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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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Comment

FORGERY to split Freedom fighters' front in Africa

THE American Central Intelligence Agency has launched an unscrupulous forgery designed to sow dissension in the national liberation movement and undermine its alliance with the world socialist movement.

Its agents in Brussels have produced a magazine calling itself *Revolution in Africa* purporting to come from Albania and posing as a mouthpiece of the policies of People's China. It is presented as the "truly revolutionary" successor to the earlier magazines *African Revolution* and *Revolution in Africa, Latin America, Asia* whose general format and appearance it closely imitates.

AMBITIOUS

The production of a whole new issue of a quarterly magazine is the C.I.A.'s most ambitious forgery attempt to date. Its aims match the scale of the attempt. They are threefold:

- to divide the national liberation movement from its natural ally, the world socialist movement, by providing ammunition for those who, either from some ulterior motive or because they are the victims of deception, are doing their best to whip up a campaign about alleged "Chinese infiltration" in Africa;
- to split the national liberation movement by setting one section against another;
- to exacerbate the differences within the world socialist movement.

Characteristic of the magazine's technique is an article entitled "The Application to Africa of Mao's Precepts on Popular Revolution" purporting to be written by a "Colonel Kan Mai".

The first step in transforming a bour-

geois-national uprising into a true Marxist-Leninist people's revolution lies in the formation of a strong Communist Party", it declares.

But experience in many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America has shown that it is possible to carry forward the national revolution into its next stage—that of the socialist revolution—while preserving the broad popular front created in the fight for political independence.

The article goes on: "It is imperative that Marxist-Leninists, to achieve victory in all of East Africa, first gain control of the united fronts as Mao has taught. We are too few alone. Then when we have the upper hand, we will know how to deal with the deceivers of the people, the imperialist tools Nyerere, Kenyatta, and Obote."

The article declares that "future party leaders will be found among the thousands of African students being given general academic and technical training in the People's Republic of China."

SPRAYS OUT

From these brief extracts it will be seen that this one article can be compared to a shotgun blast that sprays out over a wide area, hitting a number of targets simultaneously.

It seeks to divide the national liberation movement by claiming that those whom it terms "the Marxist-Leninists" should break away and create "a strong Communist Party".

In the next breath it urges the "Marxist-Leninists" to gain control of the national front, with a view to ultimately "dealing with" those

leaders who are not "Marxist-Leninist".

Then, for good measure, it declares that students who go to People's China will be the leaders of the new Party.

The practical results of such a "policy" have already been seen in Kenya, where these and similar statements contained in the magazine were seized upon by those anxious to justify witch-hunting and smear tactics against progressive elements and looking for any pretext to sever relations with People's China.

DENIAL

But People's China has categorically denied any connection with the magazine and called it a new form of imperialist propaganda designed to disrupt the friendship between China and Africa.

It was the Kenya Government's Chief Whip, Mr. E. Kali, who disclosed that the magazine's origins had been traced to C.I.A. agents in Brussels. He promised a full report when the investigation is complete.

Another technique is to quote genuine revolutionary publications apparently sympathetically but out of context and for a completely different purpose. The *Spark* is "favoured" in this way.

The forgery also aims at discrediting African leaders by associating their names with its disruptive-splitting tactics.

It lists ten leading members of the African freedom movement as members of its "Editorial Board"—but none have any contact with the

publication whatever. Many are in fact working underground, and could not possibly have been contacted by such a magazine, even if it had been genuine.

The forgers realise that their handiwork is vulnerable on this count. So on the inside cover they write:

"As this issue goes to the press warm assurances of collaboration have been received from all but three members of the board. It may be assumed that difficulties of correspondence have delayed the other replies."

Why should a magazine even feel it necessary to inform readers that members of its editorial board have given "warm assurance of collaboration"? In most journals it is taken for granted.

A DEVICE

The forgers hope by this device to prevent exposure. If one or two of those named deny any connection with the journal, well, the unsuspecting reader will simply conclude that they are among the three.

In fact, at least seven of the ten have not even been approached, still less given "warm assurances of collaboration".

This latest C.I.A. forgery is the latest refinement in the traditional imperialist "divide and rule" policy.

During our struggle for national independence, the colonial authorities through their control of the press and other means of information (and misinformation) and by taking advantage of the petty ambitions of

corrupt politicians did their best to divide the freedom movement.

They did their best to set tribe against tribe, region against region, religion against religion, party against party and man against man in order that they should be able to profit from the disunity.

The history of the national movement abounds in examples of imperialism's use of forgeries to split the freedom movement or smear its leaders.

BEST-KNOWN

One of the best-known is the "Casement Diaries", fabricated by the British authorities during the First World War to smear Sir Roger Casement, a leader of the Irish Freedom movement.

Imperialism has also frequently resorted to forgery in its attempts to whip up hostility to the Soviet Union, the world's first Socialist state.

Emigres and Western intelligence organisations have produced forged copies of the Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* and such documents as the "Zinoviev letter", conveniently "revealed" by Britain's Conservatives on the eve of an election to discredit the Labour Party.

During the pre-independence years, the colonialist authorities erected an "Iron Curtain" round their colonies to keep out "dangerous thoughts", be they from the anti-imperialist movements in the imperialist countries themselves, or from the So-

viet Union, the first country to break the chains of imperialism.

But after the Second World War, when many other countries in Europe and Asia took the Socialist road, when the national liberation movement gained strength and won new victories and the anti-imperialist and working-class movement in the imperialist countries themselves gained strength, it became impossible to maintain the "Iron Curtain" in the old way.

It became impossible to conceal the facts about how the socialist countries—almost all hitherto backward agricultural countries, in many respects akin to the newly-independent countries—were building a new life, free from the exploitation of man by man.

Nor was it possible to conceal how these countries, and especially the Soviet Union, were championing the rights of the still-colonial or newly independent countries.

HANDS OFF

They did so in international forums like the United Nations; they did so through new forms of international co-operation; they did so by military assistance and by "hands off" warnings to imperialism, notably at Suez in 1956 and Cuba in 1962.

Realising that unity between the national liberation movement and the world socialist unity would spell the end of its domination, imperialism set out to sow dissension between the two movements.

Western propagandists, for example, assert that their own imperialism is "dead", and that the newly-independent countries are threatened by a "new imperialism"—that of the Soviet Union.

But it is not an easy case to prove, for it is not in Moscow but in London, Washington, Bonn, Paris and Brussels that shareholders and investors who grow rich from colonial and neo-colonial exploitation are to be found.

Nor are there any Soviet military bases in Africa—though there are many British, French, American and Belgian bases and installations.

But nevertheless Western propagandists continue to try fan hostility to the socialist countries in Africa by exporting their Cold War tactics, and each and every difference between the newly-independent countries and the socialist countries is seized upon and inflamed.

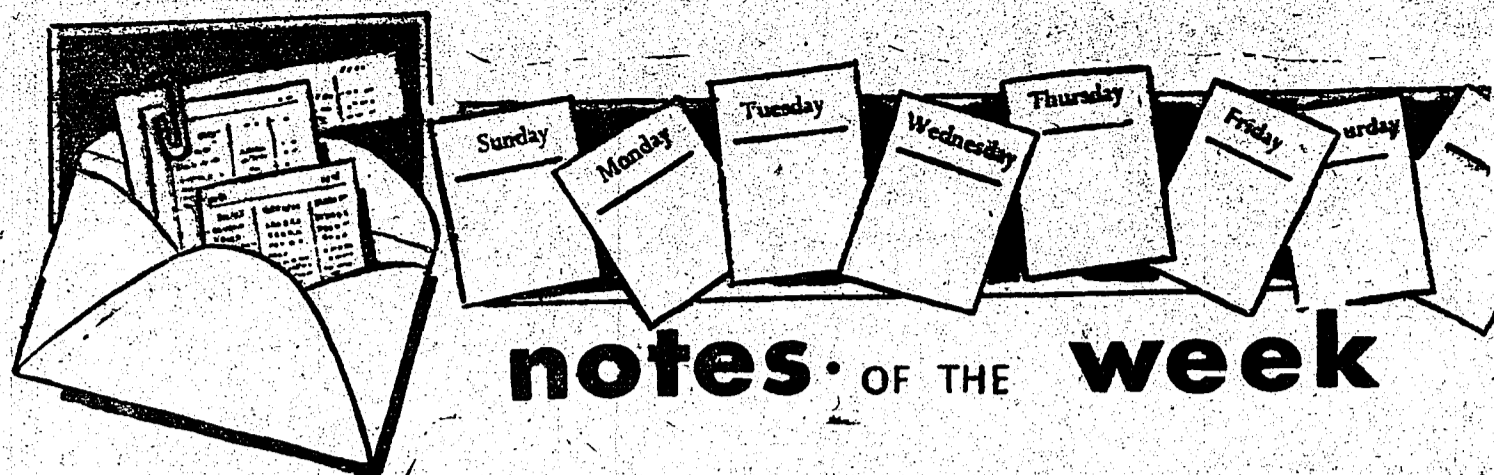
THE TRAP

And where none exist they are created with the aid of forgeries such as *Revolution in Africa*.

Some shortsighted African leaders fall into the trap. Instead of concentrating their attack on the African people's real enemy—imperialism and neo-colonialism—they allow themselves to be diverted into attacks upon those who are their strongest allies.

U.S. writers discussing the work of the Central Intelligence Agency have boasted of its skill in the forging of letters and other documents; such techniques are routine for Washington's cloak-and-dagger men.

But it will take more than C.I.A. forgeries to stop the onward march of the national liberation movement either in Africa or elsewhere in the world. The national liberation movement knows that unity is strength, and it will not allow that unity to be shattered so that those who want to divide can rule again.



THE break-away of Singapore from the Federation of Malaysia is symptomatic of the deep and prolonged crisis created by Britain's attempts to maintain her Imperialist position "East of Suez".

Once more we have before us the lesson that should be evident to the most die-hard Imperialist—that though there may be temporary setbacks for the national liberation movements in some areas of the world, the struggle will continue in a variety of forms. Crisis will follow on crisis so long as national independence is frustrated.

During the Second World War, the Malayan people liberated themselves from the Japanese, continuing the fight when the British were driven out.

They found, however, that the fruits of the victory over fascism were not to be extended to them and once more they were back in the jungles fighting against British efforts to repress them.

Britain won a temporary victory, using troops, Dyak head hunters, concentration camps, and punitive acts against the people in the villages.

The scene was set for British Imperialism to devise a characteristically crooked method of ensuring political control.

The Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak came into being on August 31st 1963.

Now after only 2 years, the instability of this political farce has been exposed by the withdrawal of Singapore from the Federation.

In setting it up Britain had no intention of helping the people to solve their problems of poverty and social under-development, the intention was to organise a base for the development of the Cold War in South East Asia, directed in the first place against China and Indonesia, but in total against the Socialist world and the national liberation movements everywhere.

£150 million of British investments are at stake and it is these which Britain hopes to protect whether a Labour or Tory Government is in office.

With its population of 1,800,000 Singapore is not only the strongest military

British base in S. E. Asia, but the richest of the constituent members of the Federation, a great centre of world trade and commerce.

The humiliating capture of Singapore by the Japanese in the Second World War revealed how vulnerable it is as a base, but Britain has re-established it as a key link in the S.E.A.T.O. military chain.

It is their fortress and base of operations, threatening national liberation in S.E. Asia, threatening China and Indonesia and the whole of the anti-Imperialist world. Britain combines with United States Imperialism; while Britain tries to maintain her hold on Malaysia, the U.S. fights her dirty war in Viet Nam.

At the meeting of S.E.A.T.O. held in London in May this year, Harold Wilson declared that Britain has troops in South-East Asia "more than we ever had in peacetime in all our days as a colonial power". There are 50,000 British forces in South East Asia and British military expenditure totals £350 million per annum.

The demands of the Cold War against China and Indonesia have imposed economic difficulties on Singapore.

* * *

Only 20 per cent Singapore's trade is linked with Malaya and the economic interests of the Singapore bourgeoisie are being threatened. Their interests in successful business are more powerful than their alliance with British Imperialism and they have now broken away.

Britain is afraid that the rot will spread. The break constitutes a great opportunity for all the genuine anti-Imperialist forces in Malaysia to combine to make decisive advance against continued British domination and their stooges and to strengthen the fraternal bonds with Indonesia from whom Imperialism tries to divide them.

The incident is yet another stage in the long and complex struggle for the freedom of the Malayan people; it is yet further proof that the danger to world peace comes from Imperialism's frantic efforts to stave off, in vain, the day of complete liberation.

Whose Violence ?

THE American war against subject peoples has extended from South Viet Nam to Los Angeles. Following on repression, on refusal to grant Civil Rights, on persecution and denial of basic freedoms for the mass of the Afro-American population comes explosion...

Yet one more minor incident, one more example of bullying, has sparked off scenes of violence in the ghetto section of the Californian city of Los Angeles, where Afro-Americans live, often workless, miserably housed, and denied the rights of other American citizens.

President Johnson has sent in troops to battle

against unarmed people who have risen spontaneously to express their deep and burning frustration as promise after promise is made to them and consistently broken.

It is to be expected that pious phrases about "the futility of violence" and "the need for law and order" should be spouted over radio and television and in some newspapers.

The intention of such phrases is to mark the reality of the position, that the violence is used by the American Government against the Afro-American peoples.

While violence is being encouraged by the open sale of firearms in parts of the city outside the ghetto area Johnson offers all possible aid to the very authorities which are res-

ponsible for the conditions under which the Afro-Americans work and live and who carry out their policy of bullying and humiliation day in and day out.

Johnson describes the situation as "tragic and shocking"; So it is—but it is the tragic and shocking conditions imposed on America's Afro-American citizens which should shock him, and the degree of violence employed by police and troops.

This present situation shows the hypocrisy of all President Johnson's statements about "advancing Civil Rights". The more such people talk about their willingness to move and take action, the more desperate the position of the Afro-American actually becomes.

The much-vaunted American way of life is more and more revealed for what it is—a way of life that is

controlled by the most ruthless monopoly capitalists in the world, who will split, exploit and cheat in every way to maintain their freedom to go on making vast profits out of the misery of the underprivileged.

How can such a society claim to be civilised? The pattern of its basic morality stands exposed for a horrible system of brutal denial of the most elementary freedoms.

It is a system which oppresses its citizens at home and wages aggressive war abroad against others fighting for national liberation, like the people of South Vietnam.

The African States must raise their voices against this latest outrage and take determined steps to force the U.S. Government either to change its policy or to take the consequences of complete political, economic and social isolation in our continent.

Refugee Rackets

*"Big fleas have little fleas,
Upon their backs to bite 'em
Little fleas have lesser fleas,
And so ad infinitum."*

THIS well-known bit of doggerel might have been written to illustrate the consequences which flow from rotten, parasitic policies such as are operated by the West German Government, the West Berlin Authorities and the Western Imperialist Powers in relation to the German Democratic Republic.

They have done everything they can to try to destroy the German Democratic Republic, which is the part of Germany completely free from fascism and exploitation.

In their endeavours to sabotage economic development in the G.D.R., East Berlin became a special target for the Western Powers, who manufactured propaganda of a totally misleading character and who closed their eyes to the activities of racketeers and confidence tricksters who, bating on these hostile policies worked to encourage people to leave the G.D.R. illegally, but for a price. "Escape" businesses become widespread.

The construction of the Berlin Wall by the German Democratic Government has been misrepresented as a tyrannical act designed to prevent the free movement of East Berliners. On the contrary it was a necessary measure to prevent the continuous movement to and fro between the two parts of the city of racketeers and saboteurs.

A small example will help to illustrate this. West Berliners were changing their money for G.D.R. money at highly favourable (and deliberately established rates) to use in East Berlin to buy cheaper basic foodstuffs and goods, which they then promptly took back to the West.

It was notorious that even tradesmen and cafe proprietors were doing this and

selling the goods for a high rate of profit.

Just as economic sabotage has been encouraged, political sabotage goes on. Incidental to leave East Germany, which has undoubtedly experienced many difficulties in building its socialist society and getting rid of all nazi influences, became "big business".

By spreading illusions about the wonders of the West and organising "escapes" the West Authorities achieved some successes.

However, the rottenness of their policies is now exposed by the revelation that "escapes" are being organised for private profit.

Racketeers get hold of unemployed people from Western Germany who in exchange for a small sum are persuaded to give up their personal identity documents. They are then sent into East Berlin with forged papers or their own originals which they try to sell and then try to get out by presenting the former, or claiming that they have been robbed.

It is an interesting sidelight on West German conditions that in their capitalist paradise there are young, unemployed men so desperate for money that they will risk imprisonment for violating the laws of the German Democratic Republic.

The "brains" behind this racket demand large sums (£450 is the amount often quoted) for organising "escapes" but more often than not, having got a two-thirds deposit fail to do anything further.

Now a pathetic group of West German unemployed men has returned from East Berlin, having been caught out. They have returned, unpunished—but they have complained about how they were tricked into giving up their papers by confidence tricksters who get away scot free because the West Berlin Authorities do nothing about them.

Western policies have been the breeding ground for racketeers and cheats who do on a small scale what the Western Government do on a larger international scale... "Big fleas have little fleas... and so ad infinitum"



AUGUST 4th :

UGANDA: Dr. Milton Obote, Uganda's Prime Minister, addressing Indian Council for African Affairs in New Delhi has urged that Africans should do everything possible to drive out Portugal from Africa to ensure that there is freedom in Rhodesia and no racial inequality and racial injustice in South Africa.

GUINEA: President Sekou Toure of Guinea has arrived in Cairo, U.A.R. today by air from Yugoslavia for a day's visit during which he is expected to have talks with President Nasser.

ETHIOPIA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia today speaking at a civic luncheon in Blantyre, Malawi, called for more contacts between Africans at all levels and co-operations between African states in furtherance of the continent's development programme.

IVORY COAST: Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of the O.A.U., is expected to confer, in Abidjan, with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast today about problems of common interest to the Ivory Coast and the O.A.U. Secretariat.

ZAMBIA: The Lusaka weekly newspaper, the *Central African Mail* which was recently acquired by the Zambian Government, is to be renamed the *Zambia Mail*, it has been announced officially in Lusaka today.

UPPER VOLTA: Mr. Mouse Yameogo, Upper Volta Minister of Economic Affairs, and Mr. Raphael Medah, Industry Minister, have arrived in Tokyo, Japan, to borrow about 12 million cedis from Japan to further developments in their country.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: In an article published in the *London Times* today, it has been stated that the British Government is giving serious thought to the military intervention in Southern Rhodesia.

GAMBIA: Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, has arrived in Bathurst, Gambia, to start a three-week visit to Commonwealth West African countries. He will leave for Ghana on Saturday.

DAHOMEY: The Vice-President and Premier of Dahomey, Mr. Justin Jometin Ahomadegbe, has called on the Ghana Trades Union Congress to assist the Dahomean workers to organise themselves into a strong union so as to enable them to achieve unity and sense of purpose towards their Government and country. He continued that the Dahomean workers could learn from their Ghanaian counterparts the sense of unity that had brought the workers closer to the Government.

AUGUST 5th:

GHANA: In a statement issued after its first meeting in Accra today, the Ghana Peace Council has expressed deep appreciation for the efforts the Geneva Disarmament Conference has been making over several months on behalf of man and his achievement. The Council further said, the people of the world demand real progress in the conference's discussions.

* Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Foreign Affairs Minister, has flown to Washington today with a special message from President Kwame Nkrumah to President Johnson of the United States. He was seen off by Nana Kwafu Akoto II, member of the Presidential Commission and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

* President Nkrumah's spe-

cial mission to Hanoi headed by Mr. Kwesi Armah, Minister of Foreign Trade, returned to Accra today and immediately reported to the President at the Castle.

CONGO (Leopoldville): Mr. Christopher Gbenye, Head of the Congo (Leopoldville) Revolutionary Government and his Foreign Minister, Mr. Kanza, have arrived in Accra by air from U.A.R. on a four-day visit to Ghana.

ETHIOPIA: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia returned to Addis Ababa today by air from state visits to Zambia and Malawi and after a 24-hour private visit to Kenya. He was seen off at the airport by President Jomo Kenyatta and members of the Kenya Government.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The head of the Congo (Leo) administration, Mr. Moise Tshombe, has challenged President Joseph Kasavubu's down-grading of the role of political parties in the Congo, according to the *New York Times*.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Denis Healey, British Defence Secretary, today denied a report that the British Labour Government was planning a military intervention in Southern Rhodesia. He publicly rebuked the *London Times* for publishing the report at a press conference held in London.

SOUTH AFRICA: Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, the fascist leader of the Pretoria regime, today inaugurated the first nuclear research reactor to be built at Pelindaba near Pretoria.

GHANA: Mr. S. A. Oubuof of the Ministry of Social Welfare left Accra today for Sweden to represent Ghana at the United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Delinquency which opens in Stockholm on Monday. The congress which is expected to last two weeks will be attended by 50 nations.

* Mr. Gueorgui M. Radionov, Soviet Ambassador to Ghana, has flown to Moscow on two months' leave.

AUGUST 6th:

GHANA: The Director of the Nursing Department of the University of Ghana, Legon, Miss Rae Chittick, today called on President Nkrumah at the Castle, Accra, to bid him goodbye. Miss Rae who will leave the country tomorrow has been in Ghana for two years.

* Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, Ghana's Foreign Minister, arrived in Washington today by air from Accra to deliver a special message from President Nkrumah to President L. B. Johnson of the United States. He was met at the airport by Mr. Chester Carter, American Deputy Chief Protocol Officer who welcomed him on behalf of President Johnson. Mr. Sackey told newsmen at the Washington Airport that the contents of the message would advance the cause of peace in Vietnam.

UGANDA: Uganda's Prime Minister, Dr. Milton Obote who is on a state visit to India, speaking at a ceremony at Delhi University where he received an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws today said that, understanding and co-operation between Africa and Asia was becoming more and more important.

KENYA: President Jomo Kenyatta and Premier Mohammed Mahgoub of Sudan reaffirmed their adherence to the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity in a joint communique issued at the end of their three-day talks in Nairobi today.

* Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's External Affairs Minister, arrived in Niamey, Niger, today. He has told newsmen at the airport that his visit is primarily part of a move to strengthen Kenya's political and commercial ties with West African countries.

7th AUGUST :

GHANA: Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Britain's Commonwealth Relations Secretary, arrived in Accra this morning from Sierra Leone on a five-day visit to Ghana. Mr. Bottomley was welcomed by Mr. Kojo Botso on behalf of the Government.

CAIRO U.A.R.: Mr. Christopher Gbenye, leader of the Congo (Leopoldville) Revolutionary Government, arrived in Cairo today from Accra on a three-day visit to the United Arab Republic.

MALAGASY: The people of Malagasy will go to the polls today to choose their representatives in the National Assembly for the next five years.

NIGERIA: Nigeria's National Economic Council has decided to set up shortly a body to establish standards for manufactured export products, it has been announced in Enugu, Eastern Nigeria today.

LIBERIA: A consultative conference on iron and steel in West Africa ended in Monrovia, Liberia today after adopting a unanimous resolution agreeing in principle to set up an iron and steel authority to co-ordinate development of an iron and steel industry in West Africa.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee of Nine today appointed a three-nation sub-committee to continue attempts to reconcile the two rival Southern Rhodesian nationalist parties in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. Mr. S. A. Okwu, Nigerian acting chairman of the committee has said that representatives of the two parties should meet the sub-committee for round-table talks.

TANZANIA: President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania was re-elected to a five-year term as President of the Tanganyika African National Union at the party's national conference in Dar-es-Salaam today.

Mr. Rashidi Kawawa was also re-elected to the vice-presidency of the party for a two-year term.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Ian Smith, the leader of the white minority settler regime of Southern Rhodesia, claimed in Salisbury today that certain countries had guaranteed Rhodesia official recognition, if it took matters into its own hands on the explosive independence issue.

SOUTH AFRICA: Fourteen South African nationalists serving various sentences in Leekop apartheid prison near Pretoria were each sentenced to six years imprisonment in Johannesburg today for belonging to the banned Pan-African Congress and furthering its aims in the prison.

AUGUST 9th :

SOUTH AFRICA: The African National Congress of South Africa has called on the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations to appoint a joint committee to investigate racist South African prison conditions and to demand better conditions for political prisoners.

KENYA: Kenya's External Affairs Minister, Mr. Joseph Murumbi, arrived in Monrovia, Liberia today to continue his West African tour.

GHANA: President Nkrumah of Ghana had a 30-minute talk with Mr. Arthur Bottomley, the visiting Britain's Commonwealth Relations Secretary at the Castle today.

Rumania's twenty-one years of progress

Once backward, now among most economically advanced

THE Rumanian People's Republic which on Monday celebrates the 21st anniversary of its liberation, was in pre-war years an economically backward country.

Although nominally independent, it was in fact like many other small states of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, the victim of a form of neo-colonialism, its economic wealth exploited by German, French and British companies, with political power in the hands of a corrupt ruling class.

But already four years ago the *United Nations Economic Bulletin for Europe* (Vol. 13, No. 2, Geneva, 1961) declared that Rumania's economy is "among the most advanced in Europe" and pointed out that "with an annual rise of more than 10 per cent over 1950-1960 the rate of growth tops that of the most economically advanced countries of the world."

NEW SOCIETY

How was this transformation wrought?

It was brought about thanks to the Socialist ownership of the means of production which has been firmly established in all branches of the national economy.

Instead of a society divided into classes—the exploiters and the exploited—a new society has come into being, a socialist society in which the means of production, distribution and exchange are owned by the people and political power is in the hands of the working class and its allies, the peasants.

At the Ninth Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party last month, Party Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu was able to report the successful fulfilment of the 1959-1965 Six-Year Plan.

He described how more than 500 new factories had

been built equipped with the latest plant, among them 83 chemical works, 45 metallurgical and engineering works and more than 220 in the food processing and consumer goods branches.

During the last six years industrial output has increased at the rate of just over 14 per cent, compared with the 13 per cent laid down in the plan.

KEY BRANCHES

In many key branches the rate of progress has been even higher. The output of electric power, vital for the new industries and also for the machinery being introduced on the farms, went up nearly three-fold; so, too, did that of the engineering industry, while the chemical industry showed the biggest increase of all—a nearly four-fold increase.

This economic advance has made possible substantial improvements in the living standards of the Rumanian people.

Real wages have during the last six years increased by over one-third. It is estimated that the population will this year buy almost twice as many goods as they did in 1959.

More than a quarter of the country's budget has been spent on education, health, housing and similar services.

MILLION FLATS BUILT

As a result, during the last six years nearly three-quarters of a million flats were built (nearly three times as many as in the preceding six years), while nearly half a million new homes went up in the countryside.

Mr. Ceausescu was able to report that eight-year schooling has now become general—an advance that

marks a new stage in the history of Rumanian education.

Rumania's universities and colleges have twice as many students as in 1959, and in the last six years they have trained over 77,000 young people to take their place in the front rank of the builders of a new society.

"Summing up the achievements recorded in the building of a socialist society", said Mr. Ceausescu, "we must stress that the working class, the most advanced class of society, proved to be equal to its historic role."

"The advance in the history of modern Rumania is indissolubly linked with the working class which asserted itself as the sole social class able consistently to strive for the country's progress."

"What has been achieved so far", he went on, "is a firm basis for the further development of the country along the road of progress and civilisation."

"We have today achieved a level over nine times that of 1938—the peak production year under capitalist rule."

EVEN FASTER

"In the next five years, the Draft Directives (for the 1966-70 Economic Plan—Ed.) envisage an even speedier advance, so that by 1970 we shall achieve a level almost 16 times above that of 1938."

"During twenty years we have covered nine stages; now we are trying to cover six stages in five years. You see at what a rate we have to move forward! We are convinced we can cover the distance even faster."

Mr. Ceausescu stressed that "the history of the development of human society and the experience of

our own country demonstrates that industrialisation is the only way to ensure that a country advances to a new stage, to genuine national independence and sovereignty."

Rumania's successes at home have been matched by growing prestige abroad. Her trade with foreign countries has greatly increased, and she has campaigned consistently for international friendship and co-operation.

During recent years she has striven to promote increased understanding among the Balkan countries and win support for the proposal for the creation of an atom-free zone in the Balkans.

SOLIDARITY

In his speech to last month's Rumanian Communist Party Congress, Mr. Ceausescu pledged Rumania's full solidarity with the national liberation movement and with those working to consolidate their national independence and progress.

"The national liberation struggle is dealing ever stronger blows at the rotten colonial system; new independent countries make their appearance on the political map of the world, replacing the old colonial empires," he said.

"The countries that have recently gained their freedom are intensifying their struggle against the new forms of colonialism, in order to safeguard and consolidate their national independence."

LAND REFORM

"In a number of new states programmes of nationalisation and land reform are being carried out, and progressive economic,

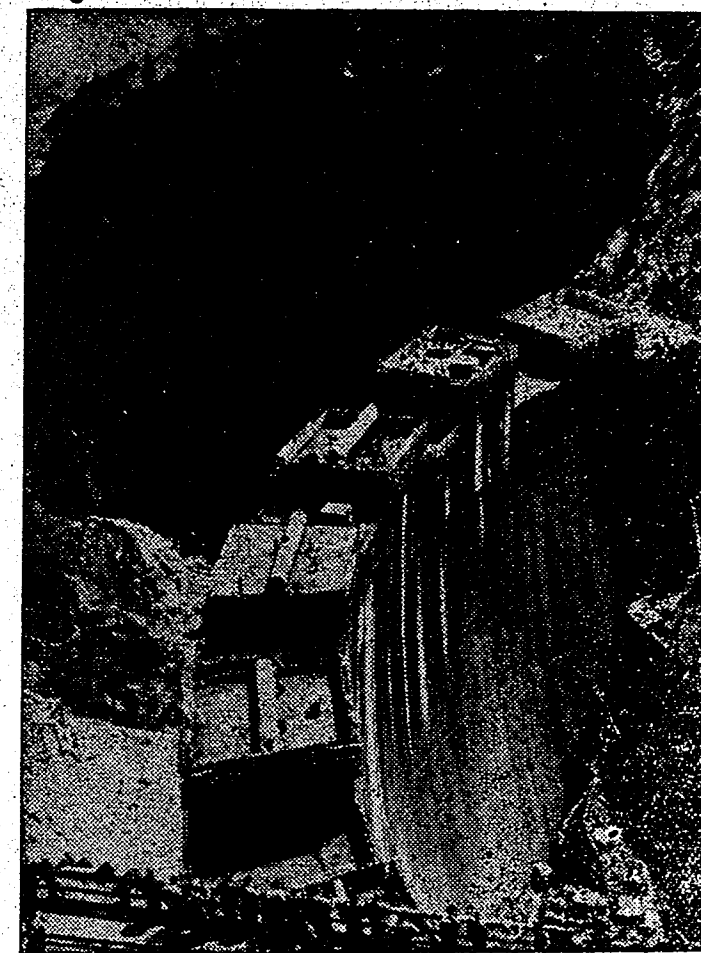
social and political measures are being taken in the direction of a socialist development.

"The peoples' liberation movement naturally has the support of the forces of socialism, of the socialist countries, and of the international working class, headed by the Communist Parties; its victories are indissolubly linked to the changes that have taken place in the world balance of forces in favour of socialism, and to co-operation with the socialist countries."

AN EXAMPLE

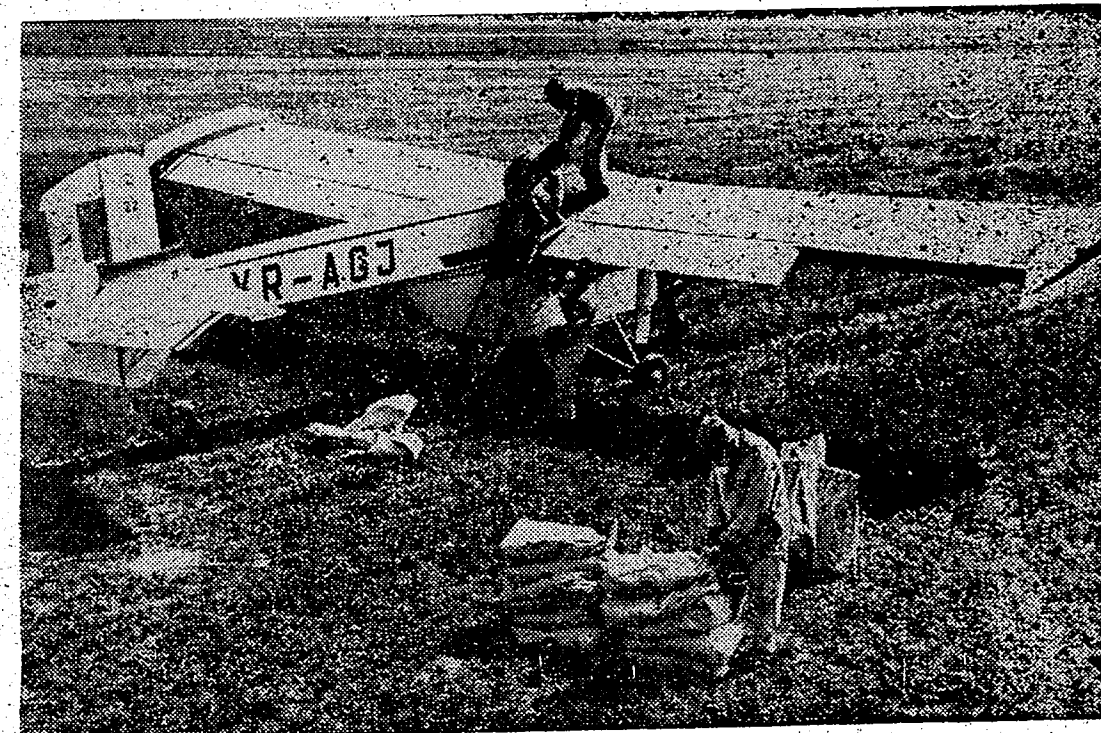
"In their turn, the liberation movement and the newly-independent countries are a reliable ally of socialism, and play an important part in international life, manifesting themselves as an active anti-imperialist force, and as a powerful factor contributing to the promotion of the ideas of peace and of the people's freedom and independence."

The twenty-one-year old Rumanian People's Republic is itself an inspiring example of what a once-backward country can achieve, once it takes the socialist road.



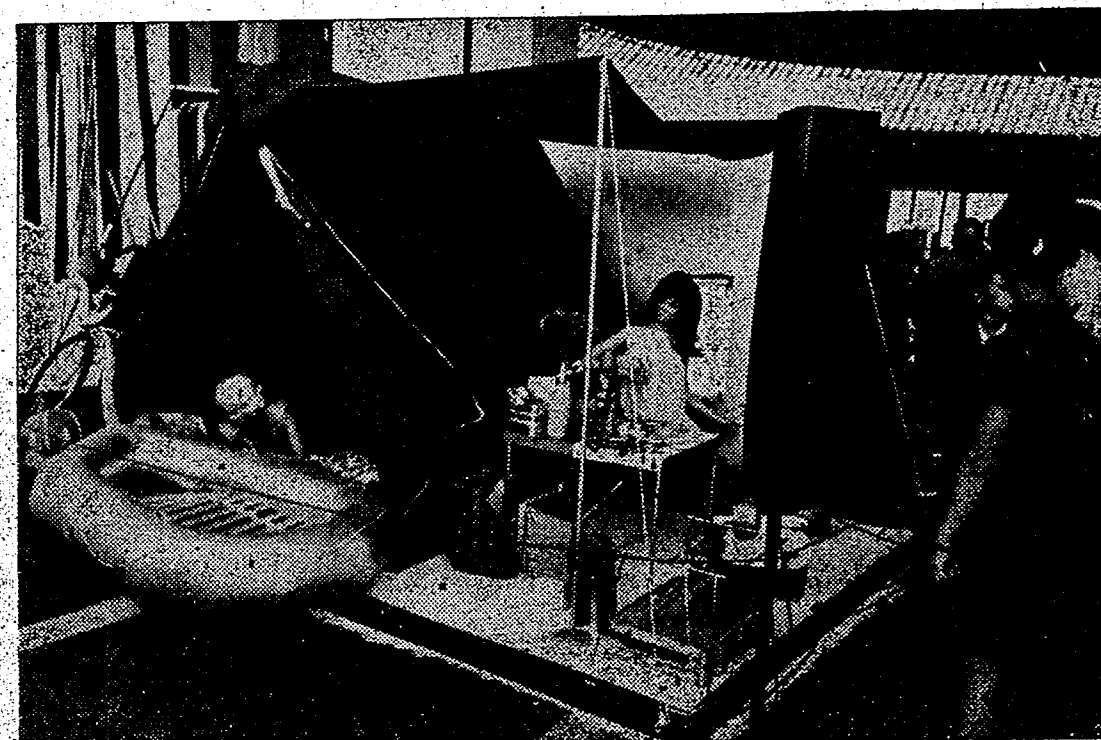
Dams Boost Power Output

Through the construction of new dams and power stations Rumania's power output—a key to industrial progress—has increased almost three-fold over the last six years. A further big increase is planned for the coming years.



Great Advances in Agriculture

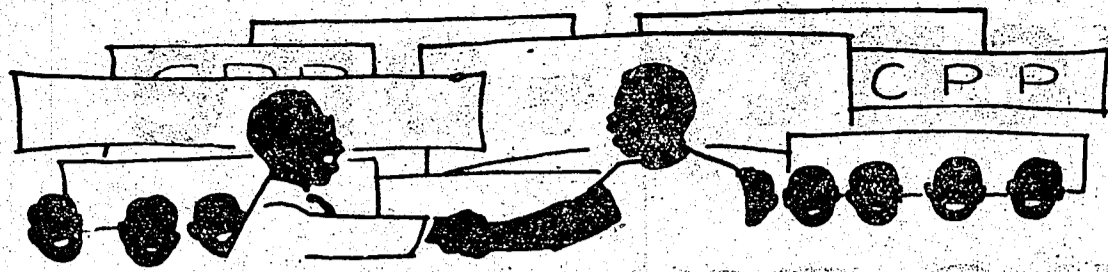
The progress in industry has been matched by great advances in agriculture. Where once there were virtually no farming machines of any kind, aircraft are now used to spread fertiliser and fight pests.



Rumania's economic advance has meant more leisure, and camping is a popular pastime among young people. Rumania's industries are starting to produce a wide variety of camping gear.



During the last six years the real wages of Rumania's workers have increased by more than one-third. It is estimated that the population will this year buy almost twice as many goods as it did in 1959. Rumania now produces wide range of consumer goods.



PARTY LIFE by Pat Sloan

THE WAY THE PARTY WORKS

"To persist in one's individual opinion, when this deviated from the public opinion deliberately arrives at and publicised, was a piece of malice... if action is taken at all, there is a point where discussion must end... and appearance of unanimity must be preserved at the time of action... collective responsibility... unity... for public decisions were equally binding on all."

"Absolute centralisation and the strictest discipline... constitute one of the fundamental conditions for victory... Everyone is free to write and say whatever he likes, without restrictions... But every free union (including a party) is also free to expel members who use the Party's platform to advocate anti-Party views... The Party is a voluntary union which would be bound to break up, first ideologically and then materially, if it did not purge itself of people advocating anti-Party views."

"... it becomes necessary for us to re-group our forces and plan our strategy and tactics for the future. The task of self-criticism is therefore obligatory... there is the danger that our socialist objective may be clouded by opportunistic accommodations and adjustments to petty bourgeois elements."

THE above quotations do not form, as one might suppose, successive passages from a single source. One is almost tempted to challenge the reader to guess the three sources from which the above quotations, all on similar themes, have been gathered. But as this is not an examination in General Knowledge, we can save the reader the trouble of guessing.

The first passage is by Professor W. E. Abraham, in *The Mind of Africa*, describing ancient Akan society. It is near Lenin's view on Democratic Centralism. This only goes to show that however great the distances between continents and historical phases of development, similar themes recur again and again.

The two passages in the second paragraph are both taken from works of Lenin and are both quoted in Kuusinen's excellent collective work, *Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninism* (pp. 412 and 416).

To return to Africa, the final paragraph is from Kwame Nkrumah's speech on the 10th Anniversary of the C.P.P.

FIT TOGETHER

The interesting fact about these three quotations is that they fit together so admirably that it would be hard for an external observer to detect that they come from such different sources. They combine to give emphasis to the very fundamental idea that the synthesis of the best elements in African tradition and the experience of scientific Socialism in the existing Socialist world is absolutely possible, as pointed out in Nkrumahism.

The fact that when Prof. Abraham sets out to describe traditional Akan society he

falls into the terminology of modern scientific socialism when describing Democratic Centralism is of profound importance.

For it shows that the incorporation of Democratic Centralism into the life of modern Ghana is not the importation of some conception evolved as a result of the experience of the Russian Revolution but the establishment of a principle of organisation which has its roots in traditional African society as well as in the Bolshevik Party that led the Russian workers to power in 1917.

PARALLELS

The more we study the historical, and even the paralalled developments in different countries, it is amazing, yet inspiring, to find how often parallels have independently arisen in practice between widely differing epochs and countries when similar problems had to be overcome.

This is one of the reasons why the study of the Socialist countries in Europe, Asia and Cuba can be of enormous value to Ghana.

Sometimes they will appear as models to be followed, at other times as warnings of errors not to be emulated at any price—but always as sources of information, from which both positive lessons and negative lessons may be drawn.

In the present article it is proposed to concentrate

on one point only, the role of the Party in the process of achieving Socialism, which will occupy "an epoch: it cannot be achieved in a day. It is only by sustained effort and determination that it can be realised," as the President pointed out in his speech introducing Television on August 4th.

In the existing Socialist countries of the world, the first of which to enter the arena was the U.S.S.R., the Party that led the people to power was a "Party of a new type" as Lenin described it already in 1903, with a dedicated membership, every one of whom shared the personal obligation to participate in the work of his branch as well as paying dues, accepting strict Democratic Centralism, and who on joining the Bolshevik Party knew that he was joining a quite different type of organisation from the bourgeois parties.

PLACE OF WORK

Bolsheviks must be "professional revolutionaries". Lenin said in another connection: the Party must have "an almost military discipline" he said in another.

And because the Party was a Party of the working class its basic unit was a branch wherever practicable at a place of work.

So the workers attended Branch meetings with their fellow workers, they discus-

sed common problems and common experiences, they organised a struggle for their mutual interests against the employers (before the Revolution) and for Socialist Construction after the Revolution.

A CONTINUITY

Thus there has been, in the Socialist countries of Europe and Asia, a continuity in the organisational form and structure of the Party right from the days of revolutionary struggle against capitalism, through the various and varied revolutionary struggle against capitalism, through the various and varied revolutions that have taken place, to the present day common tasks of building Socialism, whatever individual national peculiarities there may be in each separate country.

This gives a certain homogeneity to the Socialist world today, as against the imperialist world; it is precisely the victory of the peoples under the leadership of a "Party of a new type" that has so shaken the imperialists, and not a single country in the world, genuinely directing itself towards Socialism, can afford to ignore the experiences of these many successful parties.

This is why the term "African Socialism" can be misleading. If it is interpreted as meaning that "African socialism" is different from "European Social-

ism" in any other sense than that "Nkrumahism is the application of the principles of scientific socialism to our African social milieu", as Nkrumah said in a message to the Tamale Easter School this year, then "African socialism" can rapidly degenerate into chauvinism and opportunism.

If, on the other hand, the full implications of Nkrumah's definition are grasped and combined with his statement in *Consciencism*, that "African society must be treated as enjoying its integrity and the European contact must find its place in this history only as an African experience, even if a crucial one," we reach a practicable synthesis.

COMMON ENEMY

Now part of the European contact has provided "Scientific Socialism", which arose as Europe's workers answer to European capitalism and imperialism.

In fighting a common enemy, the European workers and the African peoples are in a common struggle, and a common ideology serves the interests of both.

Scientific Socialism, "applied to" Africa, provides in Nkrumahism "an ideology which genuinely catering for the needs of all, will... be the guide to society's continual progress" (*Consciencism*).

Now it is in organising

"society's continual progress" that the experience of the Socialist countries, especially of the U.S.S.R., can be of so much help.

In 1959 Nkrumah warned against "petty bourgeois elements in the Party." In the Dawn Broadcast he was hitting at the same people (both inside the Party and outside).

STRUCTURE

And it seems that the time has come to review the structure of the Party to see whether we are really getting from it the dynamic results that we require.

"The strength of the organised masses is invincible" said Nkrumah in 1949, but is this strength yet being organised and led as it should be?

"The politically conscious leadership is faced with the danger of being swamped by tribal, regional and the communal ideological influences which are penetrating the ranks of the more backward Party membership" states Rule 58. The Party will adopt certain inner organisational measures to safeguard its socialist aims.

According to Rule 10 (b), every Party member has right to "attend meetings and freely express his views."

Rule 9 (k) describes the duty "to criticise and accept criticism."

Again, Rule 62 (f) refers to the need "to develop

criticism and self-criticism" as the "best defender against bureaucracy, mis-management, dishonesty, corruption in public corporations, and abuse of power by public servants, politicians and others in authority".

"Criticism and self-criticism" would at once take on real flesh and blood when co-workers got down to a monthly discussion and said what they honestly felt about their own organisation's progress towards Socialism.

For the period of each meeting, managers, directors and the organisation's V.I.P.s in general would meet, as equal members of one Party with those who normally were their subordinates.

They would sometimes have to hear sharp criticism, but under Rule 9 (k) would be obliged to accept it "in good faith", knowing that under Rule (1) their critic was under the obligation to be "truthful".

DISCUSSION

Thus, in practice, would develop criticism, and self-criticism. This is not to say that a certain amount of undermining would not inevitably result at times.

But honest collective discussion in the end can undermine the underminers. It is in the atmosphere of bottle-up complaints, unspoken thoughts and suppressed criticism that real undermining spreads like mould.

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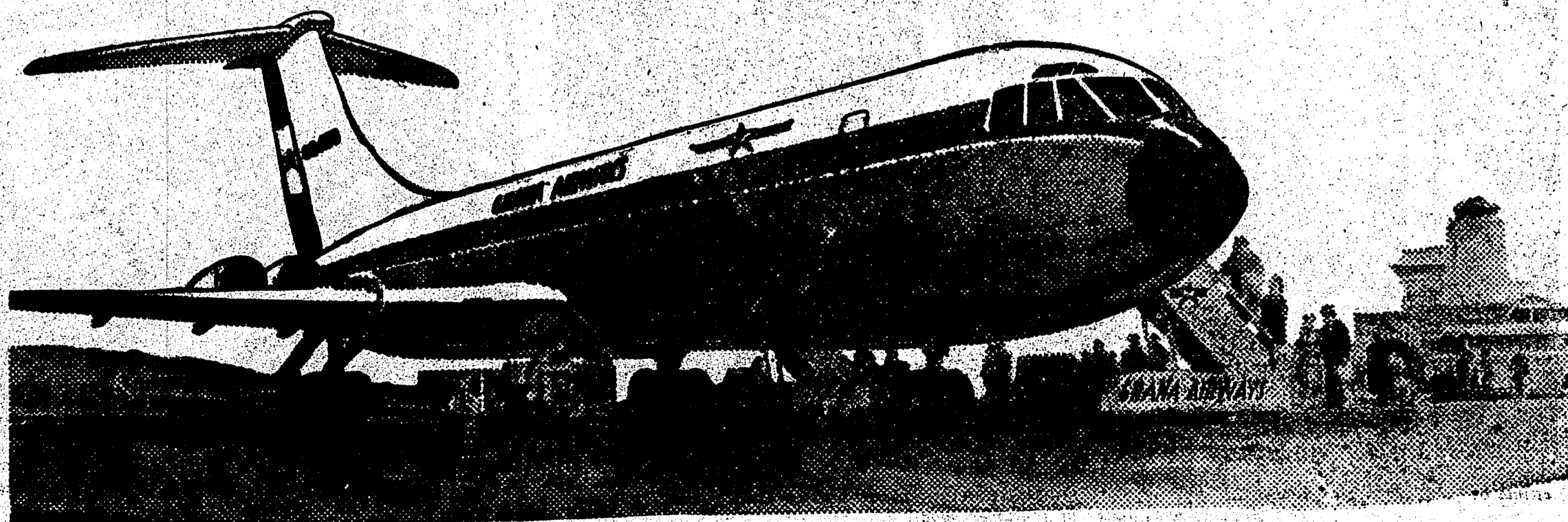
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STUDIES IN NKRUMAISM

If idealism is to be refuted the refutation cannot be achieved through a mere denial that the idea of dependent existence is coherent. Kwame Nkrumah himself proposes to defeat idealism by attacking its sources which he identifies in solipsism and a theory of perception.

Of solipsism itself he recognises two stages, incipient and complete. He illustrates incipient solipsism from the philosophy of Descartes. He says that the subject of existence in Descartes' *Cogito* is not substantial. It is not anything. He writes:—
"Though Descartes is entitled to say: 'Cogito, ergo sum'—'I think therefore I exist'—he would clearly be understanding too much if he understood from this that some object existed, let alone that Monsieur Descartes existed. All that is indubitable in the first section of Descartes' statement is that there is thinking. The first person is in that statement no more than the subject of a verb, with no more connotation of an object than there is in the anticipatory 'it' of the sentence 'it is raining'. The pronoun in this sentence is a mere subject of a sentence, and does not refer to any object or group of objects which is raining. 'It' in that sentence does not stand for anything. It is a quack pronoun."

UNIVERSE

He continues by saying that as the first person in the *Cogito* does not stand for anything, there can be no distinction between it and anything, and so it cannot be made the basis of any existences. The universe thus simply becomes a plurality of thoughts which are unattached at best the thoughts of the non-substantial subject of the *Cogito*!
The solipsism of Descartes is said to be incipient because the confusion of the world with the experiences of the subject is not explicitly affirmed by Descartes and the *Cogito* has to be led to it.
Concerning complete solipsism, Kwame Nkrumah writes:
"... the individual is identified with the universe. The universe comes to consist of the individual and his experience."

INDIVIDUAL

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 other bodies. If 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 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, welts away, and we are left with unattached experience."

MATTER

The other source of idealism is, according to Kwame Nkrumah, a theory of perception. Here, the idealist says that we only know of the external world through perception. If matter makes up the external world then also we only know of matter through perception.
It is stressed at this point that since perception of matter is only reason we could have for holding it to exist, we must say that its existence depends upon perception. Granted that perception is a function of mind or spirit, matter ends up by depending for its existence on mind or spirit.

The refutation of this by Kwame Nkrumah is as follows: *perception in the foregoing argument is sense-perception; and even if perception is held to be a function of mind, still the mind cannot perceive in this argument without reliance upon the senses.*

But our senses are faculties of our living and organic body; and if body, being matter and part of the external world exists only through perceptual knowledge, it could not at the same time itself be the avenue to that knowledge.

Body cannot be the means to that perceptual knowledge upon which its own existence along with that of the rest of the external world depends. It would be pre-supposed before it could exist!

IDEALISM

Having thus assailed idealism at its sources, Kwame Nkrumah next attempts to appease regrets by seeking to establish that idealism is in any case jejune and so should not be missed.

He believes that it is incompatible with science and the existence of ordinary things like apples and organs. He says that idealists dismantle the world, and then find that they cannot put it together again. He cites Berkeley, who having dismantled the apple into its shape, its sweetness, its colour, etc., finds that he can only say that the apple itself is a simultaneity of sweetness, roundness, smoothness, etc.

In place of philosophical idealism which he rejects, he offers a form of philosophical materialism. There are two aspects of this in *Consciencism*.

In its first aspect, it is a combative theory which seeks to destroy philosophical idealism to which it stands opposed. In its second aspect it is amphiative. It seeks to give a general philosophical account of the world in exactly the same way as philosophical idealism is amphiative. *Consciencism* consequently not merely denies theses of idealism: it substitutes its own for them.

So what are the positive philosophical theses of *Consciencism*? The most basic one, as must be expected, is the affirmation of the independent existence of matter.

By matter Kwame Nkrumah means whatever has mass and is perpetually active. In its manifestation matter is co-extensive with the universe. This means that besides matter nothing else has an independent existence.

The first two philosophical tenets of *Consciencism* are the independent existence of matter, and the primary existence of matter. The third philosophical tenet of *Consciencism* is the capacity of matter for spontaneous self-motion.

It is worth emphasising that *Consciencism* asserts not the sole reality of matter, which Kwame Nkrumah holds to be crude, but its primary reality. Whereas the assertion of the sole reality of matter would stand in the way of accepting the reality of things which were other than matter, the admission of its primary reality need not.

CATEGORY

It would be necessary however to say that other categories of reality than of matter must be ultimately derived from the primary category.

There are hard facts, those centring around the phenomena of consciousness and self-consciousness, the distinction between quantity and quality, and the relation between mind and matter. These hard facts have to be shown to be compatible with the materialism of *Consciencism*.

Given these hard facts, it is at once necessary for philosophical materialism to claim that while the new categories are real they are all derived from the basic category.

It must that is to say claim the possibility of a transformation which beginning from matter can yield, say, mind. Indeed, philosophical materialism, even when it asserts not the sole, but the primary reality of matter, must hold the universe to be closed.

Closure in this case means that given initial matter and its characteristics, all the supervening items of the universe are pre-determined and are derivable, in much the same way as given a set of axioms and rules of inference one may say that a given system is complete, that is to say that all non-initial truths belonging to it are derivable.

CONVERSION

The derivability of non-initial categories in the universe, that is, those other than that of matter, is what Kwame Nkrumah has called categorial conversion.

The question arises however why there should ever be any category than that of matter, given that it is primary and so "initially" prevalent.

The answer to this is in the view that matter is spontaneously capable of self-motion. Matter, says Kwame Nkrumah, is a plenum of forces in tension.

The fact that the forces are in tension makes it possible for change to arise for change is endemic in tension. Kwame Nkrumah thus makes endemic in matter the possibility of the urge to change, without which

there could not possibly arise any other category than that which is basic.

Of course, the spontaneous power of motion has been denied of matter in the history of philosophy. Kwame Nkrumah therefore has to join issue, which he does and indeed argues that some of the philosophers like Locke contradict themselves on this question.

Locke does indeed deny activity of matter and yet holds a corpuscular theory of perception according to which little corpuscles travel from a perceived object and bombard the senses in order that the objects can be perceived.

Kwame Nkrumah argues in general that all those who hold motion to be natural in the universe must hold matter to have an internal power of moving.

Given that matter has a power of spontaneous motion, the logical possibility of change is thereby granted.

The hard facts cited earlier compel Kwame Nkrumah

to subscribe to the possibility of categorial conversion while excusing himself from the onus of tracing the details of such a conversion, he points out that in nominalism and reductionism, as in the foundations of mathematics, the same idea is used; and that the actuality of such conversion actually takes place in mass-energy exchanges.

SELF-MOTION

It is therefore only necessary to interpret the self-motion of matter in suitable ways in order to maintain the primary reality of matter and nevertheless admit a distinction between consciousness and unconsciousness and self-consciousness, quantity and quality, matter and energy, body and mind.

Equipped with the ideas of categorial conversion, Kwame Nkrumah moves on to a discussion of the complex philosophical problems involved in the "hard facts" already cited.

Inevitably, perception has to be discussed in relation to the hard facts, and it is at this point that *Consciencism* introduces the somewhat novel idea of qualities as perceptual surrogates.

This notion could be very fruitful and needs very much to be developed, for it is put forward as the epistemological bond between the mind and external world.

One may summarise the basic philosophical positions of "Consciencism" as follows:

- (i) Matter has an independent and primary existence
- (ii) Matter has the power of self-motion
- (iii) There are derivative categories including that of mind that is, categorial conversion takes place.

Now, as was pointed out earlier, Kwame Nkrumah believes in general that any given philosophy must arise from a particular social context which it reflects positively or negatively.

Two questions therefore arise immediately; the first

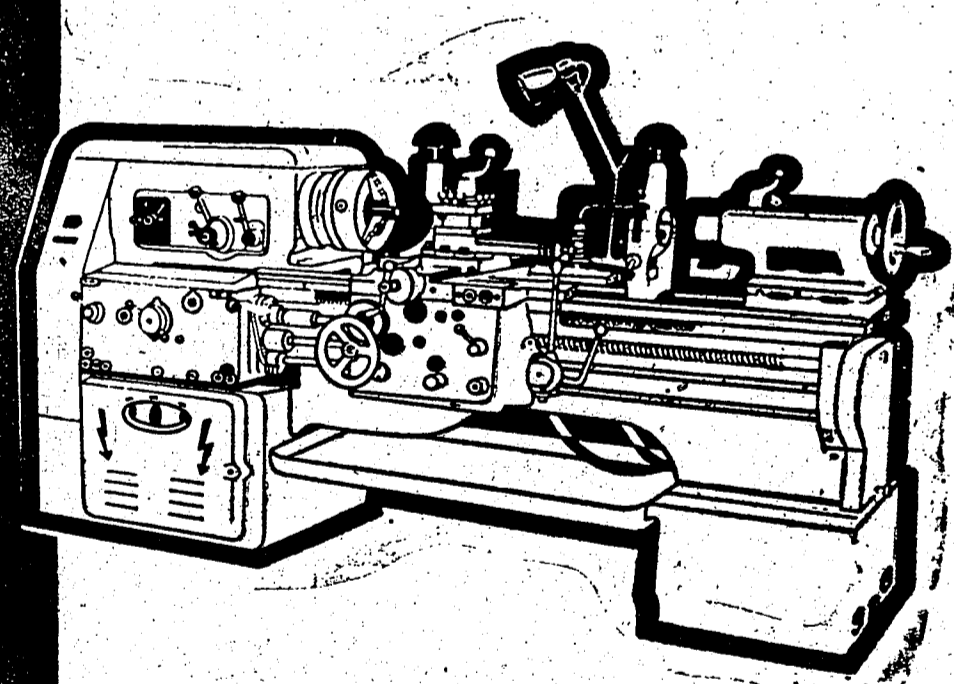
is the question whether the philosophical materialism of *consciencism* has any roots in the African social milieu. Has it, let us say, antecedents in African society? The second question is the question how this philosophy reflects African society.

Kwame Nkrumah writes:

"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."

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Ideas of Socialism in Africa

IN 1964, Ghana's President and Lenin Peace Prize Winner, Kwame Nkrumah, wrote another book "Consciencism" (London, 1964). One of the ideologists of the African national liberation movement, Nkrumah is the author of the well-known books, "Ghana: An Autobiography", "I Speak of Freedom" and "Africa Must Unite."

He is a staunch fighter for the national independence of the African people, against colonial exploitation, and one of the most resolute advocates of Socialism in Africa.

MATERIALIST

By consciencism Nkrumah means the application of materialist philosophy to an analysis of social revolution in Africa and proceeds from the specifics of African reality.

He deals with the philosophical problems of materialism and dialectics, substantiates the vital role of philosophy as a social science connected with the social struggle and analyses various forms of ideology from the standpoint of their significance in conditioning the social consciousness of the people.

He gives theoretical proof of the necessity of joint popular action against colonialism and capitalism and in this connection speaks of the leading role of the party armed with scientific theory.

These questions in themselves testify to the impact of scientific Socialism on ideology of the contemporary African leaders of the revolutionary democratic trend.

The establishment of Socialist society is proclaimed by Nkrumah as the political task of consciencism. The liquidation of colonialism and the winning of economic independence are prerequisites for such a society.

Nkrumah sees capitalism as a refined form of slavery achieved by "the gentleman's method" (p. 72). This system, he remarks, is unjust and alienates labour from the producers.

It is exploitation that makes capitalism irreconcilable to the main principles of African society. Capitalism as a form of exploitation is alien to Africa, and is "a betrayal of the personality and conscience of Africa" (p. 74).

CLASS PROBLEMS

Speaking of the exploiting nature of capitalism, Nkrumah touches upon class problems in tropical Africa and shows that class differences spring from economic inequality and hence political inequality.

The author also condemns neo-colonialism, which is "a greater danger for independent countries than is colonialism" (p. 102). He criticises "any oblique attempt of a foreign power to thwart, balk, corrupt or otherwise pervert the true independence of a sovereign people" (p. 102).

The danger of neo-colonialism Nkrumah sees in the tactics of the colonialists which are a great threat to the freedom of independent states.

These tactics are manifested above all in their attempt to divide African leaders from the people, thus frequently turning them into the tools of suppression in the interest of the neo-colonialists.

He stresses that "a liberated territory should not

bind her economy to that of the ousted rulers" (p. 103).

In response to the tactics of the colonialists, Nkrumah advances and substantiates the African tactics of positive action which, he believes, is "the sum of those forces seeking social justice in terms of the destruction of oligarchic exploitation and oppression" (p. 99). The people are the principal revolutionary force on which positive action relies.

Having determined in this way the social content of this category, which he opposes to the reactionary forces "tending to prolong colonial subjugation and exploitation", Nkrumah also specifies the conditions necessary for the victory of positive action.

These conditions boil down to the following: the people's struggle should be headed and guided by a mass party armed with knowledge, while the consciousness of the people must be enhanced through political education.

CONFIRMED

These theoretical theses are confirmed in practice by the work of the Convention People's Party of Ghana. "To achieve true liberation, positive action must begin with an objective analysis of the situation which it seeks to change" (p. 104).

At the basis of this analysis of the reality lies the philosophy of consciencism which is at the same time an ideology. This ideology, being in the hands of a mass party, should, on the one hand, ensure continuity of the African past and form of binding link with it, and on the other, ensure a close connection with its future.

This is how Nkrumah substantiates the role of scientific theory and ideology in the period of anti-colonial revolution.

The tactical forms of the struggle—reforms and revolutions—occupy an important place in Nkrumah's theory. Nkrumah sees revolution as "an indispensable avenue to Socialism" (p. 74) from slavery, feudalism and capitalism.

He analyses the possibility of transition to Socialism from the traditional tribal African Socialism (Communalism) and says that this transition could be achieved, in conditions of non-capitalist development, through reform, because, he believes, the underlying principles of these systems are the same.

This proposition is true only when it concerns the possible tactical forms of the struggle. In the philosophical sense the process of transition from traditional African society to Socialism is a revolutionary qualitative leap, for revolution, which typifies qualitative change, constitutes the essence of any transition from one socio-economic structure to another.

Revolution in this sense is not a short-lived process but may continue for years making a dialectical unity with evolution a process of gradual accumulation of quantitative change.

Socialism is the main objective of Nkrumah's study. He deals with it first of all from the standpoint of its ethnic essence and sees it as the accomplishment of humanism.

He considers communalistic society, i.e. the communal Socialism of traditional African society, as "the social political ancestor of Socialism" (p. 73) in Africa.

Answering the question concerning the futures of communalism, he points out

Soviet writer I. KATAGOSHCHINA reviews Kwame Nkrumah's "Consciencism" in the Moscow monthly journal "International Affairs".



Kwame Nkrumah: "he is a staunch fighter for the national independence of the African people, against colonial exploitation, and one of the most resolute advocates of Socialism in Africa."

that "the traditional face of Africa includes an attitude towards man which can only be described, in its social manifestation, as be-

ing Socialist. This arises from the fact that man is regarded in Africa as primarily a spiritual being, endowed origin-

ally with a certain inward dignity, integrity and value.

"This idea of the original value of man imposes duties of a Socialist kind upon us. Herein lies the theoretical basis of African communalism" (pp. 68-69).

Thus he stresses the thought that Socialism, coming nearest of all to the humanistic ideals of brotherhood and comradeship, makes man the objective of social development, and not an object of exploitation by an aristocratic elite, a bureaucratic top-drawer section and entrepreneurs.

COMPLICATED

Nkrumah does not touch upon the material and economic basis of Socialism because he dealt with it in his other books, *Africa Must Unite* in particular, where he says that Socialism "assumes the public ownership of the means of production, the land, its resources and the use of those means in fulfilment of the people's needs".

The African countries' road to Socialism is very complicated because of the diversity of socio-economic structures; weakly developed productive forces; the burdensome colonial legacy manifesting itself in class stratification, the racial conflict, tribal conflicts and religious strife.

The necessary transition-

al period of the young African countries to Socialism is at the same time the period of ideological struggle for the minds of the people.

In this connection, Nkrumah deals with various forms of ideological struggle in the battle for a new society, specifically religion and morals.

'SOCIAL FACT'

Starting from the materialist basis of his philosophy, Nkrumah vigorously attacks religion as "an instrument of bourgeois social reaction" (p. 13) but at the same time warns that this should not be interpreted as a declaration of war on religion, since in present-day Africa it "is also a social fact" (p. 13).

This thesis of Nkrumah's is closely tied in with his analysis of the social roots of religion, which, he stresses, grow from the social oppression of the people, and this is confirmed by the conditions obtaining in Africa.

Poverty "reinforces the religious feeling" of the victims of social reality (p. 14). Nkrumah notes with deep regret that the bourgeois West makes use of African inexperience and frequently succeeds in getting even those leaders who started out in a revolutionary mood to rise to the bait of their religious propaganda.

Nkrumah's assessment of the significance of ideological struggle between states with differing socio-economic systems, merits attention.

"... There can be oppos-

ing ideologies between different societies. However, while societies with different social systems can co-exist, their ideologies cannot. As long as oppressive classes exist, there can be no such thing as peaceful co-existence between opposing ideologies" (p. 57).

Specifying this proposition, he says that ideology displays itself in political, social and moral theory, and embraces the whole life of a people, manifesting itself in the class structure, history, literature, art and religion.

The number of questions raised in this small book is very great, and it is very difficult, therefore, to deal with all of them in a short review.

UNITY CALL

That Consciencism is significant for the development of progressive thought of the fighting continent is undoubted. Consciencism is a political philosophy of African struggle and organisation in the battle against imperialism for liberation, for building a new society and for Socialism.

"In the case of Africa, by means of the foregoing set of theoretic methods the necessity of a union of independent African states is established, a union integrated by Socialism, without which our hard-won independence may yet be perverted and negated by a new colonialism" (p. 118).

Nkrumah once again calls for the unity of the liberated African countries to safeguard their gains.

Four million Africans baffled

THE four million African people of the British Colony of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) are now completely baffled by the British Government's attitude towards their legitimate demand for a democratic say in their country's affairs.

The recent Commonwealth leaders' conference in London left the oppressed people of Zimbabwe with the feeling that they had only one course open to them for the attainment of their national rights and dignity, because of the flat refusal of the British Premier, Mr. Harold Wilson, to give a time-limit for the convening of a constitutional conference on Rhodesia.

SECRET TALKS

That course is the violent one.

The Commonwealth leaders' conference communique said on Rhodesia, *inter alia*, that Britain would consider calling a constitutional conference if the present secret Smith-Wilson independence negotiations did not make headway "in a reasonably speedy time".

This was seen by the indigenous people of Zimbabwe, led by the Zimbabwe African People's Union, as another attempt by the British Government to shirk her responsibilities over her Rhodesian Colony.

Britain has said, and is still maintaining, that because of the existence of a convention between her and the white minority settler regime of Rhodesia she has no power to deal effectively with the Rhodesian issue without the risk of interfering in the Colony's internal affairs.

The editor of the Zimbabwe Review, SAUL GWAKBU NDLOVU, puts the official view of the Zimbabwe African People's Union

Soon after the Commonwealth conference, the Rhodesian minority leader, Ian Smith, warned Britain that any attempt to convene a constitutional conference on Rhodesia would be regarded by his regime as interference in the country's internal affairs.

WENT FURTHER

Ian Smith went even further. He said, as far as he was concerned there were only two questions which faced Rhodesia at the moment.

The first was independence, and the second was whether this would be with or without the Commonwealth.

"As for the first, the issue is clear and decisive. We will have our independence. The only question to be determined is when," he told the minority's House of Assembly soon after the Commonwealth talks.

In the meantime, Britain's Harold Wilson has repeated to the House of Commons that the British Government would not legislate for Rhodesia on those issues within the competence of the Rhodesian Parliament.

The British Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Arthur Bottomley, ruled out the question of military action against an adamant and rebelling Rhodesia.

This clearly showed the majority of the people of Zimbabwe that relying on Britain to rectify her political mess in her Colony of Rhodesia is tantamount to relying on a broken reed.

For Britain has proved to be treacherously selling out the four million Zimba-

bweans to the minority settler regime. Now all Zimbabweans ask what Mr. Bottomley meant to achieve when he pleaded to all and sundry to refrain from violence, though his own Government is not taking decisive and positive steps to avoid violence.

The Zimbabwe African People's Union does not accept the validity of the British Government's claim that the existence of the suspicious convention has rendered it powerless to act decisively on its Colony of Rhodesia.

Section 34, sub-section 2 of the undemocratic 1961 Constitution says: "The Governor, acting in his discretion in the manner prescribed in section 45, may at any time, by proclamation in the Gazette, dissolve the Legislative Assembly."

Section 45 states that the Governor, in the exercise of his functions, shall act in accordance with the advice of the Governor's Council or the appropriate Minister, as the case may require... provided the Governor shall act in accordance with his own discretion in the exercise of the power of dissolving the Legislative Assembly conferred on him by sub-section 2 of section 34.

LAME EXCUSE

These sovereign powers of the Rhodesian Governor show, therefore, that the claim that the so-called convention between Britain and Rhodesia makes it difficult, if not impossible, for Britain to act effectively on Rhodesia affairs, is a lame excuse by Her Majesty's

Government for ignoring its responsibilities over the Colony.

The African people of Rhodesia rightly feel now that Britain is deliberately treating the Rhodesian issue on a kith-and-kin basis by putting the interests of 20,000-odd white settlers above those of the four million indigenous people of the country.

It is again on this basis that Mr. Wilson's Labour Government is conducting the secret negotiations for independence with Rhodesia's little Hitler, Ian Smith, to the exclusion of the indigenous people's popular leader Mr. Joshua Nkomo. Smith's determination to promote and immortalise white supremacy in Rhodesia is well known. He is ruthlessly entrenching himself in power.

MORAL LAXITY

He has said over and over again that he does not expect to see an African Government in Rhodesia in his lifetime. He is about 46 years old.

Does such an attitude show reasonableness? Does such an approach deserve sympathy from any democratic country? Does it show any prospect or sign of a peaceful solution to the Rhodesian crisis?

If Smith declared independence unilaterally and the British Government depended only on economic sanctions as a remedial or punitive measure against a rebellious colony, it would be the height of moral laxity and racialism.

The Smith regime would maintain law and order in Rhodesia after a unilateral declaration of independence only by means of violence, just as it does now.

Does this justify Mr. Bottomley's undertaking that force must be ruled out in Rhodesia?

If Smith continues to refuse to attend a constitutional conference on Rhodesia and goes on waving the U.D.I. sword, will the British Government sit glumly and claim impotence?

If she does, as she is doing now, it is quite difficult for us to avoid a violent racial clash in Rhodesia.

ACTION NOW

The present eight-month-long clandestine correspondence between Wilson and Smith has made the African people of Zimbabwe more resentful than ever before toward Britain.

Only an immediate, positive and decisive action by the British Government to ensure the democratic advancement of the four million indigenous people on a one-man-one-vote franchise will change their bitter attitude.

If this is not done immediately without fear or favour, the future of the Rhodesian minority white settlers will remain bleak indeed.

Z.A.P.U., like Dr. Kaunda, President of Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia), maintains that justice knows no friend, relative or colour, and that military force must be used by Britain to compel Ian Smith's minority regime to respect justice and fair play.

Both moral and human standards demand that the British Government should stop vacillating on this explosive issue.