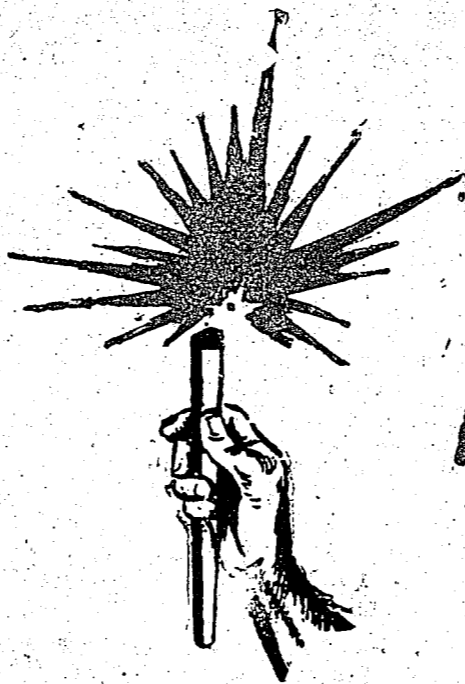


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What Engels Knew In 1882

by H.M. Basner

EDITORIAL

Whose Commonwealth?

WE hold to the view that apart from the British (principally the Tories) nobody really cares about any fate that befalls the Commonwealth today.

We would have refrained from making any serious reference to the Commonwealth but for the new tirade of nonsense being poured on outstanding statesmen in the Commonwealth by a section of the British press.

Under the guise of preserving the Commonwealth certain utterances, utterly hostile and malicious are being made by responsible men in Britain against African leaders. The blue Prime Minister himself is not excluded.

It is the view of the "Daily Express", the mouthpiece of the Tories, that there are some trouble-makers who should be thrown out of the Commonwealth.

The paper reveals that "already the day-to-day messages flowing from Britain to her Commonwealth partners have to be varied in order to keep major secrets out of the wrong hands."

The "Daily Express" says the first condition for membership of the Commonwealth should be "support for the West against communism". It talks of a political charter laying down certain basic principles to which all who want to stay in the Commonwealth should be expected publicly to subscribe.

This is an open attempt to impose British political values on all members of the Commonwealth. As if all is well with Britain herself.

Faced with the political debacles of 1963—the scandals of ministerial morality, land prices, rents, the police and education facilities—the Conservative Party thinks an all out effort to create a new Tory image in the Commonwealth will help them at the general elections. The Tories are now behaving as if they are a group of restless, probing men alive to the issues facing the Commonwealth and determined to get to grips with the problems.

All the problems of the Commonwealth today are of the Tories own making. On the other hand, if there is any influence left for the Commonwealth it is just because world leaders like Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Pandit Nehru are associated with it somehow.

A die-hard Tory says those who regard their membership of the Commonwealth as a convenience rather than an inspiration are now to go their separate ways. Britain should get out first. In spite of all her obligations and undertakings and her claims that she dreamt and created the Commonwealth, she was the first to make an attempt of leaving the Commonwealth for the European Economic Community.

Another unfortunate departure from the normal spirit of the Commonwealth is the attempt by the Tories to pass judgement on the internal affairs of member nations and their governmental structure. Some countries are still associated with the organisation because it is able to unite in diversity 20 countries pursuing no common course or purpose. A lesson which the United Nations is learning fast.

One of the charges which the British press is levelling against the "trouble-makers" of the Commonwealth is that they oppose and rebuke Britain at the UN and hurl public insults at her in their own territories.

This is true but Britain cannot be free of this charge. The hostility of the British press and radio to Commonwealth countries is profound.

IF any confirmation were needed for the assumption that socialism in Africa will be organized on the basis of African conditions and experiences, and not on those of the great socialist revolutions elsewhere, it will be found in remarkably clear terms in a letter written by Engels in 1882.

At that time it was taken for granted that the proletariat of Europe and North America would produce socialist revolutions which would assume responsibility for leading the colonial world to independence. Even under those conditions—with the colonial world owing its independence to the Western socialist revolutions—Engels cannot see proletarian revolutions playing more than a secondary role in determining the course and nature of socialism in the colonial countries freed by the collapse of imperialism.

But today the capitalist world has by no means collapsed; imperialism has found a new lease of life with neo-colonialist techniques; the great socialist revolutions have not taken place in the industrialized, (proletarianized) countries; the "semi-civilized" colonial world has not achieved independence as a political reflex of the proletarian revolutions in the West, but rather through its own struggles at a time when the imperialists could not hold down great masses of colonial peoples whilst conducting a Cold War under conditions of nuclear parity with the Soviet Union.

The process of decolonization and the military strength of the socialist states are, of course, complementary, even inextricably linked, in the joint struggle against imperialism, but the other processes of development in the ex-colonial and socialist coun-

tries are less closely linked than even when Engels wrote the following words:-

"We shall have enough to do at home. Once Europe is organised, and North America, that will furnish such colossal power and such an example that the semi-civilized countries will follow in their wake of their own accord. Economic needs alone will be responsible for this. But as to what social and political phases these countries will then have to pass through before they likewise arrive at socialist organisation, we today can only advance rather idle hypotheses, I think. One thing alone is certain: the victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing..."

There is enough in this short passage to shew why Kwame Nkrumah had to write CONSCIENCISM; why more books like CONSCIENCISM must sooner or later make their appearance throughout that part of the world in respect of which Marx and Engels could only advance "rather idle hypotheses".

What does it mean when Engels writes emphatically: "One thing is certain: the victorious proletariat can force no blessings on any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing..."?

Firstly, it means that revolutions can't be exported. This is a political truism



President Leopold Senghor of Senegal

Britain is rebuked at the UN because of her colonial policies and the open support she gives to white supremacy in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. On these the Tories should know that the African members cannot be compromised.

If these facts are not apparent to the Tories and those who think the Commonwealth should carry immeasurably greater influence in the world than the Conservative who airily described the Commonwealth as "a gigantic farce" is not wrong.

long accepted by everyone except the imperialists, who must live by the falsehood that no one ever rebels against their exploitation and oppression of his own accord.

Secondly—and this is far more important—a victorious proletariat begins to

have a vested interest in its own revolution, and must not endanger it by adventuring into other peoples' revolutions. True, Marx and Engels regarded the proletariat of Europe and North America as one class without conflicting interests, and therefore regarded all proletarian revolutions as one and the same revolution, but this did not include the colonial world. The colonial world was "semi-civilized"—a world of tribesmen and peasants, which would have to go through

its own social and political phases before it likewise arrived at socialist organization.

Does this make Marx and Engels racialists or chauvinists? No, it makes them scientific socialists who face the realities of conflicting economic interests at all levels—even the revolutionary level—and who know, incidentally, that they are not equipped with sufficient knowledge to make more than idle hypo-

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Consciencism



3. A dialectical materialist view of the world;
4. The treatment of Africa as one unit in order to achieve self-induced development;
5. The public control of means of production;
6. The use of the state as the primary instrument for regulating social relations and for promoting economic and general development;
7. Revolutionary action backed by the broad masses as the principal weapon for solving all problems.

These then are the strands of the philosophy that will lead Africa out of the present mental morass, philosophy that can achieve the mobilisation of the entire people for democracy and progress through total liberation and total integration of Africa.

This philosophy has already come into being. It is 'Consciencism'. Here again, the contribution has come from Kwame Nkrumah. And it constitutes the greatest contribution to the national liberation movement in Africa.

Armed with the blazing light of 'Consciencism' our national liberation movement will see its goals more clearly, mobilise the masses more effectively for the attainment of those goals, and proceed with even surer steps to achieve complete emancipation of Africa and its peoples.

This is the road of revolutionary action through self-reliance.

And through this route we shall emerge as a powerful force for socialism in the world.

Long live 'Consciencism', the fighting philosophy of the New Africa!

Long live the revolutionary struggle of all oppressed peoples!
Long live socialism!

WE can no longer toy with fissiparous concepts, which tend to give each African country its own ideology. Can one imagine a situation in which all fifty-four territories in Africa each has its own ideology separate and distinct? This is chaos; and such chaos can bring satisfaction only to imperialism.

Nor can Africa take any really dramatic step forward in the field of reconstruction and development, if held down by philosophical formulations, which are illogical or merely racist and leave the socio-economic foundations of society untouched. Such philosophies, among which is numbered the socialism of Negritude, help imperialism because, ignoring the socio-economic foundations of present-day Africa, it leaves the very pillars of the imperialist edifice in Africa.

Nor can we push forward through a blind and fanatical adherence to our religious civilisations. Traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Christian Africa overlap one another throughout Africa. A fanatical and demagogic adherence to any one of these is likely to create schisms which undermine that ideological mobilisation of our peoples so essential to our continued progress. And because these civilisations overlap one another, it is impossible to remove the schisms by way of geographical demarcation of spheres of influence. The solution lies only in philosophical synthesis.

To achieve rapid decolonisation and development, Africa needs a philosophy that upholds the following principles:-

1. The equality of man;
2. The development of all is the condition for the development of each;

FRANCE AND HER FORMER

COLONIES (I)

A THEORY AND PRACTICE OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Problems of Philosophy

We are making "Problems of Philosophy" a permanent feature of our paper. We invite serious contributions on "Consciencism" for publication in this column. —EDITOR

BARELY a month since its launching, 'Consciencism', the philosophy of the new Africa, is making a big impact on the intellectual world. Almost all the more serious British papers have carried reviews of it. An Arabic translation of it is ready and will soon be published in Lebanon. The French edition is in print. African leaders, in their recent statements, are exuding marked self-confidence in the ability of Africa to chart an independent path of development for herself, ideological formulations not excluded.

Criticism, so far, of Consciencism from non-African sources falls into three categories. One set of criticism is hostile to Consciencism because the philosophy is uncompromisingly anti-imperialist in spirit and content. We can understand this attitude. For these critics have a vested interest in defending imperialist positions the world over.

Incidentally, these critics confirm a tenet of Consciencism which holds that the ideology of the new society must engage in a fierce battle with the existing ideology "of the ruling group." In this connection we are warned—and how quickly we had confirmation of this—that "as long as oppressive classes exist, there can be no such thing as peaceful co-existence between opposing ideologies" (p.57).

The second set of criticism maintains that Consciencism is "not sufficiently African". The holders of this view (principally Philip Mason of the London "Sunday Times") seem to be looking for a way to overcome Consciencism's full acceptance of dialectical materialism. In other words, this is the avenue through which idealism and metaphysics in Western philosophy hope to do battle with Consciencism.

This stand, coming as it does from apologists of Western philosophy is clearly hypocritical.

The view loses sight of the truth that a purely African philosophy is impossible today. If we accept the view that philosophy "arises from a social milieu", as we must if philosophy is to have any meaning at all, then African thought in the mid-20th century cannot escape powerful influences which have permeated the continent from outside Africa. As Consciencism puts it: "our society is not the old society, but a new society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences". Out of the three African "a new harmony needs to be forged, a harmony that will allow the combined presence of traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa, so that this presence is in tune with the original humanist principles underlying African society" (p.70).

If we accept this view, then there can be nothing like "pure" African philosophy today. African philosophy must reflect and explain Africa's historical connections with non-African forces and influences. The 'not sufficiently African' school of thought is therefore out of touch with reality.

The third set of criticism contradicts the second. It holds that Africa cannot evolve its own philosophy. It refers to any such at-

tempts as "African exceptionalism". This view sees Africa as a passive battle ground for the two dominant trends of Western thought, namely capitalist liberalism and proletarian socialism. It holds that Africa must embrace European socialism hook, line and sinker.

This view is as false as the 'not sufficiently African' view. Socialist thought in Africa of the mid-20th century cannot be an exact replica of West European socialist thought in the second half of the 19th century.

For the very simple but cogent reason that the "social milieu" that gave birth to western socialist thought is quite different from the "social milieu" of present-day Africa.

We may cite just one example. When Marx and Engels wrote, Europe was a capitalist society free from feudal influences except in parts of Germany where the Prussian junkers still had a waning influence. There was only one religion, namely christianity. Colonialism was known only as an external phenomenon imposed by Western Europe on other parts of the world. It was not an element internal to western society.

In Africa the circumstances are different. We have colonialism and neo-colonialism. We have Christian and Islamic civilisations overlying one another and both overlying traditional African life. We have feudalism and even slavery lingering on in a few pockets. Socialist thought in Africa, if based on reality as all true philosophies should be, must of necessity exhibit formulations and approaches somewhat different from its European precursor.

Socialist thought in Europe emerged from a two-sided conflict between labour and capital. In Africa, socialist thought is emerging out of a many-sided conflict which includes the labour-capital tussle as one of a host of other contradictions. Socialist philosophy in Africa—in other words "Consciencism"—must therefore be distilled out of the many contradictions that make up Africa's present. If it ignores these, to that extent will it fail to serve as an ideology for mobilising our people for recon-

struction. If it is guided only by the contradictions of European society, to that extent will it be somewhat askew with African society as we know it today.

Consciencism takes up a position half way between the 'not sufficiently African' and the 'no African exceptionalism' schools. It rejects 'African socialism' and introduces significant changes in approach to 'scientific socialism'. It holds that African history is peculiarly African but that it is closely linked with world history. Hence African thought will exude features distinctly African; but this African thought will of necessity be closely rooted in world thought.

The new African intellectual is neither isolationist nor integrationist. Consciencism reflects this position in the realm of social thought.

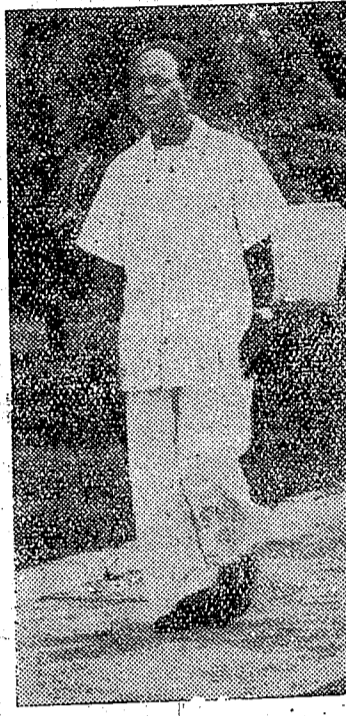
* * * It is a pity that some British writers have begun applying their propaganda gimmicks against Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to Consciencism. These men fear the power of a new African philosophy and hope to undermine it through insinuations and distortions. These men cannot conceive of an Africa existing independently of Europe.

Mr. Brian Chapman, writing in the "Manchester Guardian" claims that "Consciencism" demolishes European philosophers "in toto in 55 pages" and that the "essence of the doctrine of Consciencism" is the enthronement of the one-party system.

"Consciencism" does not demolish Western philosophy. It makes a critical appraisal of it. It points out that in Western philosophy are to be found two schools of thought—that which conceives philosophy as an "ivory tower" and the other which sees philosophy as serving a social purpose.

Consciencism throws in its lot with the second school. At p.53 we read: "By multiplying examples to show how there is a social contention, implicit or explicit, in the thought of the philosophers, the history of philosophy, as I have sketched it earlier on, suddenly enjoys a transfiguration of blood and springs to life. These philosophies appear in situ not as abstract, cerebral systems but as intellectual weapons implying social purpose."

It is correct that Kwame Nkrumah sharply criticises the European twentieth century Western philosophers, who "largely disinherit themselves" and affect an aristocratic, professional unconcern over the social real-



ties of today". But it is clear that he attacks not Western philosophy as a whole but its more arid sectors. "Whereas the great philosophers, the titans, have always been passionately interested in social reality and the welfare of man, many of their twentieth-century descendants in the West sardonically settle down to a compilation of a dictionary of sentences as opposed to a dictionary of words, engulfed in their intellectual hermitage, they excuse themselves from philosophical comment on social progress or social oppression, on peace or war" (p.54).

Kwame Nkrumah's whole purpose in making a review of Western philosophy is to draw the attention of African scholars and intellectuals to the need for parting with that Western concept which isolates philosophy from social reality and to embrace the other Western view that sees philosophy as having a social contention. "It is my opinion", he writes at p.15 "that when we study a philosophy which is not ours, we must see it in the context of the intellectual history to which it belongs, and we must see it in the context of the milieu in which it was born".

The other criticism, that the essence of Consciencism is to extol the one-party system, reflects lamentable ignorance or plain mischief-making. The one-party system only comes in when we consider the media for bringing into being the type of society Consciencism advocates. The heart of the philosophy is the new African society, an organic society of continental dimensions, which can sustain Africa's quest for independence and progress through unity. Philosophical consciencism we are told at p.70 "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 them for the harmonious growth and development of that society".

It is quite unpardonable to confuse an institution of society with the society itself. While not dismissing institutions as unimportant, we must not be less assertive in the truth that the chief concern of Consciencism is to establish the main principles which "should guide and direct African reconstruction".

—JULIUS SAGO

FRANCE'S February intervention has not put an end to popular unrest in Gabon. Although President Leon M'Ba has been restored, his power remains illusory and his position shaky. The Presidential palace is guarded day and night by French paratroops. French patrols comb the streets of Libreville. Mass demonstrations nevertheless go on. The Gabonese are demanding M'Ba's exile, the withdrawal of the French forces, and democratic elections.

Viewed apart from what is going on in other former French colonies south of the Sahara, the developments in Gabon may seem a chance and transitory occurrence. There are some in Paris who would like to think they are only that. But the fact is that the attempt to overthrow the President was brought about by the same causes as those which had led to the overthrow, somewhat earlier, of the Presidents of the Brazzaville Congo and Dahomey, and to the present political instability in the Ivory Coast, Chad and other countries.

These developments—unexpected rather than accidental—mark the beginning of a new process in Africa: the disintegration of the neo-colonialist empire set up by the French imperialists on the territories where they were forced to yield direct political power in 1960. It is a process that deserves close study, for no other imperialist power has succeeded in building so vast a neo-colonialist system as France has done south of the Sahara. This system extends to all former French colonies in the area with the exception of Guinea and Mali (consequently, none of what follows applies to these two genuinely independent republics).

Let us first take a look at the structure of the French neo-colonialist empire and then analyse the processes going on within.

NOISELESS CHAINS

History is definitely indebted to the French colonialists. No one has ever proved so convincingly that armed suppression of the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries is doomed to failure. France has waged two long and costly colonial wars—in Indo-China and Algeria—and has lost both.

Although General de Gaulle, who came to power in 1958, continued the war in Algeria for a time, he steered a course towards "peaceful decolonization" in the remaining French dependencies. The French propaganda machinery, expertly handled by the President of the Fifth Republic, palmed off this decision as an act of good-will. It was a virtue assumed by necessity. The war in Algeria, trying up the bulk of the French army, made other military ventures impossible. Faced with this situation, de Gaulle decided to switch over from the old methods of ruling colonies by sword and fire to neo-colonialist methods. While formally granting them independence, he sought to shackle them with new, noiseless chains.

As things stand today, the colonialists see many advantages in this policy. Firstly, they no longer bear the responsibility for everything that goes on in the colonies. It is the local governments and not they who are responsible for maladministration, injustice, economic difficulties, poverty and hunger. The metropolitan country, whose assistance is not so much generous as it is well publicised, is free to parade as a benefactor.

Secondly, the former metropolis continues to exploit the politically independent territories as much as before—if not more. There is also this advantage: the absence of formal reasons for accusing it of colonialism, for criticism in the United Nations and intervention by the 24-Nation Committee.

Thirdly, noiseless chains being harder to discover than clanging chains, the

colonialists presume that the former colonial peoples will wear them uncomplainingly, lulled by the illusion that they are independent and free.

All the pros and cons duly weighed, the imperialists set forth on a pleasure cruise on the seas of neo-colonialism. Developments show that their judgement has been at fault.

In decolonizing their dependencies, the French imperialists took care to make the newly-independent states as weak as possible in every respect.

In the colonial era, the French possessions in Tropical Africa were united in two federations—French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa. The former consisted of Chad, the Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari and Gabon; the latter of Senegal, Mauritania, the French Sudan, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta and Niger. Each federation had its own governor-general and its own administrative centre (Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa, Dakar in French West Africa).

Consolidation of the two federations could have made the newly-independent states strong and viable. The prerequisites—both ethnic and economic—were there. Though rich in natural resources, many of the



President Leon M'ba of Gabon

former French colonies are incapable of making full use of them single-handed. Jointly, they could tackle many of the economic problems which are too much for each singly.

THE BACKBONE OF THE NEW EMPIRE

The French colonialists, however, did not want strong partners. They wanted weak states which could not exist without outside assistance, which would agree to shackling agreements for meagre handouts. This explains why the two federations were dissolved at the time of their decolonization.

The local organs of power were set up not within the framework of the federation, but within that of each separate territory. As a result, there came into existence many weak, sparsely populated states (1,000,000 to 5,000,000 in most, less than 1,000,000 in the Brazzaville Congo, Mauritania and Gabon).

Having dismembered the colonial empire and reconstituted the parts as indepen-

dent states, de Gaulle offered them his paternal protection. His supporters in these countries argued that they could not get along without France, because they were economically and militarily weak and their leaders lacked administrative and political experience. In 1960-61, France imposed military aid, defence, diplomatic and economic agreements on almost all of her former colonies.

Since space prevents us from analyzing in detail all these agreements, let us deal only with the military ones, which may be said to be the backbone of the neo-colonialist system.

Outwardly, these agreements look quite proper. They deal with co-operation in defence, with mutual assistance in the event of aggression, with military and technical aid. In actual fact all the rights are conferred on only one of the signatories.

There is, for instance, an agreement on the granting of bases "on the basis of reciprocity." But not a single African country has any in France, and it is hard to imagine it having one. France, on the other hand, has bases in Dakar, (Senegal), Fort-Lamy (Chad), Pointe-Noire (Congo), Duala (Cameroon), Port-Etienne (Mauritania), Diego-Suarez (Madagascar) and other places.

MILITARY AGREEMENTS

Officially, they are to enable France to fulfil her obligations to her African partners in the event of an attack from without. Such an attack, however, is hardly to be expected. On the other hand, France is empowered to "intervene directly" in the affairs of these states if she deems her interests imperilled.

The concept of reciprocity is interpreted just as uniquely in the agreements providing for the use of the French armed forces to "maintain law and order" in the former colonies. These agreements have not been made public, but press reports say they give the African governments the right to appeal to French troops for assistance if their authority is threatened. So, after all, the Africans do enjoy some rights? Don't be too hasty, France, it turns out, decides herself whether or not she should come to the aid of the government in distress. As we know, she decided against it in the case of the Presidents of the Congo and Dahomey but rushed to the rescue of the President of Gabon.

The agreements on "mutual assistance" contain a clause binding the signatories to follow a common policy in relation to strategic raw materials, notably atomic. But here, too, the obligation is in practice a unilateral one: it is the African countries which have the strategic raw materials, and they are bound to sell them to France, irrespective of export conditions.

The African governments could protect their interests themselves if their armed forces were numerically strong enough. But France, claiming that large armed forces would necessitate voluminous military aid, allows them to maintain only very small, token armies. The Gabonese army, for instance, is only 400 strong. And even this insignificant force is under the command

Continued on page 4

Sierra Leone's Diamonds

THE customs inspector took a long time rummaging through my bag. He ran his eye down my declaration again and asked yet once more!

"Not carrying any jewels?"

"No."

"No diamonds?"

"No."

"Pass through, please next!"

His pertinacity was understandable. After all, this was a diamond country I was entering. Sierra Leone ranks fourth in the world in the mining and probably first in the smuggling of diamonds.

"I want to talk to you as a friend, Major Scobie. There are diamonds and diamonds and Syrians and Syrians. You people hunt the wrong men. You want to stop industrial diamonds going to Portugal and then to Germany, or across the border to the Vichy French.

But all the time you are chasing people who are not interested in industrial diamonds, people who just want to get a few gem stones in a safe place for when peace comes again."

"In other words, you?"

"Six times this month police have been into my stores making everything untidy. They will never find any industrial diamonds that way. Only small men are interested in industrial diamonds. Why, for a whole matchbox full of them, you would only get two hundred pounds. I call them gravel collectors."

This conversation between the Syrian merchant Yusef and Major Scobie of the colonial police is from Graham Greene's novel "The Heart of the Matter". Yusef is an adroit, cynical dealer in smuggled diamonds who stops at nothing to gain his ends, not even the murder of dangerous witnesses. He wants to entangle the impetuous Major Scobie in his web, and he does talk him over, but not for long. Unable to still his conscience, Major Scobie escapes from his hopeless predicament by committing suicide.

SMUGGLING TRADE

I recalled this novel during my stay in Sierra Leone chiefly because Freetown and its environs so closely resemble the scene it is set in, although much has changed since the time described by Mr. Greene. I saw no one who could have served as the prototype of Major Scobie. When Sierra Leone gained its independence in 1961 the colonial officials had either to remove themselves to other parts of the British Empire or return to England. And artful dealers like Yusef could no longer operate as freely.

But the diamonds remained. So, unhappily, did smuggling, despite all the efforts of the police to stop it. And the dramatic incidents the smuggling trade gives rise to continue to disturb the country from time to time.

The happy bride who has just had a diamond engagement ring slipped on her finger, the British film star trying on a diamond necklace, the wife of a New York millionaire whose husband has given her another pair of diamond earrings for her birthday never stop to think of the cost of their gems in labour and tears, of the economic, financial and political passions they arouse. Well may the people of Sierra Leone say that diamonds are their fortune and their curse.

To combat smuggling the authorities have cast over the diamond business a cloak of secrecy the foreigner cannot easily penetrate. The Kono easily penetrate

are a restricted area to which the ordinary mortal cannot hope to be admitted. The reader will understand therefore how I welcomed the happy chance that brought me in contact with an Englishman who had once worked in Sierra Leone's diamond fields.

I had walked into a Freetown bookshop in the hope of picking up some books about Sierra Leone. The elderly bespectacled woman attendant hunted all through the shelves until she collected a few slender pamphlets published in London by Macmillan and Company (owned by the former British Prime Minister). They were two or three collections of historical stories by a Sierra Leone author named Clarke and a brochure entitled "Sierra Leone's Constitutional Story".

"That all you have?"

"Yes."

"Haven't you any books about Sierra Leone diamonds?"

"I'm afraid not. I'll ask the manager, if you like."

"You needn't trouble."

"I put in a middle-aged man in white shorts and gaiters, who had overheard this exchange. "To the best of my knowledge there are no such books in the shop. For that matter, I doubt if any have ever been written."

THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF DIAMOND

After a pause he asked me:

"What do you want to know about diamonds?"

I told him I was a journalist and wanted to know whatever might interest readers.

"I worked at the fields at one time. If you have pencil and paper—and time—you might be able to pump some information out of me," he smiled.

We proceeded together to the nearest cafe which offered shade from the hot sun and ordered a bottle of Seven Up each. This is a popular beverage in West Africa, advertised as capable of multiplying the drinker's energy sevenfold.

While the waiter went off to get the bottles and ice, my new-found acquaintance, who introduced himself as Mr. Bruce, engineer, began his story.

"The first diamond was discovered in Sierra Leone 34 years ago. While making a study of the soil along the Gbaboro River a British geologist by the name of Pollett came upon a tiny sparkling stone weighing about one quarter of a carat. That was the first precious stone to be discovered in the country. Subsequent exploration revealed large diamond deposits in the Kono area.

"They are alluvial diamonds recovered from river gravels. The technology involved is simple for the stones lie very near the surface. Geologists estimate that in some spots millions of pounds worth can be mined per acre. Quite often large stones of regular shape suitable for cutting and polishing are found. They're the stones the smugglers are most eager for. In 1945 the third biggest diamond in the world, a 770-carat stone, was found here. But a good deal of the output consists of "coffee", small brown stones good only for industrial purposes.

"The biggest deposits are owned by the Sierra Leone Selection Trust, a daughter company of Britain's Consolidated African Selection Trust. It's not easy to enter its domains. Special guards keep out everyone who has not obtained special permission to enter. And to leave the grounds is just as hard: you must submit to being

searched and x-rayed to make sure you aren't smuggling a stone out in your stomach.

"The company," continued Bruce, "has its main office in Yengema, where it also has a technical school, a sorting factory, its own landing field strips, and a power plant.

MINING OPERATIONS

"The mining operations on its fields are mechanized. Bulldozers remove the upper crust of the soil to lay bare the diamondiferous gravels. At the sorting factory the gravel is dumped onto "pulsators"—rocking tables smeared with grease. The diamonds remain caught in the grease while the rest of the gravel is flushed off. That's the picture in the rough. Since you're not a specialist I don't think the more technical details will interest you.

"Some mining is also done by individual diggers. Licences are issued by the Department of Mines. For twelve shillings a prospector receives little to a small plot of land for half a year.

"Pretty cheap," I commented.

"Don't rush to conclusions. The licence has to be endorsed by the chief of the village, the chief of the tribe, the local administrative chief, the chief of police and a few other officials. Each must put his signature or fingerprints on it. From one signature to the next the cost mounts. As a rule the licensee doesn't do any of the actual mining. He hires a team of diggers, usually 20 men, to work his plot. Have you ever seen African prospectors panning diamonds?"

"It's hellish work. After removing the upper layer of silt and sand the prospector crouches over his pan from morning till night. He may do this one and two and three days before he finds in the gravel the hard black stones that are taken to indicate the presence of diamonds. They give him hope that in the next heap of gravel he will catch the glint of a precious crystal. But that, alas, happens rarely. In any case, I have not yet met a prospector who has grown rich in this way. What they all do get in the fields is malaria, rheumatism or sleeping sickness.

"And now," said Bruce, concluding his story, "you can see what a one-carat diamond looks like". He raised his empty glass. At the bottom of it lay a pea-size lump of ice.

Mr. Bruce's brief story did not quite satisfy my curiosity. There were questions he evaded, others that he touched on only lightly, with reluctance. He was obviously unwilling to go into the social and political aspects of diamond mining.

A HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

On these subjects I gleaned some knowledge from others. For one thing, the Department of Information supplied a lot of interesting facts.

The "co-existence" of the Selection Trust and the African prospectors has not been quite as peaceful as one might gather from Mr. Bruce's story. On the contrary, it has been a long history of struggle which at times erupted into open warfare.

When the Selection Trust began working the diamond deposits in the thirties it obtained monopoly rights to prospecting and mining throughout the country for a term of 99 years. But it had to forego this right at a much earlier date, in 1955.

The "illegally" operating African diggers had long demanded cancellation of

the Selection Trust's monopoly, while the latter had been doing its utmost to get the local authorities to put a stop to "illegal digging". Matters came to a head in 1955 when the company called in the colonial police in a bid to restore its undermined monopoly rights. The resultant unrest among the prospectors quickly assumed an anti-colonial character. The diggers insisted "if anyone was operating legally, it was the Selection Trust, for its was robbing the Africans of their rightful wealth.

The struggle ended with the victory of the prospectors. The Selection Trust had to give up its monopoly. Under the 1955 agreement, the Selection Trust's sphere of operations was restricted to a territory of 114,500 hectares and the time limit of the concession greatly reduced.

The truce between the Trust and the African prospectors did not last long, however. In 1957 there were fresh disturbances. This time the prospectors demanded that the Trust be ousted from the country altogether. Neither the introduction of a state of emergency nor police action could quiet down the Kono area.

The prospectors adopted an interesting tactic in their struggle against the Trust. Teams of them would find out where company machines had just removed the upper crust of earth, make for the spot, and under cover of night set about panning the gravel. The company could do nothing about it because the diggers had the secret support of the rich traders, or alhaji, to whom they sold their finds.

The alhaji were rich enough to bribe the local police and the chieftains to look the other way. And they sold the diamonds bought from the prospectors not through the official distributing organisations but in neighbouring Liberia, where they got better prices.

THE DEAL

They did more than well on these deals. They could buy a 12-carat diamond prospector for £400 and sell it for 20-25 thousand. Many a legend is told in Sierra Leone about the fortunes they have amassed.

At one time smuggling reached such proportions that economists estimated that it came to double the legal trade in diamonds. Obviously, even the richest alhaji could never have organized things on such a large scale without the backing of big West-German, Belgian and other diamond companies, all rivals of the Selection Trust.

With the proclamation of independence it seemed at first that the passions had died down. The Selection Trust's board of directors even sent the Prime Minister and the people of Sierra Leone "their heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of independence." But that was sheer hypocrisy. Subsequent events proved that the Trust had a new scheme brewing.

Not long before the proclamation of independence it had refused to renew the contract binding it to sell its output through a government-controlled organization. Instead, it had signed contracts directly with foreign companies, the biggest of them being the New York firm of Henry Winston Inc., which undertook to buy half the Trust's output. Compared with the opportunities this offered for crooked dealing, the sharp practices of Greene's Yusef and his friends were innocent play. For, under the agreement with the Sierra Leone government

the company was supposed to pay into the treasury a definite percentage of the value of the diamonds mined, the exact sum being determined on the spot, in Sierra Leone. But, as West Africa magazine pointed out in 1962, in the short interval between the time the diamonds left the territory of Sierra Leone and the time they appeared in the world market their price soared. To catch the sharks red-handed was not easy, for the deals were transacted in the strictest secrecy.

GOV'T'S CONTROL

The government decided to put an end to this practice. In August 1961 it required the Selection Trust to present its entire output at the Government Diamond Office. It was to be sorted, cleaned, weighed and counted in the presence of government and company agents. And the company was to pay the Diamond Office five per cent of the selling price of all diamonds (approximately 10 per cent of net profits) for its distributing services.

The common opinion in Sierra Leone was that the government was treating the company handsomely. But, accustomed to operating without control, the Trust took this move as an insult. Immediately it applied "sanctions." It took back its earlier promise to open courses to teach native citizens how to cut and polish diamonds, and stopped all sales. Six million pounds worth of diamonds lay locked up in its steel safes in Yengema.

The "sanctions" failed of their effect, and the matter ended in a compromise. The Selection Trust agreed to sell half its output through the government organization.

Sierra Leone's conflict with the British monopoly, whose profits equal one-third of her annual budget, was a costly one. Government revenue from exports dropped by one-third in this period. The foreign trade balance was upset. Now, however, the opportunity of straightening it out again has appeared. I learned from the papers while in Sierra Leone that the Central Selling Organization in London, through which Sierra Leone sells her diamonds in the world market, has raised the purchasing price by 10 per cent. This will give her an additional several hundred thousand pounds sterling. And recently the government decided to open its own diamond-polishing factory.

Nevertheless, people in Sierra Leone feel increasingly uneasy about the future. For diamonds to make up approximately three-fifths of her exports creates a dangerous situation. For Sierra Leone pays for its imports with diamonds, and it has to import almost everything, from buttons to onions. This means that the welfare of the whole country is, in effect, dependent upon the fashion whims of brides, and the statistics for the past few years show that diamond engagement rings are going out of fashion.

DROP OF OUTPUT

That, however, is not the main trouble. Economists have estimated that Sierra Leone's diamond reserves will be exhausted within 25 years at the most. Already there are alarming signs that output is beginning to drop.

West Africa's Freetown correspondent put the question in this manner (January 25, 1964): "When the diamonds have gone, what will people see as their memorial? Will it be diamond wealth ploughed back

into development of agriculture, industry and communications? Or will it be the overgrown heaps of empty bottles outside the former diamond boom towns and villages?"

The people are clearly all for the first alternative. In view of this, the government has drawn up a ten-year development plan. But where are the £164 million needed for it to come from? That question has long been troubling the authorities in Freetown. The government hoped to raise the

sum through foreign loans, but these have yielded less than one million pounds as yet. The only other course is to "put the screw" on the foreign monopolies that have been pocketing Sierra Leone's wealth. That is the solution towards which more and more people are tending. Even the supporters of the government's present "open doors" policy for foreign companies are beginning to wonder whether the doors are not being held far too wide open.

WE ARE GRATEFUL TO MR. V. SIDENKO FOR THIS SEARCHING ARTICLE. WE RECOMMEND IT TO OUR READERS. —EDITOR

University College of Cape Coast

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Institute of Graduate Science Teachers

One of Ghana's greatest needs at the present time is for graduate science teachers to staff the rapidly developing secondary school system particularly the sixth forms in order to produce the students who will build the new scientific and technical Ghana.

The University College of Cape Coast has been set up with the prime purpose of producing Graduate Teachers. A new course has been planned to combine a full degree course in science with a course in the most modern methods of teaching science. It will be interesting, absorbing and challenging. Such a course will produce Ghanaian teachers the equal of any in the world.

The course gives an opportunity to the very best young Ghanaian school science students and particularly to those who desire to take a part in helping Ghana to produce the students needed to bring to fruition the Development Plan.

Initially only 80 students will be allowed to enter for the course and good facilities are already available for the Institute to go into full operation in October. As the Institute develops courses will be expanded to include larger numbers.

Entrance to the course will at two levels:

(a) Intermediate Course which will be for two years or in exceptional cases one year to be followed by

(b) Degree Course which will be for three years duration.

Entry qualification for (a) will be 5 passes at G.C.E. 'O' level or equivalent as follows:

- (i) A pass in English Language.
- (ii) A pass in Elementary Mathematics
- (iii) A pass in any two science subjects other than Elementary Mathematics.
- (iv) A pass in any other subject.

Very good students well qualified in science subjects but with only a School Certificate pass in English MAY be accepted for the intermediate course.

(b) Passes in the G.C.E. examination in five subjects, two of which must be at advanced level and must include English Language and Mathematics. The two advanced level subjects may be any two of the following:

- Pure Mathematics Mathematics Biology
- Applied Mathematics Physics Botany
- Further Mathematics Chemistry Zoology

Vacancies exist on this course, and qualified candidates are required to submit applications for consideration.

Applications, addressed to the Registrar, University College of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, should reach him not later than 22nd May, 1964.

AFRICAN DIARY

29th APRIL, WEDNESDAY :

U.A.R. : Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet Prime Minister is expected to arrive in Alexandria, by sea on May 9, for a 16-day official visit to the United Arab Republic.

NIGERIA : The Nigerian Trades Union Council in a letter to the Federal Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, asks him to ban the International Confederation of Free Trades Unions from operation in Nigeria.

GHANA : In a reply to the "Daily Telegraph's" editorial of April 27, Ghana High Commissioner in London, Mr. Kwesi Armah, tells the editor of the London "Daily Telegraph" that "their crude and evil efforts to divide Ghana from other African members of the Commonwealth will certainly fail."

He continues by saying, "Africans know the names of their friends and the racist Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister and his supporters in the press are not among these names."

NIGERIA : The Nigerian Federal Supreme Court sitting in Lagos was told that the release of all appellants in the treasonable felony case would be automatic if the leader of the Nigerian Action Group, Chief Obafemi Awolowo was freed.

30th APRIL, THURSDAY :
TANGANYIKA : African nationalists based in Tanganyika have strongly voiced their resentment against the semi-official burial accorded to General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, a West German who won fame through his anti-African campaigns.

BASUTOLAND : Basutoland's delegation to its country's constitutional conference in London rejects British proposals of the methods and timing of independence and calls on Britain to set in action the wheels of "withdrawal" immediately.

NORTHERN RHODESIA : Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia flies to London at the head of a seven-man Government delegation for his country's independence talks which opens in Malborough House on Tuesday.

SIERRA LEONE : Mr. Albert Margai, younger brother of the late Premier, Sir Milton Margai takes over as Prime Minister of Sierra Leone. The new Premier was until his appointment the Minister of Finance.

1st MAY, FRIDAY :
GHANA : Mr. Imoru Egala, Ghana's Minister of Industries, now leading a delegation to the United States tells a press conference in Washington that there should be "greater understanding" between Ghana and the United States than has existed in the past.

Mr. Egala says that Ghana wants peace and "wants to maintain friendship relations with all countries irrespective of whether they belong to the West or East."

2nd MAY, SATURDAY :
ALGERIA : President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, receives the Lenin Peace Prize in Moscow. President Ben Bella is now on an official visit to the Soviet Union.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA : The Christian Action Group of Salisbury declares in a letter transmitting to the United Nations a resolution strongly opposing a unilateral declaration of independence in the territory.

GHANA : The Ghana Trades Union Congress and the Upper Volta Trades Union Organisation has agreed to exchange technical aid in the field of Education and mu-

tual activities in all ways and manners consistent with their common orientation.

3rd MAY, SUNDAY :

SIERRA LEONE : The burial of the late Premier, Sir Milton Margai who died last Tuesday night, takes place today in the precincts of Sierra Leone House of Representatives in Freetown.

ZANZIBAR : The Trade Union movements of Zanzibar and Ghana have called on all trades union organisations in Africa to extricate themselves from foreign affiliations and to be "conscious of the harm that foreign interference does to the healthy growth of the African labour."

KENYA : A giant programme to replace European settlers with African small holders is now nearing the half-way stage of its first phase in Kenya's highlands.

BASUTOLAND : The Basutoland Congress Party denounces the British Government for its "arrogant attitude in refusing to fix a date for this protectorate's independence."

4th MAY, MONDAY :

LIBERIA : President Tubman of Liberia arrives in Algiers, Algeria, on board the French liner 'Jean Mermoz' on his way to Madagascar for an official visit.

SOUTH AFRICA : Sir Hugh Foot, a member of the U.N. study group which reported on South-West Africa last month, says Britain and the United States should impose pressure on South Africa to prevent a "world race war" starting there.

NORTHERN RHODESIA : Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia's Premier, now in London for his country's constitutional conference says in an interview that African countries can evolve a way of life essentially human and good for mankind if the big powers leave Africa alone.

MOZAMBIQUE : Mr. Leo Milas, a leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front, tells a press conference in Jerusalem that his people will soon carry arms to fight the Portuguese side by side with the peoples of Angola and Guinea.

5th MAY, TUESDAY :

SIERRA LEONE : The Sierra Government honours the late President John Kennedy of the United States, in a special issue of the world's first self-adhesive stamps produced for the Sierra Leone Government by British makers.

GHANA : President Alphonse Massamba-Debat of Congo (Brazzaville) arrives in Accra for a five-day private visit to Ghana.

NORTHERN RHODESIA : Mr. Joshua Nkomo, Southern Rhodesia nationalist leader, and more than 100 others are to challenge Government orders banishing them to restriction centres.

ALGERIA : The Algerian President, Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella and the Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev have reached a complete identity of views in their talks.

KENYA : Mr. Richard Cox, East African correspondent of the London "Sunday Times" leaves Kenya after being declared a prohibited immigrant.

* **KENYA :** Sixteen Kenya soldiers, convicted of mutiny last January were given jail terms ranging from 5 to 14 years in Nairobi.

NORTHERN RHODESIA : Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, Northern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, speaking at the opening session of the Northern Rhodesia constitutional conference in London, asks Britain to grant independence to his country on October 24.

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of French officers—the Gabonese officers are subordinated to them.

Paris can at any time stop military aid and in that event the men may not get paid. They will, naturally, vent their wrath on their own governments and not on France. For the French, this is another means of pressuring the African rulers with whom they have concluded military agreements. Any one of them can be toppled without recourse to armed intervention.

MUTUAL INSURANCE

In 1961 all the former French colonies except Mali and Guinea signed a mutual defence pact. This brought into existence the African and Malagasy Union—a military and political bloc under French tutelage.

At first sight, it might seem strange that France has reunited her former colonies in a military bloc after having herself dismembered her empire. The formation of the union, however, fits into the neo-

colonialist scheme very well.

From the neo-colonialist point of view, it is better to fight the national-liberation movement with African forces, the forces at the disposal of the Africans who are in power and are united in a military bloc. Most of the governments involved in the pact are alien and hostile to their own peoples, and the only real threat to them—as the developments in the Congo, Dahomey and Gabon show—is that of resistance from within. In other words, the African and Malagasy Union is a sort of mutual insurance society designed to protect the regimes in the former French colonies south of the Sahara.

Its establishment has not affected its members bilateral military agreements with France, which enable her to influence its activities and use it as a political tool.

FRENCH AFRICANS

The French Africans are rather a profession than a nationality. It is the name given the African politicians who, having found themselves at the helm of government when their countries were proclaimed independent, follow a policy which accords with the interests of their colonial patrons and not those of the nation. Without such politicians there could be no neo-colonialism. The exposure of their real role is a very important element in the struggle against neo-colonialism.

Most of the politicians heading the African states of the French neo-colonialist empire are French-educated. Many of them were National Assembly deputies from the so-called

overseas departments. Some were even Ministers, though without portfolios. These people spent many years of easy life in Paris.

Their hour struck in 1958, when they were virtually forced upon the colonies by France as Prime Ministers of semi-autonomous republics and then, in 1960, as Presidents of independent states. True, their advent to power followed the rules of bourgeois democracy. There were elections, but they were held under the control of the French colonial administration, which did everything to push their favourites in.

Take, for instance, former President Fulbert Youlou of the Brazzaville Congo. He was voted into office by a majority of one. And that only after the French-led Congolese police has terrorized the electors and massacred 100 Brazzaville residents. Much the same sort of thing happened in other republics.

Training African Politicians for the role of rulers, the colonialists corrupted them, encouraged graft and

dencies, the colonial administration paid them royal salaries.

The average salary of a Minister in these countries comes to about \$9,000 a year and that of an M.P. to around \$3,000. The wage of an African worker ranges between \$200 and \$250 a year. An M.P. in tiny Gabon (population: 440,000) gets about \$370 more than a British M.P. Working only three months a year, he receives as much in half a year as a Gabonese peasant makes in 36 years, that is, in practically the whole of his working life.

The Presidents, Ministers and M.P.s of the former French colonies live in clover. They buy expensive cars, build themselves palaces, employ numerous servants, keep flats in Paris. They are not in the least ashamed of living in luxury while the population is poverty-stricken. On the contrary, they boast of it and try to outdo one another. President Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, for instance, has built himself a palace of marble which he had brought from Italy by plane. It has cost the country about \$23,000,000.

President Hubert Maga of Dahomey also, planned to build a huge palace, while Youlou was all set on building a "little Versailles" in Brazzaville.

The Presidents were emulated by Ministers, M.P.s and officials of every rank. The French colonialists encouraged them all. The bourgeoisie and feudal landowners do not exist as classes in the former French colonies south of the Sahara. Consequently, there is no social basis for neo-colonialism to rely on. And so it is building itself one—

an "African middle class," a sort of "bureaucratic bourgeoisie"—out of high-paid politicians and officials.

There are thirteen Presidents, dozens of Cabinet Ministers and hundreds of M.P.s in the countries in question. Little Gabon has 65 M.P.s—or one per 7,000 of the population, whereas in France the ratio is 1:100,000. Writing of Youlou's entourage, the Paris *Monde* said: "Many people who held modest posts under the colonial administration now receive eighty times as much as they used to do only because they won favour with the former President."

Paris also encourages rich Africans' association with French industrial and trading firms. The latter willingly sell them shares and appoint them directors; Speculation in land, which leads to the disintegration of the African community and the emergence of a small class of local planters and prosperous farmers, is also encouraged.

—Y. POCKRORYOV



President Ould Daddah



President Hamani Diori

a taste for luxury and extravagance. The "sweet life" they lived in Paris spoiled them. When they became Prime Ministers and Ministers in the French depen-



Presid. Houphouet-Boigny

What Engels Knew In 1882

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theses about the social and political developments which will create socialism in what was then the colonial world.

But how and when does the Internationale unite the human race? This is a song, not a political programme. The capitalists, kulaks and bureaucrats are part of the human race. When all the revolutions are over, there will be one human race.

Consciencism making its appearance in 1964, proves how correct Engels was in 1882. The hypotheses advanced in Consciencism are based on the same philosophical concepts of reality as those which made scientific socialism possible, but its social and political hypotheses belong to the realities of African society which Engels never knew and would not venture to interpret.

This makes nonsense of all the talk about "revisionism" with which Consciencism has been greeted in certain quarters. The particular historical developments and social conditions for a socialist revolution in Africa which Kwame Nkrumah has analysed in Consciencism were never fully known and never fully studied until this period. The general theories of the colonial revolution are covered by a mass of literature, some of which is still valid in the general struggle against imperialism, but most of which has been overtaken by the rapidity and complexity of world events.

Without the theoretical

analysis of African society, and the theoretical appreciation of how that society will resolve its conflicts to bring about a socialist revolution as set out in CONSCIENCISM, what theoretical guidance have we at the moment for the practical aims of the African Revolution?

'LENIN OF AFRICA'

Everybody is a socialist now in Africa. Roughly, there are three schools: The Arab socialists in the North; the Negro-African school of Leopold Senghor; the Marxists from the industrialised areas of Southern Africa. What binds them together is a common understanding of the role of imperialism, and the need to present a common front against imperialism, but they cannot advance one inch further to organise socialism on a continental basis. None of the socio-economic realities of African society have been sufficiently studied to present a common theoretical basis for the next practical move towards socialism.

Thus, when Colla Legum reviewing "Consciencism" in the "Observer", ironically hails President Nkrumah as the "Lenin of Africa", and sees "Consciencism as an instrument for launching a mass political move-

ment on a continental basis, his irony has a hollow ring. What if it were true that "Consciencism has filled the intellectual void through which all the aspirations of Africa for socialist unity are slipping into neo-colonialist enclaves? The "Observer" would be the last to laugh if socialism became a reality in Africa, and if that reality drove out the reality of neo-colonialist control.

Both the Trade and Development Conference and the meeting of GATT in Geneva have made it clear that the industrialised world has no plans and no possibilities for bridging the ruinous economic gap which is making African independence a snare and delusion without the immediate unity of Africa on a socialist basis.

Both Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Mr. Harold Wilson have made it clear that the decolonization of Africa will be resisted to the last ditch whether a Tory or Labour Government rules in Britain. What, except CONSCIENCISM, has so far provided any basis on which the African states can combine to free the rest of their continent?

What, above all, except CONSCIENCISM, has so far made any attempt to understand the social and political phases through which Africa would have to go through to arrive at socialist organization? At least, CONSCIENCISM has proved that Marx and Engels always knew what they were talking about, even when they said that it was too early yet to talk about it.

KWAME NKURUMAH IDEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE WINNEBA

In view of the heavy demand for application forms and the fact that many forms which have been collected are still outstanding it has been decided to extend the closing date for the submission of application forms to the 9th of May, 1964.

All interested persons are hereby informed that no application will be considered for entry into the 1964/65 academic year.

The Entrance Examination will be held on Monday the 25th of May 1964 at the following centres:—

1. Winneba — All applicants from Greater Accra, Volta and Eastern Regions
2. Kumasi — All applicants from Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions
3. Tamale — All applicants from Upper and Northern Regions
4. Takoradi — All applicants from Central and Western Regions.

The exact places in these centres and the time table for the Entrance Examination will be announced later. Candidates are advised to look up the daily papers or to consult their District Commissioners.

The Entrance Examination will be conducted in a general paper made up of three parts. Candidates will be expected to show proficiency in Nkrumahism and current Affairs.