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"CONSCIENCISM"

Philosophy of Our Revolution

by Julius Sago

EDITORIAL

WORLD TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

UNDER the auspices of the United Nations, representatives of 122 countries are attending a World Trade and Development Conference in Geneva. Their main task is to devise ways and means by which discriminatory practices in World Trade will be eliminated and the ever-widening gap between the developing countries and industrialised States be bridged.

It is by no means accidental that this conference is giving prominence to the problems of the emerging nations for whom trade is not simply a means of commodity exchange or a way of getting the goods they lack. For these countries, trade is the main means of financing their economic development, of stepping up their economic and social progress.

The question of trade is getting ever greater prominence in the world today. It may well be said that there was not a single delegate at the 18th General Assembly session who did not touch upon the question of international trade in one way or another. International trade was a major talking point at the fourth conference of Afro-Asian Organisation for Economic Co-operation held in Karachi, Pakistan, last December.

Today, when the developing countries have elaborated and are carrying into effect programmes to facilitate their economic progress, their requirements in import of machines and equipments for the industrial enterprises under construction have increased several-fold; they also have to meet their ever growing requirements in the import of manufactured goods and in the service of foreign engineers, technicians and other specialists. All this, however, calls for payment, and for the most part in foreign currency. Foreign currency is also needed to pay for freight and insurance, as well as for the purpose of licences for the production of various commodities.

The main source of foreign currency revenue for the under-developed countries is what they receive from the sale of their own products on the world market. However, the negative tendencies existing in the world trade bring to naught all the efforts of emerging nations to increase their currency reserves.

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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 actions 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. What then is the solution?

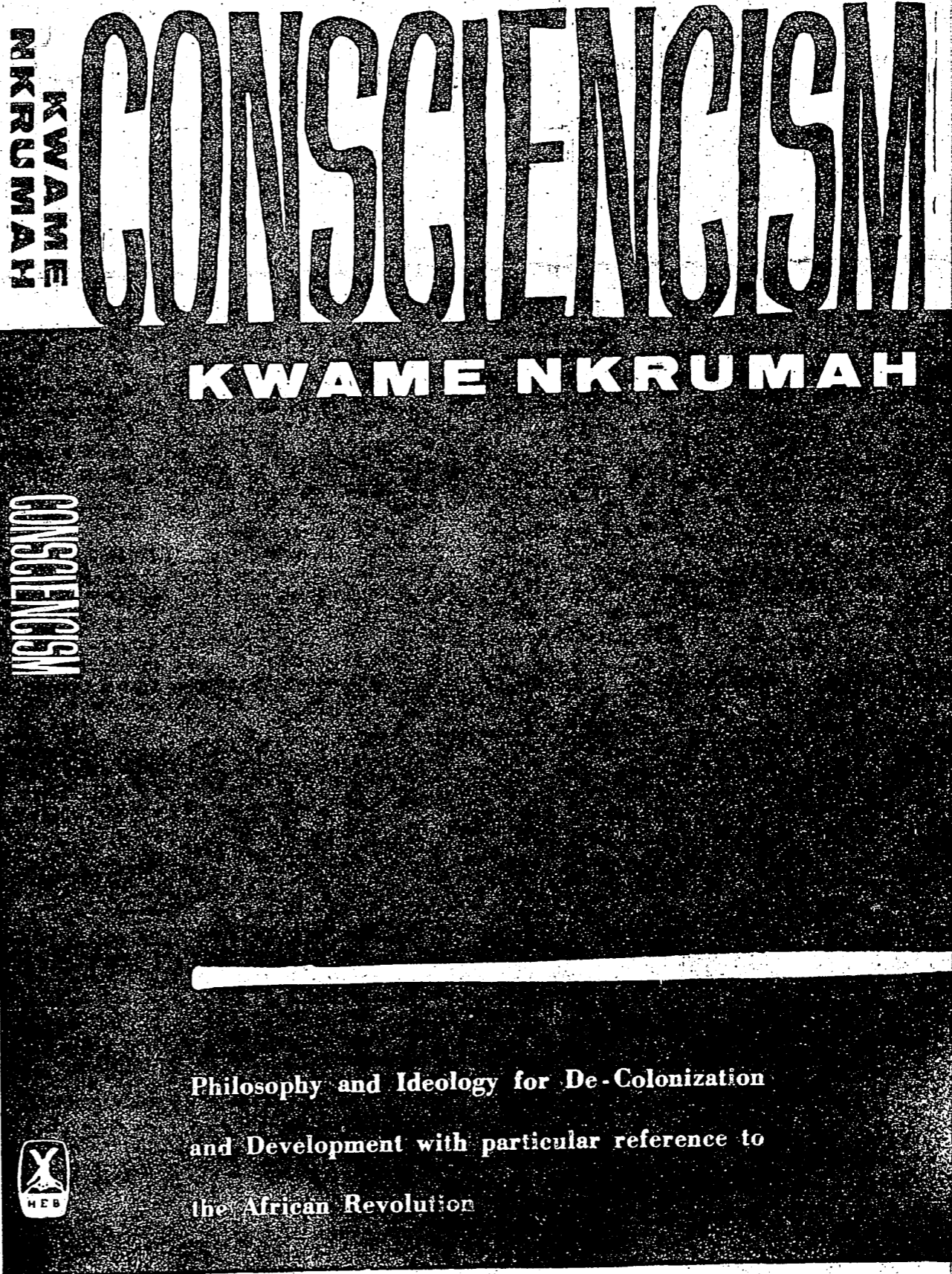
Africa must evolve a philosophy that can provide the intellectual cohesion we so urgently need. Such philosophy must rationalise and harmonise the dominant intellectual strands in Africa's historical experience, re-instate what was noble and elevating in traditional African society and have itself firmly 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 seeks to explain and

guide the African social milieu. This new synthesis is philosophical consciencism which is the subject matter of a new book by Kwame Nkrumah just published. 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. 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 re-institution of the best in the traditioned 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 over-

comes the conflicts in African intellectual life, provides a positive guide to purposeful action in emergent Africa, and at the same time enriches world knowledge. Philosophical consciencism upholds the ideology of socialism. Its social milieu is Africa but its application is universal to all dependent countries or emerging nations. Its foundation is materialism impregnated with egalitarianism and an ethical view of man. Its approaches are positive and its methods are dialectical. It is both revolutionary and evolutionary if juxtaposed with colonialism and capitalism from which it recoils; evolutionary if considered in relation to the traditional African society whose guiding principles of egalitarianism and the concern of all for each it seeks to reassert and enthroned.

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What is Happening in East Africa

by
Jack Woddis

THE recent events in East Africa were a surprise to everyone. There are, of course those who are only too ready with their explanations and slick slogans. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, for example, has rushed in blethering about a 'communist plot'.

This nonsense has been well and truly punctured by those in a better position to know what actually happened. Jomo Kenyatta, Oginga Odinga (Kenya's Minister for Home Affairs), Achieng Oneko (Kenya's Minister of Information), Julius Nyerere and Oscar Kambona (Tanganyika's Minister for External Affairs and Defence), have all discounted this cold-war lie and condemned those spreading it. The Governments of Kenya and Tanganyika both issued official statements along the same lines. Oginga Odinga has stressed that:

"The imperialist Press, especially the British Press, has attempted to place the whole responsibility on the Communists and those they consider to be Communist sympathisers. I strongly disagree with this claim, by which the British are trying to avoid responsibility for what took place in Zanzibar. It was the British who encouraged unjust policies in Zanzibar which were intended to make the mino-

him a constant target of attack from Tories and the capitalist Press in Britain, need to be taken to heart by all the national leaders in Africa's new States. The existence today of thirty-four independent states is the creation of the African masses, who fought and sacrificed over several decades in order that their countries might be free. The African people did not struggle solely to have African Governments, African representation at the United Nations, a national flag and a national anthem. Nor did they suffer in order that British officials could till occupy key positions throughout the State apparatus. Still less was the goal of independence intended to mean for them that African Ministers and Members of Parliament would have privileged remuneration while the workers and peasants would continue to live in poverty, often jobless and landless.



Jomo Kenyatta

...rity rule over the majority.

The British imperialists, knowing that their underhand work had been exposed, tried to find scapegoats in the form of Communists and people like myself. With regard to the events in Tanganyika and Uganda, we in Kenya should take these as a serious warning. British personnel employed in responsible places by these Governments failed to train Africans so that they could fill these places. Instead they used their privileged positions to suppress the Africans below them, thereby creating an explosive situation.

These wise and justified remarks from one whose immense popularity and prestige in Kenya makes

the killing by torture of one of the national leaders. And when the funeral took place, 50,000 again turned out and marched in the procession.

In Congo (Leopoldville), strikes and demonstrations were followed by the arrests of trade union leaders, the dissolution of Parliament, the banning of the activities of Lumumba's MNC Party and Gizenga's African Solidarity Party, and the forcing of a number of M.P.s to flee the country; and now, armed units of the people are in action in several provinces against the American-backed Adoula Government. In Nigeria, a new party, the Socialist Workers and Farmers Party, has emerged as a challenge to the older-established parties who have made their country a haven for neo-colonialism; and last October, over 200,000 workers took part in a three-day strike for higher pay—the biggest and most united workers' action there since the days of struggle against British rule.

All these actions, irrespective of whether they are successful or not, reflect the growing anger and determination of the African people. Some African Governments, outstandingly those of Ghana and Algeria, are moving with their times, sincerely and energetically tackling the problems bequeathed to them by colonialism and overcoming the new manoeuvres and plots of the imperialists. Such Governments have the overwhelming support of their peoples.

But there are other countries in Africa in which the Governments are either too hesitant or are down-right collaborators of imperialism. Such governments are being jugged and challenged by the people; and in some cases, even overthrown. The whole pattern of neo-colonialism is increasingly coming under attack. Any hopes the imperialists may have had of the people being content solely with the status of independence, leaving imperialist cadres to continue their activities in the new States, and allowing the foreign monopolies to continue their ruthless exploitation, are doomed to failure.

POPULAR GOVERNMENTS

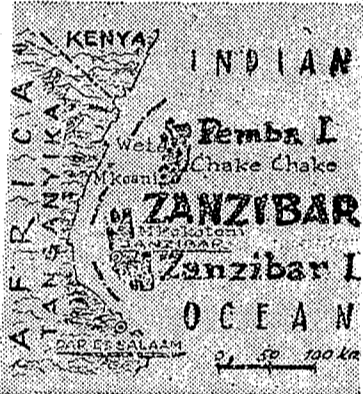
The governments in Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda cannot be put in the category of those who have made themselves the willing instruments of neo-colonialism. They are popular governments, based on mass support, and placed in power by the people's struggle for independence. They face immense problems—extreme poverty, widespread illiteracy, lack of trained personnel, mass unemployment—to all of which are sometimes added tribal conflicts. On top of it all they have to contend with the intrigues of imperialism. These governments and their leaders will have every sympathy and understanding from their people in tackling these difficult tasks.

But such immense problems can only be overcome if these national leaders put the interests of the masses first, and if they keep the edge of their effort directed against imperialism. The events in East Africa—mutinies or soldiers' strikes, call them what you will—should, as Oginga Odinga has said, be taken by the national leaders as a

serious warning. The people want to see a new life. They know it cannot be achieved in a single day. But they want their governments to pursue a course which day by day is visibly yielding results. And they want their countries fully under African control.

An indication of the seriousness of the problems and of the temper of the people is the events which took place in Kenya during the very week of the recent crisis, as described in the East Africa fortnightly, "Reporter", in its issue of January 31:

The Kenya Cabinet was in urgent conclave, discussing ways to allay the rumbles of discontent from the country's unemployed... Into Nairobi streamed reports of disgruntled forest-fighters who were still waiting for the Government to provide them with land or with jobs... Meetings organised by the Kenya National Aid and Welfare Organisation... called on the Government to devote more time and money to providing more jobs... In Nairobi a crowd of 500 demonstrated outside Parliament Building demanding to see the Minister for Labour, Mr. Mwendwa, and asking for work of any kind—even if it would earn them only a few shillings a



month. Shouted one demonstrator: 'This is an uhuru Government. Those M.P.s with expensive cars should sell them and distribute the money to the poor'... Across the way... 100 blind people demanded that a commission should look into their problems, and that the older folk among them should be granted Government allowances. From another union came an appeal to the Government to make it compulsory for employers (including Government departments) to take unemployed disabled people on to their staffs.

DESPERATE PEOPLE

Summing up the lesson of these actions, the deputy general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour declared: "The people are desperate. The demonstrators are expressing the feelings of thousands of forgotten people in Kenya who every day go without food, have insufficient clothes and nowhere to sleep."

These are the real issues behind the 'mutinies' in East Africa—not 'communist plots'. And if these are the reactions in Kenya, after only four weeks of independence, one can imagine the feelings in Tanganyika where, after two years, despite some positive measures taken by the Government, considerable criticism is being voiced, not only against the Government's slowness but against the Govern-

ment's attitude towards the people and their problems.

The issuing by Julius Nyerere, in the first week of January, of his ill-judged circular to Ministries, armed services and Civil Servants, stating that the policy of 'Africanisation' was to end and that henceforth Africans would have no priority in the recruitment, training and promotion of civil servants, naturally aroused a storm of protest. A delegation to the President from the Tanganyika Federation of Labour declared that this 'would take the people back to colonial days'. But this action by the Government was only one of a series of rebuffs to the people.

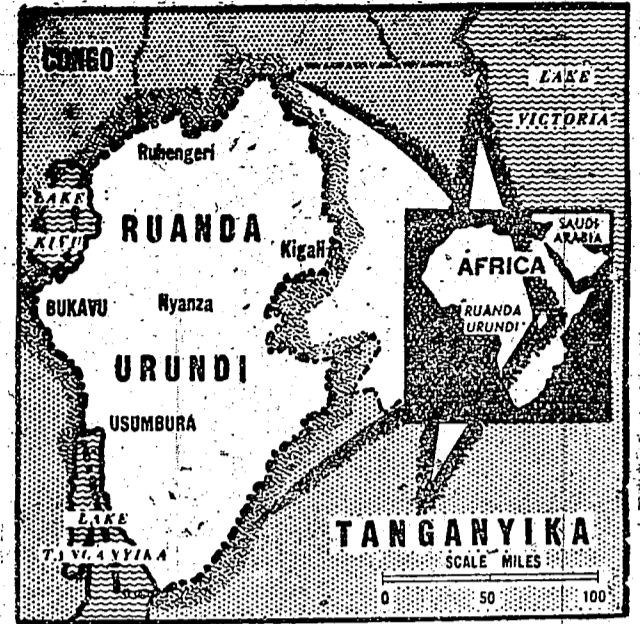
The Tanganyika soldiers have been trying for nine months to get the Government to act on the question of pay and promotion. Yet, at the time of the recent crisis, one captain was the highest command post held by Africans in the armed forces. When the trade union leaders demand the nationalisation of the big foreign owned enterprises, they are denounced by the Tanganyika Labour Minister, Michael Kamaliza, as 'enemies of the unemployed people'.

DEMAND FOR HIGHER PAY

When trade unions demand higher pay, they are rebuked by Government leaders and accused of 'holding the country to ransom', and of trying to gain advantages 'at the expense of the peasantry'. Yet, the Chesworth Commission Report on Minimum Wages, issued in March 1962, revealed that average cash earnings for all workers in Tanganyika were only 96s. a month, and for agricultural workers only 67s.; that of every 1,000 children born, 400 die before they reach 15; that a random survey of 99 workers in building, transport, commercial and catering showed no less than 93 of them with signs of malnutrition, caused mainly through poverty.

Nearly a year later, in July 1963, the Government had just got around to considering recommendations for the minimum wage; these were, for non-plantation agriculture, 80s. a month, and for gold mining and tea, 91s. a month—in both cases considerably below the Chesworth Commission proposals, and also below existing average earnings.

These realities cannot be brushed aside by accusations from Ministers that the trade unions are 'holding the country to ransom'. If the Government of Tanganyika and this applies to the Governments of Kenya and Uganda, too—is to build up the country and advance to socialism, then it needs the utmost support from the working class and its trade unions. The heroic strikes of the workers were milestones in the national liberation struggle in East Africa. Many workers laid down their lives in the strikes in Mombasa (1939, 1944, 1947 and 1955), Tanga (1948), Dar-es-Salaam (1950 and again in 1958), on Tanganyika's sisal plantations (1957, 1958, 1959 and 1960), and Nairobi (general strike, 1950, busmen, 1958). All these historic actions were



of utmost importance to the winning of national independence. That the organisations of the workers should now be treated in Tanganyika as if they were the enemy, and their leaders thrown into prison, is one of the most dangerous symptoms in the present situation. In Kenya, too, one finds the Minister of Labour warning trade unionists that if they 'abused' their freedom the Government would 'take it away'. Such talk and such a hostile attitude towards the claims of the workers will not solve a single one of the grave problems which will have given rise to the recent explosions.

period will best be covered by a slow, pragmatic policy of helping to make sure that everything is securely pinned down before the troops are brought home. This is what this journal terms 'enlightened neo-colonialism'. Anthony Sampson, writing in the same vein in *The Observer* (February 2, 1964) points out that 'To negotiate this retreat, while leaving some camouflaged military help, will call for great skill from the Army, and from Duncan Sandys or his successor'. The menace to East Africa is obvious.

The quicker the British troops are withdrawn, the

Now will the calling in of British troops. The alacrity with which the British Tory Government rushed the troops out their ill-concealed greed over their opportunity to 'recolonise', the pressure now being exerted to push through the East African Federation in conditions which could render it an imperialist creation, the open demands for military agreements with Britain and the maintenance of the British military base at Kamina—all this shows only too clearly the danger that these countries are now in.

PREPARATION OF IMPERIALISTS' PLANS

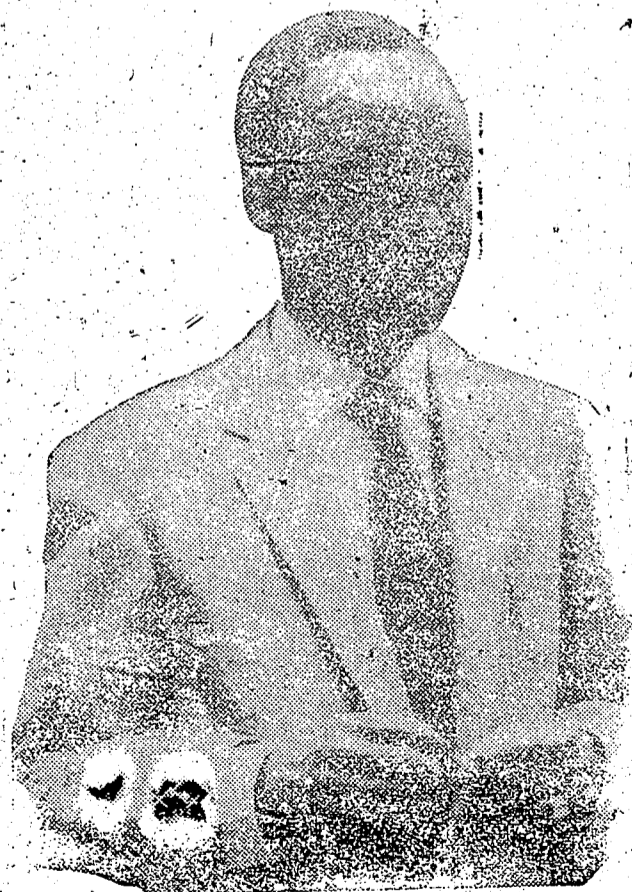
The British imperialists are already preparing their plans for the next stage. *The Economist* (February 1, 1964) after its significant comment that 'With commonsense foresight, the British forces were deployed in such a way that they were ready to go into action within minutes of being invited to do so', hastens to advise that 'the coming



Premier Milton Obote

better will be the opportunity for the governments of East Africa to get down to the real job at hand—freeing their countries from the grip of imperialism, refashioning their economies and improving the people's lives. The mutinies have been a serious warning. The people are impatient. Their revolution is not yet complete.

—LABOUR MONTHLY



President Julius Nyerere



Jomo Kenyatta

BOOK REVIEW: PLANNING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

SCIENTISTS and scientific centres as well as institutions of higher learning in Poland are conducting comprehensive studies of problems facing developing countries.

Some of their results have recently been published in a book entitled "Essays on Planning and Economic Development". It was prepared by the Centre of Research on Developing Economies and published by the PWN—Polish Scientific Publishers. The Essays are the first volume of a series of publications devoted to the economic problems of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The first volume consists of four interesting papers written by some of the members of the Centre of Research on Developing Economies.

The first paper by one of the outstanding Polish economists, professor Kalecki, deals with methods of preparing a long-range economic plan. It contains an analysis of separate stages of elaborating such a plan and stresses internal co-ordination and the need for constant checking of the plan's assumptions. The paper points out some of the barriers and bottlenecks to the growth of the national economy.

Although based mainly on Poland's experience the paper gives a clear picture

of the way and methods of perspective planning that may be of interest to planners in developing countries, the more so since some problems connected with planning in mixed economies are dwelt upon additionally.

In dealing with the importance of planning in the field of foreign trade, Professor Kalecki expresses the view that long-term agreements have a considerable advantage over "normal" trade in making at least a part of the plan for foreign trade independent of the changes in international economic situation.

The second paper is written by Dr. Zofia Dobrka, a research worker at the Institute of Economic

Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The author raises several problems: taking into account the shortage of capital and labour surpluses in less developed economies, should the respective planning authorities choose low capital intensive techniques rather than high capital intensive ones? Should priority be given to techniques maximizing the surplus necessary for investment and then maximizing the rate of growth of national income in the long run or to techniques maximizing the immediate production but giving a slower long-range rate of growth of national economy? In making an analysis of those problems, the author takes

into account points of both economic and social character.

STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT

The third paper is written by Dr. Ignacy Sachs and is devoted to the strategy of development planning in import sensitive economies.

Industrialisation conducted by developing countries, resulting in the increasing demand for imported capital equipment, makes the economies of those countries import sensitive, the more so that their exports earnings have in fact no

great chance of showing any tendency toward increase.

The author says that the developing countries, taken as a whole, are facing a severe "trade gap": the average annual rate of growth of their exports has been lagging far behind the rate of expansion of imports. During the years 1953-60 the developing countries increased their imports at a rate of 5.5 per cent annually, that is faster than the growth of national income, which is 3.5-4.0 per cent, while exports hardly kept pace with the national income. Exports from developing countries cover at present only about 90 per cent of their imports, leaving an uncovered gap of 10 per cent of merchandise imports without mentioning the heavy deficit on the remaining items of the balance of payments.

The author points out that one of the fundamental factors accounting for a difficult situation in which developing countries find themselves is narrow specialization imposed upon them by colonial powers, which made them heavily dependent on foreign trade in primary commodities. Such a trade never really succeeded in playing the role of an "engine of growth". At best it leads to phases of development, alternated with periods of depression and crisis.

Mr. Sachs further says that despite difficulties that those countries encounter in selling their goods in capitalist markets, there

does exist a possibility for increasing traditional export by making headway into new markets. This is particularly true of the socialist countries. The trade between the developing countries and the socialist ones has been expanding at a rate of about 10 per cent per year during the years 1957-60, and it continues to expand in spite of the fact that it started some years ago almost from nothing.

According to the author the question of the stabilization of prices for primary goods is of vital importance for the developing countries. But up to now multilateral schemes, as well as the so-called compensatory financing schemes, have proved ineffective in preventing a long-run falling trend in primary prices. While efforts to make progress in this field should not be abandoned, in the shorter run developing countries still have a less spectacular but quite effective means of achieving some degree of stabilization and planning in the realm of exports of primary goods by entering into long-term bilateral agreements and contracts. When combined with imports of capital goods on a credit basis, such agreements and contracts provide a very useful framework for the operation of foreign trade within a development plan.

After a thorough analysis of various aspects of the economy of the developing countries the writer comes to the conclusion that industrialization is the only effective answer to their problems and the only way to break through the strait-jacket of the unilateral division of labour, which has been forced upon them by the colonial powers.

We recommend the book to all developing countries.

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In order to understand what Kwame Nkrumah sets out to achieve in his new book, it is important to have a firm grasp of two concepts which are basic to his thinking.

In the first place, Nkrumah sees philosophy as having both a social setting and a social mission. Philosophy, to him, is not just the idle prattle of learned men the sole purpose of which is to sharpen the intellect through an application of formal logic to a few abstractions. Any philosophy worth its salt arises as a reflection of a particular social environment. And its purpose is either a modification or a confirmation of that social environment. "Social milieu affects the content of philosophy and the content of philosophy seeks to affect social milieu, either by confirming it or by opposing it" (p.56). In this conception of the origin and purpose of philosophy, Kwame Nkrumah has thrown his weight behind a school of thought which goes back to Anaximander and Heraclitus but reaches its fullest development in Marx.

When the task is to consolidate or confirm the social milieu, the primary objective of philosophy is to help create that "social cohesion" which Nkrumah

"Consciencism"

regards as fundamental to any society or social order. Society he points out, implies "a certain dynamic unity". Therefore the purpose of philosophy, which, as we see, should reflect and serve its social milieu, must be to provide "a theoretical basis for the cohesion". This is what 'Philosophical Consciencism' sets out to do for the new Africa now emerging from decades of colonialism and centuries of feudalism.

NEW CONCEPTION OF AFRICAN HISTORY

The other, idea basic to Nkrumah's thinking is a new conception of African history. He rejects, in its entirety, that view which regards African history "as the story of European adventures." This distorted viewpoint cuts Africa off centuries of her glorious past. And it makes it look as if Africa was a historical vacuum until the time of Vasco Da Gama, Mungo Park and the piratical horde of European adventurers.

Kwame Nkrumah asserts that African history existed for a very long time before the impact first of Near Eastern—Islamic culture

and later of Euro-Christian culture. Each of these civilisations brought its own social, economic and political beliefs and organisations. While Islamic civilisation, through the Jihad or religious war, brought in its wake the slave society which evolved into feudalism; Euro-Christian civilisation was the vehicle for Western industrialism which manifested itself in imperialism in the forms both of colonialism and neo-colonialism. After centuries of struggle with these alien civilisations, traditional Africa is re-discovering itself in the new independent states of Africa.

By this richer and fuller view of history, both the Islamic and Euro-Christian civilisations are treated as 'experiences' of African history. "African society must be treated as enjoying its own integrity; its history must be a mirror of that society, and the European contact must find its place in this history only as an African experience, even if a crucial one." Thus African history can be likened to a single small stream in its upper reaches which, in its middle reaches, corresponding to the impact of

alien civilisations, breaks into several channels. But further downstream, corresponding to the attainment of political independence, these various channels are re-united into one mighty river.

It is very helpful to point out at this juncture that Dr. Nkrumah also rejects the narrow view which thinks that African society can simply shed the impact of foreign civilisation on it and return smugly to the "pure" African society of old. Such an escapism he sees clearly as impossible and unreal. For "our society is not the old society, but a new society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences."

The restitution of African society simply cannot be achieved through a hankering after the economic and political forms of traditional Africa. It must be sought by way of a new "harmony" that will allow for the presence of Islamic and Euro-Christian influence "so that this presence is in tune with the original humanist principles underlying African society."

RE-DISCOVERY OF SOCIALISM

From this viewpoint, socialism becomes a re-discovery, in modern terms, of that communalism which is the bedrock of traditional African society. This communalism manifested itself in equalitarianism and the "responsibility of many for one". Accordingly "socialism can be and is the defence of the principles of communalism in a modern setting."

This dialectical conception of African history and African society leads logically to two conclusions. First, the exploiting society with antagonistic classes—and slavery feudalism and capitalism are mere variations on this central theme of class exploitation—is alien to traditional African society and a complete break from it. The second conclusion is that socialism and traditional African society can be seen as having a common ideological lineage.

May we now briefly examine aspects of the new philosophy. Its starting point is that "in every society there is to be found an ideology" explicit or implicit. This ideology defines "the desirable society". Even if this conception starts as the view of a group in society, it strives constantly to pervade all aspects of the life of its society. It strives to attain social cohesion on the basis of what it considers the "desirable society".

In this drive for social cohesion, many instruments are employed. Some are open and take the form of "prohibitions and permissions made explicit in a statutory way". Others are indirect and subtle among

which are "class-structure, history, literature, art, religion". "Philosophy, too, is one of the subtle instruments of ideology and social cohesion. Indeed, it affords a theoretical basis for the cohesion."

Philosophical consciencism regards socialism as the definition of "the desirable society" in Africa. It then sets out to provide the "theoretical basis" for the ideology of socialism in Africa. Accordingly philosophical consciencism is the intellectual instrument of socialism in Africa.

Why is philosophical consciencism necessary? With the return of political independence to the greater part of Africa, "three broad features" have stamped themselves on our life. "African society has one segment which comprises our traditional way of life: it has a second segment which is filled by the presence of the Islamic tradition in Africa, it has a final segment which represents the infiltration of the Christian tradition and culture of Western Europe into Africa, using colonialism and neo-colonialism as its primary vehicles. These different segments are animated by competing ideologies. But since society implies a certain dynamic unity, there needs to emerge an ideology which, genuinely catering for the needs of all, will take the place of the competing ideologies, and so reflect the dynamic unity of society, and be the guide to society's continual progress."

DIFFERENT SYSTEMS

In other words, three layers of culture and civilisation constitute present-day African society. At bottom is the traditional African way of life on which has been superimposed both the Islamic Middle East and the Christian West European systems. These elements are not geographically separate and distinct. Rather they permeate each other over the same geographical area. Hence, the way to the elimination of the conflicting and competing ideologies these generate cannot be by geographical separatism. This has to be sought by way of philosophical synthesis.

Such a synthesis will permit dynamic growth to replace the present state of ideological attrition with its consequent dissipation of energy, its stagnation or very slow rate of progress. It will provide an intellectual fortification for African unity which everyday experience has demonstrated to be an indispensable condition for real progress and advancement on this continent.

And such a philosophical synthesis is consciencism. It is useful at this stage to make the point that philosophical consciencism

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OF
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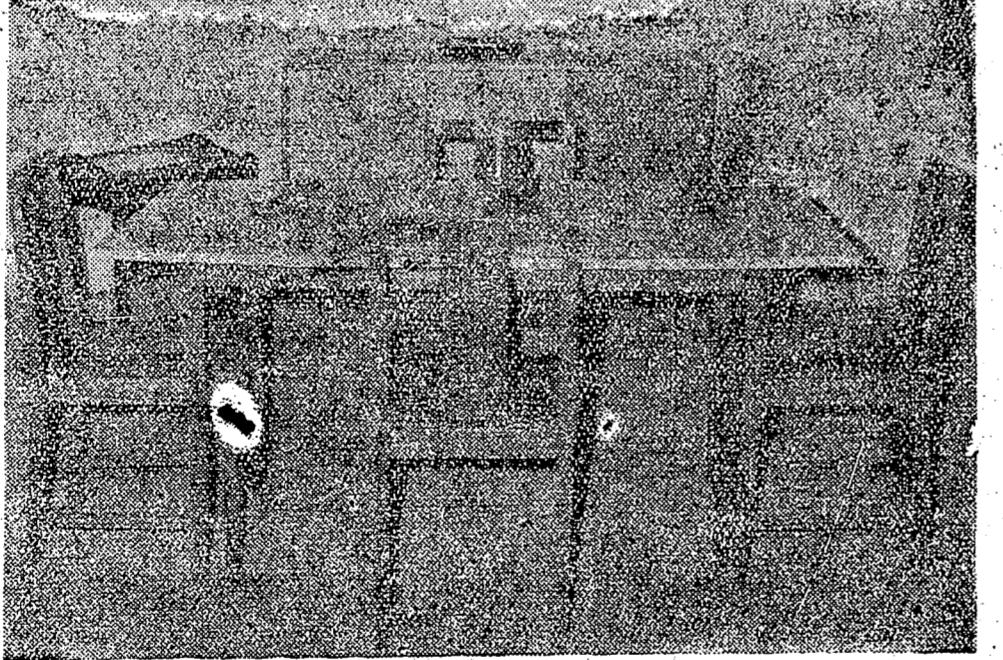
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treats Islamic Middle East and the Christian West European traditions as experiences of traditional African society. These influences are not the original foundations of African society even though their impact is profound. There was a traditional African society which, through history, came to be greatly influenced by the incursions of both the Islamic and the Christian civilizations.

The traditional African society was based on equalitarianism and humanism. In other words, it regarded men as equal; it saw man as an end and not as a means; it enjoined the concern of all for each. This system has for several centuries been overrun by both Islamic Arabic culture and Christian technological civilisation. The result is three Africas: traditional Africa as the base on

which status accretions of Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa.

It is important to note that the present African Society is not simply the old one writ large. "Our society is not the old society, but a new society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences. A new emergent ideology is therefore required, but at the same time an ideology which will not abandon the original humanist principles of Africa. Such a philosophical statement will be born out of the crisis of the African conscience-confronted with the three strands of present African society. Such a philosophical statement I proposed to name philosophical consciencism for it will give the theoretical basis for an ideology whose aim shall

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PHILOSOPHY OF OUR REVOLUTION

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be to contain the African experience of Islamic and Euro-Christian presence as well as the experience of the traditional African society, and, by gestation, employ them for the harmonious growth and development of that society.

The cardinal principles of philosophical conscientism can now be summarised. Firstly, it asserts the absolute and independent existence of matter which it defines as "a plenum of forces in tension". Secondly, because it is a plenum of

forces in tension matter is capable of spontaneous self-motion. Thirdly, the motion of matter is not merely linear. It is both quantitative and qualitative. Hence the motion of matter is dialectical. Fourthly, both mind and body (spirit and matter) exist but matter is primary. Between these two there is interaction which is achieved by way of "categorical conversion".

Having chosen its tools for intellectual analysis, philosophical conscientism goes on to assert that knowledge is acquired through practice and enriched by constant

observation and study of an environment. "... philosophical conscientism builds itself by becoming a reflection of the objectivity, in conceptual terms, of the unfolding of matter".

However, this connection between knowledge and action is not mechanistic. It reflects matter but impregnates this reflection with ethical rules. For as long as materialism supports egalitarianism on the social plane, then it touches on ethics. "Egalitarianism is not only political but also ethical; for it implies a certain range of human conduct which is alone acceptable to"

scene after capitalism, socialism is not a development from capitalism. "Rather it stands for the negation of that very principle wherein capitalism has its being, lives, and thrives, that principle which unites capitalism with slavery and feudalism", namely exploitation.

Then we are given the historic and life-giving concept that socialism is in line with the traditional African society. "If one seeks the social-political ancestor of socialism, one must go to communalism. Socialism stands to communalism as capitalism stands to slavery."

We are however warned that conscientism "cannot freeze its ethical rules with changelessness" even though these rules issue from an objective study of matter. To it, "ethical rules are not permanent but depend on the stage reached in the historical evolution of a society". But whatever that stage may be and whatever forms ethical rules may take the "cardinal principles of egalitarianism are conserved."

THE CARDINAL PRINCIPLE

Philosophical conscientism has accordingly built its own moral or ethical theory. Once we accept egalitarianism which drives directly from materialism, then it follows that each man must be treated as an end in himself and not just as a tool or a means to an end. "The cardinal ethical principle of philosophical conscientism is to treat each man as an end in himself and not merely as a means. This is fundamental to all socialist or humanist conceptions of man."

Is it then right to argue that philosophical conscientism assumes certain principles abstractly derived? No. At p.95 it is strongly asserted that "we derive it (i.e. moral view of man) from a materialist viewpoint". It goes on: "This derivation can be made by way of that egalitarianism which is the social reflection of materialism."

Founding itself squarely on philosophical materialism shot through and through with ethical principles that should govern social practice, philosophical conscientism has evolved its own political theory. Looked at from another angle, the political theory of philosophical conscientism is an application, on the political plane, of philosophical materialism permeated with the ethical theory that enjoins treating each man as an end in himself and with a social theory based on egalitarianism.

Political conscientism is an absolute revolt against colonialism, imperialism and capitalism. It sees capitalism as "domestic colonialism", and launches a devastating attack on the system. It terms capitalism "the gentleman's method of slavery" which in essence, though not in form, is the lineal descendant of the slave society and of feudalism. It maintains that "capitalism is unjust"; that it is "alien" to Africa; that in newly emergent Africa it is "too complicated to be workable". Therefore, it contends, "capitalism would be a betrayal of the personality and conscience of Africa."

Political conscientism upholds socialism. Even though historically it has appeared on the human

tension of opposed forces and tendencies."

When the sum total of positive action exceeds negative action, a colonial territory transforms into an independent, sovereign state. But after political independence it is also necessary to push on to national reconstitution through positive action of the people. Hence the need at all times to maximise positive action.

This requires a "mass party", which must be "armed with an ideology" and the quality of whose members must be constantly raised by education. In a colonial territory, "positive action must be backed by a mass party, complete with its instruments of education". And to do battle effectively with the forces of negative action, positive action must "seek an alignment of all forces of progress."

THE IDEOLOGY OF POSITIVE ACTION

We are however warned that in pursuing its immediate objectives of defeating colonialism, positive action must protect its own future. "When positive action resorts to an alignment of forces, it creates in itself seams at which this alignment might fall apart. It is essential that positive action should in its dialectical evolution anticipate this seminal disintegration and discover a way of containing the future schismatic tendencies, a way of nipping fragmentation in the bud as colonialism begins to reel and totter under the frontal onslaught of positive action. But even with colonialism worsted, positive action cannot relent, for it is at about this time that the schismatic tendencies referred to ripen."

The ideology of positive action is socialism. And in a liberated colonial territory socialism must set out consciously to grapple with certain issues "if independence is not to be alienated from the people". These issues are:

1. To seek a connection with the egalitarian and humanist past of the people before their social evolution was ravaged by colonialism;
2. To seek from colonialism those elements like new methods of industrial production and economic organisation which can be adapted to serve the interests of the people;
3. To seek ways and means of crushing the growth of class inequalities and antagonism created by the capitalist habit of colonialism;
4. To reclaim the psychology of the people by erasing "colonial mentality";
5. To defend the independence and security of the people.

As proof of its general validity, philosophical conscientism reduces its cardinal concepts into mathematical formulae. These are contained in the last chapter of the book. There are a few ideological issues currently of world-wide significance on which philosophical conscientism has something clear-cut to say.

First, co-existence. Admitting that competing ideologies can be found in the same society and in different societies, conscientism holds that "while societies with different social systems can co-exist, their ideologies cannot". It goes on: "There is such a thing as peaceful co-existence between states with different systems; but as long as oppressive classes exist, there can be no such thing as peaceful co-existence between opposing ideologies."

The balance existing at any time between these two sets of forces defines the character of the society under consideration. It is this basic conflict of opposites which is the main motive force in society.

"There is a fundamental law of the evolution of matter to higher forms. This evolution is dialectical. And it is also the fundamental law of society. It is out of tension that being is born. Becoming is a tension, and being is the child of that

As a corollary of this view, philosophical conscientism holds that the end of imperialism is certain. But it adds that an end of imperialism "can only come about under pressure of a nationalist awakening and an alliance of progressive forces which hasten its end and destroy its condition of existence."

Secondly, on socialism and revolution, philosophical conscientism is equally unequivocal. "Revolution is an indispensable avenue to socialism, where the antecedent social-political structure is animated by principles which are a negation of socialism, as in a capitalist structure (and therefore also in a colonialist structure, for a colonial structure is essentially ancillary to capitalism)... But from the ancestral line of communalism, the passage to socialism lies in reform, because the underlying principles are the same." Thus in relation to traditional African society originally communalistic but largely ravaged by colonialism, socialism is historically revolutionary but genetically evolutionary.

Thirdly, the one party state. Discussing a nation emerging from colonialism, philosophical conscientism holds that "a peoples parliamentary democracy with a one-party system is better able to express and satisfy the common aspirations of a nation as a whole, than a multi-party parliamentary system, which is in fact only a ruse for perpetuating, and covers up, the inherent struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'."

AFRICAN UNITY

"Conscientism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonisation and Development" has made its appearance at a very opportune moment when serious moves

are being made in the direction of African Unity.

It will provide the rallying ground for all sincere African patriots who feel that socialist ideology should more closely reflect the African background.

It will give the much-needed cue to many who talk of Nkrumaism but fail to define it in rational philosophical terms. And now that Nkrumaism has been authoritatively defined as the ideology of the New Africa, philosophical conscientism becomes the theoretical basis of Nkrumaism.

Above all, philosophical conscientism raises the problem of philosophy and ideology in Africa out of the quagmire of stagnation on to a higher plane of dynamic cohesion. Instead of an ideological standstill, which maintains the intellectual strife in African society between the conflicting ideologies of traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa; instead of the vulgar and often irrational attempts to create brands of socialism (African, Arab, etc., etc.) which leave Africa divided this time on a regional and linguistic basis; philosophical conscientism has created a system of thought, which is a dialectical synthesis of all the dominant trends in African intellectual life. And because it achieves such a synthesis, philosophical conscientism will serve as the solid theoretical foundation on which a truly unifying ideology for all Africa can be built.

It is no surprise that Kwame Nkrumah, the leading architect and apostle of African Unity, should also bring into being a systematised theoretical basis on which such an all-embracing unity could be founded and made to thrive.

No student of modern Africa can long afford to exclude from his collections of books "Conscientism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonisation and Development" by Kwame Nkrumah (published by Hiemann Books, London, price 12/6).

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

One of these unfavourable tendencies consists in the fact that the share of the developing countries in world trade is steadily dropping with every passing year. Thus, in 1950 these countries account for one-third of world exports, while ten years later, in 1960, the share of the developing countries in world exports dropped to 25 per cent. Over the same period the western countries considerably increased their share in world exports.

Thus we see that the advanced countries of the west which as it is much richer than the developing countries, receive all the advantages for the expansion of international trade.

Incidentally, the wealth of the modern countries was amassed largely at the expense of the toil and sweat of the less developed nations which even today cannot as yet overcome the cruel legacy of foreign domination.

This is not only due to the fact that the goods of the industrially developed capitalist states out the commodities of the emerging nations from the world market. The under-developed countries suffer yet greater losses from the correlation of prices on manufactured goods exported by the Western countries and the raw materials which comprise the bulk of export of the emerging nation.

For a long period of time the prices of raw materials have been dropping, while the prices of manufactured goods and equipment, which the developing countries have to buy, have been steadily growing. This is confirmed by data published by the United Nations in the World Economic Survey—1962. The survey notes among other things that in the periods 1950-1952 and 1960-1962 the price of a unit of export production of the industrially developed countries of the West increased by approximately five per cent, while the price of a unit of export production of the developing countries (over the same period) dropped by more than 15 per cent. This means that the conditions of trade for the emerging nations deteriorated by at least 20 per cent. This means that if ten years ago an emerging nation had to sell, say, 100 bags of rice or coffee to buy a machine which it needed today, it will have to sell 20 bags more to purchase the same commodity. This practice is often referred to as unequal exchange. In actual fact the developing countries have to sell part of their commodities to the developed countries for nothing.

In 1959-1961 the value of world exports of the main vegetable oils and oil-bearing seeds was 40 per cent higher than in 1950-52, whereas the receipts of the developing countries from this exports item increased by a mere five per cent (over the same period). Still worse is the position of the countries which export rubber: in 1959-1961 their export receipts were seven per cent less than the average receipts in 1950-1952.

It is fashionable for certain elements in the West, especially in the U.S. Congress, to make statements to the effect, that the losses sustained by the less developed countries as a result of deteriorating conditions of trade are compensated by the aid these countries receive. This is not true.

It is now quite clear that most of the developed countries give away two cents with one hand and take away five cents with the other, they buy up raw materials dirt cheap and drain our countries of yet another 3-5 per cent of profits in the form of interest on capital investment.

The attitude of the developed countries to this Geneva Conference is bound to be of very great interest to the emerging countries. It is quite obvious that most of the developing countries at the conference are determined to demand equal trade on just and mutually advantageous conditions instead of handout.

Our eyes and ears are turned to Geneva.

WHICH ROAD

The choice is ours; which road to take
To right or to left shall we steer?
The right is the road to catastrophe
The left is the great road to life
Where man reaches out to the universe
In his search for an end to all strife.
Surely to us it is obvious—
The answer not hard to find—
The right road leads on to destruction
The left is the best for mankind.
So comrades and brothers as we journey on
Down the road at the head of the fight,
These words we'll do well to keep in our hearts
Keep left—not an inch to the right!
—WILLIAM BRAND

SECOND CLASS GOD

ON Sundays, the heavens echo with earthly praises
And the churches of Johannesburg are full,
Cape Town bells ring out the peaceful message
Of brotherly love and Christian understanding.
Then do the Verwoerdian prophets cast down their eyes
To the diamond mines from whence cometh their wealth,
And praising Jesus for his blessings
They kneel before the altar and worship him.
But Jesus was not a South African citizen,
Nor were his ethnic origins "European",
A Semite, his skin was Oriental brown,
His eastern eyes were dark, and his hair black.
Though now he would be classified as "Coloured",
The only pass he carried was his heart.
—JAN ROGELSKY