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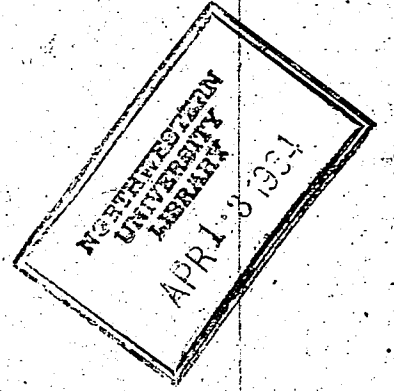
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EDITORIAL

TOWARDS A CONTINENTAL MASS PARTY (1)

"CONSCIENCISM" has posited and stressed the need for "an optimum zone of self-induced development" as a necessary and indispensable condition, if the African Revolution must remain viable.

The analytic form of XIII (Union through positive action of liberated territories G1 G2 G3...Gk which can be achieved only and only if a process of increase of positive action and decrease of negative action is assured in each of the k Territories from 1 to k) means in effect that the African continent as a whole can be regarded as equal to a single zone of optimum development, capable of bringing about complete decolonisation and self-induced development at a fast tempo. Moreover, opposition to neo-colonialism is never really effective unless it is set within an optimum framework of development, capable of becoming an optimum centre of resistance.

As the analytical formula indicates, a centre of resistance cannot be really strong unless it is accompanied by strict ideological unity, which once secured, is bound to express itself in the form of a single political organisation, which is powerful and capable of mobilising the people, and in a position to demonstrate its cohesion, the firmness and effectiveness of its strategy and at the same time speed up its revolutionary activities.

"Consciencism" has set up the theoretical platform on which all forces of the African Revolution can be brought together into a continental mass party.

We are forced to restate our view that events in Africa have made it clear that just as organised pressure from below has been the most effective weapon against colonialism, so also are mass movements of the people the most potent instrument for bringing neo-colonialism and apartheid to their knees. And now as neo-colonialism is working on an all-African basis, the mass movements of the people must be co-ordinated on a continental basis and made to fight with a continental strategy.

The Addis Ababa Conference provided Africa with a single programme of action—the historic African Charter. The Charter calls for a resolute fight against colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid.

It is true that concerted action by African states in the international arena has increased the isolation of South Africa. Nor can it be denied that Portugal and Spain have been forced to have second thoughts about the trend of events in their colonial territories.

All this notwithstanding, imperialism has made great strides since Addis Ababa Conference, in strengthening its defences against the tide of the African Revolution. Indeed, from a long-term point of view, imperialism has made more gains than the African Revolution since Addis Ababa.

We have made gains towards isolating South Africa but are these not largely offset by the continued supply of arms to that country, the building of armaments factories in that country, and its continued trade with Britain, U.S.A. and France which, in any case, handle the bulk of South African trade? Our moves against South Africa have been mostly in the nature of harassing actions which are useful, but a war can only be won through full-scale offensive actions that destroy the enemy's war potential.

We have made gains in the Rhodesias, no doubt. But the sleek manoeuvres of imperialism over Angola and in Congo (Leopoldville) could seal off the Southern portion of the continent from effective support by the African Revolution beating down from the East and West coasts.

In the Congo (Leopoldville), U.N. presence is still being used to resist the march of nationalism, and the treacherous Tshombe has again become a threat.

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What Is 'Consciencism'?

KWAME Nkrumah has spoken time and again of the unflowering of the African genius in conditions of independence. In this unflowering, he is himself making a contribution that is already astonishing. He has already proved himself a strategist, a thinker and a statesman. Now, by his book "Consciencism", he establishes himself firmly as a philosopher.

—by
Professor W.E. ABRAHAM

(Department of Philosophy, University of Ghana)

In "Consciencism," Kwame Nkrumah, in the span of a short but weighty book, unites all his pamphlets, and countless speeches in one comprehensive philosophical utterance, "Consciencism", as the sub-heading says, is a philosophy and ideology for de-colonization and development with particular reference to the African Revolution. Its author has already established himself as a man of action, a man of practice, capable of intuiting in any individual case what the correct guide of action should be.

While teaching philosophy in American universities and further pursuing it in Britain, Kwame Nkrumah was all along formulating the essentials of his philosophical creed. In "Consciencism", he has at length presented us with the matrix and theoretical sanction of his practice.

Consciencism opens with a discussion of philosophy. The author admits that it is possible to look at philosophy in diverse ways, but singles out two ways of treating it for extended development. The first which occupies the first chapter of the book is called by him the "Academic Treatment". This, he says, arises from an attitude to philosophy as if there were "nothing to them but statements standing in logical relation to one another". What this means is that the conclusions and the purpose of philosophical utterance are in this treatment made of less significance than the logical conditions between the sentences. A whole philosophy can through being treated like this be made to hang in thin air having no connection with anything concrete or consequential. Philosophy thus becomes a kind of parlour-game, a mere intellectual jousting.

To develop philosophy like this, Kwame Nkrumah could have used the plain historical method, moving from philosopher to philosopher. This would have been excessively laborious, repetitious and without much profit. His method was instead to identify the basic questions of philosophy, and to follow these questions through the characteristic treatment given to them by academic philosophy.

These questions are identified by Kwame Nkrumah as the question "what there is" and the question "how what there is might be explained. If these are the basic questions of philosophy, then the answers to them must already determine the character of the entire philosophy of a man.

When such a claim is made, it is naturally needful to substantiate it. The claim gains substantiation in both the first and the fourth chapters; but especially in the fourth chapter where the author painstakingly shows how step by step his own answers to the two questions determine his ethical, political, and epistemological position.

THE ACADEMIC TREATMENT

Still developing the academic treatment, Kwame Nkrumah divides answers to the first question according to their treatment of matter. Those which accord to matter an absolute and independent existence, he groups together as materialism. And with this group he contrasts idealism.

Always going to the root of the matter, he avoids for the time being a headlong engagement with idealism, until he has identified its sources. These he finds in solipsism and in a theory of perception. He distinguishes two stages of solipsism, complete and incipient. I quote part of his discussion of complete solipsism:

"In complete solipsism the individual is identified with the universe. The universe comes to consist of the individual and his experience. And when we seek to inquire a little of what this gigantic individual who fills the universe is compounded, we are confronted with diverse degrees of incoherence. In solipsism, the individual starts from a depressing scepticism about the existence of other people and other things. While in the grip of this pessimism, he pleasantly ignores the fact that his own body is part of the external world, that he sees and touches his own body in exactly the same sense that he sees and touches any other body. If other bodies are only portions of the individual's experience, then by the same magic he must disincarnate himself. In this way, the individual's role as



... a strategist, ... a thinker, ... a statesman, ... a philosopher

the centre of solipsism begins to wobble seriously, he is no longer the peg on which the universe hangs, the hub around which it revolves. Solipsism begins to shed its focal point for the universe. The individual begins to coalesce with his own experience. The individual as a subject, the sufferer and enjoyer of experience, melts away, and we are left with unattached experience."

This passage is one of many which illustrate the author's succinctness of expression and vividness of thought. It is from this combination added to the accuracy of exposition and cogency of argument that "Consciencism" derives its power.

SOURCES OF SOLIPSISM

Incipient solipsism is illustrated from the philosophy of Descartes. Kwame Nkrumah argues that when Descartes proposes to doubt everything that could be known through the senses or through reasoning, because both avenues of knowledge are full of pitfalls, and decides that he who is busy doubting things must exist in order to doubt, and therefore claims to exist, he claims too much. And now I quote:

"Though Descartes is

some theory of perception. Here, the idealist holds that we only know of the external world through perception; and if matter be held to be constitutive of the external world, then we only know of matter through perception. Quite gratuitously, the conclusion is drawn that matter owes its existence to perception. Granted that perception is a function of the mind or spirit, matter ends up depending on spirit for its existence."

The author goes on to point out that the conception of perception involved is one which takes place by agency of our senses. And as our bodies are themselves parts of the external world, if body, being matter, exists only through perceptual knowledge, "it could not at the same time be the means to that knowledge; it could not be the avenue to perception"

IDEALISM AND SCIENCE

Kwame Nkrumah does not content himself with attacking idealism at its roots. He also seeks to establish that idealism is jejune; that it cannot explain anything, and that it is incompatible with science and the existence of ordinary things like apples and oranges. His reason is that the idealists dismantle the world and find they cannot put it together again. Fortunately this dismantling takes place only in thinking. Kwame Nkrumah cites Berkeley in illustration. He says that Berkeley having dismantled the apple into its sweetness, its shape, its colour, etc., finds that he can only say that the apple is a simultaneity of sweetness, roundness, smoothness, etc., not Kwame Nkrumah says that this is as if one could have soup anymore, but only its ingredients, in his characteristic flashes of wit.

There are two aspects of the philosophical materialism of "Consciencism". In its first aspect, it is a combative theory, seeking to destroy philosophical idealism to which it stands opposed. In its second aspect, it is ampliative. It seeks to give a general philosophical account of the world in exactly the same way as idealism is ampliative. Hence "Consciencism" not merely denies the theses of idealism; it substitutes for them its own theses.

Discussing the other source of solipsism, Kwame Nkrumah writes:

"It is more normal to found idealism upon

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A REPLY TO CASSIUS NIMBUS OF GHANAIAN TIMES-

NKRUMAISM—A Definable by Gemini

Ideology

WHAT is the stumbling block to some people who under the guise of Nkrumaism are offering our people something incredibly muddled and confused? This a very pertinent question to ask in view of discussion on Nkrumaism by a columnist of the "Ghanaian Times" in its issue of Saturday, March 28, 1964 (p.5). Like any scientific ideology Nkrumaism can be and has been defined.

The columnist were present at the Press Club on Monday, March 16th when Comrade Kodwo Addison defined and elaborated on the ideology of Nkrumaism he might not have made his assertions that Nkrumaism is only "an attitude to the practice of socialism". Comrade Kodwo Addison stated inter alia "this scientific approach to the development of society is based like all science, on experience on the facts of history and the world around us. Therefore, Marxism is not a completed, finished theory. As history unfolds, as man gathers more experience, Marxism is constantly being developed to the new facts that have come to light."

To expound Leninism means to expound the distinctive and new, in the works of Lenin, that Lenin contributed to the general treasury of Marxism and that is naturally connected with his name.

Therefore Leninism as Marxism of the era of imperialism is therefore an ideology i.e. the scientific world outlook of the international working-class movement with their allies the peasants, farmers and progressive intellectuals.

NKRUMAH'S CONTRIBUTION

The special and historic contribution of Kwame Nkrumah to the treasury of Marxism is that in specific conditions of Ghana and Africa, in the period of the collapse of imperialism and colonialism in Africa is that he has developed in a creative way a new, and scientific ideology firmly based on the discoveries of science and Marxism but corresponding in every particular to our African experience, history, conditions and society.

Theory without practice is empty, and practice without theory is blind. The test of any theory is prac-

tice, hence when this test is applied to the ideology of Nkrumaism it is at once clear that this ideology has succeeded not only by furnishing the ideological weapon with which Kwame Nkrumah armed, and organised the masses in the former Gold Coast colony of Britain, but demonstrated its invisibility in action by winning natural independence for the people and chiefs of Ghana. In the crucible and test of action in real life, Nkrumaism proved and has continued to prove its effectiveness.

"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".

This definition has nothing with an attitude of mind which changes as the mind from day to day.

It is the world outlook of the New Africa founded on

scientific socialism but deriving its motive power and nourishment from the deepest and best in African traditional society.

As Kwame Nkrumah himself says in his "Consciencism" "What is called for as a fresh step is a body of connected thought which will determine the general nature of our action in unifying the society we have inherited, this unification to take account at all times of the elevated ideals underlying the traditional African society... Its basis is materialism. The minimum assertion of materialism is the absolute and independent existence of matter".

Nkrumaism, thus draws its strength from modern science and technology. It is based on dialectical materialism, its conception of history is materialist and, is therefore consistent with all the teachings of natural science and all the scientific knowledge available to us today. Any assertion of a mere attitude of mind smacks of idealism. Of course, in our unceasing struggle for the total liberation of Africa, for African unity and the building of socialism not only in Ghana but throughout the African continent, Nkrumaism is not and can never be a dogma. Like the creative ideology that it is, Nkrumaism is a guide to action. This means that with a scientific world outlook firmly based, Nkrumaist African freedom fighters (in the specific conditions of Ghana today, it is the struggle for building a socialist society) can adapt the ideology of Nkrumaism to the specific conditions and historic circumstances of their own particular coun-

try in Africa:
(1) to win political independence as in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa

(2) to secure progressive and popular governments (as in some independent African countries now dominated by neo-colonialism)

(3) to advance the struggle to win economic independence and intensify the struggle for the building of socialism.

The dialectical method which is an indispensable component of Nkrumaism is the method of inquiry which seeks to investigate things in their movement and change. The great fundamental thought is that the world is not to be com-

prehended as a complex of ready-made things. (this applies also to Africa hence Nkrumaism applies to the specific conditions of Africa) but as a complex of processes in which things apparently stable no less than the mind images in our heads, go through an uninterrupted change of coming into being and passing away, in which, in spite of all seeming accidentality and of all temporary retrogression, a progressive development asserts itself in the end.

MISLEADING CONCLUSION

Nkrumaism is opposed to drawing conclusions about things without taking into account how they change and inter-act with

other things. It is based on the premise that if we consider things simply as fixed in a certain state, without considering how they got into that state and how they may get out of it, then that is, an unwarranted abstraction which leads to misleading conclusions.

The Columnist in question has arrived at a misleading conclusion because he started from wrong premises, if no time, and no where did Comrade Kodwo Addison and the other Comrades who participated in the discussion after the definition

of Nkrumaism assert or imply that Nkrumaism is a catechism or dogma to be connted by rote. On the contrary, they asserted and newly proclaimed to the whole world that the ideology of Nkrumaism deriving its vitality and living reality from Philosophical Consciencism as its philosophical root. It is a creative, dynamic ideology of the New Africa, of the African Revolution, which is sweeping away all the cob-webs of intellectual confusion and blazing to its inevitable triumph in our life time.

Independence and Bases by V. Kopiev

BRITISH Commonwealth and Colonial Secretary, Duncan Sandys, has of late been travelling incessantly. Hardly having any time to rest after his visit to British Guinea, Malaysia and Cyprus, the Secretary started on a voyage to Africa. This time he visited Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika as well as the "Island of Spices"—Zanzibar.

What is the purpose of the new tour of the British Secretary?

This was not officially reported in the press. Sandys himself refused to make any statements about it. But the reply was furnished by the journalists. Francis Boyd, the political observer of the Guardian, wrote at the beginning of the Secretary's tour that Sandys would discuss with the governments of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika "problems of defence and security". According to Boyd, there would be discussed the question of British regular officers in the armies of these countries and the future of the British base in Kenya. The British press unambiguously stated that Sandys would try to persuade these countries to accept British military missions which would "help to organise" the army and police there.

The London "Daily Telegraph" spoke more definitely. Sandys took with him, the newspaper wrote, proposals concerning the creation of mobile forces for maintaining peace! Which could be used in any of the three East African countries—Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda—should emergency arise... Such mobile forces, in the opinion of the "Daily Herald", could be made up by Commonwealth countries...

The reports of the British press throw light on the real purposes of Sandys' tour of the East African countries.

PRETEXT FOR RETURN

The fact is that the revolution in Zanzibar, the overthrow of the Sultan and the establishment of a Republic by the people who revolted seriously alarmed the British ruling circles. Fearing further intensification of anti-colonial struggle on the African Continent, they were trying in

every way to find a pretext to return to East Africa.

Taking advantage of the disturbances in the armies of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, the British dispatched their troops to these countries. Without discussing the reasons of the disturbances here, it should be mentioned that the British military showed exceptional promptness, they seemed to have waited for it all, or even to have known about it beforehand. The British operated in the main from the military bases which they possess in these countries which recently received their independence. The British armed forces use the air and naval base in Dar-es-Salaam, the air base of Tabora (Tanganyika) the aerodrome in Entebbe (Uganda) and especially the big base in Kenya.

REPLACEMENT OF BRITISH TROOPS

The people of Kenya have received from Britain the promise to remove this military base by the end of the current year. Britain, however, is not over anxious to part with the base in Kenya. A correspondent of the Conservative London "Sunday Telegraph", for example, wrote frankly that Britain, so far as he knew, would be ready to retain this base for some time more.

But Britain is no longer in a position to do whatever she pleases in these countries. The peoples of the African States have shown their maturity and ability to understand a complicated situation. At the session of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation for African Unity in Dar-es-Salaam it was decided to replace the British soldiers in these three countries with the troops of African countries. Still another blow at the British colonial politicians was dealt at the session of the

Council of Ministers of the OAU in Lagos.

The participants of this broad African forum agreed to include in the agenda of the forthcoming conference of the Heads of African States the question of establishment of a United African Command.

The Whitehall saw in it, and not without reason, a threat to its strategic positions. That was why the British Secretary turned up in East Africa.

It is now clear that London is trying to set up a sort of "fire-brigades"—units which would be always ready for immediate action. The British certainly hope that control over such mobile forces would belong to them alone. The British lovers of bases intend continuing their armed intervention in internal affairs of African peoples. As for "emergencies" which would "require" such in-

tervention, there will be no lack of them.

Taking advantage of the presence of her troops in the three East African countries, Britain wanted to impose on them "a regional security pact" directed against the national liberation movement of the black continent. This attempt of Mr. Sandys however, was a failure. When he was in the capital of Tanganyika, he stated reluctantly that the British marines would be evacuated from the country at the end of this month. And on the day when Sandys returned to London, the British soldiers withdrew from Uganda.

STABILITY RETURNS

It is true, so far they have only changed their address in Africa, returning to the base in Kenya. However, they will hardly stay long here, too. About a month before Sandys' arrival in Nairobi, Premier Jomo Kenyatta declared that Kenya's government would adhere to its original decision concerning the removal of British bases.

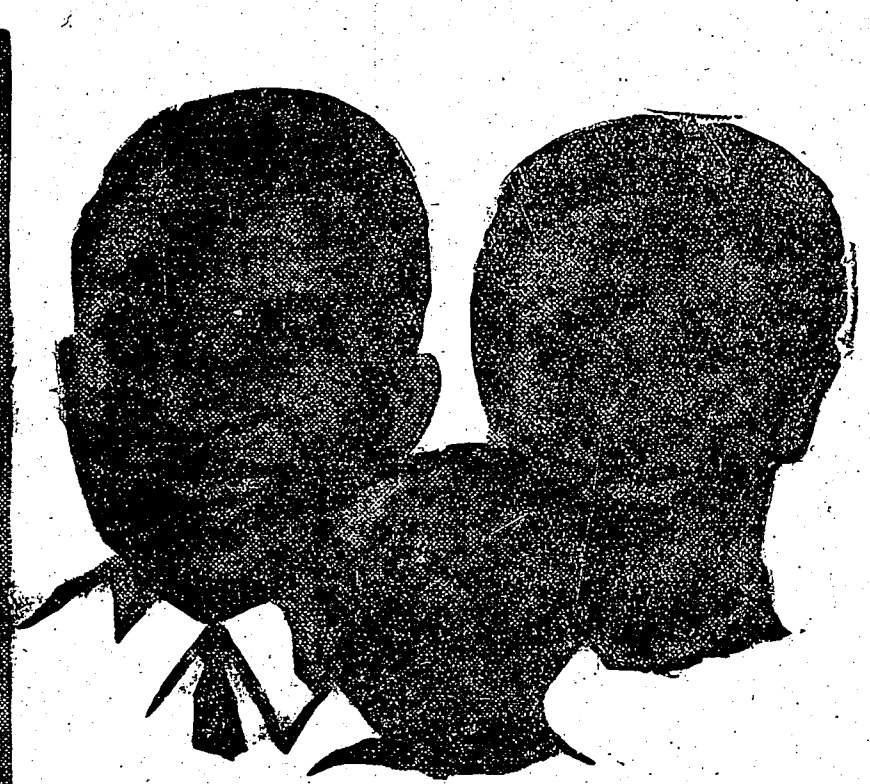
The situation in East Africa is now becoming stable. The interests of the Liberation Movement, the ideas of African Unity will help the peoples of the young independent African countries to uphold their sovereignty against any intrigues of the colonialists.

* * *

NKRUMAISM

THE Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in consultation with Osagyefo the President has finalized the concrete definition of 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."

* * *



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What is 'Consciencism'?

Continued from page 1

Consciencism describes idealism variously as 'intoxicated speculation' and 'the ecstasy of intellectualism'. In contrast, materialism is sober philosophy. The initial theses of materialism, according to Consciencism, are first the absolute and independent existence of matter, and second the assertion of the capacity of matter for spontaneous self-motion. And yet Consciencism criticises materialism. It would be too hasty to see a contradiction in this for the materialism of Consciencism asserts not the sole reality of matter, but its primary reality. The former materialism is said by Consciencism to be crude. This distinction, as Consciencism points out, makes it possible for materialism to accommodate certain hard facts. These are identified as those centering around the phenomenon of consciousness and of self-consciousness, the distinction between quantity and quality, and the relation between mind and matter. "Crude" materialism is besides incapable of explaining development.

The urge to change must be held to be endemic in matter. If philosophical materialism accepts change and development, then it may say this: for if all that there are matter and its products, matter must itself possess the ability to change in order that it should have products, as "Consciencism" conclusively establishes.

POWER OF SELF-MOTION

It is necessary for Kwame Nkrumah to show the possibility of the urge to change being endemic in matter. Characteristically, he first joins issue with those who have denied to matter, this urge, or what Consciencism calls the power of self-motion. He demonstrates that some of them, for example Locke, contradict themselves on this question, by first denying to matter the power of self-motion and subsequently giving the same power without explanation or apology to matter. The author cites various theories which appear to be silent on the self-motion of matter but in fact presuppose it. By discussing the possible sources of motion, he reaches the conclusion that the only satisfactory postulate is to acknowledge the power of self-motion of matter. He then cites a number of natural phenomena which lead support to this position.

Here too Kwame Nkrumah delves into the prejudices which might disincite some philosophers from allowing self-motion to matter.

Given that matter has an original power of self-motion, then it is only left to interpret the motion of matter in suitable ways in order to establish the logical possibility of affirming the primary reality of matter and nevertheless maintaining a distinction between consciousness and unconsciousness, consciousness and self-consciousness, quantity and quality, matter and energy, body and mind.

For this purpose, Consciencism isolates three types of motion. The first type is that which is involved in change of place, locomotion; the second type is rotary motion. And the third type is that which is involved in alteration of property.

According to Consciencism these types of motion lay the basis for what the book calls categorical conversion. Kwame Nkrumah defines the term in the following way:

"By categorical conversion, I mean such a thing as the emergence of self-consciousness from that which is not self-conscious; such a thing as the emergence of mind from matter, of 'quality' from 'quantity'." Consciencism appeals to the achievements of nominalism, constructionism, and reductionism in the field of categorical conversion. For example, it appeals to Russell's *Theory of Types*. It also appeals to the achievements of mathematical logic; and finally to those of science.

Equipped with the ideas of categorical conversion, Consciencism then moves on to a complex discussion of the philosophical problems involved in the "hard facts" already cited. Inevitably, perception has to be discussed in relation to the hard facts. It is at this point that Consciencism introduces the somewhat novel idea of qualities as perceptual surrogates. It is to be hoped that at a future date the author will develop this idea which is very interesting indeed.

ROOTS OF PHILOSOPHY

There is a question which it is well to ask at once. Kwame Nkrumah says in Consciencism that philosophy has roots in society. Has the materialism of Consciencism any roots; or let us say, antecedents in African society? This question is answered by the following quotation:

"The traditional African standpoint, of course, accepts the absolute and independent idea of matter. If one takes the philosophy of the African, one finds that in it the absolute and independent existence of matter is accepted. Further, matter is not just dead weight, but alive with forces in tension. Indeed for the African, everything that exists, exists as a complex of forces in tension. In holding force in tension to be essential to whatever exists, he is... like philosophical consciencists endowing matter with an original power of self-motion."

The social significance of materialism will become clearer in what follows.

From the use to which the author puts philosophical materialism, it is evident that he sees the necessity for it in terms of three functions.

The first function is to yield the categories and general concepts in terms of which the superstructure of the productive relations of a given society can be defined and appraised. This superstructure includes its ethics, its political theory, and other aspects of the society's way of life. The way in which philosophical materialism determines this superstructure is illustrated by the deductions in the fields of ethics, politics, law, religion, etc., which Consciencism makes from materialism.

THE COSMIC RAW MATERIAL

The second function is to be in harmony with science which, as Consciencism indicates, is the most reliable form of human knowledge, and thereby to adumbrate a philosophy of science.

The third function is of course to refute philosophical idealism which it considers to be the mainstay of the ideological superstructure of relations of production which are alien to the African conscience.

By this conception of purpose, Kwame Nkrumah passes from the abstract to the concrete. One may give an illustration of this transition, by considering his perspicuous discussion of

the extent of what there is. Suppose one were to say that everything in the world could be obtained from a certain substance which, following Consciencism, may be called the cosmic raw material. Then another may feel like asking 'how much of the cosmic raw material there is, or whether it has a cause or not. One may now quote:

"It is worthy of note how this second question of philosophy in its first aspect sidles vis-a-vis theological beliefs. In this aspect, the question relates to the possible origin of the cosmic raw material;... if... the cosmic raw material is conceived to have an origin, then one adopts a theist or a deist position. In either case, one posits a force transcendent to the cosmic raw material, and which occasions it. One is a theist if one supposes that this transcendent force is nevertheless immanent after some fashion in what there is, continuing to affect it one way or another. If on the other hand one holds the force to be strictly transcendent, and excludes it from the world once made, then one is a deist..."

"If however the world is denied an outside, then one is an atheist. For this purpose, pantheism is but a kind of atheism. It is atheism using theological language". There follows a cogent discussion of the sort of grounds upon which one can speak of a finite or an infinite world. After this, we read:

"If however one postulates a cause for what there is (i.e. the cosmic raw material), one is thereby committed to the conception of an 'outside' and an 'inside' of the world."

CONTRADICTION IN SOCIETY

This cosmic contrast between the inside and the outside of the world is said to imply an acknowledgement that there is a process which commences outside the world and is converted into the world and its contents. The creation involves such an acknowledgement. So far the direction of the cosmic process is from outside the world to inside the world.

Now one may quote again:

"But especially when this conversion is thought to be reversible, a definite contradiction is created in society, the contradiction between interests inside the world and interest outside the world..."

"The contradiction takes effect when with the gaze steadfastly fixed upon things 'outside' the world, the requirements of earthly life, which in fact condition the existence of every human being, suffer neglect. This opposition of interests, this social opposition between 'inside' and 'outside' is dialectical in nature and can be used to explain the course of many societies, including African societies. The course of such societies is determined by a see-saw; a contest between the inside and the outside, between the terms of the contradiction described above. It is the recognition of this kind of contradiction and the use to which it might be put in the exploitation of the workers that impelled Marx to criticise religion as an instrument of exploitation, because religion was used to

divert the workers' attention from the value which they had created by their labour to 'outside' concerns."

Many African societies, adds the author, reduced this kind of contradiction between 'inside' and 'outside' by making the visible world continuous with the invisible world. For them, he says, "heaven was not outside the world but inside it."

MATERIALISM AND ATHEISM

Raising questions concerning the possible origins of matter in his materialism, Kwame Nkrumah decides that nothing inside the world, which is after all all that we can know, can be an indication of the origins of the cosmic raw material. In his own words, "there can... be no material grounds on which the adjectives, 'caused', 'uncaused', or 'finite', 'infinite', can be descriptively applied to the universe. No impractical discourse can logically constitute the material ground of any of the epithets. It is only left that they should be postulates".

This quotation represents conclusions from immediately fore-going arguments. Kwame Nkrumah subsequently points out that his materialism has no implication of an atheism. This is consistent with a statement which he made seven years ago to the effect that he is both a Marxist and a non-denominational Christian.

To understand the way in which materialism is held to lead to an ideological superstructure, it is necessary to clarify the mode of its application to society. Brief reference has already been made to the way in which a metaphysical question about the cosmic raw material may lead to belief in a force transcendent to the world, and hence to a cosmic contrast between 'inside' and 'outside' applied to the world as a whole, and through this contrast to a religious creed and practice.

More generally, however, since Consciencism affirms the primary reality of matter it is obliged to hold that the unity of the world consists not in its being, but in its materiality. It is then bound to affirm that pro-

cesses including social ones have a material basis and explanation.

Society therefore becomes in Consciencism one of the products of matter—a rather complex product admittedly. Social being also will then consist in the reproduction and maintenance of life by dependence on an organisation of productive forces and means, and productive relations. The relations between men which are brought about by man's efforts to transform nature in order to reproduce and maintain life, affect, according to "Consciencism" the social, political and intellectual processes in general. Hence it also affects the content of man's consciousness. These processes are ideological, and, according to "Consciencism" seek to consecrate the current relations of production. This viewpoint is brilliantly developed in "Consciencism" in the discussion of instruments of ideology. For example, discussing the writing of African history, "Consciencism" has the following words:

AFRICAN HISTORY

"If African history is interpreted in terms of the interests of European Merchandise and capital... it is no wonder that African nationalism is, in the forms it takes, regarded as a perversion and neo-colonialism as a virtue."

"In the new African renaissance, we place great emphasis on the presentation of history. Our history needs to be written as the history of our society, not as the story of European adventures."

"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 as a crucial one. That is to say, the European contact needs to be assessed and judged from the point of view of the principles animating African society, and from the point of view of the harmony and progress of this society... African history can thus become a pointer at the ideology which should guide and direct African recon-

struction.

"This connection between an ideological standpoint and the writing of history is a perennial one. A check on the work of the great historians, including Herodotus and Thucydides, quickly exposes their passionate concern with ideology. Their irresistible moral, political and sociological comments are particular manifestations of more general ideological standpoints. Classically, the great historians have been self-appointed public prosecutors, accusing on behalf of the past, admonishing on behalf of the future. Their accusations and admonishments have been set in a rigid framework of presuppositions, both about the nature of the good man and about the nature of the good society, in such a way that these presuppositions serve as intimations of an implicit ideology."

It is in this way that Consciencism attempts to explain how the presentation of history for example forms part of an ideological superstructure of the material basis of a society. As regards ethics, the book says:

"The cardinal ethical principle of philosophical consciencism is to treat each man as an end in himself and not merely as a means. Egalitarianism is based on the monistic thesis of materialism. Matter is one even in its different manifestations... It is the basic unity of matter, despite its manifestations, which gives rise to egalitarianism. Basically, man is one, for all men have the same basis and arise from the same evolution according to materialism."

MAN AS AN END

The book then goes on to say that the basic unity of man requires that the cardinal principle of action should respect this basic principle; and that is that no man should be used merely as a means but always as an end. It is obvious that this cardinal principle offers a transition to the abolition of economic exploitation which essentially treats some men merely as means—and so it offers a transition to socialism.

It also offers a transition to politics whose conduct must reserve powers equally in the hands of all.

It is shown in Consciencism that ethical and political practices can be and must be combined within the framework of socialism. This immediately stirs up a hornet's nest.

Kwame Nkrumah said several years ago that he was a Marxist. By this he means that certain ideas of Marx are relevant to the African situation, and if applied will in his own words, ensure for us "a harmonious growth" and such "transformations upon nature as will develop our environment for our better fulfilment". These ideas have been embraced by him to serve as "an instrument of national emancipation and integrity".

"Every society", he writes, "is placed in nature. And it seeks to influence nature, to impose such transformations upon nature, as will develop the environment of the society for its better fulfilment. The changed environment, in bringing about a better fulfilment of the society, thereby, alters the society. Society placed in nature is therefore caught in the correlation of transformation with development. This correlation represents the toil of man both as a social being and as an individual. This kind of correlation has achieved expression in various social-political theories. For a social-political theory has a section which determines the way in which social forces are to be deployed in order to increase the transformation of nature."

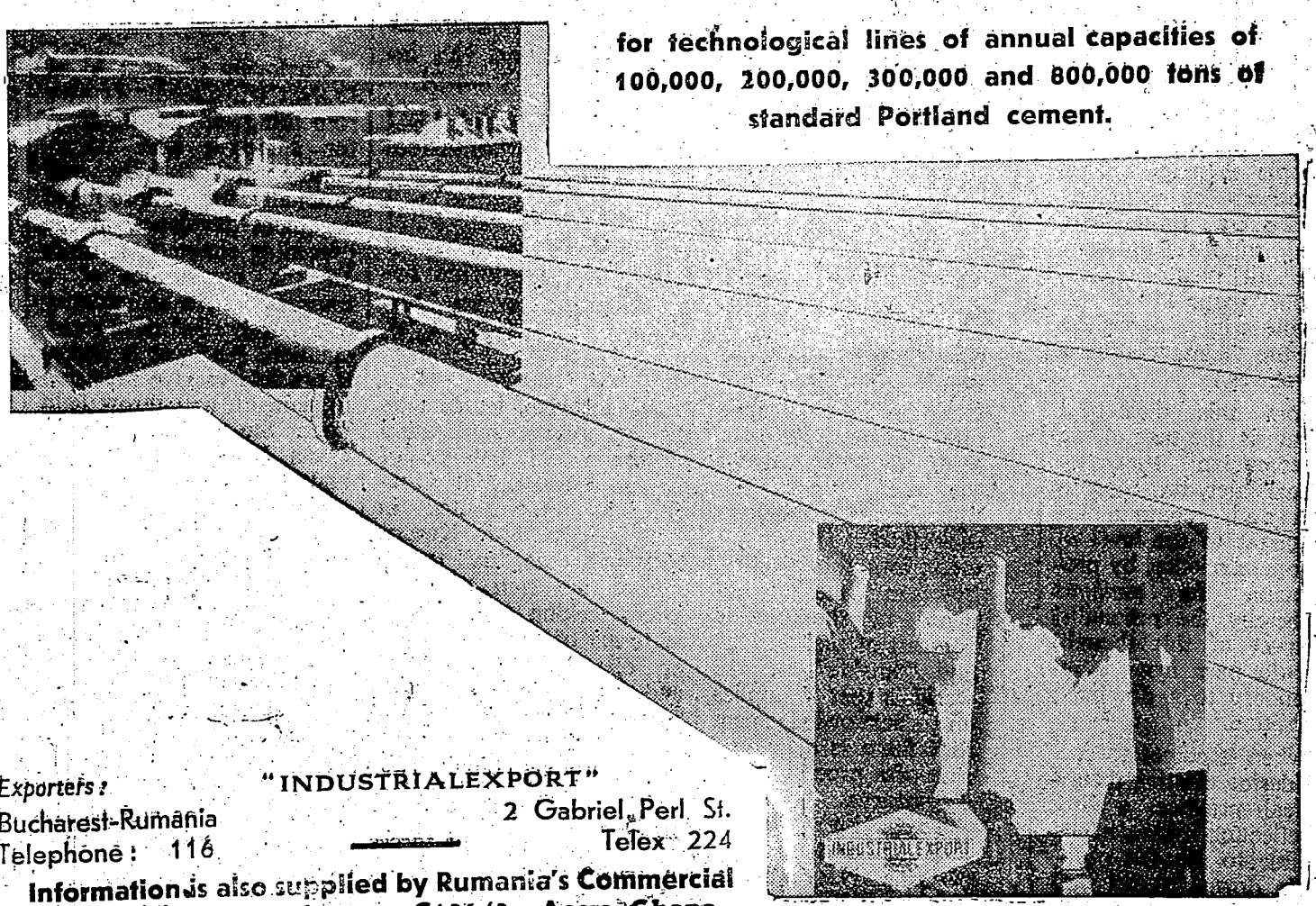
Kwame Nkrumah then proceeds to discuss various social-political practices which represent a correlation between transformation and development.

He begins with a discussion of slavery and feudalism. In both, he says, "workers, that is, the people whose toil transforms nature for the development of society, are disassociated from any say in rule. By a vicious division of labour, one class of citizen toils and

Continued on page 8

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VIEWS ON

WHAT is the most important problem now facing the under-developed countries in general and Africa in particular, but the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the masses?

2. Faced with this imperative, the leaders of the countries just referred to, have come to the conclusion that these needs can be met only by 'socialism'.

3. The first obstacle facing those leaders who believe that "practice without thought is blind", lies in the statement which claims that it is the contradiction between 'capital' and 'labour' which alone produces socialism. Indeed, the economic weakness which is a characteristic feature of the under-developed countries, means that as far as they are concerned, the contradiction between capital and labour has not as a rule succeeded in reaching its critical peak of development.

4. The leaders who then turn to their societies to discover in their own tradition "an original method" of socialist development, encounter another obstacle which is even more serious, namely, the predominant part played by magic in the thought processes of those societies which Dr. Nkrumah has described as "communist societies".

5. It is these two obstacles which Dr. Nkrumah has set himself to remove, in order to make it possible to achieve a rapid and harmonious development in the under-developed countries generally and in Africa in particular.

6. Obviously, such a task can only be conceived theoretically. And it is this which justifies the rigorous theoretical method employed in Consciencism, a Philosophy and Ideology for decolonisation and development.

7. Apart from his own intuitions, Dr. Nkrumah had to rely on the raw material inherent in the representation of communalist thought, and the concepts of existing theoretical practice.

8. As regards the representations of communalist thought, the theory already defended by Dr. Nkrumah in "MIND AND THOUGHT IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY", submitted as a doctoral thesis at the University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A. in 1943, is as follows:— "It is 'prelogical' to regard the mind of one people as magical and another's as rational. Magical (prelogical) and rational thinking are all mental behaviour" (page 119 of the Manuscript deposited in the Ghana National Archives.)

9. From this dialectical analysis, the task of the theoretician twenty years later, has been to raise communalist thought to the level of modern science, by producing the methods whereby the rationalist aspect of this thought could pass from a secondary to a dominant position.

10. When it comes to considering existing theoretical practice, a little reflection makes it possible to pin the obstacle down to the well-

known simple process of two contraries: "The duplication of THE ONE and the knowledge of its contradictory facets, is the substance (an "essence", a feature, a basic peculiarity, if not the absolute fundament) of dialectics". (Lenin "Obiter Dicta").

11. This concept of the simple process of two contraries is also the very matrix of Hegelian dialectics.

12. Theoretical practice (which here concerns us), unlike Lenin's political practice, has erected this Hegelian concept into a basic factor of Marxist dialectics.

13. When one lacks the initiative to fight, and the fight ends in a series of defeats, mechanistic determinism becomes a tremendous force for moral resistance, cohesion and patient, stubborn perseverance" (Gramsci "Oeuvres Choises", Editions Sociales, Paris, pp. 33, 34.) This passage from Gramsci not only throws light on the probably sub-conscious reasons which have led many people to move away from the lessons of Lenin's political practice, and seek refuge in the Hegelian dogma of the simple process of two contraries, but also demonstrates how very closely allied MECHANISTIC DETERMINISM is to the magic shield which is one of the forces making for the "moral resistance, cohesion and patient, stubborn perseverance" of communalist societies when confronted with imperialism.

14. With CONSCIENCISM, the simple process of two contraries, the theoretical foundation of mechanistic determinism, and the dominant magical aspect of communalist thought disappear in one fell swoop, if only because Consciencism gives us a new concept in cosmic contrast.

15. There can be no material grounds on which the adjectives, 'caused', 'uncaused', or 'finite' or 'infinite' can be descriptively applied to the universe. No empirical discourse can logically constitute material ground of any of the epithets. It is only left that they should be postulates.

If, however, one postulates a cause for "what there is", one is thereby committed to the conception of an "outside" and an "inside" of the world. This need not lead to any irreducible contradiction, for whether the world is finite or infinite depends... upon the mode of conceiving the world. Hence the opposition is strictly dialectical. Beyond mere formal dialectics, however, one significance of the cosmic contrast of the "inside" and "outside" of the world is that it implies an acknowledgement that there is a conversion of a process which commences "outside" the world into the world and its contents" (Kwame Nkrumah,

Consciencism, Heinemann, London.)

16. As will be seen, the concept of cosmic contrast is opposed to the theory of the identity of contraries, provided we conceive of "the simple process of two contraries", as the "basic peculiarity if not the absolute fundament of dialectics". In other words, the concept of cosmic contrast is fundamentally opposed to the Hegelian concept of dialectics.

17. The opposition between the concept of cosmic

Consciencism you will not find the concepts of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, affirmation negation and negation of negation etc....

19. With Consciencism new concepts have appeared: action, positive and negative, categorical conversion etc... The

"the inside" within the cosmic contrast are governed by categorical conversion. A "positive category" is regarded as one stemming from categorical conversion having its origin from "outside" (out-in), and enriching the "inside" and its contents. As

in their production as in the case of everything produced, in other words the precise moment of production and the methods used constitutes a real loss for positive action, and consequently a genuine gain for negative action

23. The dismemberment of the structural pattern of unity of the principal category and the reconstruction by means of categorical conversion of a new structural pattern, that is a new principal category, do not imply the automatic disappearance of all the former secondary categories which in a large measure are of a specific and autonomous character, one of which becomes the main contradiction within the reconstituted unity.

Here is where we meet with one of the theoretical foundations, if not the real theoretical foundation of the possibility of the survival of the ideology of the primitive community in spite of the changed structural pattern within the communalist society.

24. With the introduction of the concept of cosmic contrast which rids us of MECHANISTIC DETERMINISM and MAGIC Dr. Nkrumah opens up to the under-developed countries, in general and Africa in particular, the path to socialist development, whose index is represented by the formula "d" equals "pa" over "na" the theoretical basis of the ultimate determination by the economic factor.

The Concept of Cosmic Contrast: A Contribution To Marxist Dialectics

by Habib Niang

concept of action satisfies the complexity of the process, whereas categorical conversion implies a definite structure which makes it possible in given conditions, to pass from one category to another, the transition itself being determined by the unequal development that exists as between positive and negative action.

20. The relationships between "the outside" and

regards the negative categories, these are constituted by the illusion that there is a possibility to achieve a categorical conversion stemming from the "inside" and moving to the "outside" of the world (in-out), the result of which is to impoverish the "inside" and its contents, to the advantage of the "outside".

The categories which would arise from the categorical conversion "in-out" are theoretically null. However, in practice, they must be accounted for as negative, because in actual fact the decisive factor

21. Cosmic contrast also implies that between the former category and the new one, there is never any identity of essence, since the categorical conversion brings about a real transformation.

22. Categorical conversion is also the theoretical foundation of the real existence of the multifarious categories which are mutually determined within the complex whole, dominated now by the negative aspect of the dominant contradiction, now by the positive aspect of the new dominant contradiction, after a categorical conversion.

On Consciencism by Woungly Massaga

MATHEMATICAL method and logical reasoning are not really two watertight compartments, since the first is an extension of the second. Indeed, in any given phenomenon, we move from one to the other as soon as we can give the phenomenon we are dealing with spatial or numerical characteristics.

The definition of the field of mathematics as one of measurable magnitudes and their numerical or spatial correlations is essentially indicative, since mathematical exploration itself leads us finally to question the artificial barrier existing between the world of measurable magnitudes and the incommensurable world.

Does this mean that the use of mathematical symbolism cannot exist outside the area of what is measurable, outside spatial and numerical relations, unless we are merely toying with things?

For instance, let us take the symbolic representation of the world balance of forces in a colonial situation, as represented in CONSCIENCISM. Kwame Nkrumah uses "pa" to designate the sum of those forces seeking social justice in terms of the destruction of oligarchic exploitation and oppression. He then uses "na" to denote the sum of those forces tending to prolong colonial subjugation and exploitation. Here "pa" and "na" represent the "plenum of forces in tension".

Generally speaking, since this is a social phenomenon, we are in fact dealing with a serious problem. Either we refuse to see our way clear, or we shall have to try to represent the phenomenon in a manner that will lead to a statistical approximation of the reality, since the opposition of forces, the plenum of forces in tension is a tangible reality. Fortunately in this instance statistics provide a link between the immeasurable and the exact sciences. It would not be logical to fight shy of representing this plenum of forces in two contradictory factors which are assessed through a statistical approximation, and believe in the concrete expression of the symbol "Yes" or "No" as used in the course of a referendum, for example.

PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICAL ACTION

Obviously Chapter V of CONSCIENCISM loses something of its urgency, for someone who immediately grasps fully and rationally the philosophical argument developed in the preceding chapters. It takes on the appearance of a transcription, a redundancy of a purely discursive ratiocination. And yet it makes it possible to give precision to thought, and throw light upon the connection that exists between philosophy and political action.

Chapter V seems, as it were, to serve as a parapet. In Africa we need to exert a special effort in order constantly to bring the multifarious concepts of modern life within the reach of the struggling masses, and make these concepts as concrete as we can.

Any book, and more particularly a philosophical work, runs the serious risk of being subjected to a vague kind of propaganda,

where everyone expresses his own idea, and distorts and misinterprets the real meaning in the strangest possible manner.

In a social environment where magic still plays quite a substantial part in peoples' thought processes and even in their concepts about life, social phenomenon and the political struggle particularly constantly provide a fulcrum for legends and myths. There is therefore an advantage, touching the people for whom the work is mainly intended, in placing at the disposal of their none too skilled cadres a condensed argument in a form that is absolutely accurate and easily assimilable, such as is provided by mathematical symbolism.

It may be further argued that the relations between symbols tend to remove some of the mystification from political life. This is important in Africa today, because the demonstration of the fact that categorical change in a given social environment is merely a question of an inner dynamic on bringing into play the inner objective forces, really emphasises the point that the neo-colonialist tyrants can enjoy stability, only if the peoples' consciousness remains asleep and the masses remain disunited. In actual fact, his condensed argument by way of a formula which limits the possibility of distortion by free comment also has another advantage. It provides an opportunity for a less naive approach to theoretical disquisitions on matters connected with the exact sciences and directly related to the problems of the revolutionary struggle.

For example, in CONSCIENCISM there is an index of development expressed as a relationship between "pa" and "na"—

pa/na. We know very well that the idea of development is a pretext for anything in Africa. Is it not in the name of development that the puppet regimes seek to justify to the masses the need to maintain links of dependence with the former Metropolitan powers? Is it not also with a view to maintaining law and order in the interests of development that we are today witnessing in some African countries scenes of medieval barbarism, like the exhibition in public squares of the heads of nationalists (patriots) massacred by foreign troops?

Is it not also in the name of development that we observe in African countries under neo-colonialist regimes, that the masses are forced by the police into political parties of a fascist type? In short the African people are made to believe by the puppets who are incapable of carrying out their responsibilities, that all the ills besetting them are pebbles on the beach of development. And yet the years roll by, and the fate of the African masses worsens rather than improves.

INNER FORCES OF PEOPLE

The formula d— pa/na teaches that development is first and foremost a question of an inner dynamic, which questions the internal human and material forces, and the way in which their relationship is evolving.

The struggle against under-development (and when we use the term under-development, we imply comparison with the highly industrialised nations) thus connotes two absolutely distinct factors.

1. First the internal progressive mobilisation which

liberates the energies of the people, all the inner forces of positive action, and makes for genuine development, and

2. Secondly the struggle on the international plane against "the inequitable exchange" which characterises the trading relations between the non-industrialised countries and the industrialised States.

This is all that need be said, for I am sure you will discover for yourselves the wealth contained in this latest book by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. All that now remains for me to do is to join with you as a Freedom Fighter, in hailing the advent of this book.

A WEAPON OF COMBAT

Dr. Nkrumah's book has come as a guide for action at a particularly crucial moment in the African peoples' struggle. It has not been published to serve as blind or blanket for arm-chair revolutionaries, still less as a means of enlivening the new "saloons of the rising African bourgeoisie". It is a weapon of combat, a theory for the fight. All we need do is to understand and appreciate the fact, as the author himself puts it, that "practice without thought is blind and thought without practice is empty". If we do so, "CONSCIENCISM" will have sounded the death-knell of all the neo-colonialist poltroons who inflict suffering and misery on the peoples of Africa, and will have ushered in a new era of Africa united, socialist and prosperous.

“CONSCIENCISM”

the struggle for real and effective African Unity and (3) for the building of Socialism in Africa.

The problem therefore of interpreting African Society, has become the problem of how to change our society with the philosophy and ideology of Philosophical Consciencism as our intellectual guide.

VII. As in France at the end of the 18th century, when materialism fought and won against every kind of medieval rubbish against feudalism in institutions and ideas; as Leninism became the revolutionary theoretical weapon with

THE publication of "Consciencism" at this period in our history is of immense and epoch-making significance not only for Africa, but for the whole world. A philosophical work of great magnitude and depth has been unfolded to us.

Ideology plays a very significant role in social life and in the history of society. Arising as a reflection of the conditions of the material life of society, ideology exercises on its own part an active influence on society.

Hence "Consciencism" has been correctly described as the philosophy and ideology for de-colonization and development with particular reference to the African Revolution.

II. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin on the eve of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia was compelled to re-state and defend the philosophy of Marxism, i.e. dialectical materialism against the attempts of some Russian intellectuals who falsely claimed that they had revised and perfected Marxism.

The result was of course Lenin's great philosophical

work *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* published in 1908. Lenin's philosophical work was not merely a re-statement and defence of Marxism, but was a further development of the theoretical and ideological weapon with which Lenin armed the Russian workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals to assail

Philosophical Consciencism (A new development of Marxism in the era of the collapse of imperialism and colonialism in Africa)

by
Bankole Akpata, Ph.D.

and overthrow oppressive Tsarism and established the people's power.

This was at the period of the 1st World War (1914-1918) when the system of imperialism was first breached, and the first Socialist state in the world—the U.S.S.R., emerged on the world scene. Though I have spoken of Lenin, this has only been to illustrate how in the concrete situation of the nationalist struggle a leader has to think through principles afresh and develop them to meet the needs of his particular country and people.

Kwame Nkrumah does not take his beginning from Leninism but from a survey of philosophy.

III. Kwame Nkrumah

with his Philosophical Consciencism has performed a task monumental in its scope, for the African Revolution and the world in the second half of the 20th century, the period of the collapse of imperialism and colonialism in Africa.

Philosophy is the attempt to understand the nature of the world and our place

In the words of the author himself, "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, an ideology which can solidify in a philosophical statement, but at the same time an ideology which will not abandon the

them for the harmonious growth and development of that society." (p.70).

V. Philosophical Consciencism is thus a new and creative development of Marxism in African conditions and experience. Both in belief and in action a Marxist is a humanist, he lives by human values

change and development manifested in nature and society. These most general laws, the laws of dialectics, provide the theoretical weapon, the method for understanding and changing society.

VI. In our own African experience and environment Philosophical Consciencism

and destiny in it. The task of philosophers has always been to enrich this understanding and to generalise its conclusions.

IV. This is precisely what Kwame Nkrumah has done in his Philosophical Consciencism. The measure of his great achievement is the extent to which he has succeeded in expressing the philosophical generalisations of past historical epochs with his own philosophical beliefs, with the totality of the social, political and scientific knowledge now available. In this sense, Kwame Nkrumah's is a unique and original contribution to philosophy in general and to a new development of Marxism in particular.

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 propose to name 'Philosophical Consciencism', for it will give the theoretical basis for an ideology whose aim shall 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

achieved through human action.

This humanism as Kwame Nkrumah expounds in minute detail and with such clarity and lucidity, is consistent with the traditional African way of life. The respect for human individuality and human capacity finds its logical basis in the understanding of society and its transformations given us by Marxism, and today re-affirmed anew and developed to a higher level for us by Philosophical Consciencism.

The fundamental task of philosophy is to discover and generalise the laws of

is such a philosophy. It generalises the laws of change and development in Africa not only from the discoveries of science and Marxism, but from the whole complex of the movement of African Society in its entirety.

This means concretely that Philosophical Consciencism not only generalises the laws of change and development in Africa, but provides us with the theoretical and intellectual means for understanding the forces at work in our society, and what is more, how to organise and harness those forces (1) for the total liberation of Africa from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, (2) for the intensification of

which the working people of the Socialist half of the world fought and defeated capitalism after the Second World War,—a period of the general crisis of imperialism, so in the second half of the 20th century, Kwame Nkrumah's Philosophical Consciencism will prove to be the only consistent philosophy and ideology of the African Revolution, true to all the teachings and discoveries of natural science and Marxism. Philosophical Consciencism is the theoretical weapon with which the aroused masses of the African people will unite and smash the beleaguered ramparts of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.

The Role of Categorical Conversion in the Decolonization of Africa

by
H.M. Basner

SOCIALISTS who differ philosophically about the nature of reality may travel a long way together politically. But part they must, eventually, and the bitterness in which they part will bear a direct ratio to the length of time during which their differences have been concealed. In philosophy as in war the sudden strife between kinsfolk can be the most destructive, and therefore the socialist movement should remain in continuous philosophical debate.

Even the point of revolt against capitalism need not necessarily be the point of parting between socialists who accept an idealistic or materialistic explanation of reality, but the first essay in building the new society will bring irreconcilable conflicts to the surface. The gods which die in every revolution will not lie quietly in the grave. The believers who wait for their resurrection will contend with the unbelievers who want to burn the remains and scatter the ashes.

The fiercest polemics in Marx's career were not reserved for idealistic philosophers or bourgeois economists; they were reserved for materialists who distorted his dialectic, and for socialists who misunderstood the role of the class struggle.

For Marx, the doom of the capitalist system was axiomatic, but the nature of its successor depended on far more than a change in the mode of production.

The revolutionaries had to know what they were doing, or the state would not wither away. And unless the state withered away, the real history of humanity would not begin.

For Lenin, however, the heresy-hunt for idealists and metaphysicians in the ranks of the revolutionary socialists became a matter of supreme importance, for achieving the revolution itself. Accusing Bukhanin, Zinoviev, Trotsky and other leading theoreticians in his party of God-seeking, he was prepared to break with them utterly unless they renounced their views.

The First World War proved Lenin to be right. Only the tempered dialectical materialists of his own party could withstand the full blast of imperialist duress and propaganda. All the other socialist parties voted war credits for their governments and led the workers to the slaughter.

MATERIALISM AND HUMANISM

But the understanding of reality cannot spread as fast as illusion and error in human societies still involved in varying degrees with capitalism. As a recoil from religions and rationalistic philosophies, it becomes easy to accept materialism as if it were an automatic repudiation of humanism. This is throwing out the baby with the bathwater, and it happens in philosophy far more often than in any other intellectual pursuit. Marxists become immersed in monism, empiricism and pragmatism as eagerly as the metaphysicians have always taken to rationalism and mysticism. Even Marxist-Leninists could distort dialectical materialism by divorcing completely huma-

nism from the politics of power.

The author of CONSCIENCISM, asserting the philosophical conclusions of dialectical materialism, begins his book by reprinting a passage from a letter by Engels, warning that Marx and he had never claimed that the economic factor is the *only* determining one. "According to the materialistic conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic factor is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase".

Engels goes on to suggest that it is the younger people who sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. But the letter was written in 1890, and today it is the "angry young men" who react against the sole preoccupation with economic factors in the Marxist parties both within and outside the socialist countries.

As we read "CONSCIENCISM", we begin to understand why the author made the Engels letter the keynote to his book. He is concerned mainly with the humanism in African society before its involvement with capitalism, and means to prove that it has withstood and will withstand the determining factors of capitalism. He includes the Euro-Christian and Islamic influences in Africa among the factors which brought these changes into African society, and concludes that their quantitative effects could not bring a qualitative change.

The importance of these philosophical assertions in the field of politics lies in the further assertion that where the original commu-

nalism still remains fundamentally humanistic, a transition to socialism can take place through reform and not necessarily through re-

volution. A humanist society is one where each man is considered an end in himself and not a means. No capitalist society can attain

to this as man is first of all a means.

Continued on page 6

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VIEWS ON 'CONSCIENCISM' Continued from pages 4 & 5

On the application of Consciencism in Ghana and Africa

by
S. G. Ikoku

THE viewpoint of "Consciencism" is that philosophy arises from and operates within the context of a given society. This viewpoint asserts that "philosophy always arose from social milieu and that a social contention is always present in it". We are here concerned with the second aspect of this assertion, namely, the "social contention" of the new philosophy. We shall try to see how philosophical consciencism seeks to affect its social milieu which is Ghana in particular and Africa in general.

It is necessary at the outset to clear up what seems to the lay mind, a confusion of terms and isms. Here in Ghana, we have all heard of scientific socialism. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah himself has stated openly that "Ghana has taken the road of scientific socialism." We have also heard of Nkrumahism; and only recently this term was defined as the ideology for the new Africa. And now Dr. Nkrumah, in this new work, gives the world the philosophy of Consciencism.

Superficially there seems to be some confusion. But, on closer examination, there is in fact no confusion at all.

Ghana has embraced the ideology of socialism and to Dr. Nkrumah there is only one socialism, namely scientific socialism. And this is correct. Nkrumahism is the application of this scientific socialism to the historical conditions and aspirations of Africa. Consciencism, on its part, is the philosophical or theoretical

basis of Nkrumahism. Consciencism is thus the intellectual tool of the ideology for the new Africa, very much as mathematics often serves as the tool of physics or statistics as the tool of economics, or religion as the tool of ethics. Thus, Consciencism serves Nkrumahism and Nkrumahism is the particularisation of scientific socialism to emergent Africa.

The "social contention" of Consciencism in Ghana and in Africa can be said to be the evolution of a body of principles, which, by guiding the thinking and actions of all Africans, will establish a common range of behaviour for all. This range of behaviour becomes the foundation of social cohesion in Ghana and in Africa. It sets out the moral, social and political values to which all the cultural strands in present day African society should conform, if out of the conflicting strands of present day Africa a "certain dynamic unity" is to be created.

CONSCIENCIST PRINCIPLES

Ghanaian society is a microcosm of African society today. In it the three layers of present day African society are to be found. These are the strands of traditional Africa, of Islamic Africa and of Euro-Christian Africa. Consciencism sets out to provide a set of values (a body of coherent principles) which can provide a rational rallying point for the best in each of these three components of present day Africa.

In this grand effort to distil "a body of connected

thought" out of the three Africas, consciencism has to fight on at least three planes, everywhere applying uncompromisingly the test of reality. Reality is objective and is discovered through practical struggle. Active struggle is thus the means and the test of all knowledge.

Consciencism has to fight in the field of philosophy. It has to fight in the field of moral and social theory. And it has to fight in the field of political theory and practice. Put in another way, Consciencism has its philosophy, its moral and social theory, and arising from these, its political theory. The practical application of Consciencism in Ghana and Africa involves a sustained struggle in all three categories of thought.

Consciencism's philosophy is based on the following principles:—

1. that matter is the source of all knowledge;
2. that matter is a "plenum of forces in tension";
3. that because it is a plenum of forces in tension, matter is capable of self-induced motion;
4. that the motion of matter is both unilinear and in leaps, that is to say, change in matter is both quantitative and qualitative;
5. that mind has a distinct existence even though it is a product of matter;
6. that there is interaction between matter and mind but that matter is primary;
7. that in this interaction of matter and mind assumptions, theories and conclusions are permis-

sible but that such assumptions, theories and conclusions are valid only when confirmed in practice.

This philosophy is materialist in content. Its approach is rational. Its touch-stone is practice.

When we turn to the practical application of this philosophy the first step is to clear our individual thinking of the cobwebs of irrationality, half-truths, unproved assertions and superstitions. We have to subject the ideas floating about in our individual minds to the tests of rationality and above all to the test of practice. We have to reject all ideas and notions that can neither be verified nor confirmed by practice.

As regards the thinking of the community, Consciencism enjoins that we wage a relentless war against mysticism, magic and all those views which postulate the supernatural in an attempt to explain phenomena and events around us. If there is any phenomenon which we cannot explain, then this must be due to the fact that our knowledge is still limited. We cannot go by way of claiming that the phenomenon is supernatural and hence inexplicable in terms of human reason.

THE AFRICAN MIND

It is here that Consciencism will perhaps have to fight its fiercest battles. For the primitive (i.e. uncultivated) African mind has a propensity towards mysticism and supernaturalism. (Incidentally this is a feature of primitive minds everywhere). The liberation of the African mind from such severe limitations is a social objective or mission of Consciencism. And this mission will be achieved to the extent that we can fish out, grapple with and vanquish all unprovable or unverifiable assertions, theories, ideas and beliefs. In philosophical terms, Consciencism has to do battle with idealism and its hand-maiden metaphysics. A little reflection will show what immense gains the African will make once he liberates himself and his society from the crippling mental cogs of mysticism and superstition. A little reflection also will show how much more successful the African will be in transforming his environment once he enthrones action (i.e. practice) as the touch-stone of knowledge in place of metaphysics (i.e. abstruse reasoning).

POSITIVE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Other fields in which the moral and social theory of Consciencism must go to war include social institutions (i.e. marriage, chieftaincy culture, folklore, the arts, traditions and customs (e.g. childcare and inheritance). These must be thoroughly investigated in order to discover whether they support or negate the consciencist view of man. Do they uphold the equality of man or the reverse? Do they reflect the concern of all for each or do they support sectional interests and privileges at the expense of the whole community? These are the yardstick by which all existing institutions, traditions, customs, folklore, the arts and culture generally are to be measured. To the extent that they support this egalitarian view of man as an end in himself, to that extent are these institutions, folklore, the arts, customs and traditions in keeping with Consciencism and hence could be categorised as positive.

Basing itself squarely on dialectical materialism and on its moral and social theory, outlined above, Consciencism has evolved a political theory of its own. The State is the instrument for establishing and defending "definite ranges of behaviour" without which social cohesion, or the "dyna-

mic unity" which society implies is impossible. The State accepts man as an end in himself. It accepts the equality of men. It sets out to regulate men and things in such a way that the "responsibility of the many for one" is established and "the development of all is the condition for the development of each". It holds that this view of man which is basic to socialism is the very essence of traditional African society. Thus in socialism the essence of traditional African society comes into its full glory. Socialism is not simply traditional African society. It is a higher form of society (a highly technical society) in which the essence of traditional African life reappears.

CONTROL OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION

Right through history, the control of the means of production has been the decisive factor in regulating the social life of men. This has become even more so in the modern society where sophisticated methods of production, once left uncontrolled, have given birth to small exploiting classes wielding enormous economic power over the rest of society. And the existence of such classes, in whose hands economic power is concentrated, means in practice the destruction of the equality of man. It negates the responsibility of the many for each. And the development of all as the condition for the development of each is turned upside down.

The political theory of Consciencism therefore enjoins the collective (that is, State) control of means of production. Hence socialism.

Once again, in this field of political theory and practice, the key to development is action. All forces and actions that support the socialist ideology and its African particularity, namely Nkrumahism, are classified as positive. Those that oppose it are classified negative. The strategy of development is to maximise positive action, to ensure that it is greater than the negative. Action here must be defined as much more than deeds. It includes ideas and thinking. Maximising positive action therefore involves multiplying deeds that pull in the right direction as well as making generally acceptable only those ideas, beliefs, and process of thinking that pull in the same direction. Of course it also involves doing the reverse to negative deeds, ideas, beliefs and thought processes.

In order to shed more light to guide the practical application of Consciencism, it is useful at this stage to enquire whether or not positive action and negative action are measurable. For it is only when we can discern and measure positive action that we would discover the bridge to link our theoretical findings with reality through political practice. In fact we are told pointedly at page 104, that "positive action must begin with an objective analysis of the situation which it seeks to change".

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 a "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 action 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.

CONTROL OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION

We now know that positive action and negative action exist independently of the individual's fancy. They can be objectively recognised and quantitatively measured. Following such a measurement of both positive action and negative action by way of statistical analysis of the facts of production, distribution, income etc., there are three possible positions. Positive action may be greater than, equal to, or less than negative action. From this we can see clearly that these persons who are after progressive change must see to it that positive action is greater than negative action, and that positive action continually grows while negative action continually decreases.

The strategy of social evolution in a society where negative action is greater than positive action, as for example under colonialism and neo-colonialism, is therefore to take all necessary steps to build up positive action to the point where it becomes greater than negative action. When this stage is reached, a dialectical or fundamental change takes place in the relation of forces in society. This corresponds to a revolutionary change in society. Hence those who aim to lead social change must act scientifically by recognising and measuring the positive forces in society and by patiently building these up to the stage where they can become the dominant force in society.

COLONIALISM TO SOCIALISM

Here Consciencism puts out a definite view on the role of the individual in history. Although a leader often stamps his character on his age, the successful leader in the long-run is he who can guide social evolution by "political intervention based upon knowledge of the laws of social development" (p. 104). And this action, Consciencism holds, "is of the nature of a catalyst."

We have seen that nature of modern technology and the social cleavages it engender, if left in the hands of individuals, have compelled the centralised control of the means of production. But the principle of the fullest development of all enjoins a maximum expansion of production as well as a fair distribution of the fruits of labour.

The solution to the production problem (namely a manifold expansion of output) on which the fullest development of all hinges demands two conditions:—

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

The second condition is consequential on the first, for the fullest deployment of modern industrial technology cannot be achieved until an optimum area within which development can be self-induced is assured. This optimum area of self-induced development must necessarily be a vast land mass with a big population. The vast land mass is required because a wide variety of geographical regions and rock formations is needed to yield all the agricultural and mineral products.

Continued on page 8

Categorical Conversion

(Continued from page 5)

Kwame Nkrumah asserts that in Africa the capitalist system has not taken sufficient hold to necessitate the kind of revolutions which must destroy capitalism on other continents. Reforms, of course, must be quantitative changes of a revolutionary kind, or they cannot be regarded as reforms at all.

The basis of these assertions depends on the philosophical principle which the author calls "categorical conversion". This depends on the ability of matter, the basic raw material of the world, to produce consciousness, which can be explained in terms of overt response to stimuli, and for this consciousness to produce self-consciousness, of which we have only an internal experience.

"By categorical conversion", says the author of Consciencism, "I mean such a thing as the emergence of self-consciousness from that which is not self-conscious; such a thing as the emergence of mind from matter, of quality from quantity."

The author insists that it is the task of philosophy only to prove the possibility of this conversion, and that tracing the details of conversion is one of the tasks of science.

In the political field, the main interest lies in the categorical conversion of quantity to quality; whether the quantity of change in human environment can produce a qualitative change in human society. If it cannot do so then no amount of revolutionary change

will abolish the exploitation of man by man, of man's inhumanity to man, of man's continual flight from reality to the realms of superstition. If it can do so, then no amount of sacrifice is too great to achieve socialism—to change the environment created by slavery, feudalism and capitalism in the past, which has brought wars, imperialism, racial intolerance and religious superstition.

ORIGINAL COMMUNALISM AND SOCIALISM

In the political field of Africa, the conception of categorical conversion raises additional problems. We know for certain that in most areas of the world, the original communalism of early human societies has undergone qualitative changes. Nothing short of further qualitative changes can eradicate capitalism, (internal exploitation), and imperialism, (external exploitation), from the societies which have undergone a categorical change from communalism. The basic humanism of these societies has disappeared, and can only appear again, (in a higher form, if at all), through revolution.

Is this true of Africa? The author of Consciencism says no. He asserts that the basic humanism of African society has not disappeared, and will therefore embrace socialism willingly and not necessarily through compulsion.

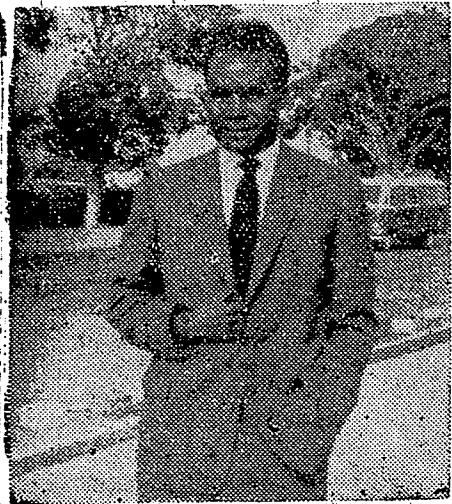
It follows that the dictatorship of the proletariat, (Marx's means of compelling a capitalist system to change over to socialism), will not, be a necessary con-

dition for revolution in a society which is basically humanistic. It also follows, however, that without the comparatively simple device of proletarian dictatorship, the tasks of eradicating and suppressing capitalist manifestations in Africa will be more complicated and may take longer.

The one-party state is close enough to proletarian dictatorship to make superficial analogies possible. Yet the tendency to twist the materialist conception of history into an acceptance of the economic element as the only determining one, still remains the main characteristic of Western revolutionary socialism, whilst the main characteristic of socialism in Africa may become a tendency to under-rate the economic factor.

CONSCIENCISM puts the economic factor into its correct place, as the primary but not the only determining factor of human society. That is the great contribution of this book to the socialist movement. The decolonization of Africa is analysed in philosophical terms, so that the political tasks of socialists in Africa will be distinguished from, and coordinated with, the tasks of socialists where different conditions prevail.

The mental energy and profundity of mind which can embark on an exercise of this kind, when Kwame Nkrumah is immersed in the political chores of administering a developing country and of uniting a divided continent, are too apparent to need underlining.



What Does Dr. Kaunda Mean?



"... a great shock to independent Africa"

ARE we to get one shock after another from the African leaders responsible for the decolonization of Africa? Our last view of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda was in the House of Parliament in Accra, occupying the honoured place of foremost freedom fighter in colonial Africa. This was at the Freedom Fighters' Conference, and the prospect of Northern Rhodesia's independence seemed as far away as Angola's or Southern Rhodesia's. The Central African Federation was still a reality, and the role of Dr. Kaunda as a freedom fighter was still a reality. It seemed then that Dr. Kaunda would have to lead an armed struggle for his country's independence.

The Central African Federation has now been peacefully dissolved. Dr. Kaunda has been peacefully installed as Prime Minister of an African self-governing territory under a constitution which assures the independence of Northern Rhodesia in a few months' time. Dr. Kaunda did not win this victory. It was won by the African Revolution, by the pressure on Britain at home and abroad in the world-wide struggle for decolonization.

Subsequently, Dr. Kaunda was elected chairman of FAFMECSA, the organization of freedom fighters in South and Central Africa. As such, he treated with the Committee of Nine, set up at Addis Ababa by all the independent states of Africa to co-ordinate the efforts of the whole continent to set the whole continent free.

Speaking last Thursday, Dr. Kaunda announced that his government intends to set up a centre in Lusaka to give administrative train-

ing to people from surrounding countries still engaged in a struggle for independence.

"We believe that this will be an important contribution to the future of their countries", said Dr. Kaunda.

Africa must sooner or later have their counterpart in Nyasaland or in the case of Portuguese or Afrikaaner fascist dropping from the skies to "restore order".

Nyasaland is really too small and impoverished to make neo-colonialism the most serious threat to its independence. The size and wealth of Northern Rhodesia; however, makes the territory a tempting prize for any imperialist Power. The wealth of the copper mines rival that of Katanga, and we have not yet seen the end of the struggle of the beasts of prey over the prostrate Congolese people.

SOUTH AFRICA'S THREAT

The added danger for the people of Northern Rhodesia is that the apartheid republic of South Africa has the largest stake in the copper mines, and has, according to the 'mores' of capitalism, first preference to become the neo-colonialist

ruler of the new African state when it reaches independence.

Although the Americans through the Selection Trust have large interests, NATO considerations as well as pressure from Britain, will tip the scales for South Africa. Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, managing director of the Anglo-American Corporation, (a South African company), and boss of the largest copper mines in Northern Rhodesia, is an enlightened capitalist—the very stuff which makes suitable neo-colonialists.

Mr. Oppenheimer has been engaged in a sham fight with Hendrik Verwoerd, since the academic lecturer in Nazi psychology at Stellenbosch University became prime minister of South Africa. Mr. Oppenheimer is having

the best of two worlds. His companies have never paid higher dividends than under the Verwoerd brand of apartheid; his personal prestige has never been higher than as the leader of the white liberal financiers and industrialists opposing Verwoerd's excesses.

An African leader, with Dr. Kenneth Kaunda's background of Moral Disarmament and natural reasonableness, cannot but feel a certain amount of sympathy for Mr. Oppenheimer's outward strivings. Mr. Oppenheimer wants justice and prosperity for the Africans, and high dividends for his shareholders. If this were at all possible, Kaunda and Oppenheimer would form an irresistible combination. As this is impossible, the illusions and subsequent violent reactions from such a combination can be very dangerous, not only to the people of Northern Rhodesia, but to the whole of Africa.

It is against this background that one must read the reports of Dr. Kaunda's latest press conference in Lusaka. Dr. Kaunda spoke of his government's intentions to set up a centre to give administrative training to people from the surrounding countries still engaged in a struggle for independence.

"We believe that this will be an important contribution to the future of their countries", said Dr. Kaunda.

ATTITUDE TO FREEDOM FIGHTERS

So far, so good—although not much good as South Africa now has Africans capable of administering the United States, let alone Northern Rhodesia or any other country from which Dr. Kaunda would draw his instructors.

But this was not the only subject of Dr. Kaunda's press conference. He then went on to point that recent arrests and convictions in Northern Rhodesia showed that his government did not approve of the passage of arms and explosives through the country.

"Northern Rhodesia's role is a constructive one", is the way the ex-freedom fighter and chairman of PAFMECSA explained the arrest and punishment of freedom fighters conveying weapons for an armed struggle against the murderers, torturers and hangmen of Salazar and Verwoerd.

Does Dr. Kaunda mean that those independent African states which do allow the passage of arms and explosives by and to the freedom fighters are playing a destructive role? Is that what the chairman of PAFMECSA, (the Pan-African Freedom Movement in East, Central and Southern Africa), told the Committee of Nine set up by the Organization of African Unity?

We are not going to debate with Dr. Kaunda about the justification of the use of force in seeking fundamental human rights or independence. We refer him to the American Constitution, and to Chief Albert Lutuli, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to avert an armed struggle in South Africa. Lutuli

still heads the African National Congress of South Africa, which is now committed to an armed struggle against apartheid. It is, presumably, Lutuli's men whom Dr. Kaunda's government will arrest and punish for transporting arms and explosives through Northern Rhodesia.

What we are interested in is whether Dr. Kaunda ever made it clear to his own party and to Pan-African leaders that he was opposed to the use of force as a means of achieving liberation? Did he do so while he was still a freedom fighter himself, and not yet a Prime Minister?

Our last view of Dr. Kaunda in Accra was when he was sitting in the National Assembly in an honoured seat as one of the leading personalities at the Freedom Fighters' Conference in 1962.

KAUNDA'S BATTLES

Does he still believe that he would have been given a seat of honour, if the Conference had any reason to believe that his government would arrest freedom fighters for transporting arms to fight their oppressors?

If he has not changed his mind since then, he was sailing under false colours. If he has changed his mind, then what has caused the change?

Fortunately Dr. Kaunda did not have to engage in armed struggle for the li-

beration of his country. The Central African Federation was peacefully dissolved, and Dr. Kaunda has been peacefully installed as Prime Minister of a Northern Rhodesia, soon to be independent. But who fought the battles which gave Dr. Kaunda his peaceful victory?

Sir Roy Welensky knows the answer to this last question, if Dr. Kaunda does not. Welensky has made it clear that not British desires or British interests dissolved the Central African Federation—that it was the pressure on Britain by the United Nations, by the independent African states and by what he calls "irresponsible blackmail by African nationalists".

It may be that Dr. Kaunda has better plans and better information than the rest of us for bringing down the fascists in Angola, Mozambique and South Africa—not to mention the racialists in Southern Rhodesia, now aping Verwoerd in violence against his former brothers-in-arms in the Central African Federation.

It may even be that Dr. Kaunda's press conference was determined by tactics to ensure an uninterrupted passage to independence.

Whatever it was, it has given independent Africa a great shock, and an explanation is called for as soon as possible, for our peace of mind and to Dr. Kaunda's honour.

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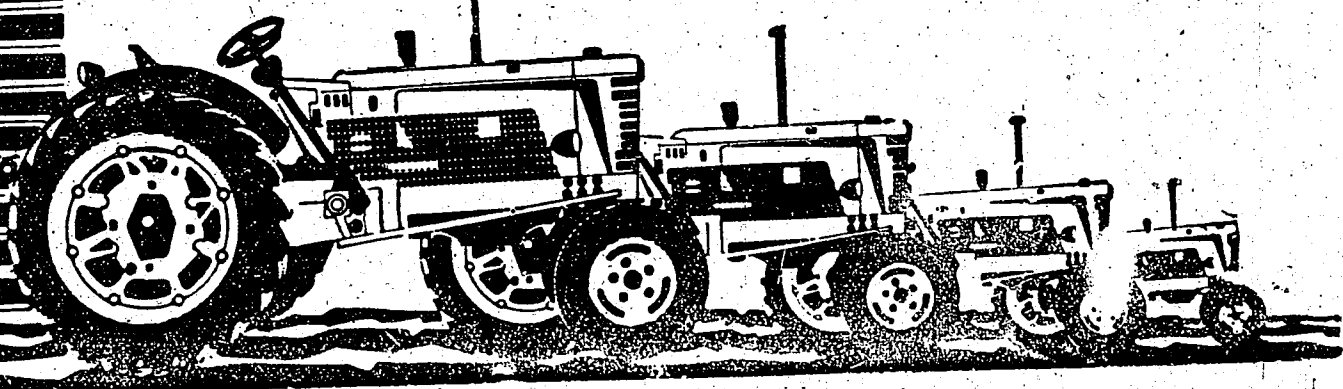
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to West Africa

Editorial

Continued from page

Wherever imperialism is in the danger of losing control, armed rebellion supported by the former colonialists is being relentlessly fomented.

Indeed, since Addis Ababa, imperialism has not only sought to strengthen its defence on the African continent, it has also geared up for a counter-offensive, which, it must be admitted, is still limited in scope.

Imperialism is directing its counter-offensive along three main lines. Firstly, it seeks to strengthen its grip over the client states. These regimes are becoming more reactionary and dictatorial with the ill-concealed approval of the imperialists who up to now have posed as custodians of democracy and the human conscience. Secondly, it seeks to undercut Africa's drive towards liberation of the remaining colonial territories by shunting our united efforts away from direct positive action and along the path of negotiation with the colonial powers concerned. By this method, imperialism hopes to replace colonialism with neo-colonialism either by making all our attempts at inter-African co-operation impossible or by giving them a form that permits of manipulation by the imperialist powers themselves.

These three objectives of imperialism on the African continent can be defeated by one pivotal action—a unified continental political machinery. This is why all leaders of the African Revolution must demand a union government for Africa now. And this is precisely why imperialism has made resistance to the idea of a union government for Africa the keystone of its strategy in Africa.

Our salvation lies in building political unity in Africa. This is the key that will open a new and higher phase for the African Revolution—the phase of complete independence and a fuller life for the people. And be it known that the only sure road to African political unity is a continental mass party, animated by the people, guided by a continental strategy, soldiered by the people and fighting uncompromisingly for a peoples programme.

The general situation in Africa today, where the fundamental struggle is still a fight to free the continent from open and disguised colonialism, demands a continent-wide mass party. To recognise this fact is one thing. It is quite another matter to give effect to the idea.

The starting point for building a continental mass party in Africa is to perceive clearly and describe accurately those social, economic and political forces that can support such a movement. Principally, there are three main forces which, when brought together, constitute the peoples' movement which the situation in Africa demands.

In the first place, we have the African states of peoples' political power which have taken the road of socialist development. These are the few governments and ruling political parties that have openly declared socialism as their goal and are boldly treading the path of non-capitalist evolution.

However, this force has got to be freed from two impediments. It must eliminate or relegate to the background all the right wing, capitalist-minded and inward-looking elements and groups within its fold. Again, it has to rid itself of confused thinking on what socialism is.

More concretely, it must unfurl the banner of scientific socialism and stop chasing illusions like African socialism, Arab socialism, pragmatic socialism, democratic socialism, and such other beautiful phrases that cover up a multitude of anti-socialist sins.

The second principal force of the continental peoples' movement is made up of the popular organisations inside the regimes of neo-colonialism which fight against their 'client' governments and for radical changes in the status quo. These are the radical political parties, the trade unions, the progressive intellectuals and students and the popular organisations which demand an end to foreign control of national life and a decent life for the masses.

It is important, however, to emphasise the point that the proposed continental mass party does not need all and every group opposed to the neo-colonialist government. In particular, it does not need those reactionary groups whose only complaint against the 'client' government is that they are not the clientele.

The third set of forces to be grouped in the continental peoples' movement consists of the national liberation movements in the colonial territories and in South Africa, more especially the revolutionary wings of such movements.

These three sets of forces cannot be mobilised at the governmental level for the simple reason that only a few African governments qualify for membership in the proposed movement and the greater part of the forces involved are non-governmental. The link has got to be forged at another level—at the level of political parties and peoples' organisations.

Here the initiative should be taken by the ruling political parties in the few African states that have taken the road of socialist development. This is a duty which history has imposed on these parties. And the discharge of this historical assignment permits of no further delay.

What is Consciencism?

Continued from page 3

another reaps where it has not sown." He insists that in both the slave society and the feudal society that part of society whose toil transforms nature is not the same as the part which is better fulfilled as a result of the transformation. Epigrammatically, he says that if by their fruits we shall know them they must first grow the fruits. "The cardinal factor of exploitation", he says, "is that the section of a society whose labours transform nature is not the same as the section which is better fulfilled as a result of the transformation".

This is proved by the author to be a social contradiction in so far as it is contrary to genuine principles of social equity and social justice. It is established further that it is contrary to a harmonious and unlimited economic development.

Socialism and capitalism are contrasted as social-political expressions of the correlation between the transformation of nature in agricultural and industrial production and the development of the society through distribution. In this contrast, capitalism is said to be a development by refinement or reform from slavery. He writes:

"In capitalism, feudalism suffers or rather enjoys reform and the fundamental principle of feudalism merely strikes new levels of subtlety. In slavery, it is thought that exploitation, the alienation of the fruits of the labour of others, requires a certain degree of political and forcible subjection. In feudalism, it is thought that a lesser degree of the same kind of subjection is adequate to the same purpose. In capitalism, it is thought that a still lesser degree is adequate... that development which capitalism marks over slavery and feudalism consists as much in

the methods by means of which labour is coerced as in the mode of production".

Kwame Nkrumah on the other hand identifies the social-political ancestor of socialism in communalism. "In socialism", he writes, "the principles underlying communalism are given expression in modern circumstances. Thus, whereas communalism in an untechnical society can be laissez faire, in a technical society where sophisticated means of production are at hand, if the underlying principles of communalism are not given centralised and correlated expression, class cleavages will arise, which are connected with economic disparities, and thereby with political inequalities. Socialism, therefore, can be and is the defence of the principles of communalism in a modern setting".

These considerations as Kwame Nkrumah rightly points out, throw light upon the bearing of reform and revolution on socialism.

Engels at a meeting on Proudhon Association's scheme in 1846 made the following statement:

"I define the objects of socialists in this way: first, to achieve the interests of the proletariat in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie; second, to do this through the abolition of private property and its replacement by community of goods; third, to recognise no means of carrying out these objects other than a democratic revolution by force."

Engels' definition of the objects of socialists is naturally to be understood in the context of his society which was bourgeois capitalist. Engels is therefore to be understood in that context as saying that the transition from capitalism to socialism lay not in reform, not by workers buying out capital or by peace-

ful plans of happiness for mankind, to use his own words, but in revolution.

The revolution is not against society, but against capitalism, and both he and Marx saw in the proletariat that historic class which alone could bring about and achieve the revolution in their contemporary society.

This conclusion is of course based by Engels and Marx on an analysis of their contemporary society. The analysis itself relied upon a theory which offers to slow in respect of a society at any stage of development what its antecedents are and what its successor will be.

REFORM AND SOCIALISM

Marx himself, as should be well-known, was somewhat hesitant about the inevitability of every society passing through all the stages of development which he enumerated. And discussion of the stages outside Marx has appeared to acknowledge the possibility of jumps.

It is necessary to say all this in order to appreciate correctly the place of Consciencism in socialist writing.

Now I quote from Kwame Nkrumah's *Consciencism* on the bearing of revolution and reform on socialism.

"Revolution is an indispensable avenue to socialism: where the antecedent social-political structure is animated by principles which are a negation of those of socialism, as in a capitalist structure (and therefore also in a colonialist structure, for a colonialist 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."

Naturally, it is the existing relations of production,

the forms and ownership of capital, which must determine the method of the transition to socialism.

The method of transition must be in the revolution of Africa by a mass party wielding positive action in order to overcome negative action. Kwame Nkrumah's insistence on a mass party in Africa is correct, for unless an elite party is solely an administrative machinery which it never is, the elite party establishes a political oligarchy. And this would be a major betrayal of socialism.

"The socialism of a liberated territory" Kwame Nkrumah writes with complete insight, "is subject to a number of principles, if independence is not to be alienated from the people. When socialism is true to its purpose, it seeks a connection with the egalitarian and humanist past of the people before their social evolution was ravaged by colonialism—it seeks from the results of colonialism, those elements (like new methods of industrial production and economic organisation) which can be adapted to serve the interest of the people; it seeks to contain and prevent the spread of those anomalies and domineering interests created by the capitalist habit of colonialism; it reclaims the psychology of the people, erasing the 'colonial mentality' from it; and it resolutely defends the independence and security of the people. In short, socialism recognises dialectic, the possibility of creation from forces which are opposed to one another; it recognises the creativity of struggle, and indeed, the necessity of the operation of forces to any change. It also embraces materialism and translates this into social terms of equality. Hence philosophical consciencism."

Consciencism is novel in many respects. It is novel in

the originality of its arguments. It is novel in the method of its presentation, displaying in every curve an intense passion for practice issued by thought, and thought issued in action. It is a philosophy which yields a consistent and completely relevant theory for restoring "the egalitarianism of human society" and for achieving "the logistic mobilization of all our resources towards the attainment of that restitution". It is a philosophy which pays "overriding regard to the experience and consciousness of a people", and by doing so serves not an idea but a people. But its greatest novelty consists in its final chapter. This chapter begins as follows:

"So alert can positive action be, alert to all negative possibilities, and prompt under the guidance of an ideology to deal with these possibilities, that the course of positive action can be mapped out in set theoretic terms."

Here what Kwame Nkrumah does is to set out in precise mathematical symbols the essentials of Consciencism. This itself is a remarkable proof of the consistency and unity of the book.

Consciencism is a book which combines comprehensiveness of thought with subtlety and depth. It offers new and always consistent solutions to outstanding problems of philosophy, political theory, social theory, and the strategy of development. It contains a wealth of illustrative material presented in a lucid and readable style.

Consciencism, ladies and gentlemen, has created its place among philosophical classics.

On behalf of the Committee for Education in Citizenship in the Universities of Ghana, I declare *Consciencism* launched.

Application of Consciencism

Continued from page 6

ducts on which modern industrialism depends. These are coal (both bituminous and anthracite), petroleum, hydro-electric potential, waterways, iron, non-ferrous metals (like uranium, zinc, lead, copper, aluminium), diamonds, gold, nitrates, phosphates, oil and the wide variety of agricultural raw materials which go into the manufacture of consumer goods. A big population is needed in order to provide the various types of labour skills in the quantity required. Even more important is the need for a vast and expanding market internal and external for the mass-produced goods of a highly technical industrial system.

THE AFRICAN OPTIMUM AREA

These conditions are not satisfied within any existing African State. Hence, there must be a coming together of many African states to satisfy these requirements. And judging from the historical experiences of U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and now People's China, it is obvious that the optimum area of self-induced development, in our case, must be the entire African continent.

We may summarise the chain of argument in this section. Consciencism in its insistence on the fullest development of each individual, leads logically to the fullest utilisation of up-to-date technology and modern science. The fullest utilisation of technology and science in turn demands an optimum area if development is to be self-induced as must be the case once

we are serious about maintaining and consolidating our independence. Lastly, the necessity of an optimum area of self-induced development leads inexorably to the continental unity of Africa.

Let us now turn to consider how to maximise positive action, that is how to maximise deeds and ideas that lead to the triumph of the ideology of socialism and its African particularity Nkrumahism. Consciencism enjoins two methods which are mutually supporting.

These are:—

1. A mass political party armed with the ideology of Nkrumahism;
2. Constant education both inside and outside the mass party.

The mass party is the vehicle for spreading positive action among the broad masses. In this process it has to draw heavily on those social and economic forces which stand to gain most by the victory of Nkrumahism. Simultaneously, the level of political understanding of the members of the mass party will have to be raised by constant ideological education.

This mass party therefore becomes the instrument for ideological mobilisation. Its aim is to maximise positive action and minimise negative action. For as soon as the stage is greater than na is reached, there is a dialectic change in society. The road is open for a rapid advance to socialism. In terms of present day Africa, Consciencism teaches a revolutionary break from colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. And once this break is achieved, we

can through a full-scale mobilisation of the masses, reach out into socialism wherein the essence of traditional African life rediscovers itself in modern surroundings.

It is important to note here that the role of the mass party is not confined to Ghana. It does its job on a continental scale. Accordingly we are invited to recognise the continental mass party emphasizing the socialist ideology of Nkrumahism as the means by which we can approach continental African unity with surer and steadier strides.

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

DOGMATIC SCHOLARS DISPROVED

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 the fact that socialist societies are being built in these countries. And nobody will deny the fact that at the time they began their suc-

cessful 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.

This finding of Consciencism, however, must not be twisted to mean that traditional Africa (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.

With the launching of Consciencism, Ghana has become the nursery of a new school of thought in modern philosophy. The new philosophy has to be carefully tended. But, and

this is important, this new philosophy must be exposed to the rigours of the elements. No plant ever grows robust and hardy if tended in hot houses. Consciencism must get out into the streets and villages; it must go among the people and attain maturity by fighting for its very existence among hostile and rival ideas.

WANTED: CONSCIENCIST CELLS

Clearly therefore there is need for the springing up all over this country and throughout Africa circles of consciencists which study the tenets of Consciencism and spread them among our people, more especially among the intelligentsia. These circles of consciencists should be nurtured through a steady stream of lectures, discussions, seminars, symposia organised jointly by the Departments of Philosophy, Science and Government in our universities, the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute and the Education Department of the Party. There will be need to liaise with the Committees for Education in Citizenship.

A most effective instrument for co-ordinating and guiding the work of these circles of consciencists is a philosophical journal. Such a journal will discuss all ideas, beliefs, theories, social institutions, customs and traditions in contemporary Africa in the light of Consciencism.

In this way a robust new school of thought which is linked with world knowledge but distinctly African will emerge. The result is bound to be of great significance to the evolution of the New Africa and a real contribution to the enrichment of world thought.