

THE SPARK



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EDITORIAL (No. 1)

OUR STAND

WE publish in this issue an extract of a criticism of the Ghana Press by Professor W. E. Abraham of the University of Ghana. (Turn to page 4)

"The Spark" believes that the practice of criticism and self-criticism should be utilised by all party organisations as part of the regular check on the carrying out of decisions. We believe it will help in evaluating the experience gained and assist comrades of the party to make their full contribution to the collective.

Perhaps Professor Abraham has helped us to set a sufficient example in the use of criticism and self-criticism.

In the 14th issue of "The Spark" we stated that to us the press must play a formidable role in the Ghana revolution.

Our stand is that the press can be a curse or a blessing, the brake on or spur to progress. If the press misleads it can give way to inimical ideologies. If it lacks an ideology it will be forced to find the equivalent of one. And its find is bound to lead it to seek an ally as powerful as the one it is supposed to fight.

Our view is that the press must ensure that as many as possible are given an opportunity to know what our policies are. Left to depend on other sources the people will pick up only a garbled version of our programme.

Our stand is that the people must be made to care about the sort of society in which they live. They must have the assurance that what our party aims for is not only desirable and necessary but is also possible.

We hold strongly to the view that we should not ignore the hard and harsh reality that we are faced with concrete situations; and these situations have to be solved by practical means. We must educate our people tirelessly because socialism does not thrive where the driving forces of society—the common people—are unenlightened. Our party policy has to become the subject of propaganda and organisational work among the people, so that, they are won to understand and support it and to take action for it.

We realise that we must purge ourselves of irresponsible and scandalous journalism. When we indulge in social satire we should be careful realism does not peter out. We must be sure our efforts do not degenerate into sterile nihilism.

We regard as a very serious charge, Professor Abraham's statement that in the attempt by the Ghana Press to establish the image of Kwame Nkrumah, the result has unintentionally been to cut him off the people. He reminds us that Kwame Nkrumah is a man of the people.

To us to think of Kwame Nkrumah away from the people of Ghana is manifestly impossible. It is difficult to imagine the peoples revolution without him.

The people know as we know that it was Nkrumah's political genius which won independence for Ghana and which sparked the torch of freedom that now burns all over Africa. It is Nkrumah's political genius which sees through the arts and crafts of neo-colonialism and puts them in discomfiture.

Nobody can blur this image.

We accept Professor Abraham's criticism because as human beings, who cannot claim infallibility, we should not be given a blank cheque to adjust our style of work the way we like. Because if the vehicle for giving effect to policy is to travel in the right direction and at the right pace, our style of work must not be above criticism.

Our party has to be the combination and interaction of a politically alert and active membership and a strong leadership. This combination is possible because all of us in the vanguard of the revolution have the same aims, share a common ideology and are engaged in the same struggle. It is from this angle that we take our stand and accommodate Professor Abraham's criticism.

Transition to Socialism In Africa

THE basic purpose of "Consciencism" is to create one organic socialist society—a "new harmony" it calls it—out of the three civilisations now in a state of unstable co-existence in Africa. The problem becomes most urgent now that a large number of African states have attained political sovereignty, and we can see only too clearly that complete emancipation for our peoples lies along the road of an early elimination of neo-colonialism.

The political theory of "Consciencism", therefore, has two aspects. The first aspect is an exposition of the type of society the new Africa should be. The second aspect is the strategy for bringing this ideal society into being.

We may consider these aspects in turn.

Clearly, there is a pressing need for distilling a social synthesis out of the three main strands in contemporary African life. These strands are traditional African life, Islamic and Euro-Christian Civilisations. Traditional Africa was communalistic with the individual firmly anchored to the group. The welfare of the individual was the concern of the group and the well-being of the group set the limits within which the individual can operate. This social order was largely disrupted by the subsequent incursions of Islamic and Euro-Christian civilisations. But it was not completely eliminated.

THE SPREAD OF ISLAMIC CIVILISATION IN AFRICA

Islamic civilisation swept in from the Middle East and engulfed all North and North-eastern Africa. Its influence spread to a good part of West Africa and down the East Coast of the continent. In short Islamic civilisation overran the open country north of the equator and down the East African coast, east of the rift valley and as far south as river Zambesi. There is a correlation here between the spread of Islamic civilisation and natural vegetation.

Islamic civilisation penetrated Africa by conquest under the banner of the Jihad (the religious war). Accordingly, it brought in its wake the slave society in which the non-Muslims (the pagans) are usually equated with the slaves. This slave society gradually evolved into a feudal society in which the social hierarchy was based increas-

ingly on birth. Of course the Islamic religion remained an instrument of the ruling classes. The economic impact of feudalism was confined largely to agriculture.

Next in historical time came imperialism which swept in from Western Europe. It overran all Africa, established colonia-

lism in commerce and industry—it is out of this heterogeneity that a new organic African society is to be created.

What then is CONSCIENCISM's view of society?

A DYNAMIC UNITY

Society is not just a collection of people. It is a group of people with a marked pattern of behaviour. And this pattern of behaviour is established and maintained through the action of a network of in-

group well-being.

These then are the "common values" which the new African society must emphasise and uphold. In fact the emergence of such a society out of the schisms, the cleavages, the conflicts and contradictions that beset present-day Africa will depend on the success we achieve in getting these four cardinal principles generally accepted throughout Africa.

Now, the emergence of such a society cannot be automatic. It does not—and cannot—come into being simply because some of us desire it. It has to be fought for. At p. 60 we read, a most relevant passage:

"Every society stresses its permissible ranges of behaviour, and evolves instruments whereby it seeks to obtain conformity to such a range. It evolves these instruments because unity out of diversity which a society involves is hardly automatic, calling as it does for means whereby unity might be secured, and, when secured, maintained."

EXISTENCE OF SOCIETY

The existence of society therefore demands the creation of certain "instruments". These instruments, by and large, are the institutions and disciplines. These institutions fall into two categories. There are those which formulate and operate "prohibitions and permissions which are made explicit in a statutory way" p. 61. There are those that operate under the provisions of a law. The State, created and defined by the constitution (the basic law) is the most important instrument in this category.

The second category includes those institutions that operate indirectly, through social pressure but not by compulsion. These add up to "a whose gamut of instruments which are at once subtle and insidious" p. 61. Among these are "sermon in the pulpit", the "pressure of trade unionism", the castigation of "the press", satire in literature, etc.

In evolving and main-

taining the new socialist society, CONSCIENCISM arrogates pride of place to the State. The state, here, is not merely an instrument of "class dictatorship". Nor is it a supernatural being with powers and functions attributed to it by some imponderable forces. CONSCIENCISM sees the state as the great regulator. It uses the forces of "prohibition and permission made explicit in a statutory way" as well as the more subtle and oblique instruments of social cohesion to secure adherence to "definite ranges of behaviours" on the part of its citizens.

THE FOUR PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY

In formulating the laws and in directing the activities of the more subtle and indirect institutions of society, the state is not guided by the will of an individual or of a single class. It is guided by what is considered the fundamental concepts on which society is founded. Its sole objective is to regulate men and things in such a way that the four principles of equality of men, man is an end in himself and not just the means of an end, group responsibility for the individual and individual well-being conditioned by group well-being are at all times upheld and made manifest.

It is in obedience to these principles that CONSCIENCISM enjoins that the means of production in society must be publicly owned. For human history has demonstrated one inescapable truth, namely that the control of economic power invariably leads to the control of political power. In other words, political power is a concomitant of economic power. Therefore, to leave economic power in the hands of a few or a class by allowing them to own the means of production leads to one and only one situation—the control of political power by an oligarchy or a class. This negates the principle of the equality of man and turns upside down the tenet that group well-being must be the condition for individual well-being.

(Continued on page 4)

by
JULIUS SAGO

lism and diffused its own culture which is broadly referred to as christianity. Colonialism, be it noted, was also established by force of arms helped on here and there by diplomacy indistinguishable from blackmail. It created its own class structure, this time based on economic power. The economic impact of imperialism was felt largely in commerce and later, in industry.

Thus feudalist agriculture had grafted on it a superstructure of colonial commerce and light industry. A colonial central administration fastened on to a feudalist local government system. Colonial Christian education rested on top of feudalist Islamic education. The two contrasting cultures exist precariously side by side.

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

It is out of this heterogeneity—truncated communalism, feudalism with pockets of slavery dominant in agriculture, colonial-

stitutions each of which contributes towards upholding the fundamental concepts on which the society is founded. The "notion of society implies organised obligation" p. 60. Thus society is defined at p. 68 as "dynamic unity". It establishes "definite ranges of behaviour" p. 60 and unites "the actions of millions towards specific and definite goals" p. 58. It can be seen from all this that there can be no society without a community of interests. In other words, there must be "social cohesion" which is created by underlining common values which themselves generate common interests, and hence common attitudes and common reactions" p. 61.

The society which CONSCIENCISM abstracts from the three strands that make up present day Africa is based on the following cardinal concepts:—

1. all men are equal;
2. each man is an end in himself and not just the means to an end;
3. the group is responsible for the individual;
4. individual well-being is conditioned by

Zero Hour in Southern Rhodesia

by Idris Cox

WHETHER or not Southern Rhodesia is invited to the conference of Commonwealth Premiers on July 8-15, the British Government will still be faced with a serious dilemma. Either it gives in to the pressure of the white settler minority led by Mr. Ian Smith, the new Premier, or it must accede to the growing demand for human and democratic rights for the African majority. There is no other alternative.

If it takes the first course it is bound to lead to more violence and bloodshed in Southern Rhodesia. The independent African states will be forced into more drastic measures of solidarity. The United Nations will have to face the challenge of translating words into action. And the British people will have to bear the consequences of another "trouble spot" as a result of the Tory attempt to resist Africa's march to freedom.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home would like to give "independence" to the white settler minority, but hesitates to do so because it would arouse great opposition in Britain, worsen the existing relations with the independent African states, weaken the links within the Commonwealth, and isolate Britain even more within the United Nations.

On the other hand the Tories are flatly opposed to African majority rule. They have close economic and political links with the white settler minority, and fear that African majority rule in Southern Rhodesia will have repercussions in South Africa, and will stimulate still further the struggle against the apartheid system.

The tug-of-war over the "right" of Southern Rhodesia to attend the conference of Commonwealth Premiers is a rehearsal of the real battle to come. Strong opposition to this has already been expressed by President Nkrumah (Ghana), Kenneth Kaunda (Northern Rhodesia), Oscar Kambona (Tanganyika), and President Nehru (India), and more protests are likely to pour in before the conference.

Even faced with the most violent repressive measures the African majority in Southern Rhodesia are most modest in their immediate demands. Though Joshua Nkomo and other leaders of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) have been arrested and placed in detention, they are anxious to reach a settlement by negotiation. In a press statement issued in London on April 17, Mr. George Nyandoro, Secretary General of ZAPU, made the following demands of the British Government:

1. Suspend immediately the Constitution of the Colony.
2. Order the release of Joshua Nkomo and all other political prisoners.
3. Appoint an Executive pending the calling of

a Constitutional Conference.

4. Make available units of the British forces for emergency action against any attempted act of treason by the white minority Smith Government against the Crown.

Unless the British Government gives serious consideration to these proposals there is imminent danger of more violent clashes taking place in Southern Rhodesia.

Never was the situation more serious. With the winning of independence under African majority rule for Nyasaland in July 1964 and Northern Rhodesia in October 1964, Southern Rhodesia (apart from South Africa) will be the "last ditch" of white settler minority rule. Even while holding the post of Deputy Premier to Mr. Winston Field (who resigned in April), Mr. Ian Smith was threatening drastic action: "We might be driven into a position where we have to resort to action which we would be very reluctant to take."

A KEY BASE

British military strategy is also centred on Southern Rhodesia as a key base for action elsewhere in Africa. An editorial in the "Daily Telegraph" on November 7, 1963, pointed out that "in future military security affecting the three British High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, will be more conveniently managed from Southern Rhodesia."

Tory strategy is to hold Southern Rhodesia as a bastion of white minority rule, at least for the next five years. The Sandys-Whitehead constitution of December 1961 went no further than the provision of 15 African seats out of a total of 75 in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. In the December 1962 elections only 3,000

Africans voted, as against 72,000 Europeans—though Africans outnumbered Europeans by twelve to one!

Since the 1962 elections the European minority has been able to hold its position only by the enforcement of the most vicious forms of repression against the African majority. During the past year no less than eight "security" Bills have been passed into law, the latest being early last month when the period of "arbitrary detention" (without charge or trial) was extended from three to twelve months.

REPRESSION AGAINST AFRICANS

In the past four months 45 Africans have been shot dead by armed police. In one week in April over 300 Africans were arrested, among them were 60 women carrying babies on their backs. On April 28, 105 African women were fined £20 each or the alternative of three months in

prison, for their alleged refusal to disperse in a demonstration protesting against the banishment of Joshua Nkomo. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), had been arrested and sent to detention in a remote northern region. Also arrested were Josiah Chinamano (founder of the Highfield Community School for African children), and his wife Ruth and other ZAPU leaders.

Even Garfield Todd, a former white Premier, declared towards the end of April that Africans are now "only kept in check by the physical fear of dogs, tear-gas, rifle-fire and imprisonment."

None of these repressive measures have solved the problem for the white settler minority. Since the December 1962 elections there have been three Prime Ministers and three Cabinets.

The new Prime Minister is backed by the most diehard elements among the white settlers—those who

are determined to declare independence for the white settler minority by hook or crook. They refuse to consider even the slightest concession to African democratic rights, and Mr. Smith has himself declared that he cannot conceive of African majority rule for the next thirty years!

Meanwhile, Southern Rhodesia is faced with serious internal problems and growing international opposition. African unemployment is increasing. More than 1,000 Europeans leave each month, mostly for South Africa. And it is estimated that this year the Budget deficit will be round £5½ million

CONDEMNED BY ALL

On the international plane the white settler minority government is condemned by all the independent states of Asia and Africa; the socialist countries; the Communist Parties in all countries; and many socialist parties, including the British Labour Party. In the United Na-

tions the 58-nation Afro-Asian group put strong pressure to act upon U Thant, the Secretary-General, who transmitted their request at the end of April, to end the restriction of Mr. Joshua Nkomo

In Southern Rhodesia there are sharp divisions on tactics (though not on principles), within the ranks of the white settler minority. The Rhodesian Front, headed by Mr. Ian Smith, has 35 seats out of 65. It is known that the former Premier, Mr. Winston Field, would vote against precipitate action, and perhaps one or two others. If only three members of the Rhodesian Front "crossed the floor", Mr. Smith would be defeated

However, Parliament is in recess, so Mr. Smith is not faced with this challenge. He became Prime Minister four days after Parliament rose, and it is not due to meet again until the end of July. Meanwhile the divisions within the Rhodesian Front (together with the opposition of the

Rhodesian National Party led by Sir Edgar Whitehead), make the position of Mr. Smith extremely unstable.

IN THE WINGS

There is a strong rumour that Sir Roy Welensky is "waiting in the wings" to take over the post of Premier. It is believed that he will rally all sections of the white settlers and advance the fight for "independence" under minority rule.

This situation is a serious challenge to the Labour movement in Britain. If it allows the Tories to concede this demand it will alienate all the independent states in Africa. When Harold Wilson raises the matter in the House of Commons, it will not be enough to rely on legalistic arguments. What is needed is a mighty solidarity campaign from one end of Britain to the other in support of the heroic African struggle for freedom and democracy in Southern Rhodesia.

BOOK REVIEW:

by Michael Harmel

THE dismal British record at the United Nations and elsewhere regarding South Africa is at sharp variance with the strong repugnance felt towards apartheid by the great majority of British people. The reason for this must be sought in the heavy vested interests held by some of the most influential firms and individuals in Britain and South Africa.

They want to maintain the big profits on their South African investments. Since the essence of the apartheid system is precisely the perpetuation of the cheap labour—high profits situation, this makes British and other overseas investors not only supporters but also collaborators in Verwoerd's criminal Nazi regime.

"Overseas investment is a partner in collaboration. Not only is Britain South Africa's main trading partner, but of some £1,500 million foreign capital invested in South Africa, nearly £1,000 million is British (and £300 million American)."

The great merit of this new publication issued by the Anti-Apartheid Movement is that it carefully documents this central theme with facts, figures and quotations from impeccable sources. Some 333 British companies are listed as having associates or subsidiaries in South Africa—quite apart from the enormous British stake in the gold, uranium and diamond mining industry. In

The Collaborators

(by Rosalynde Ainslie & Dorothy Robinson)

both Verwoerd's "border industries" plan, designed to implement the infamous "Bantustan" fraud, and in state-run industries, British firms are in partnership with the apartheid government in its plans to implement its oppressive policies.

I.C.I. is in partnership with the huge De Beers diamond monopoly—part of the Oppenheimer empire in African Explosives and Chemical Industries Ltd. which in addition to its other profitable activities is building three ammunition plants for the government to help Verwoerd shoot down the African patriots.

The authors turn the spotlight on to the South African Foundation, a body of

big businessmen and others designed to preserve "the West European way of life and ideals" in Africa. The London committee of this sinister organisation includes a number of senior British financiers and industrialists with far-reaching influence in British economic life, in the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

These men are named in this valuable booklet, and their interests in apartheid identified. The British arms industry, with contracts for £90 million from Verwoerd, the traders who buy from and sell to South Africa—all these form a part of the powerful submerged "South Africa Lobby" in Britain, whose influence is responsible for the tragic policy

which this country is following of sabotaging and hampering international action against apartheid at every turn.

This policy is not only a stab in the back for South Africa's freedom fighters. It is also diametrically opposed to the interests of the British people, doing incalculable harm to relations with the whole of Africa and the rest of the world.

The British Labour movement must isolate, expose and defeat Verwoerd's collaborators in this country. This publication furnishes invaluable ammunition for this task, which is already a major issue in world and in British politics.

BOOK REVIEW:

by Jack Woddis

DORIS Lessing spent twenty-five years of her life in Southern Rhodesia, for the most part on a farm. Thus her early formative years, at a time when she was most impressionable, were passed in a society in which everything is shaped and tainted by colour prejudice, discrimination and racial oppression. Out of this experience has come Miss Lessing's most impressive writing—her first novel, "The Grass is Singing", and her two collections of stories, "This was the old Chief's Country", and "Five". The two volumes of stories have now been re-issued in one volume, together with four additional stories, under the title "African Stories".

Miss Lessing has referred to "the bile she feels for 'white' society as she knew and hated it." Yet in her preface to this new volume she writes that for a writer "to wake up every morning with one's eyes on a fresh evidence of inhumanity; to be reminded twenty times a day of in-

justice, and always the same brand of it, can be limiting". In one sense this can be true; yet it is probable that since turning away from the obviously deeply felt experiences she underwent during her earlier years in Southern Rhodesia Miss Lessing has failed to write with the same sureness of touch.

In her *African Stories*, written before the big post-war changes, with the emergence of the modern, organised political movements of the African people, Miss Lessing depicts not only "the cruelties of the white man towards the black man", but equally the inhumanities of the white settlers towards one another. Many of her stories—*The Black Madonna*, *The Second Hut*, *The De Wets Come to Kloof Grange*, *Old John's Place*, *Winter in July* and *A Home for the Highland Cattle*—are pictures of the frustrated, confused, wasted and warped lives of the white settlers, their behaviour towards one another twisted, in

essence, by their unnatural relationships with the African people who are forced into subjection as the "slaves" of the settlers.

The African characters who people Miss Lessing's stories—servants, labourers on the farms, people from the reserves—are generally less rounded out than the settlers; they appear mainly as a background to the problems of their white masters, though as a background which influences events. But this is understandable, for we do not see the African people here (with the exception of the long story, *Hunger* or *The Old Chief*) as the main subject matter. We do not even see them as they act among themselves but rather as they behave in the presence of the whites, or, even more so, as the Europeans see them and interpret their behaviour.

The tragedy of *Little Tembi* or, of *A Home for the Highland Cattle*, two of her best stories, show that the paternalism of white

liberals, the attempt to help individual cases while leaving the whole rotten system unaffected, far from assisting the victims only brings fresh miseries to both Africans and Europeans.

It's the whole rotten relationship of master and servant, of racial oppression and prejudice, which destroys everything—this is the silent message of these stories. The colour bar system does not only keep down the Africans. They suffer, but they can fight for justice, for a new life. And thus, despite oppression; they maintain a vitality, or as in the powerful *The Old Chief Mshlanga*, their dignity and pride. But for the oppressing whites—and even the liberal settlers are part of this oppressive system—there is no such hope.

The whole point which emerges from these stories, is that the whites are the ones who are really destroyed by their racialist system, destroyed, that is, as human beings. "A people

that oppresses another cannot itself be free," warned Marx. This is demonstrated in the series of portraits of the settlers which we are given here—grim, unhappy people, who seek wealth, security and pleasure, who turn to drink or illicit love in a frantic grab for a "happiness" which is, in fact, but a poor consolation for a basic unhappiness arising from the total situation in which they find themselves. And from this desperate endeavour to escape from their closed circle of unhappiness comes that vein of hysteria which so often seems to be just below the surface of so many of Miss Lessing's white settlers.

The settlers bully and exploit their servants, take the Old Chief's land, turn an old worker's daughter and then his young wife, into concubines for the whites—yet, in the end it is they who are defeated, defeated in their individual lives as surely as they will soon be defeated in their domination of the country and its people

Read about the

Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization and Development with particular reference to the African Revolution

in

"CONSCIENCISM"

a new book just written by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana

Price: 12s. 6d.

EDITORIAL No. (2) AN INSULT TO AFRICA

THERE is an aspect of the penetration of Africa by imperialism which is not generally known even though it could turn out to be the most dangerous in the long-run. This is the subtle but persistent effort at controlling the mind of the African.

For this purpose a vast network of information centres, libraries and broadcasting stations have been set up or commandeered right across Africa, not to mention the torrent of cheap films that inundate our cinemas.

Large armies of foreign elements push the image of their countries in our schools and universities. There are several agencies which serve as convenient covers for cultural imperialism.

Now, a brand new weapon is being added to the armoury. It is the

move to admit the children of sophisticated Africans to British public schools like Eton.

Obviously enjoying the support of Tory elements in Britain, the new move is aimed at selling to us the rotten affluent society in the capitalist world. The whole idea is to get us to embrace imperialism by using as vehicles, people who subscribe to the way of life of the exploiting classes of Europe.

Recently the British press carried the news that for the first time since 1440, 13-year old Tokunbo Akintola, son of Chief S. L. Akintola, Premier of Western Nigeria, was admitted on April 29 into Eton College to be the first African Etonian.

According to the headmaster of Eton, application for admission was made through

Viscount Head, the former British Commissioner in Nigeria.

The British Press carried the picture of young Akintola in Eton uniform—tail coat and striped trousers, turned down starched collars, narrow white bow ties tucked in beneath the ends of the collars.

Perhaps the first question one will ask is; why all these fuss about the admission of a 13-year old boy to a British public school? Eton is the oldest exclusive £550 per annum public school where the cream of the British upper class receive their pre-university education. There are only three Etonians who are non-British—Crown Prince of Nepal, the Maharaja of Jadar, and the King of Siam.

The main aim of Eton is to inculcate into its products the feeling that they belong to a hereditary ruling class. The Headmaster of Eton says "we are pretty conservative institution, and it would be a bold man who would deny it."

At this stage in the development of Africa an institution like Eton has got very little to offer us. It can only produce hostile elements opposed to our aspirations.

By now it should be clear to some of our brothers in Africa that knowledge is not achieved by contemplation in studies apart from the practical activity of society. The environment of student is very important and it has a bearing on the ultimate service he is expected to render to his community. Collective knowledge, hammered out of the collective, many sided experience of a large number of people in a society is necessary to the training of our youths.

Africa has no place for a divided society where the majority of the people are denied all but limited access to knowledge, where this becomes the sphere of a privileged minority, based not on some superiority of intellect, but upon the opportunities provided by a privileged class position.

Now that we see 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. 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.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FORCES

It is important here to emphasise the point that this view of the state belongs to the new society. It does not belong to the old capitalist, feudalist, colonial or neo-colonialist society. In those societies the state operates in line with the "dominant ideology" which "is that of the ruling group." In other words, the state is the instrument for projecting sectional or class interest.

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 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 action. 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 action and negative action 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
2. constant improvement in the political understanding of both members and supporters of the mass party.

fought for us in days gone by; he fights for us yet.

FREEDOM FROM POVERTY

As a leader who has introduced far-reaching reforms, he must pay the price of offending vested interests, the price even of making implacable foes.

This price he willingly pays for the chance to usher us all into an age of freedom and prosperity; but he will never permit the freedom and prosperity, for which he has paid so much personally, to be the freedom and prosperity of only a few.

He wants to secure for us—and can do so with our backing—freedom from poverty, freedom from hunger, freedom from ignorance, freedom from disease.

So let us back him directly.

Continued from page 1

Socialism in Africa

Thus CONSCIENCISM believes that through a process of ideological education, the quality (and hence the fighting efficiency) of the positive forces in society could be enhanced. It holds that through the same forces some negative forces could be converted into positive forces.

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 action is to "destroy its 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, political and conditions on which negative action thrives.

We can see that this view leads logically to the elimination of economic classes (an exploiting class living on the labour of an exploited class), to the elimination of social differences based on birth, colour, creed. This view also leads logically to the elimination of the multi-party system which is a political condition for the survival of negative action.

MODERN PHILOSOPHY

The possibility of going from colonialism to socialism is openly admitted and explained by CONSCIENCISM. This development, of real significance to modern philosophy. For it departs from the orthodox view that socialism is born only when the contradictions of capitalism become acute. And some dogmatic scholars and many political opportunists 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 and of course Ghana. Nobody will deny

CUBA AND CONGO

THE Government of the Republic of Congo-Brazzaville and the Government of the Republic of Cuba.

—Conscious of the struggle which is to carry on against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism,
—Conscious of the efforts they have to make for the maintenance of their revolutions
—Wishing to join each other in the struggle for the economic and social development of their countries and for the preservation of world peace.

Have decided to establish diplomatic relations and to exchange Ambassadors.

Accra, 8th May, 1964.
M. Armando Enralgo,
Cuban Ambassador in the Republic of Ghana.

M. Charles Ganao,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Congo-Brazzaville.

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.

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 only by passing on 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 (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" (p.70). The Euro-Christian influence is particularly important here for it is through it that the technology of modern industrialism has been introduced into Africa.

REVOLUTION AND REFORM

What has CONSCIENCISM to say on revolution and reform? An answer to this question is important because some persons have already started to 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 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.

CONSCIENCISM accepts this argument and applies it vigorously to colonialism or capitalism and socialism. It holds that since socialism is a negation of capitalism (or colonialism and neo-colonialism which are but variants of capitalism) then socialism cannot be attained through reform. It asserts: "revolution is thus the indispensable avenue to socialism" p.74.

The confusion in people's 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 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 at p.74, "the passage from a non-communalist society to socialism is a revolutionary one...."

A FLOWERING OF AFRICAN THOUGHT

In conclusion, I must state how proud I am, as an African, that today Africa can produce a philosophy that meets the needs of our times without turning its back on world knowledge. There has always been the urge for a flowering of African thought. But, up to now, this African thought has tended to be isolationist, a violent reaction to world thought more especially to Western thought. It set up a barricade as it were against world thought; and behind this barricade it put out ideas and concepts which were neither rational nor coherent. But today, thanks to this great contribution by Kwame Nkrumah, Africa has evolved a new thought which meets its demands for total liberation and total integration and simultaneously draws—and draws profoundly—form the pool of world knowledge. In CONSCIENCISM, African philosophical thought has come of age.

WHAT IS NKRUMAISM?

"NKRUMAISM IS THE IDEOLOGY FOR THE NEW AFRICA, INDEPENDENT AND ABSOLUTELY FREE FROM IMPERIALISM, ORGANISED ON A CONTINENTAL SCALE, FOUNDED UPON THE CONCEPTION OF ONE AND UNITED AFRICA, DRAWING ITS STRENGTH FROM MODERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND FROM THE TRADITIONAL AFRICAN BELIEF THAT THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF EACH IS CONDITIONED BY THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL."



13-year-old Tokunbo Akintola—the first African boy to go to Eton College—hurrying along during his first full day as an Etonian

Prof. Abraham on Ghana Press

ONE great sad thing for us in Ghana is that in different ways certain sections of the foreign and Ghanaian press have surely been trying to destroy the image of Kwame Nkrumah—the foreign press out of anger arising from conceit and egotism, the Ghana press out of good intentions and sometimes by unsober adulation.

In the attempt by the Ghana Press to establish the image of Kwame Nkrumah, the result has unintentionally been to cut him off from the people.

There can be no picture more inaccurate than that

of the beloved leader of a socialist republic obscured in an ivory tower. Kwame Nkrumah is a man of the people. He leads a very simple life, but is himself a highly complex man.

MODEST MAN

He is a great man, far greater than most by his wisdom, his patience, his generosity, his modesty.

Kwame Nkrumah gave us our freedom, but has lost his own. Circumstances not of his making have made increased security imperative.

He is inexorably thrust into a position of vigorous defence not of his own

choosing.

He is the people's chosen leader, and the press must not sell a false image of him.

The Ghana press has a mandate and a duty to portray Nkrumah as he is, a sincere, true, disarmingly modest man, a leader drawing his utmost strength from us all, the people of Ghana; a man who freed us from the confinements of colonialism and whom we must now free from the confinement imposed upon him and at which he chafes so sadly.

Kwame Nkrumah remains the dedicated, prophetic leader who has devoted all his talents and energies to the cause of Ghana and Africa. He