get rid of its colonial heritage, form the central task of the workers of Ghana.

This is of course not new.

It was stated by Osagyefo when he launched the Plan in Parliament. It was repeated in the T.U.C. programme of August, 1964—"The Tasks Before Us". But on May Day 1965 it takes on a new urgency because of new developments. We are all aware of the difficulties on the economic front.

We should all be aware of the way in which the imperialists are striving to use difficulties which we share with all ex-colonial countries in order to maintain and increase their pressure on us. The journal *West Africa* reports the Budget speech of the Nigerian Minister of Finance where he said that the imperialist countries were

"determined to carry the war beyond the limits of the normal cut and thrust of trade and were bent on exploiting the poverty and scanty resources of producer countries to their own advantage. The bitterest lesson learned came from the attitude of the Western powers who are supposed to be our friends. Throughout the period of the struggle between the poor farmers of the underdeveloped countries who produce cocoa and the big business combines of the consumer countries, none of the Governments of the great Western powers have thought it fit to intervene or to attempt any conciliatory measures. Now, he concluded, Nigerians could see our true enemies in their nakedness no matter how much they may masquerade in the garb of friends. Now the cocoa producers must look to their own salvation".

The need for unity of African countries, their need to support the coming conference of the OAU in Accra and to find strength in unity against imperialism was never more urgent. We ask our fraternal delegates to redouble their efforts as we shall, in this great cause.

IMPERIALISTS' WISH

These difficulties in the foreign trade field come at a crucial stage in the Seven-Year Development Plan. There is nothing the imperialists would like better than to see us fail. Not only would it enable them to increase the pressure on us, and to undermine our position in the forefront of African unity, but it would be balm to their class and racist views that Africans (along with other workers and peasants of all nationalities) are incapable of organising and running their countries.

When British imperialism attempted to retain the Suez Canal, it argued that Egyptians could never run anything. One of the reasons why British imperialism hate President Nasser so bitterly is that the Egyptians proved to themselves, to Britain and even more important, to other newly independent peoples, that they could keep open this great commercial highway every bit as well as their former masters.

The present lies about Ghana in the Western Press and radio (whose exposures will hardly get so much space as did the lies) are designed to undermine the confidence of workers and farmers everywhere in our great plan for reconstruction.

As a preface to the future, we should constantly remind ourselves of what we have achieved. The great Akosombo dam which British imperialism talked about for forty years and never built, we have built. The great port and town of Tema, with its factories for cement, for processing of cocoa, for making of steel, radio, textiles, a port which imperialism never built, we have built.

With the labour of our own hands, with the cement



Flanked on both sides of the Leader are (from left) four distinguished workers—Comrades Tettegah (A.A.T.U.F.) Kodwo Addison (Nkrumah Ideological Institute) and Ampah (T.U.C.)

and steel bought by the labour of the cocoa farmers, the miners and timber workers, we have built new schools, new houses, health centres and hospitals.

The labour of our teachers will from September increase with the new flow of educated Ghanaians from the Secondary schools, the new flow of skilled workers and technicians from our Polytechnic.

The purchase of new machines from abroad is giving work and skill and opportunity to thousands who did not have it before. And this will go on.

But what we have achieved is only a foretaste of what we must and shall achieve.

This is a rally of organised labour, of members of trade unions, Trade unions in capitalist countries, and in the Gold Coast grew up under capitalist conditions where it was quite understandable that the worker should do as little and try and get as much as possible.

After all, he created all the wealth, but was given only a part of it in wages. He tried to get back as much of the surplus as he could, or to reduce the surplus. He had no incentive to increase the surplus. For it did not belong to him. He had no control over its use. Indeed it was often used in the form of new machines to raise the intensity of his labour or to throw him out of work. He could admire the machine, but he could never love as his own, since it was not.

INVESTMENT

In an economy on the road to socialism, things are different. It is not fully realised how different and we have to remove the obstacles which prevent workers from seeing how different.

First, any surplus over and above what workers get in wages in a state enterprise is put into new machines, new factories and raw materials, and these belong to us. They are ours, under the control of our representatives in Parliament.

It is we who decide the general direction of travel and the way in which they are used. Because they are our property, every increase in them makes us collectively wealthier.

These new machines give new jobs and they raise the output of each worker. The fruits of the increased output belongs to us. We can use some of it for additional food, clothes and other consumer goods.

We can use of it for schools and hospitals and other social services. But if we want to end our poverty within a reasonable span of time, we have to use a great deal of it to build more factories and farms.

For unless we alter the structure of our economy away from the colonial pattern we cannot guarantee our independence. Unless we alter the structure of our economy away from the colonial pattern we cannot maintain, let alone, raise the standard of living of our growing population.

The workers and farmers of Ghana formed the main army and bore the main brunt of the struggle for Ghana's independence. It is their labour, skill and devotion which will consolidate that independence and bring us to a socialist future.

It is the workers who have lost most through capitalism. It is the workers who have most to gain through the abolition of capitalist exploitation and then use of labour's product for labour's benefit. It is the workers whose life has taught them in the trade unions and in political party they have formed and supported to defend them.

They have also the most to lose from the continuance of exploitation. Therefore they have the greatest responsibilities in the patient daily struggle to build the material conditions for a socialist society.

But that responsibility carries rights. They have the right to insist that all efforts, and not theirs alone, shall go into the common task, that the sacrifices of the many shall not be used to enhance the privileges of a few.

The principles of the Dawn Broadcast are something that the workers above all must defend, most vigorously both in their own organisations and as an integral wing of the Party. The fight for ideology is not just a fight to spread slogans. It is a fight to get them implemented.

Education, in, and understanding of, the principles of Nkrumahism will be most effectively learned in the struggle

to embody them in practice. Theory without practice is sterile.

In the fight against the speculators and the profiteers, in defence of our conditions in those enterprises still under capitalist control, in improving the management in the state enterprises, and ruthlessly weeding out all obstacles to their success, these are the practical ways in which we show whether we have understood the principles of Nkrumahism.

And since these principles are based upon the belief that it is the people for whom society is managed, it follows that in the defence of the people those who strive hardest to defend the principles will learn fastest the principles of scientific socialism.

SCIENTIFIC THEORY

Comrades, we have a young labour movement with some glorious pages already in its history. We have also a rapidly growing class as new industries are built. The future of the working class and the future of Ghana are one.

The working class is the founder of scientific socialism. As a scientific theory it does not pretend the world is different from what it is. It does not seek to conceal difficulties, or to hide what is unpleasant and hide behind smooth phrases. It seeks to present reality honestly, as it really is.

And especially in periods of temporary difficulty, when those with little vision and perhaps less experience may sometimes get down-hearted, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the tremendous victories which working people

Continued on page 4



Comrade J. K. Ampah reading his address on May Day

Mr. Wilson's May Day

MR. Wilson, Britain's Labour Prime Minister, "celebrated" May Day by rejecting all that May Day stands for.

"There is a difference from the days of those we commemorate on May Day now. We are no longer in our movement simply representing one exploited class against those who abused privilege and power. You now have a government that truly represents the nation as a whole", he said.

Mr. Wilson thus follows in the footsteps of another Labour Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsey MacDonald, who betrayed his party in the

'30s and joined with the Tories in a National Government.

Mr. Wilson would no doubt deny that the British working class are exploited—but British Big Business is currently making profits out of its labour.

He would also no doubt claim that his "East of Suez" policy is in the interests of "the nation as a whole".

It is not. It is in the interests of the oil, tin and rubber monopolies who get the profits from neo-colonialist exploitation, while the bill, both in lives and money, is paid by the British people.

MATTER AND REALITY

A key question of philosophy and some of its day-to-day implications discussed by DAN MUIR of the University of Ghana.

PROBABLY more has been written on the question of what constitutes reality than on any other philosophical problem. All systems of philosophy must answer this basic question and, as Engels pointed out, the way in which they do so is determined by, and characterises, their whole ideological position.

Since the problem will seem excessively abstract and obscure, to anyone who has not come across it before, it is worth trying to explain in some detail what is at issue.

As we work within and observe the world around us we are aware through the agency of our senses (possibly supplemented by tools, scientific instruments etc.) of the great multifariousness of natural phenomena—their mode of appearance and their laws of behaviour.

TASK OF SCIENCE

Taken collectively, as a body of social knowledge, the total sum of human experience makes up the raw material out of which the contemporary picture of the world is deduced.

It is the task of science to demonstrate, and to advance our understanding of, the regularities and laws governing observed phenomena, and with the development of such understanding comes a corresponding evolution of the scientific conception of "matter".

Confusion can arise at this point from the fact that the word "matter" is used in the philosophy of dialectical materialism with a completely different meaning.

There we are not concerned to identify some basic stuff governing the description and behaviour of all natural phenomena; in so far as this could be done (and dialectical materialism, anyway, denies a complete or final solution to this problem) it is the job of science.

Rather the concept "matter" is used (and this is how we will henceforth use it) to encompass everything existing independently of our minds. This is a very general idea and we should not, therefore, expect many characteristic properties. In fact, in the words of Lenin,

"the sole 'property' of matter with whose recognition philosophical materialism is bound up is the property of being an objective reality, of existing outside our mind."

IDEALIST SOLUTION

We have therefore introduced two separate entities into the discussion—matter and mind—and a principle task of philosophy is to decide which, if either, of these is to be regarded as primary and which secondary. That is, in terms of which is the other to be explained.

For Engels this is "the question of the relation of thinking to being—the relation of spirit to nature—the paramount question of the whole of philosophy" and there are in effect only two solutions to consider.

The idealist solution regards mind as primary, matter owing at least some part of its existence to our act of cognition; the various schools of materialism and in particular dialectical materialism are characterised by their assertion of the primacy of matter.

The mid-way hypothesis of

dualism, asserting the parallel existence of both mind and matter, has never in fact been more than a thin cover for complete monistic idealism, attempting to make it acceptable by disguising a few of its more patent absurdities.

Matter exists, according to this idea, but we who observe it have some essential component of a non-material nature. It might be granted that our bodies and brains are material but somewhere behind them lies a controlling agency entirely different in character.

RELIGIOUS VALUE

Whether it is called mind, spirit, soul or what-have-you, it is conceived as essentially distinct from the material parts or our bodies, being, to a greater or lesser degree, unconstrained by their laws of motion.

Always however, in this dualist hypothesis, mind is in all senses assumed superior to matter, being the carrier of permanent ethical, aesthetic and religious values as against the transience and sterility of mere matter.

Now we are not concerned to argue here in detail the philosophical objections to idealism (of whatever variety). Each system of idealism proclaims that it has avoided the inconsistencies of the others and one could spend a life-time pursuing and destroying the successively more subtle creations of the idealist philosophers. It makes a fine game for academics but is a rather negative occupation.

If we want to make any positive advance we must cut quite decisively through the philosophical tangle. There is, of course, a point where valid controversy on theoretical issues degenerates into irresponsible and socially valueless word-play. The way forward is simply to say:

"That matter can exist unperceived, that it has a continuance independent of mind, should really be axiomatic."
(Consciousness P. 19.)

Why? Just because we must start our logic somewhere and where we start cannot itself be deprived of logic. If we begin, as we must, with practical experience a materialist outlook is automatic.

TEST OF TRUTH

Idealism sets itself the task of arguing the material world away and the attempt to combat such a viewpoint by logical discussion alone is to fight on the home-ground of idealism, with the ultimate test of truth being the consistency of logical thought. As Engels put it,

"Now this line of reasoning seems undoubted hard to beat by mere argumentation. But before there was argumentation there was action. In the beginning was the deed. And human action had solved the difficulty long before human ingenuity invented it."
(Socialism: Utopian and Scientific English introduction)

If this approach to the philosophical problem is adopted then we can begin to tackle the more important social problem of how it is that so many intellectuals can be convinced, or at the very least disturbed, by the arguments of idealism.

Why, in plain words, is the obvious existence of the material world unobvious? Rephrasing the question the answer follows directly from our previous discussion. Why, for the intellectual, can the

existence of his own thoughts seem more immediate than that of the external world?

Just because the conditions of his work—his very function in society—tend to separate him from the practical activity, through which alone the external world is proved to exist.

In a capitalist society, with its sharp class divisions, this problem is very acute for it shows up not just in the bizarre sort of philosophical attitudes we have been discussing above, but also in down-to-earth political opinions.

We need only consider the steady outpouring of closely and intricately reasoned "proofs" that imperialism is a thing of the past, that the class-war never even existed, that the North Vietnamese are threatening America and so on: propositions advanced by their authors, often in very good faith.

Such arguments simply make no contact with the vast majority of people for whom the class war and imperialism (even if no such names are employed) are plain facts of life—the unarguable axioms of

existence—not arrived at by intricate chains of reasoning, but just grown up with.

This divorce of intellectual from worker has to be overcome for the creation of a powerful and necessary anti-capitalist alliance.

Ghana, due to the grossly distorted, colonial education system, at present faces the same problem in what is at first sight an even more acute form. The creation of the one-party state however, has removed a good deal of the objective basis for such a divergence, and clears the way for elimination of the problem by ideological re-education.

SENSATION

Having asserted the primary reality of matter, we are faced with the necessity of showing how mind arises from it. Lenin wrote that:

"Sensation depends on the brain, nerves, retina, etc. i.e. on matter organised in a definite way. The existence of matter does not depend on sensation. Matter is primary. Sensation, thought, consciousness are the supreme product of matter organised in a particular way. Such are the views of materialism in general, and of Marx and Engels in particular."

Let's be quite clear at the outset that this is no longer a question of philosophy but one of science. The basic pro-

blem of philosophy has been answered and there remains the innumerable specific instances of its application.

Furthermore the particular question we face here, of how thought arises in the material world, is probably the most complex question that can be conceived at present and is a very long way yet from being answered.

Does this negate what was said above? Of course not. Dialectical Materialism does not claim a complete solution to all problems, what it does do is orient us correctly in our search for a solution. Lenin was very clear about this when he wrote:

"there still remains to be investigated and re-investigated how matter, apparently entirely devoid of sensation, is related to matter which, although composed of the same atoms (or electrons) is yet endowed with a well-defined faculty of sensation. Materialism clearly formulates the as yet unsolved problem and thereby stimulates the attempt to solve it, to undertake further experimental investigation."

This was written nearly 60 years ago! Great strides have been made since then towards understanding some of the functions of the brain, and these advances are the real vindication of Lenin's ideas.

Mathematical Logic, cybernetics, neurophysiology tell us that our whole lives are based on the assumption that

tentious philosophy which claims to have solved the mind-matter problem, and enable us to simulate some of the more elementary functions of the brain.

Lenin's conception of the "reflection" of the world by the mind is being enriched and elaborated by contemporary philosophers using the general scientific ideas of "information" and "interaction", which have emerged in modern physical theories.

THE EXPLANATION

In conclusion we must attempt to allay the disturbed feelings that usually arise from a discussion like the one above. Dialectical Materialism assures us that all phenomena yield a materialist explanation when subjected to scientific investigation. All we have done is to take the explanation of mental phenomena as a particularly important, special case.

But still we might feel that something is wrong. The old and well-rooted prejudices against the explanation of mental phenomena are difficult to eliminate.

Actually, everyone is happy with the investigation of mental illness, say, and applauds when sufficient is discovered about the causes of such an illness to effect a cure; again, a moment's thought convinces us that our whole lives are based on the assumption that

patterns of human behaviour are regular and reliable.

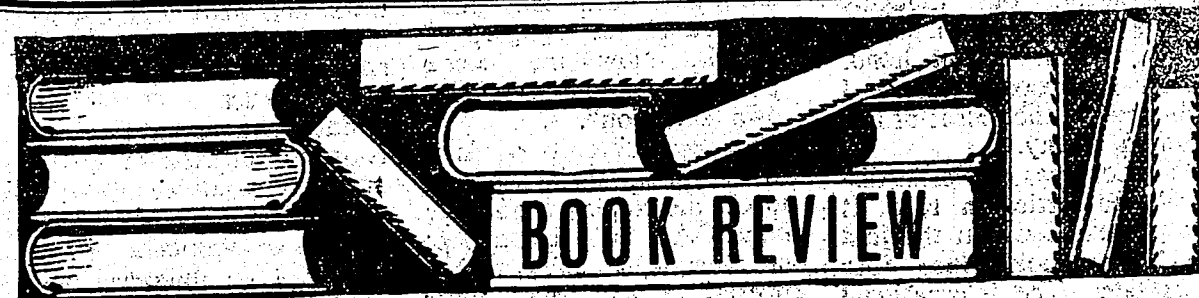
What does make people feel uncomfortable is the feeling that explanation of this sort in some way reduces the stature of the human intellect. Mere matter, it would seem, is not enough to encompass all the subtleties and complexities of the mind. Dualism, deeply ingrained within us, dies hard.

Now, we've come a long way from the mechanical materialist picture of matter as hard, propertyless chunks of substance rushing around in empty space.

Dialectical Materialism has always insisted on the inexhaustible structure of any portion of matter and it is this complexity (fully in accord with elementary particle physics) from which the infinitely diverse responses of the mind are built.

From another point of view we must see human beings as infinitely adaptable, not in the simple biological sense, but socially, using all the techniques of science and technology. Men are at this moment adapting to life in space and there seems no reason to assume any limits to such developments.

Each advance in understanding of the human mind becomes a new fact about the world in which we live, leading to new adaptation and hence to new properties of the human mind. Progress in this way is limitless.



French Colonialism

MILITANT anti-colonialists have long felt the need for a good, factual account of the history and nature of modern colonialism. The second volume of Suret-Canale's 'L'Afrique Noire occidentale et centrale: L'Era Coloniale

1900-1945' (Editions Sociales) fills this need. The author attempts a systematic analysis of the functioning of the French colonial system, the alleged intention of which was to bring "civilization" to Africa.

Workers Build Socialism

Continued from page 3

like ourselves have won in our own lifetime.

A famous British politician once referred to our times as the "terrible twentieth century". He did not mean it was terrible because the wonderful discoveries of science which can, and perverted to purpose of destruction. He did not mean that millions of men, women and children of all races and nations are living on the borders of subsistence.

What he meant was two things. First that India and Africa and Asia and Latin America had begun to break "the rule of law and order" imposed on them by imperialism—the rule of capitalist exploitation and the order of imperialist domination over national cultures and aspirations. Secondly, he meant that the people of other parts of the world had destroyed the old order of feudalism and capitalism and had taken political power into the hands of workers and peasants and begun to build socialism.

If such politicians were not still dangerous, one might almost pity them. For us their old world was one in which we were despised and exploited, in which others decided our destiny, and our livelihood in which they taught us to decide our own history and our own culture, in which they taught us that we could never master science and technology.

For us the end of their old

world is the beginning of our new world. We the workers and working farmers of Ghana, shall take our old country, richly endowed by nature, and we shall make it flower and produce for us who work it and till it.

We shall join with our brothers in Africa in building up a mighty industry and a rich agriculture. We shall keep our "fufu" and our "kenkey" and our rice, but we shall add to them eggs and meat and poultry and milk.

We shall use new techniques to build fine houses, houses in keeping with our needs. Our children will develop their talents in a land where modern industry and scientific agriculture will give them less aching of the back and less furlowing of the brows.

We shall make new contributions to world stream of science and art. We shall fight for and ultimately live in a world of peace where for all men of all nations the free development of each is a condition for the free development of all.

Between us and that day these lies a road which our country have taken only the first steps. But it has taken them.

Long live Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, General Secretary of the Party, Chairman of its Central Committee and President of the Republic of Ghana.

Long live May Day.

Once the period of violent conquest was over the economic and social features typical of imperialism started to take shape over the years between the start of the century and the First World War.

There is the development of the trading economy (which had been already inaugurated in the immediately preceding decades) and commercial capital was replaced by financial capital.

Characteristic features of the system included forced labour, the theft of land belonging to the local people, to widespread pauperization and to famine hitherto unknown.

EXPLOITATION

The regime imposed by the colonizer meant abandoning the cultivation of food crops and going over to the production of crops for export (ground-nuts coffee and palm-oil) which were either bought from Africans at ridiculously low prices or in return for scandalously low wages.

The exchange was made for shoddy goods which were sold at exorbitant prices.

"To the theoretical right enjoyed by the companies in former times was substituted and actual monopoly for the benefit of a financial oligarchy... It is the exported capital which controls the economy, but its chosen area is in the import and export trade and not in production. Because of this, the amount of capital remains extremely low..."

"Monopoly, mercantilism, parasitism and stagnation French colonization in Tropical Africa" (p.204)

Before the 1914-1918 War, "out of 41 milliard gold francs invested outside France, only 4 milliard (1.25 milliard of this being State loan) were exported to the colonies".

The author latest notes (p.209) that "the amount of

invested capital coming from France was extremely small—28 milliard francs (at 1940 values) in forty years, as regards private investments... The dividing up of investments in different sectors of activity shows the mercantile and parasitic nature of capital in French Africa". This is a constant factor in French colonial politics.

Industrial development was limited to public works and such spheres as the building trade and to the production of such material as bricks.

"Agriculture remains the exclusive source of production and the techniques practised are, with very rare exceptions, those from pre-colonial times—the hoe is still used over stretches of burnt land".

Intensive cultivation and the use of fertilizers remained an exception.

The African peasant was subjected to an imposed type of cultivation which was sheer exploitation; this system was supported by the government and a vast network of migration organized right across the continent, and also a system of forced labour.

HIGH PROFIT

On the pretext of inculcating a sense of "thrift" the colonizers did not pay their workers; the sums were written down on a pay-roll, a method (not always effective) of keeping the defaulting workers from running away since he would be "breaking the contract" and would not get anything even though he might have done several months' work (p.315).

There was also systematic robbing of the tribes. In French West Africa immediately after the Second World War, only 1,742 African property-owners were registered out of some 16 million inhabitants. These owned only 29,000 hectares and were urban proprietors for the most part.

The mines were ridiculously undeveloped in proportion to the huge possibilities.

The very small amount of capital invested was used, in the main, to extract high profits, but without altering pre-colonial techniques in any way. This was possible only through the increasing amount of work done by the population.

Over nine years the prices of imports increased six to eight times above the 1913 level, while African-produced foodstuffs barely doubled in price. With the economic crisis of 1927-1931, the prices of the latter underwent a farther catastrophic drop.

The authorities worked hand in glove with the monopolies. Political and governmental oppression differed little from the methods used by the Nazis. Repeated uprising were suppressed with great brutality and bloodshed.

"If there was any social and political development of any kind, it was only in embryo, being greatly constricted and diverted from its aims. It was, in any case, brought to a halt with the arrival of politicians who were all too easy to bribe while the general mass of the population remained inert."

"The last years of the 1939-1945 war were needed, with the massive intervention of Negro troops anxious to crush an enemy even more dreaded than France, for the awareness born of these events to appear, and the conditions, subjective if not objective, for a deep change in the exploited land of Africa to come into being."

Every militant anti-colonialist working for the emergence of an Africa rid of European "protection", should read Suret-Canale. To such a sincere and honest author we can only "say well done" and wish him every success.

TWENTY YEARS AFTER V.E. DAY

by PAT SLOAN

WAR is a terribly costly process. So costly, indeed, that in Britain after the First World War (1914-1918) it used to be commonly said that no body wins in modern war. This did not mean that wars were already a thing of the past, but it did mean that people were gradually coming to realise the harmfulness of war with its enormous waste of economic resources and sacrifice of human lives.

World War, of the world's first Socialist State, Soviet Russia.

Henceforth, over one-sixth of the earth there existed a State on whose territory production was increasingly to be planned for the common good and less and less for private profit, a country in which nobody would any longer be able to profit from exploitation and war production, or from the exploitation of other nations.

A NEW FORCE

In these basic characteristics of the Soviet system the Russian Revolution heralded something new, a new force, working for lasting peace on the one hand, and acting as the friend of all those struggling for their own liberation on the other.

From the Soviet point of view peace and socialism went together, imperialism and war went together so that the common struggle for peace and socialism has to be stimulated on a world scale by the Soviet example, against the forces of imperialism and its inevitable tendency to provoke new wars.

This new factor in the world—the existence of the Soviet Union—and the enormous stimulus its example gave to the movements for socialism and for national liberation everywhere, was the main change in the world following the end of World War I.

In the years which followed a sharp differentiation began to take place within the capitalist-imperialist world itself. The imperialist states began to divide and re-group their forces once again, but this time with a basic change in the ways and means by which capitalism was enforced internally.

In a number of capitalist countries (however ruthlessly they still oppressed their

colonies) the limited democracy of capitalism continued in being (Britain, France, U.S.A. etc).

But in other capitalist countries (Italy, Germany, Japan) where the ruling class felt more and more threatened by the internal forces of Socialism and feared that under conditions even of limited democracy they might come to power, in these countries the ruling class resorted to fascism to preserve their power.

The Socialist Soviet Union, with its policy of peace based on a social system in which no one stood to profit from war, at each stage pursued a policy of co-operation with those states whose policy was less warlike and against those states whose policy was more warlike.

SANCTIONS

In the 1930s this meant an attempt to secure an alliance with the "democratic" capitalist states against the more aggressive capitalist states.

The U.S.S.R. was the first, for example to apply sanctions against Italy at the time of the Abyssinian war. It rendered substantial aid to Republican Spain against the Nazi-backed uprising led by General Franco, but was not yet strong enough to protect Republican Spain successfully in the way that, nowadays, it has proved able to protect the independence of socialist Cuba.

In 1939, after Britain and France had betrayed Czechoslovakia to Hitler at Munich and Britain and French talk of an alliance with the U.S.S.R. had been shown to be just talk, the Soviet Union felt obliged to sign a non-

aggression pact with Germany.

The Soviet Union was well aware of the strong efforts being made in London and Paris to manoeuvre the U.S.S.R. into war with Nazi Germany while Britain and France, who had aided German rearmament after World War I because they hoped Germany would destroy the Soviet Union for them, stood aside.

The Soviet-German pact prevented the realisation of these aims. It also gave the Soviet Union a brief respite when World War II began in September, 1939.

In 1941 the Nazis made their greatest mistake—they invaded the Soviet Union.

It was at this moment that Winston Churchill, despite his profound antagonism to all that the U.S.S.R. stood for, declared that Britain would be the ally of Russia in the fight against the common enemy, Nazism, though he hardly believed that the Soviet resistance to Nazism would last more than four months.

Thus was formed the grand alliance against Nazism and fascism, which rapidly developed into a world-wide struggle against all forms of oppression everywhere so that on a world-wide scale such countries as Britain, France and the U.S.A. found themselves fighting hand-in-hand with the Soviet Union and with national resistance movements everywhere.

This situation was not welcome to the anti-fascist imperialist themselves. We now know that as early as 1943, while the war was still at its height, Churchill circulated an inner cabinet memorandum warning that when Hitler was defeated, the menace of Russia

would threaten Europe.

When Nazi Germany was on the verge of collapse, he sent secret orders to Lord Montgomery that captured German arms should be stored in such a way as to be ready for re-issue to German troops for use against Britain's Soviet allies. After the war was over, at Fulton, he publicly gave voice to these views and laid the foundation for the "Cold War".

Hence we had the following contradiction in British policy: on the one hand, aid to the U.S.S.R. and verbal recognition by Churchill that the "Soviet armies had torn the guts out of the Nazi armies"; on the other, reluctance and delay in opening a Second Front in Europe.

In the process of liberation in Europe, two forms of state emerged.

THE LIBERATING FORCE

Where the liberating force was the Soviet Army, full support was given to the national forces of resistance to enable them to assume state power. This paved the way for the transition to Socialism in a whole series of European countries, along the path, first, of "People's Democracy" and then of Socialism.

But in the countries liberated from the Nazis by the Anglo-American forces, the reverse process took place. The Resistance forces were disarmed peacefully in Belgium and France, but only a long and bloody war in Greece. Whereas in Bulgaria, liberated by the Soviet forces, People's Democracy founded on the Resistance led peace-

fully to Socialism, in neighbouring Greece years of war have ravaged the country, thanks to first British and then American backing for Greek reactionary forces (which had, incidentally, collaborated with the Nazis).

Even now, as a result of years of struggle, both armed struggle and peaceful political struggle, capitalist democracy has only been partially restored in Greece.

The Socialist countries have wiped out imperialism from their midst. No-one in these countries gets rich from foreign investment or the manufacture of arms.

They have introduced public ownership (in varying degrees according to national circumstances), and they have all embarked on national economic plans serving the common good.

Whatever mistakes may have been made, and whatever disagreements there may be between them at any particular stage, they all stand for the common ownership of the means of production, and for an economy serving the common good.

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

The Socialist countries today stand side by side with many of the newly-independent countries of the world in a common front of peaceful coexistence and support for all peoples who are still struggling for their national independence or who, having gained it as in North Vietnam, are now suffering brutal imperialist intervention aimed at reversing the irreversible process of history.

A world camp has been formed, uniting the struggle for Socialism and national independence against the forces of capitalism and imperialism or its modern form of neo-colonialism.

Today, as always, it is the imperialists who do not hesitate to resort to war as Viet Nam and the Congo both show us only too clearly. It is the Socialist aim to preserve peace, to thwart the imperialist and neo-colonialist plans to spread war.

This can be done by helping all anti-imperialist and all anti-war forces to achieve independence and peace wherever possible without suffering inflicted by armed conflict.

It was obvious that this is not always possible, since the war-making forces in the world are still strong. But they are today far less strong than they were, in 1914, or in 1939, when the First and Second World Wars began.

STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Despite Viet Nam, despite the Congo, and despite Germany's divided condition, it is still possible for the forces of peace, expressed in the Socialist and independent states and in the working class and peace movements in the capitalist and imperialist countries, to prevent the struggles for national independence from escalating into World War III, a war which would inevitably become a nuclear disaster for a vast proportion of mankind.

In this positive struggle for world peace, all progressive forces can unite (whatever their specific differences). And unity in this struggle can now embrace the entire world, a thing which was not effectively possible in 1914 or 1939. This is the great achievement to be set on record twenty years after V.E. Day.

MAIN CHANGE

But it would be entirely wrong for us to see the Second World War, the twentieth anniversary of whose end we celebrate this weekend, as being merely a repetition, at a later stage, of the First World War.

For in the interval things had begun to change in a direction which no power on earth can stop, whatever further struggles have still to be fought.

What was the main change? It was the emergence in 1917, stimulated by the stresses and strains imposed on a backward country by the First

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|-----------|--------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
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| ROME | ARR. DEP. | | | |
| ZURICH | ARR. DEP. | | | 1555 1645 |
| AMSTERDAM | ARR. DEP. | | | 1800 1850 |
| LONDON | ARR. | 1625 | | 1945 |



IDEOLOGY FOR AFRICA

Continued from page 1

a clearly formulated ideology which defines the need of the new social order envisaged.

This explains why through out history, revolutionary epochs have been marked by intense ideological and philosophical activity.

Africa is not, and cannot be, an exception to this rule. It is everywhere agreed that the old colonial system must be made to give way to a new social order.

What is not generally understood however, is that a new ideology is needed for this task of national and social reconstruction, an ideology that will set out the cardinal principles that should bring into being and animate the institutions of the new society.

FOREIGN INTEREST

It is clearly impossible to succeed in this assignment of social reconstruction without an ideology. To stick to the ideology of the old social order is to organise colonialism in a new form. To claim that ideology is unnecessary is to accept the existing ideology of imperialism; it is indeed to allow powerful foreign interests to supply with an ideology and thereby organise the new social order on lines that will accommodate these foreign interests.

The only way open to us, that is if we are serious about social reconstruction, is to forge a new ideology that will guide all our efforts directed towards nation building and social reconstruction.

We may now define ideology as the clear formulation of social goals based on an accurate observation and scientific interpretation of the social milieu. This means that the bed-rock of an ideology is an accurate study of the social milieu.

What then is our social milieu? In other words, what are the fundamental facts of contemporary African life?

These fundamental features are four.

First, all Africa is emerging from colonialism and neo-colonialism. Every country in Africa is at an early or an advanced stage in this historic transformation. And even if we have achieved formal political independence, it is common knowledge that this political freedom is being undermined or rendered nugatory by the fact that many of us are still economically dependent.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM

The second cardinal feature of the new Africa is the inevitability of a great measure of collectivism. The whole purpose in the struggle against imperialism colonialism and neo-colonialism is to free ourselves politically and economically from foreign control. This idea is negated if, after the attainment of political independence, African states again fall back on the former colonial masters to finance economic growth. Nor shall we fare better if we substitute some new masters for the old ones.

A common basic fact of far-reaching importance in our economic condition is the near-absence or pronounced weakness of a capitalist class in a position to finance a rapid rate of economic development. Reliance on an indigenous capitalist class for the wherewithal of economic growth invariably leads either to economic stagnation or to an inadequate growth rate.

In both cases, dependence, on foreign capital is the result, for the simple fact that our puny and weak capitalist class cannot face up to the competition nor stand up to the pressure

of foreign monopoly capital.

It follows that for it to have meaning for emergent African states, independence must be buttressed by self-induced economic development. And because of the weakness of our capitalist class, that is where it exists at all, the state has no alternative but to step boldly into the field of economic development.

FOREIGN DOMINATION

The 19th century concept of laissez-faire under which the state merely held the ring for private entrepreneurs is simply inapplicable to Africa. For such a supine position by any African state means continued domination by foreign interests.

The third cardinal feature of African life today arises from the fact that ours is a society in transition. We cannot cling to the old values which no longer square with changed circumstances. Nor are we quite clear and generally agreed on what the new values should be.

A great battle of values is therefore raging in our society today. But we cannot go on indefinitely with this state of flux. A new set of values must be crystallised out of the hotch-potch with which we are today beset.

Such crystallisation, to have lasting value, must necessarily take place around an ideology. And this ideology must be the one on which our new social order is built.

The fourth fundamental feature of the new Africa is the need for organising our efforts on a continental scale. This is forced upon us by the need for self-induced economic development.

As soon as the new African state is born, there arises the need to protect the new political unit against internal and external enemies. In addition the new African state must set out boldly to provide the basis for the fullest satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people. In short, the new state must expand its productive capacity many times over.

INDUSTRY

This need for an expansion of production, on which the fullest development of all hinges, demands two conditions:—

- The use of the most up-to-date technology; and
- an optimum area of development.

The optimum area of development is consequent on the use of the most up-to-date technology, for the fullest development of modern industrial technology—that is to say, the use of the largest and latest machines without carrying excess capacity—cannot be achieved until an optimum area within which development can be self-induced is secured.

The only other solution to this problem is imperialism's forceful annexation of foreign markets. And how ludicrous it is to think that an African state can follow the path of development that postulates imperialism as a condition of success!

The optimum area of self-induced development must necessarily be a vast land mass with a big population.

LARGE POPULATION

The vast land mass is required because a wide variety of geographical regions and geological formations is needed to yield all the agricultural and mineral products on which modern industrialism depends.

A big population is needed in order to provide the various types of labour skills, and, even

more important, the vast and expanding markets for the products of a highly technical industrial system.

Judging from the experiences of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and now of the Peoples' Republic of China, not to forget the European Economic Community, it seems that a vast land mass with a population running into a few hundred millions is needed.

According, the fullest development of our people in Africa demands the application of up-to-date technology which in turn implies an optimum area of development, if such development is to be self-induced.

And the search for an optimum area of self-induced development leads inescapably to the African continent being considered as a single unit of development. There is political argument for organising our efforts on continental scale.

Experience in the fight against colonialism has shown that the most effective weapon in the hands of depressed peoples for the conduct of the fight for national liberation is political power.

POLITICAL UNION

We cannot make effective use of economic power because as countries just emerging from colonialism we are economically weak vis-à-vis the industrialised countries.

An application of this experience at the all-Africa level brings home the need for continental political union.

Imperialism, it must be noted, is an international phenomenon. The South Africa experience has shown, to those, that is, who were in doubt on this point, that to fight apartheid in South Africa is to fight the imperialists of Wall Street, and of Western Europe generally. To insist on freedom and equality in Southern Rhodesia is to assail the tobacco empire of Oppenheimer and the investment domains of international finance capital.

It is necessary, therefore, to generate a political force of continental dimensions to deal with the imperialist monster which itself operates on a continental scale.

We have then established that continental unity is basic to Africa's redemption and the emancipation of Africa's peoples. But for it to be effective this continental unity must be organic, and not merely mechanical.

In sociological terms, the whole of Africa has got to be welded into a single society with common aspirations based on common values, with common interests which engender common reactions.

Africa, accordingly needs a unifying ideology.

This unifying ideology we refer to as Nkrumaism armed with its philosophy of Consciencism. Nkrumaism we define as scientific socialism applied to the historical conditions and serving the aspirations of Africa.

INFLUENCES

Consciencism is the philosophical elaboration and theoretical defence of the tenets of Nkrumaism. Consciencism is thus the handmaiden of Nkrumaism very much as statistics serves economics, mathematics serves physics and religion serves ethics.

Africa is made up of three distinct parts.

There is traditional Africa, the society that was here before foreign influences swept across the continent.

Then there are the two foreign influences — Islam which swept in from the East; and European Christianity which came in from the North and North-West.

These two foreign influences brought in their own economic and social systems with

distinct religions and divergent cultures. Each is a civilisation complete in itself.

The social and economic cleavages introduced by Islamic civilisation are contrasted to those created by Euro-Christian cleavages; and both Islamic and Euro-Christian cleavages sharply contradict traditional African life.

It is not easy to find any thing more complicated anywhere else except perhaps in parts of Asia. But it is out of this complicated mass that a new organic African unity is to be created.

THREE CIVILIZATIONS

Some, bewildered by the deep cleavages in these three ways of life, throw up their hands in despair and proclaim that a single African society is inconceivable.

We do not share this view. We hold, and we are taking steps to show, that one stable African society could be created out of the uneasy tensions of the existing three Africans.

It is important to note that the three civilisations of traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa overlie one another almost everywhere on the African continent. They do not fall into geographical zones.

Therefore the ideological conflict between the three Africans cannot be solved by way of a geographical demarcation of spheres of influence.

SYNTHESIS

Nor can it be solved by seeking to make one of these civilisations supreme over the other two. The survival of the traditional African way of life after centuries of suppression first by the Jihad (religious

war that heralded the incursion of Islamic civilisation) and then by colonialism (the earlier form Euro-Christian civilisation took in Africa) shows how hopeless is the task of making one of the three Africans supreme.

The solution to the problem lies by way of a philosophical synthesis. And this Consciencism sets out to do.

PHILOSOPHIES

Herein lies the superiority of the approach of Consciencism over other philosophies like Negritude and Arab Socialism which by definition, can apply only to parts of Africa—Negritude to Africa south of the Sahara, and Arab Socialism to Arab North Africa. These are not, and cannot be, philosophies that promote African unity.

This philosophical synthesis is created by blending what is best in traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa into a body of coherent thought.

To qualify as a philosophy, this body of thought must be internally rational as between its component parts and externally capable of serving as a yardstick by which all aspects of the lives of our people could be assessed.

NEW PHILOSOPHY

The principles which have been extracted from the three Africans and blended into the new philosophy of Consciencism could be set down as follows:—

- egalitarianism
- humanism
- industrialisation
- accountability of the individual conscience
- individual obligation to the group
- dialectical materialism

Practical problems of Consciencism

WE now have a fair idea of what "Consciencism" is all about. We now know its component parts. We know its social perspective and general objectives. It is important, however, to emphasise that 'Consciencism' is not just an abstract intellectual exercise.

It has a profound effect on many aspects of life—on the theory of knowledge, on ethical theory, on social and political theory and practice.

THEORY

We cannot here go into all these aspects. We will therefore confine ourselves to the practical implications of 'Consciencism' in the field of social and political theory and practice, for the simple reason that most of you here are practical men and women who wish to contribute in a practical way to the upliftment of this country and mother Africa.

The specific issues we will examine are:—

- What is the consciencist view of the state?
- What is positive action and negative action and how do these contrast with the orthodox concept of the class struggle?
- How does Consciencism conceive of the transition to socialism in Africa? and
- What is the relation of Consciencism to world thought?

We will consider these problems in the order in which they are listed.

To the young African nation, the state is an all-embracing and all-important institution of great importance. This is why we rightly lay emphasis on loyalty to the State; this is why we rightly take every step to consolidate and strengthen the state.

However, it is important to know exactly why the state must exist, why it must be supported and the conditions for eliciting this support. In other words, it would be dangerous to demand obedience to the state on no other grounds than that this should be the case. To travel along this road is to head for a deification of the state to the discomfiture of its citizens.

What has Consciencism to say on this vital issue?

According to Consciencism the state is the Great Regulator. It is the instrument for establishing and defending "definite ranges of behaviour", without which social cohesion or the "dynamic unity" which society implies is impossible.

PRINCIPLES

In undertaking this task of regulating human behaviour the State is guided by the principles that make up the ethical and social theory of Consciencism. These principles are four, viz:—

- the equality of men;
- man is an end in himself and not just the means to an end;
- the group is responsible for the individual;
- the development of the group sets the limits within which the development of each must proceed.

The effective application of these four principles in modern industrial society demands the collective control of means of production.

Right through history the control of the means of pro-

duction has been the decisive factor in regulating the social life of men. This has become even more so in modern society where sophisticated methods of production, once left uncontrolled, have given birth to small exploiting classes wielding enormous economic power over the rest of society.

which solves mind-matter problem by way of categorial conversion.

The first two principles—egalitarianism and humanism—are abstracted from traditional African life. It is here important to note that it is these two principles, and not traditional African life, root, stem and branch, that is distilled into philosophical consciencism.

By egalitarianism we mean that all men must be treated as equals. The social practice demanded by this concept is the creation of equal opportunities for all.

By humanism we mean that every man must be treated as an end in himself. Concretely this means that the well-being of the individual is the responsibility of the group.

PRODUCTION

An obligation flows from this for the individual. His activities must be such that the pursuit of his personal well-being must not conflict with the welfare of the group to which he belongs.

Industrialism comes from western civilisation but its practical organisation for us is on the basis of the public ownership of the means of production.

Here we have dropped the western notion of private ownership of the means of production because experience has shown that such private ownership of the means of production has invariably led to the emergence of economic classes which undermine the principle of treating all as equals.

The accountability of the individual conscience is extracted from Christianity. By this we do not mean a stubborn adherence to one's whims and

CLASSES

And the existence of such classes, in whose hands economic power is concentrated, means in practice the destruction of the equality of men. It negates the responsibility of the many for each. And the development of all as the condition for the development of each is turned upside down.

The political theory of Consciencism therefore accepts the abolition (or avoidance) of classes which have arisen (or are likely to arise) through the public control of the means of production.

The state compels the obedience of its citizens because it sets out to achieve these lofty ideals. The state can thus be judged by its citizens with reference to the degree to which it has achieved these ideals.

You can see that this view of the state rejects both absoluteness and arbitrariness. The state is an instrument of society. And the extent to which it has served society is for the citizens to decide. The terms of reference for making this assessment are the four principles that make up the ethical theory of Consciencism.

Now that we know the norms that must guide the

activity of the state, what are the motive forces behind the state?

The force behind the state, Consciencism teaches, is not the "real will", that metaphysical concept that gave the world fascism. Nor is it a single class, as the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat implies.

Rather the force behind the state is positive action which is defined as the sum total of social, economic, political and cultural forces working for the new social order envisaged by Consciencism.

Consciencism holds that while positive action and negative action are intellectual abstractions, they have their roots in social reality. In real life, these forces are discovered through "statistical

Continued on page 8

Continued on page 8

THE TASK

It now becomes the primary task of the intellectuals of the African Revolution to defend, propagate and enrich this philosophy. We take on this assignment willingly because we know that this is the bed-rock on which the unity of our continent can be built. And we know, further, that Africa will neither be wholly free from imperialism nor truly great and prosperous until it is united.

Solidarity Congress

Representatives from all parts of the world will attend next month's Latin-American Congress of Solidarity with Cuba in Montevideo.

The Congress, to be held June 18-20 will call for the restoration of normal relations with Cuba and for normalisation of U.S.-Cuban relations.

It will voice the solidarity of the peoples in defence of the principles of self-determination, non-interference and peaceful co-existence.

Beating the Cold War Drum

LOOK carefully at the map we reproduce on this page. It was published in the magazine "Drum" introducing a dozen or so pages of West German propaganda depicting the Bonn Republic as "Africa's partner on progress", a true friend of the African people and of world peace.

The map itself gives the lie to West German claims to be a true friend of peace. For it shows Germany's frontiers not as they are today, but as they were under Hitler on the eve of World War II.

The map demonstrates that the revenge-seekers in Bonn are not satisfied with the frontiers of Europe as laid down in the Potsdam Agreements concluded twenty years ago, after millions had laid down their lives in the struggle against Nazi aggression.

They want to revise these frontiers; they want to recover the territory they lost twenty years ago; they want to regain what Hitler lost.

These aims can be achieved only at the price of a new world war. Bonn knows this. That is why it is striving to get its finger on the nuclear trigger; that is why the West German Army is today the largest N.A.T.O. army in Europe.

Bonn's claims for a revision of the frontiers established at the end of World War II constitute a threat to world peace.

We therefore ask: Why does "Drum" support these claims by publishing a West German propaganda map—a map which in itself constitutes a programme for a new war? For the map is a lie. There is no such Germany as that which it depicts.



On the left of the map we see the Federal Republic with its capital in Bonn. *Drum* for some reason best known to itself (or was it just reproducing a Bonn hand-out?) calls this "the free part of Germany".

Suffice it to say that the Federal Republic is one of only three West European countries where, just as in Nazi days, the Communist Party is banned. The other two are Salazar's Portugal and Franco's Spain.

Then to the East in the centre of *Drum's* map and

marked with horizontal shading, we see the German Democratic Republic—though the map does not call it that, because the men in Bonn, immersed in their own dreams of revenge and past glories, do not recognise the existence of what is one of the major industrial states of modern Europe.

But it is when we look at the Eastern frontier of Germany as depicted by the *Drum* map that the lie begins. The actual frontier today follows the dotted line that runs South from near the city that is marked "Stettin".

This dotted line is so un-

obtrusively marked is what has become known as the "Oder-Neisse line"—Germany's Eastern frontier as laid down in the post-war agreements concluded twenty years ago at Potsdam.

But the horizontal shading on *Drum's* map goes further—to the East. It includes in Germany the city that is marked as "Breslau". There is even horizontal shading in the top right-hand corner of the map—what was before World War II East Prussia, breeding ground of the Junkers and nursery of aggressive German militarism.

by A Spark Correspondent

But neither the territory to the East of the Oder-Neisse line nor East Prussia belongs to the German Democratic Republic. What is more, the German Democratic Republic—the first genuinely peace-loving state in German history—does not even claim these territories. It recognises the Oder-Neisse line as Germany's Eastern frontier, and has successfully striven to establish good relations with its Eastern neighbours on this basis.

But Bonn does not recognise the Oder-Neisse line. It wants to re-draw the map of post-war Europe, by force if necessary.

It wants to see the Polish cities of Szezeem, which it persists in calling "Stettin", and Wroclaw, which it calls "Breslau", as German cities, part of a Greater Germany modelled on Hitler's Reich, with the German Democratic Republic completely destroyed.

And it wants East Prussia, which under the terms of the post-war agreements became part of the Soviet Union, thus eradicating for all time the breeding ground of German militarism, once again to become part of this Greater Germany.

Such is West German arrogance that even Polish cities which the map does not claim to be German are given German names: Poznan becomes "Posen", Gdansk becomes "Danzig". Nor are Poland and the U.S.S.R. the only objects for Bonn's territorial claims. Official West German spokesmen have repeatedly made territorial claims against another of Germany's Eastern neighbours, demanding the handing back of Czechoslovak territory first seized by Hitler.

West German spokesmen

have even gone so far as to assert that the infamous Munich Agreement under the terms of which Britain and France betrayed Czechoslovakia to Hitler in 1939, was still in force.

Bonn's Western allies, who have re-armed West Germany in violation of the terms of the Potsdam Agreements because they see her as an ally in their struggle against Socialism (just as in pre-war years the Western allies encouraged Hitler because they hoped he would destroy the Soviet Union for them) have done little to discourage West German claims. Their stand on the Oder-Neisse line is ambiguous.

One thing, however, is clear: West Germany, the strongest member of N.A.T.O. in Europe, is also—and ominously—the only state in Europe calling for the revision of Europe's post-war frontiers. Her demands constitute a threat to the security of Europe and the peace of the world.

We therefore again ask: Why does the "Drum" lend its support to these demands? Were the editors of the "Drum" ignorant of the significance of the map which they published? Or were they perhaps influenced by the no-doubt remunerative pages of West German advertising which accompanies their special West German feature?

This map appeared in the Ghana edition of *Drum*. Ghana has friendly relations with Poland, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. By thus popularising smears and revenge-seeking territorial claims against states with which Ghana has friendly relations, *Drum* has done our country a grave disservice.

Indeed we would go further: the entire feature on "Germany-Africa's partner in progress" constitutes a grave disservice to the cause of African freedom and progress.

The "Germany" referred to is West Germany, and West Germany is no more "Africa's partner in progress" than is any other neo-colonial power.

The feature makes much of the credits that West Germany gives to newly-independent Africa states, both directly and through the World Bank.

But these credits are not given free; we—the people of Africa—pay for them, and West German interest rates are by no means the lowest.

Likewise, when West German monopolies (and West Germany has some of the biggest and most powerful in the world, many of them closely linked with those of America) invest in Africa, they do not do it because they like us, or because they want to become our "partners in progress".

They do it because they believe they can make a profit in Africa—a higher profit than elsewhere. If we compare the total interest and profit extracted from Africa with the amount of so-called "aid" given, the former will be seen

to be many times the larger. But it is West Germany's attitude to African political affairs that most clearly demonstrates the falsity of her claim to be "Africa's partner in progress".

West Germany maintains close political and economic ties with Verwoerd's apartheid regime in South Africa—it is, in fact, one of Verwoerd's major trading partners, and has supplied arms and other military equipment to the South African racists.

When on a visit to South Africa in 1959, the then West German Minister of Agriculture and the present West German President, Heinrich Lübke, declared:

"South Africa has much experience in connection with native problems. Experience of this kind would also be useful in other countries on the African continent which face the same problems but which have not yet solved them. The native problem here is in good hands."

The people of Africa well know what that "experience" is. They know that it has nothing in common with their progress.

West Germany has also aided the Portuguese colonialists in Angola and Mozambique with money arms and "experts". West German spokesmen have expressed support for Portugal's colonial wars in Africa.

West Germany, like other N.A.T.O. countries likewise supported French imperialism in its war against the people of Algeria with money and also with men, for it did nothing to check the flow of West German mercenaries—many of them ex-Nazis—into the French Foreign Legion, 70 per cent of whose members were German.

And West Germany is the good and generous friend of Tshombe, who was received with honour in Bonn last year.

"The Federal Republic has guaranteed us a further 100 million marks... My government has undertaken to eradicate the rebellion" were two of Tshombe's significant remarks at a press conference reported by the West German *Die Welt*.

The same Lübke who in 1959 had declared that in South Africa the "native problem is in good hands" was the only head of state in the world to send a cable thanking the U.S. President and the King of the Belgians for the Stanleyville operation.

And in an interview with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* President Lübke made it clear that in his view the enrolment of West German mercenaries in Tshombe's forces (they include ex-Nazi officers like Siegfried Müller who wears the Iron Cross, with the Nazi swastika on his uniform) was "quite acceptable".

In the light of these facts, the claim that West Germany is "Africa's partner in progress" arrant and dangerous nonsense which has no place in a magazine purporting to speak for Africans.

THE PEACE PROBLEMS

"AS we look at the world today, we cannot pretend to be optimistic that the problems of peace and war, colonialism and disarmament are nearer solution than before. In spite of the limited successes achieved in the attempt to solve these problems, they still constitute the most glaring paradox of our modern age", said Kwame Nkrumah two years ago.

The problems of peace are in great part political. But economic, social and ideological problems must also receive consideration.

MAJOR PROBLEMS

Security against aggression, the settlement of frontier disputes, the elimination of racial conflicts, the removal of foreign military bases, disarmament, the ending of the cold war, and the elimination of colonialism in all its forms are among the major problems that still confront us today, twenty years after the end of the war in Europe.

One of the most difficult European problems bequeathed by the Second World War is that of the re-unification of Germany. Two German States have grown up—the German Federal Republic, which is a member of N.A.T.O., and the German Democratic Republic, which is associated with the Warsaw Pact.

Each has its own social and political system. A peaceful settlement in Europe demands the recognition of this fact.

Disarmament is the surest way to secure peace and

friendship between nations. An important step towards disarmament would be the elimination of the foreign bases and defence systems that are spread all over the world. These bases are co-ordinated within the frame-work of the Western defence system, which includes the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) and the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO).

The plea that they exist to "defend democracy" and the "free world" is unfounded. They exist to make the world safe for Western Big Business and neo-colonialism.

The United States alone has 131 major bases outside her own territory. Huge sums of money are expended yearly for the maintenance of these strongholds of the imperialists.

FOREIGN FORCES

The existence of bases on foreign territories is not only a threat to world peace; it also helps to keep developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in economic slavery.

The Atomic Age has dawned upon man and gives new urgency to the problem of disarmament. The spectre of nuclear war continues to dominate modern logistics and military strategy.

Agreement on the ending of all nuclear tests and on the banning of all nuclear weapons as a prelude to general and complete disarmament is essential if mankind is to survive.

by Evan Ammah

Yearly expenditure on arms is over £43,000 million with well over 60 million people employed in the world-wide arms industry. The First World War caused the death of 9,442,000 soldiers and officers, the Second World War fifty million, not counting millions of civilians.

The arms race means a growing burden of taxation and lower living standards for the common people. But for the monopolists, wars and the militarisation of the economy are a source of tremendous profits.

Some in the west even argue that disarmament would be fraught with grave consequences for the economy of their countries. They express fears that if they stop the production of arms, it would lead to ruin and unemployment for hundreds of thousands of people.

Whilst vast sums are being spent on arms, many parts of the world suffer abject poverty, hunger and disease.

Every effort must be made to check the arms race and to reach agreement on general and complete disarmament. Then national wealth will not be wasted on arms, and the arms industry will be switched to the production of peaceful goods and to the amelioration of the sufferings of humanity.

This is the path to lasting peace and economic progress for all nations and all peoples. As Kwame Nkrumah has said, we must

"use all our exertions to influence the major powers, not only to abolish and destroy their nuclear stockpiles

but also to divert into positive, progressive and constructive channels, the vast scientific and technological resources at their disposal for development purposes and for the peace, happiness and prosperity of mankind".

Africa, too, has her special problems. The ruthless colonial and neo-colonialist exploitation of Africa must cease. Africa must be a nuclear-free zone, free and united under a Continental Union Government, trading with all countries on the basis of equality.

AFRICAN UNITY

All progressive and peace-loving peoples hope that this year will see the realisation of African Unity based on a progressive continental Union Government at the September Summit in Accra, despite imperialist and neo-colonialist intrigues.

Countries with large mineral resources which offer opportunities for large-scale industrial development are always exposed to neo-colonialist intrigues, and capitalist sabotage.

The N.A.T.O. powers have succeeded in erecting 21 air bases and 12 naval bases in Africa. These bases represent capitalist citadels defending their overseas investments.

Nor can there be any lasting solution to world problems while China—a country larger than the whole of Europe and with a population equal to a quarter of that of the whole world—is excluded from the United Nations. China must take her rightful place in this

world body.

Only then will the U.N. be able to play its rightful role in the establishment of harmonious relations between all nations and in the maintenance of international peace and security.

UNITED NATIONS

This world organisation came into being to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our life time has brought untold sorrow to mankind". It is the best world forum for the settlement of world problems.

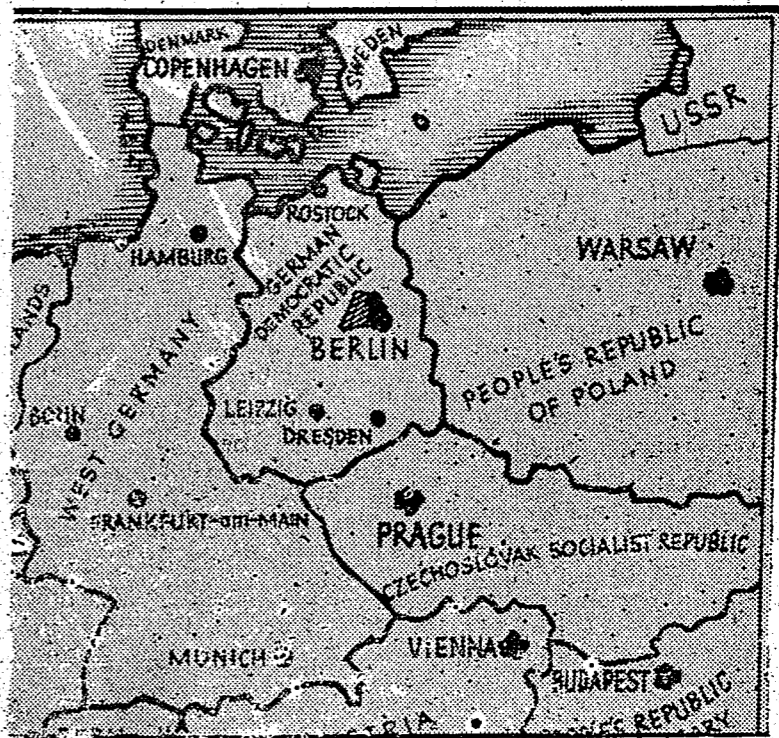
A Committee of 33 nations has been appointed and authorised by the General Assembly to "study very closely all aspects of peace-keeping past, present and future", and to find out ways and means of submounting some of the major problems of the U.N.

While we note the substantial achievements of the U.N., we should not be oblivious of some of its defects. Positive efforts must be made to keep its organisational structure constantly in tune with the changing realities of our time.

It must be full representatives of all nations of the world. It must work effectively in the interests of mankind.

Today, the most urgent problem of peace is to stop the war that is actually in progress against the people of Vietnam, where U.S. policy has brought the world to the brink of world war.

The first step must be an end to U.S. bombing and aggression. Only then can genuine negotiations to achieve a peaceful settlement become possible.



The New African Intellectual

Continued from page 6

analysis" of "such facts as production, distribution, incomes etc." (p 100). This means that through statistical analysis of the social and economic forces in society, we will uncover and measure both positive and negative forces.

A conclusion of great practical significance flows from this. It is that the social and economic forces in any society, or if we put the same idea in other words, the relations into which people enter in the process of production and distribution, generate both positive forces and negative forces which become the determinants of social change.

Now, positive action is to be maximised at all times. In other words, it must be discovered, harnessed and kept in a high state of preparedness. This exercise involves two things:

1. a mass party armed with the ideology which Consciencism defines; and constant improvement in the political understanding of both members and supporters of the mass party.
2. Thus Consciencism believes that through a process of ideological education, the quality (and through a process of efficiency) of the positive forces in society will be enhanced.

STARK REALITY

It holds further that through the same process some negative forces could be converted into positive forces i.e. converted from forces hostile to or apathetic towards the African Revolution into forces actively in support of this revolution.

It will be wrong, however, to conclude that a return to the classless society of socialism can be reached merely by ideological education. The stark reality is that certain negative forces cannot embrace socialism. And Consciencism admits this. That is why it holds that an additional weapon of positive action in dealing with negative forces is to "destroy their conditions of existence" p. 57.

The point here is that in addition to ideological education, positive action will get the better of negative action by destroying those social, economic and political conditions on which negative action thrives.

We can see that this view leads logically to the elimination of economic classes (i.e. an exploiting class living on the labour of an exploited class).

POSITIVE ACTION

It also leads straight to the elimination of social differences based on birth, colour, or creed. The maximising of positive action and the minimising of negative action through ideological education and the destruction of the social-economic conditions for the existence of negative action also leads logically to the elimination of the multi-party system which is a political condition for the survival of negative action.

It is helpful, at this stage, to consider in greater detail this whole concept of positive action, more especially as some African Marxists find it difficult to grasp this new concept because it is apparently different from the notion of the class conflict.

The young socialist movements in Africa ought to pay great heed to the plea of Marx for knowledge. A lapse in this regard has led, and will continue to lead, many socialist revolutionaries into dangerous adventurism to the discomfiture of the socialist movement itself.

The central point from

which most errors of these socialist revolutionaries in Africa spring is the concept of class struggle. Who are the working people in Africa today?

Some African Marxists try to fit Marx's analysis of West European society in the mid-19th century into the African society of the mid-twentieth century. They are busily looking for the "two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat". They forget that because colonialism meant the virtual absence of manufacturing industries in the colonial countries, conditions were not congenial for the emergence of a large and concentrated industrial proletariat.

THE WAY OUT

Consequently they mistake the white collar workers who served the colonial administrative machine for this industrial proletariat. And in persisting to entrust the leadership of the socialist movement to such white collar workers, these comrades end up in enthroning what at best is middle class socialism, at worst unalloyed capitalism without the label. Both systems leave the labouring masses as exploited slaves.

The way out of this problem is to go to the essence of Marx. It is not bourgeoisie versus proletariat that is the cardinal principle in the Marxian analysis of society. Rather, the basic principle is that the motive force in any society is the conflict between oppressor and oppressed. As he puts it:

"oppressor and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

(Communist Manifesto). The terms bourgeoisie and proletariat come in as a result of the application of this principle of oppressor versus oppressed to the West European society at the time Marx wrote. In the same Communist Manifesto we read:

"Our epoch, an epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses however

this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonism. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and proletariat."

Now it is important to remember that Marx wrote in 1848.

The duty of African Marxists is clear. We cannot take the application for the principle—constant struggle between oppressor and oppressed leading to a revolutionary reconstitution of society—to the African society of today much in the same way a Marx himself applied this same principle to the bourgeois society of Western Europe. And this is precisely what Kwame Nkrumah has done in Consciencism.

After a study of contemporary African society, Kwame Nkrumah tells us that the contending forces, which become the determinants of social progress, are positive action and negative action.

Positive action is the sum total of the progressive and revolutionary aspects of the various contradictions within African society. And negative action is the sum total of all the conservative and reactionary aspects of these same contradictions.

CONTRADICTIONS

The foundation for this approach is that African society does not revolve around one contradiction (capital/labour) as was West European society when Marx wrote. On the contrary, African society contains several basic contradictions, it is "a plenum of forces in tension."

There are at least four major contradictions in contemporary African society. These are:

1. the capitalist contradiction (labour/capital conflict);
2. the feudalist contradiction (landlord/peasant conflict);
3. the imperialist contradiction (foreign finance capital/oppressed peoples conflict both in its colonial and neo-colonial forms);
4. the cultural contradiction (traditional/

Euro-Christian/ Islamic African conflict).

Since positive action is the sum total of the progressive aspects of these contradictions, it becomes clear that the proletariat is an element, a component, of positive action. Consciencism does not ignore the proletariat. It absorbs the

"Our philosophy must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people. It is from those conditions that the intellectual content of our philosophy must be created."



important because some persons argue that socialism for us is a mere evolution from traditional African society. This view has nothing to do with Consciencism.

At p. 74, we read the significant statement: "Reform is a tactic of self-preservation". If this is so, then a society in

proletariat within a wider concept—positive action.

We now turn to a consideration of the transition to socialism in Africa.

The possibility of going from colonialism to socialism is openly admitted and explained by Consciencism. This development is of real significance to modern philosophy. For it departs from the orthodox view, that socialism is born only when contradictions of capitalism become acute.

And some dogmatic scholars outside Africa and many political opportunists inside Africa have argued that until a society attains the fullest development under capitalism, there is no possibility of it transforming into socialism.

Historical experience has already disproved the contention of these dogmatic scholars and political opportunists. Look at Mongolia, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba, some socialist countries of Eastern Europe including the Soviet Union itself and of course Ghana.

Nobody will deny the fact that socialist societies are being built in these countries. And nobody will deny the fact that at the time they began their successful bid for socialism these countries still had a long way to go in developing capitalism.

DECISIVE FACTOR

Consciencism holds that the technical possibilities created by the incursions of colonialism and neo-colonialism into Africa permit the transition to socialism.

Look at it another way. In the world of today where possibilities exist (thanks to the existence of a strong socialist world system) for the rapid industrialisation of developing nations, the contradictions of neo-colonialism—the basic contradiction in the emergent nations—can be solved by passing on straight to socialism.

The decisive factor is not whether capitalist deployment of technology has reached an advanced stage but rather the level of ideological mobilisation of the masses. Asserts Consciencism at page 103, "the people are the reality of national greatness".

This finding of Consciencism, however, must not be twisted to mean that traditional African society (that is communalism) can transform directly into socialism. The present-day African society, which Consciencism holds can metamorphose into socialism, is not old style communalism but "a new society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences" (see p. 70).

The Euro-Christian influence is particularly important here for it is through this that the technology of modern industrialism has been introduced into Africa.

What has Consciencism to say on revolution and reform? An answer to this question is

which negative action is greater than positive action cannot change into one in which positive action is greater than negative action by mere reforms. For if reform is a tactic of self-preservation, then it can never lead to self-negation.

REVOLUTION

Consciencism accepts this argument and applies it rigorously to colonialism or capitalism and socialism. It holds that since socialism is a negation of capitalism (or colonialism and neo-colonialism) then a colonial or neo-colonial country cannot attain socialism through reform. It asserts that in such societies "revolution is thus the indispensable avenue to socialism" (p. 74).

The confusion in peoples minds on this point of reform and revolution arises, I think, from a passage at p. 74. This reads "from the ancestral line of communalism, the passage to socialism lies in reform..."

We shall be making a big mistake if we assume that Africa today is a communalist society. If it were then the argument that the transition to socialism is by way of reform will be sound "because the underlying principles are the same".

But at p. 70 we are told in plain language that "our society is not the old society, but a new society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences".

And since the inescapable fact of history is that our communal life has largely given way to colonialism and neo-colonialism (both variants of capitalism), the transformation of colonial Africa to socialist Africa can be only by way of revolution. Says Consciencism (p. 74), "the passage from a non-communalist society to socialism is a revolutionary one..."

CO-EXISTENCE

We are now in a position to elucidate our stand on co-existence. This term "peaceful co-existence" has become very fashionable these days. And if we bear in mind the possibility of another world war fought with nuclear weapons, peaceful co-existence is a term closely connected with the continued existence of man on this planet.

But we make a big mistake if we think that co-existence extends to the ideological field. I do not. I cannot. And Consciencism makes this point abundantly clear.

On p. 57, we read: "There is such a thing as peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems; but as long as oppressive classes exist, there can be no such thing as peaceful co-existence between opposing ideologies." From this it is clear that our position ideologically is not

that of non-alignment between capitalism and socialism. Nor is it the creation of a society half capitalist and half socialist—something that is impossible any way.

We are committed to our own ideology of Nkrumaism which Consciencism serves. Our duty is to fight for the total triumph of our standpoint.

CONSTANT STRUGGLE

This means constant struggle. And as true Nkrumaists, guided by the philosophy of Consciencism, we cannot run away from struggle. Indeed we are taught to accept struggle as the very essence of life. On p.103, we are told that this conflict of opposites is "the fundamental law of society. It is out of tension, that being is born. Becoming is tension, and being is the child of that tension of opposed forces and tendencies."

Again on p. 100 we are told that Consciencism "recognises the creativity of struggle."

Finally in view of the challenge of Consciencism to existing African and non-African thought system, it is useful to seek a realistic re-definition of the stand of African thought in relation to world knowledge.

Some African intellectuals fall for everything foreign, more particularly West European and American. They believe that Western thought has become an eternal world pattern into which everything else must fit.

This view is wholly wrong because it loses sight of the cardinal fact that western thought has been shaped to buttress western society and its view of what world order should be.

To see things wholly from the western standpoint is a slavish attitude which is underlined by streak of intellectual laziness. African intellectuals who follow this pattern seem to find it difficult to break out of the intellectual mould of imperialism in which they have been brought up.

SOMETHING NEW

On the other hand, we have African intellectuals who react violently and negatively to everything foreign. They put up, as it were, a barricade against Western thought. And from behind this barricade they put out many notions which are neither coherent in themselves nor scientifically justifiable. They think they can get over the requirements of science by seeking refuge in emotionalism.

The intellectual of the African Revolution rejects both standpoints. In relation to Western thought we are neither integrationist nor isolationist. The African intellectual, bred on Consciencism, goes straight into the pool of world knowledge, makes use of what he thinks useful and branches out with a compelling investigation of the African situation.

In the process he adds something new to the pool of world knowledge. The new African intellectual accepts the universality of knowledge but on this foundation he builds something specially suited to the African social milieu.

One more point. Because our intellectuals and educated citizens generally are so few relatively to our population—a situation created by many decades of deliberate neglect by colonialism—the intellectuals, more so in Africa than anywhere else, have got to use their knowledge in the service of our community.

In this vital task of putting the educated elements of our society to the service of our entire society, Consciencism has a few clear-cut things to say.

In the first place, the intellectual of the African Revolution must uphold the unity of theory and practice. Since every situation is "a plenum of forces in tension" it is only through direct and close contact with the situation that one can discover its inner logic.

This approach is the logical consequence of his adherence to materialism as a philosophy. He sees knowledge as "a reflection of the objectivity in conceptual term, of the unfolding of matter" (p. 92).

Therefore the touchstone of knowledge is practice. If this is so, the ivory tower concept is absolutely unhelpful.

In the second place, our new intellectual must be African in outlook.

Thirdly, the new intellectual must let his work support the leadership of the people and illumine the path of this leadership in the advance to greater achievements.

OBJECTIVE

Lastly, our new intellectual must be ruthlessly objective in his work. To parade subjectivism as science is to stultify scientific advance and to slow down Africa's rate of progress.

The African Revolution needs a new intellectual. That African intellectual who revels in foreign western habits, who lives in detached aloofness from the people whom he pities but never understands, who is more concerned with the way he pronounces his words than with the meaning of these words—such an intellectual is today an anachronism.

We have been saddled with this irritating mimicry because our intellectuals of old, some drawn from the upper classes that collaborated with imperialism, others nursed by the good grace of the early missionaries, and all fed on fat sinecures and cushy jobs by colonialism, thought that life's greatest treasure lay in gaining admission into the privileged circles of our former masters.

Indeed they were learned men. But they became slaves to their learning, instead of using their knowledge as a weapon for the liberation of our continent and as a guide to the reconstruction of our society. All this is now dying out. And we hope it will soon be a thing of the past.

The new African intellectual, springing as he does from the people, must bend his learning to the upliftment of the people. He must sympathise with our cause and enthusiastically identify himself with the aspirations of our people.

SERVE PEOPLE

He must serve the people for, in the people to borrow the words of St. Paul, he lives and moves and has his being.

Just as the old intellectual, happy on his Mount Olympus, clung to ivory towerism and drew intellectual nourishment from Western concepts and traditions, so the new African intellectual must uphold the concept of always being with his people. He must think in terms of the African social milieu. As Consciencism puts it:—

"Our philosophy must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people. It is from those conditions that the intellectual content of our philosophy must be created" (p. 78).

Consciencism is a dynamic intellectual force with a very large compass.

For philosophical Consciencism is the faithful companion in our long march to the total liberation and complete emancipation of Africa.



Some other comments

"He rightly protests against the theory that Africans are not historic peoples, and were cast into the current of history by the Europeans. He sees this as an attempt to justify imperialism and colonialism, and he wants African history to be rewritten, but this time with an African, not a European approach." *Le Monde Diplomatique (Paris)*

"It deals with the problems of consolidating the hard-won independence of a newly emerged African continent, the problem of ensuring the political stability of our country and of developing its natural and human resources. The basic viewpoint of the book is that philosophy always arises from a social milieu and that a social contention is always present in it."

"This viewpoint lays down therefore that any pro-

gramme for developing an African State, in order to succeed and to effectively achieve its aim, must take into account the realities of African development.

"Such a programme must aim at forging, as the book sets out, a new harmony between the three strands in Africa: the Euro-Christian experience and the traditional African way of life."

"Kwame Nkrumah's argument therefore is that we cannot forge this harmony of the three strands or resolve any conflict present in them by geographical demarcation. This argument is one of the strongest and firmest ever put forward by him to stress the need for a continental government. For an African leader to set out these guiding philosophies for our self-determination as a continent is no minor accomplishment."

West African Pilot