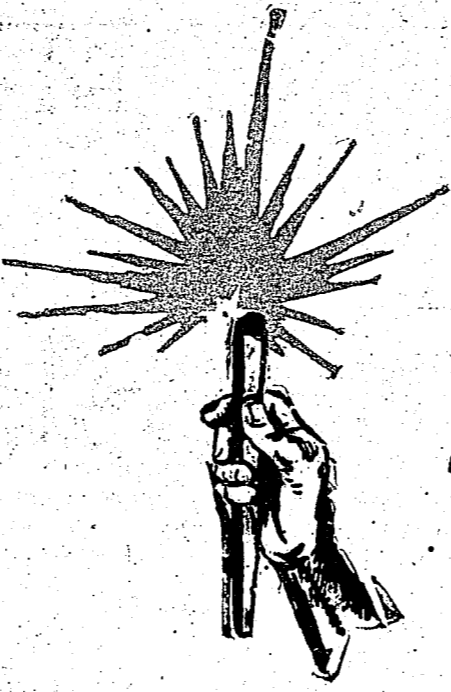


THE SPARK



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'CONSCIENCISM' IN PARIS AND LAGOS

Speech by Ghana High Commissioner in Nigeria at the Launching in Lagos

The London weekly, "The Observer" of May 3, 1964, in fairness to us said "The Spark" has "enthusiastically embraced" "Consciencism". Our stand is justified by the enthusiasm with which the whole world is receiving the book.

In this issue we publish the views of the influential French journal "Le Monde Diplomatique" and the popular Nigerian daily "West African Pilot" on "Consciencism".

We publish unedited the views on "Consciencism" by two prominent Nigerian public figures—Chief T. O. S. Benson and Chief H. O. Davies—and Dr. Azkoul, the Lebanese Ambassador to Ghana, who translated the book into Arabic.

We hold the view that "Consciencism" will give rise to endless discussions and to a host of pamphlets, reviews, articles and books. We shall therefore continue to encourage all serious contributions on the book.

IN LESS than five months of its existence, 'Consciencism' has made a lightning sweep across many centres of learning. The French edition was launched in Paris University last month at a televised ceremony attended by heads of Departments of Philosophy in French universities. It has been favourably reviewed in "Le Monde Diplomatique".

The Arabic version, translated by an eminent Arabic scholar and philosopher Dr. Karim Azkoul, the Lebanese Ambassador to Ghana, who is present with us here tonight, was launched in Beirut two months ago. 'Consciencism' was last month launched in Cairo, at a ceremony attended by many, including African Foreign Ministers. It has found its place into the teaching syllabus of Algiers University. The book has been widely reviewed by the world press.

The appeal of 'Consciencism' lies in the fact that it grapples with the basic problems of Africa's emergent nations. These are the problems of consolidation, stability and development. It is a philosophy that tries to point the way forward for the nations that have emerged from colonialism and those others now struggling against imperialism and neo-colonialism. This is clearly borne out in its subtitle "Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonisation and Development with particular reference to Africa". This 122-page philosophical work by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is the latest addition to the classics of the African

Revolution. Philosophical Consciencism has as its basic viewpoint the axiom that "philosophy always arose from a social milieu and that a social contention is always present in it". It rejects the view that philosophies are "abstract ethereal systems" a view which has led a cynic to allude to philosophy as a blind man in a dark room looking for a black cat. The firm foundation of 'Consciencism' is that philosophies must be seen as "intellectual weapons implying social purpose". They arise from a social environment and in turn they seek to influence that environment. "So-

concept, namely, the interrelation and interaction of thought and practice. In 'Consciencism', practice is the touchstone of knowledge. Here a # in I quote: "Practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty" (p.78).

Since purposeful philosophy arises from a social environment, what then, may we ask, is the social milieu that has given birth to 'Consciencism'?

Continued on page 2

In Paris...



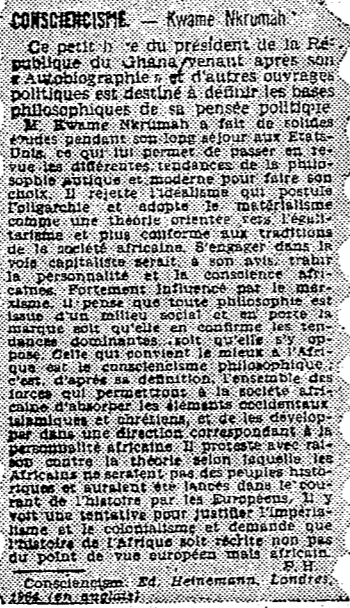
CONSCIENCISM

— Kwame Nkrumah

This relatively short book by the President of the Republic of Ghana, which is now coming out after he has already published his Autobiography and several other political works, is meant to make clear the philosophical foundations of his political thinking. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah undertook serious studies during his protracted stay in the U.S., and this has enabled him to give here a review of the diverse trends in ancient and modern philosophy, in order to assert his own choice. He rejects idealism which implies oligarchy, and chooses materialism because it is a theory aimed at egalitarianism and more suitable for the traditions of African society.

To follow the socialist path would be, in the opinion of the author, tantamount to a betrayal of African personality and consciousness. Deeply influenced by Marxism, the author thinks that any philosophical system is necessarily generated by given social strata, of which the system reveals the impact, whether it is in agreement with the prevailing trends or it is counteracting them. The philosophical system most convenient for Africa is philosophical consciencism. According to the definition provided by the author, it is the sum total of the forces which should enable African society to integrate Western, Islamic and Euro-Christian factors and to develop them in a way which agrees with the African personality. The author, within the historical framework, raises a right protest against the theory which

alleges that Africans had no history before the Europeans invaded them. The author sees this theory as an attempt to justify imperialism and colonialism, and he wants African history to be written again but this time with an African, not an European approach. F.H. (Translation)



Speech by Chief H. O. Davies

With the birth of independent Ghana eight years ago, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah emerged as indisputably one of the brightest luminaries in the political firmament of resurgent Africa. For a long time he shone uninterruptedly with dazzling and almost blinding brilliancy. Throughout the whole period, rough or smooth, Dr. Nkrumah has toiled ceaselessly to fashion the Ghana of his mind. He has also maintained a leading role in the vanguard of what he himself termed "the African Revolution."

To many of us, bred as we were in the economic climate of free enterprise, and committed uncritically to imported parliamentary democracy, the Ghana that Dr. Nkrumah was building appeared bizarre and incomprehensible. Viewed on the same background, Dr. Nkrumah himself at times seemed somewhat difficult to understand. It was apparent that he was building on an unusual plan; that the ideology which was directing his political decisions was extraordinary and revolutionary in character. What is the nature of that plan? What is his ideology?

This little book called "Consciencism" reveals in epitome the ideological basis on which Dr. Nkrumah is building Ghana and on which he wants the Continent of Africa to be organised.

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On Consciencism

We note with satisfaction, the remarkable growth of books published by African authors. In the past, our school text books and other reading matters of general interest had been written and published by foreign authors. These periodicals and books no doubt have cost Africans time and money. They have not only maintained a morale but have assisted in filling the gap in the intellectual world.

Last week-end, we witnessed the fanfare with which President Kwame Nkrumah's new book—"CONSCIENCISM" was launched in Nigeria. We laud the occasion because we consider the book an equivalent effort devoted to philosophies and information aimed directly at the minds of the African peoples.

"CONSCIENCISM", subtitled "Philosophy and Ideology for decolonialisation and development with particular reference to the African revolution" can be taken as a timely arrival and a long-felt need on the African scene, since it deals with the philosophical basis of African problems. It is not a vague theoretical book of Philosophy. It deals with the problems of consolidating the hard won independence of a newly emerged African continent, the problem of ensuring the political stability of our country and of developing its natural and

human resources. The basic viewpoint of the book is that philosophy always arises from a social milieu and that a social contention is always present in it.

This viewpoint lays down therefore that any programme for developing an African State, in order to succeed and to effectively achieve its aim, must take into account the realities of African development.

SUCH a programme must aim at forging, as the book sets out, a new harmony between the three strands in Africa: the Islamic experience, the Euro-Christian experience and the traditional African way of life.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's argument therefore is that we cannot forge this harmony of the three strands or resolve any conflict present in them by geographical demarcation. This argument is one of the strongest and firmest ever put forward by him to stress the need for a continental government. For an African leader to set out these guiding philosophies for our self-determination as a continent is no minor accomplishment.

OTHER African authors can follow suit. In this second half of the 20th century, we shall be failing our people if we continued to allow foreign authors to keep our consciences under siege. We commend the book "Consciencism" and plead with other Africans to follow the trail it has now blazed.

CONSCIENCISM:

The Live-Wire of the African Revolution

By E. K. ADDO, B.A. (Hons)
Sociology (Post-Graduate)
Student, University of Ghana

IDEAS are the moving forces behind every revolution. An exponent, a champion of a cause might die a natural death, or be removed from the scene by his adversaries because of his ideas, but if his ideas were fertilised and born from among his people, if his ideas commanded the support of his people, if his ideas were a true reflection, of a particular social situation even if they were modified by subsequent events they would long be cherished and embraced by future generations. How true this is to the lofty ideas expressed in CONSCIENCISM!

By his latest book Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has given us a living and organic body of ideas with which to fortify ourselves against the forces of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

One dominant theme which keeps recurring in the book is the role of ideology in the present African revolution.

Africa, as Consciencism states, has been influenced by two other 'strands' of civilisation, namely the Euro-Christian and the Islamic. Africa has also been subjected to economic and political exploitation by imperialist and colonialist forces. Ours has been labelled 'the Dark Continent' by the very people who plundered and exploited us most ruthlessly. But Africa is now awakening, perhaps long awakened from the deep sleep of slumber to which she was forced. Renascent Africa is on the march. The forces of colonialism are tottering before the determined efforts of the people of Africa to assert their rights and unite. But colonialism is giving place to a most dangerous form of exploitation. Dangerous, because of its latent and hypocritical nature. This is Neo-Colonialism.

hoped and believed that they would continue their game forever they miscalculated miserably for among the body of ideas in Africa today there has been crystallized a forceful body of ideas which exposes the trickery of the imperialist and the neo-colonialist system in Africa. This body of ideas—"philosophical Consciencism" gives a solution to the present situation and it does it with such intellectual force and philosophical acumen that one can only conclude that the doom of neo-colonialist tendencies in Africa is at hand if and only if we embrace the lofty ideas expressed in Consciencism.

What has Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to offer to save the situation? How does he do it? For an answer, let us turn to Consciencism, a book which has already been enthroned as a great philosophical work.

THE REPLY

What has Africa to offer against this? Consciencism has the reply. It is a programme and a very good programme at that, for the final onslaught on these evil tendencies. What is the significance of Consciencism to the African Revolution? What has it to contribute to the present situation in Africa? An answer to this will inevitably lead us to an analysis of the role of ideology as it is clearly enunciated in this book.

Society, it must be understood is an organic and dynamic unit of inter-dependent parts. Societies differ from one place to another and every society has its own unique cultural norms and practices. Cross-cultural contacts lead to an interaction of cultures. This should be expected for we are living in a world where increased contacts in many ways among societies is the practice. But when an alien way of doing things, when a foreign system is IMPOSED on a society which has its own ways of doing things, then it becomes clear, if even the people who imposed it do not realize it, that trouble is being courted. For to impose an alien system on another system is to seek to destroy that system. This however cannot be, for the cultural traditions of a people are ingrained in them and live with them.

The imperialists and colonialists rape of Africa tried to a large measure through their educational system to pervert and destroy our cultural system and to 'educate' us in such a way that we shall come to laud everything they did and also to recognize them as being 'Superior' to us. Thus the level of education, as compared with the wealth they plundered from us was very meagre indeed. We were brought up by devious means to look down on ourselves and look up to the European. The continent of Africa became a hot-bed of imperialists intrigues and plunder.

'Colonial Mentality' is what resulted from this perverse cultural indoctrination.

How far and how long can Africa contain this? To what extent can we be silent to these indignities—plunder, slander being committed against us by the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism? Ever these forces

The traditional African Society is Communalistic in nature. Thus at base and translated into modern terminology African Society is Socialistic. But tendencies of capitalistic nature have managed to creep into this system. We are determined to halt this infiltration of capitalism with its attendant evils. This as Dr. Nkrumah says in Consciencism can be done not by a reform but by a Revolution. But, and this is a truism, every revolution is backed by ideas. Hence 'Philosophical Consciencism' seeks to change radically the capitalist tendencies in African societies and to revert to the essential elements of Communalism which translated into modern terms is in a sense the politico-social ancestor of socialism. As Dr. Nkrumah says in Consciencism therein lies true progress and happiness, for in this socialist system the happiness of all is taken into account and not the happiness of a circumscribed group. In other words the communalist or socialist nature of African societies stresses the Marxian idea that the conditions for the development of each shall be the conditions for the development of all.

When the colonialists came to Africa, plundered us and used us as a labour force, they were interested in one thing—our wealth. We were degraded and pictured in such a way as to create the impression that we were living on the 'outskirts of civilization'.

In philosophical Consciencism Dr. Nkrumah stresses these points (1) that all men are equal naturally (2) that every individual has an intrinsic worth (3) that every man (of course including the African) is an end in himself and not a means to an end.

This to me is very important. Because, one, it lays bare the essential facts of social justice which was denied to the African in the colonialist period.

Chief H. O. Davies on 'CONSCIENCISM' in Lagos

Continued from page 1

It reads: "Revolutions are brought about by men, by men who think as men of action and act as men of thought. It is true that revolutionaries are produced by historical circumstances, at the same time they are not chaff before the wind of change, but have a solid ideological basis.

"Revolution has two aspects. Revolution is a revolution against an old order and it is also a contest for a new order. The Marxist emphasis on the determining force of material circumstances of life is correct. But I would like also to give great emphasis to the determining power of ideology. A revolutionary ideology is not merely negative. It is not a mere conceptual refutation of a dying social order, but a positive creative theory, the guiding light of the emergent social order."

Dr. Nkrumah has formulated for post-colonial Africa one such revolutionary ideology which he calls "CONSCIENCISM". He postulates

- (a) That in the traditional African Society, there are to be found two basic principles—humanism and egalitarianism;
- (b) That at the end of colonialism, the African Society has ceased to be the old society,

Second, it reminds us that we are also human beings and that to treat us as if we are means to an end is to violate a humanitarian principle. The significance of these statements again is to make us conscious of the sad situation into which the colonialists immersed us and to warn us that the time is long over due when a concerted action was taken—African Unity—to better our situation. Hence Philosophical Consciencism.

GUIDING PRINCIPLE

The natural equality of man and the intrinsic worth of man re-echoed in Consciencism upon a little reflection makes one appreciate the inhuman and atrocious policies perpetrated by the colonialists in Africa. In other words we are reminded that we were subjected to an inhuman treatment and we are also asked, having realized, not of course for the first time, this social injustice, to change it. To do this, we need a programme, an ideology, a guiding principle. In the language of Consciencism, "Practice without thought is blind, thought without practice is empty". Hence the significance of Consciencism, to the African revolution.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah writes on page 62 of Consciencism "... When the slave trade and slavery became illegal, the experts on Africa yielded to the new wind of change, and now began to present African Culture and Society as being so rudimentary and primitive that colonisation was a duty of Christianity and Civilisation". The history of Africa, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah writes has been "encumbered with malicious myths". This was done to justify the interests of the colonialists. It is what Marx will correctly call 'the opium of the people'—the whole 'Superstructure' of society was 'erected' in such a way as to justify the actions of our 'colonialist masters'. This is the ruse which the

monster, colonialism and neo-colonialism, uses to effect its aims. We now have in Consciencism a true assessment of this damnable situation and 'Philosophical Consciencism' enjoys us in the interest of Africa to change the course of this threatening tide.

On page 69 Dr. Kwame Nkrumah writes, "In the traditional African Society no sectional interest could be regarded as supreme, nor did legislative and executive power aid the interests of any particular group. The welfare of the people was supreme". Sociologically, this is true, but then what happened? Dr. Nkrumah again gives an answer:

"... But Colonialism came and changed all this ... We seek to go back to our traditional social system within the context of modern developments. But so perversely have our history and cultural life been constructed that it is necessary to have a radical change and it needs a force strong enough to accelerate this change. This is what philosophical Consciencism provides. It is both a political ideology and an intellectual revolution—a philosophical bulwark of the African Revolution.

In Consciencism Dr. Kwame Nkrumah exposes the evils of capitalism. Thus on page 72 he sums up all the obnoxious tendencies operative in this system: "Capitalism is but the gentleman's method of slavery."

Again he writes: "Capitalism is unjust in our newly independent countries, it is not only too complicated to be workable, it is also alien".

If Capitalism is unsuitable to African conditions then it must be changed. Our Society should reflect the true humanistic spirit of African life. But the change cannot be smooth. For dialectically, the forces of capitalism and neo-colonialism are struggling uneasily to maintain their stand in a climate which is completely unsuited to them.

We need a violent revolution.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah again writes: "With true independence regained however a new harmony, needs 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. Our society is not the old society, but a new society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influence. A new emergent ideology is therefore required. An ideology which can solidify in a philosophical statement but at the same time an ideology which will not abandon the original humanist principles of Africa".

Whatever the influences of the 'Islamic' and the 'Euro-Christian' strands in the cultural effervescence in Africa, the basic principles of African life, the humanistic and Communalistic nature of African society must be preserved at all costs and not given away to adverse interference by alien influences—imperialism and neo-colonialism, for these forces at their best even seek to enslave us in diverse ways.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah sets out in clear terms in chapter 4 of his Book, what he thinks should be done to accelerate the African Revolution. The role of ideology in the African Revolution is clearly set out in Consciencism. Thus he writes on page 78: "Our atti

tude to the Western and the Islamic experience must be purposeful. It must be guided by thought, for practice, without thought is blind." Hence, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah once again gives us the importance of the role of ideas in any movement. He continues thus: "What is called for as a first step is a body of connected thought which will determine the general nature of our action in unifying the society which we have inherited, this unification to take account at all times, of the elevated ideas underlying the traditional African Society. Social Revolution must therefore have, standing firmly behind it, an intellectual revolution a revolution in which our thinking and philosophy are directed towards the redemption of our society. Our philosophy must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people".

This is sociologically true, for we must gear our general mode of thought and action towards things African and must try and shed the 'colonial mentality' which we have so miserably inherited from our colonial 'masters'. To do this needs an 'intellectual revolution', the kind presented in Consciencism by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

In it Dr. Kwame Nkrumah combines forceful and cogent reasoning with maturity in political thought.

He extricates African philosophy from some of the encumbrances of Western thought and stands the new African philosophy on its home ground—African Society. This is a great intellectual achievement, for as he, says himself, philosophy must reflect the particular social situation, to a large extent, from which it is born.

In this book Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has packed ideas, expressed in a most lucid style, that can change the face of Africa for the better. Consciencism also gives an ever ready answer to the forces that seek to 'enslave' us—the obnoxious forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism. It is at once a great philosophical work and a guide for political action in Africa!

Kwame Nkrumah will certainly rest assured that long after he is gone the ideas expressed in this book will long survive. Consciencism has undoubtedly made its imprint on the paths of intellectualism.

If all the statesmen, politicians, freedom-fighters and indeed the people of Africa will embrace the principles underlying this philosophical work the monster that is neo-colonialism will be dealt a final deadly blow.

Ghana High Commissioner on Consciencism

Continued from page 1

tions. "African society has one segment which comprises our traditional way of life; it has a second segment which is filled by the presence of the Islamic tradition in Africa; it has a final segment which represents the infiltration of the Christian tradition and culture of Western Europe into Africa, using colonialism and neo-colonialism as its primary vehicles". (p68).

These three elements are in a state of perpetual rivalry and even conflict. Each element has its culture, its social organisation, its religion. In short, each constitutes a civilisation.

Now, this deep-seated crisis in contemporary African society must be resolved. It has become acute with the political withdrawal of colonialism and it often lies at the root of the problem of national unity.

How is this conflict of cultures, of social systems, of religions—how is this conflict of civilisations to be resolved?

The conflict cannot be resolved by way of geographical demarcation because three Africas—traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa—do not fall into clearly defined zones. On the contrary, they overlap one another almost everywhere in Africa. Here in Nigeria, except in parts of the Eastern

Region, where Euro-Christian civilisation overlies traditional African life, the three civilisations cover the same area. This is true of Ghana; and of practically all African states. If this is so, how then can we resolve the conflict between these civilisation by geographical demarcation? Where on the map, will we draw the line?

To further illustrate the absurdity of the geographical approach, let me point out that the crisis of the three civilisations in Africa are often present even in the same individual. It is pathetic the case among the intellectuals and the well-to-do generally. We hanker after Western culture, but we would like to uphold polygamy. We accept the Islamic faith, but we do not fail to offer our periodic sacrifices to our small deities. We train our heads: the Western way, but our hearts are chained to our traditions, customs and beliefs.

Nor is it possible to solve this conflict of civilisations by force or attrition. This is to say that we cannot hope to make one of the three civilisations absolutely supreme. Such a line involves the total elimination of the other two. This of course is impossible. It is injurious. The fact that centuries of Islamic control followed by generations of Euro-Christian control has

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AATUF, ICFTU AND WFTU

WITH nearly twenty years of cold war behind us it is difficult to recapture the atmosphere of militancy and confidence following the Second World War among the working class in the victorious allied countries.

Despite the millions of dead and the enormous material destruction a general feeling was abroad that the old pre-war society of deep class contrasts and divisions, of poverty, mass unemployment and colonial domination had suffered a mortal blow in the world conflict, and that the working class, through its organisations, had a great role to play in bringing into being a more just society in which the workers would have a front-rank role in society.

It was generally acknowledged, too, that if the trade unions were to make their voices heard in the international councils which were meeting to lay the bases of the post-war society, a new international trade union organisation was needed—one which would bring together all workers regardless of nationality, race, political opinion or religious belief.

The ineffectiveness of the pre-war International Federation of Trade Unions, which had dragged out a nominal existence during the war years, was now plain to see, and it was clearly not capable of representing the world trade union movement in the new set of conditions and the prevailing atmosphere.

Predominantly European in composition, its only affiliates outside Europe were the

is impossible. It is sufficient for us here to recognise this fundamental fact that the international labour movement was a weak and ineffectual force in the anti-Fascist struggle because it lacked the unity that is our sole source of strength.

Although at the time of the London World Trade Union Conference in February 1945 the I.F.T.U. claimed 18 million members, it is doubtful if this figure could have been, in reality, justified; and in



Mr. John K. Tettegah, Secretary-General of the AATUF

American Federation of Labour (which had only joined a year or two before the outbreak of war), the South African National Joint Committee (all-white), the Labour Congress of Canada, the New Zealand Federation of Labour and the General Federation of Labour in Eretz, Israel. For a time also there were affiliated organisations in India, Mexico and the Argentine, but their connection with the I.F.T.U. was as transitory as their existence.

As Fascism had risen to power in the years leading up to the war, the I.F.T.U. had seen its membership decimated by the dictatorships without being able to defend them or to rouse real opposition to the attack. This helplessness was the result of the I.F.T.U.'s policy of anti-communism and its refusal to co-operate with movements outside its restricted circle.

Sydney Hillman, CIO representative at the London conference where the first steps were taken to create the W.F.T.U., put it this way:

"History, that harsh teacher, has taught us a costly lesson in the last tragic and bloody decade, the lesson that unity among all the democratic forces of the world is the one condition without which peace and progress

any case, the fact was that there were more than double this number of organised workers outside its ranks at that time.

RIGHT-WING

Apart from a few broadcasts from London, where its headquarters had been moved after the fall of France, and the publication of Information Bulletins by the Metal, Mining and Transport Trade Secretariats, it is true to say that the I.F.T.U. made no impact on the great wartime problems, and its passivity meant that its name had come to mean little or nothing to most workers.

Its re-establishment in London and the fact that its President since 1933 had been the capable and influential Walter Citrine, then General Secretary of the British TUC, also meant that it largely spoke with the voice of right-wing Social Democracy and expressed the demands and policies of the British Foreign Office.

Its inadequacy was underlined by the absence of the Soviet trade unions from its membership, and also of the then militant American C.I.O. The affiliation of these organisations had been blocked by the American Federa-

tion of Labour, which had played its usual conservative and anti-socialist role when the question had arisen before the war.

There is no space to recount in detail the, at times, complicated negotiations which took place between the British TUC, the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions and the Congress of Industrial Organisations, leading up to the calling of the World Trade Union Conference in London.

Nevertheless, it is a matter of history that, while the TUC felt the need for a wider and stronger organisation to co-ordinate the war efforts of

The formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.) in the wake of the Second World War; its later split, caused by the requirements of the cold war, which led to the formation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the desire of the African unions to have their own continental-wide organisation, based on a policy of positive neutrality and anti-imperialism and committed to working with the progressive African governments to build up the foundation of economic independence, liberate the peoples from the bond of foreign monopoly domination and create a raising standard of living for African workers, are important subjects of study. In the article below, our special correspondent, who is a noted journalist with many years of experience with the running of the world trade union movement, discusses the role of the W.F.T.U. and the I.C.F.T.U. in relation with the activities of the A.A.T.U.F.

the trade unions (the war was still continuing), and to represent the trade union movement after the peace, it was fearful of an increase in Soviet influence, made every effort to salvage the remains of the I.F.T.U. as a framework around which to build the new World Federation, attempted to maintain control of the convening of the Conference in its own hands to the exclusion of the Soviet unions and the C.I.O. insisted that the Conference should be purely exploratory and consultative and tried desperately to involve the AFL as a counter-weight to the C.I.O. In fact, the AFL was the only trade union movement of any importance which refused to associate with the W.F.T.U., and it was not until 1949 when the I.C.F.T.U. was formed that the AFL leaders felt they now had an international trade union organisation whose policy suited them and which they were prepared to join.

But the needs of the time, and the tide of feeling, were running against the TUC. The day had gone when it could dominate the international scene and have its own way without question. The delegates who assembled in London in February 1945 were not in the mood to listen to talk of delay or to accept dilatory tactics. They wanted a new International and mandated a Conference Committee to represent the workers, draw up a draft Constitution and call a World Congress to establish the new unified world trade union organisation.

This was done, and the World Congress met in Paris in October, 1945 and founded the World Federation of Trade Unions.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE COLD WAR

It is now known that, even during the height of the war when the USSR was pouring out its wealth and manpower in the Allied effort, men like Winston Churchill were looking to the future and trying

to find ways and means of ensuring that the Soviet Union would emerge from the conflict ravaged and weakened for a century to come. This British policy was denied full application during the life time of President Roosevelt, but on his death and the accession of Harry Truman to the presidency of the U.S.A., a new turn was seen in American policy.

The first open expression of it came on March 5, 1946 when Winston Churchill was to speak at Westminster College, Fulton (Missouri), the home State of President Truman.

For weeks beforehand Churchill worked on his speech, consulting Truman and seeking his approval for the phrases he would use. Then, on the day of the speech, to mark the joint nature of the statement, Truman travelled from Washington to Fulton to sit alongside Churchill while the speech was being made.

Churchill's statements hit the world Press like a bombshell. The speech was a call for a show-down with the USSR in every field except the direct military one. ("It is not our duty at this time to intervene forcibly in the internal affairs of countries whom we have not conquered in war"). Nevertheless, Churchill suggested that the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the USA and Britain should continue to meet and that naval, and air forces, as well as bases, should be used in common. Politically, the statement launched the US and Britain on a policy of treating the USSR as an incorrigible menace and antagonist. It was in this speech that the famous phrase, "iron curtain" taken from the Nazi Minister of Propaganda, Goebbels, was used and henceforth became common currency.

TRUMAN DOCTRINE

The Fulton speech was followed a year later by the declaration of the Truman Doctrine (March 12, 1947) which proclaimed the aim of counter-revolution, the encirclement of the USSR, together with its global quarantine, and the provision of military aid to such countries as Turkey and Greece.

But more was required to solve the grave problems of post-war capitalism and imperialism than warlike words and military aid. Western Europe's problem was economic; its factories were grinding along on old machines, its mines were becoming worked out, its commerce was suffering from the hardening of arteries and its working class was tired of sacrifices and restrictions. Furthermore, a definite political swing to the left could be seen in such countries as France and Italy.

The Marshall Plan, proclaimed on June 5, 1947, was the other side of the Truman Plan. It was designed to save European capitalism, to divert the turn to the Left, and to open up Europe to American exports and experts.

By September, 1947 the USA was well launched on a policy of supplying financial

and military "aid" to any country prepared to take it and, along with the "aid", to line up in the anti-Soviet alliance.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE COLD WAR

It is easy to imagine that these events, and the many other off-shoots of the policy they represented, could not but effect the World Federation of Trade Unions in a most direct way.

A product of the war-time unity of the allies, the WFTU was deeply concerned with the post-war settlement in all its aspects. The Truman-Churchill policy which had been taken over by the British Party, was therefore, bound to find expression inside the executive bodies of the WFTU when subjects such as Japan, Germany, freedom for colonial territories and economic aid were discussed, to mention only some of the more obvious issues.

By the end of 1947, it was becoming clear that the US

by the Paris Congress in 1945. The relevant section stated: "The first Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions decides:

1. To increase industrialisation and agricultural technical progress under democratic control in all backward countries, in order to free them from their present position of dependence and to improve the standard of living of their populations;
2. To see that this programme is not used for monopolistic profiteering



Mr. Majoub Ben Seddik, President of AATUF

interests, native or foreign, which would harm the legitimate national and social interests of these countries;

3. To support the assistance which may be given to these countries by the technical and financial resources of advanced countries in terms of long-term credits and other means, without permitting the latter to interfere in the internal affairs of the needy countries or to subject them to the influence of international trusts and cartels."

It would be a very bold person indeed who could maintain that assistance furnished under the Marshall Plan, or under any present scheme operated by the USA, conforms to these conditions.

Nevertheless, fighting hard to save the unity of WFTU, the majority of the Executive Bureau sought to avoid a head-on clash and put forward the suggestion that affiliated organisations should be left free to adopt whatever attitude they wished to the Marshall Plan and that activity should be concentrated on the many problems on which agreement and united action could take place.

But the die was cast. The British and American trade

union leaders were determined to accept no compromise and, in January 1949, unable to impose their will, they walked out of the meeting of the Executive Bureau.

CONTENDING IMPERIALISMS WITHIN THE I.C.F.T.U.

A year later, in December, 1949, the American and British unions, together with other trade union centres which they had rallied to their cause, met in London and founded the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The political needs of American and British imperialism had been met.

But all was not sweetness and light. From the very beginning, cracks began to show. In many respects the interests of British and American imperialism diverged, particularly in relation to the policy to be followed towards colonial and former colonial territories. It was not long before the world was treated to the spectacle of the US unions publicly inciting the representatives of certain African trade union centres to attack the British TUC spokesmen as agents of British imperialism.

That certain of the top TUC leaders did (and still do) speak with the voice of the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office cannot be questioned; but it is also undeniable that the US unions were not attacking colonialism because of any disinterested principles. The difficulties of an anti-British imperialism, fighting against the rising liberation movement in Africa and Asia, was seen as an opportunity by the US State Department to replace British financial and economic control by that of the United States. This was, and still is, the key to the policy of the US union leaders, particularly in Africa.

One of the main issues around which this policy has been fought is the use of the ICFTU International Solidarity Fund and the "independent" activities of the AFE-CIO in Africa. So sharp has this struggle been that at various times we have seen the American unions stop paying their affiliation fees, cease attending meetings of the ICFTU Executive and refuse to subscribe to the Solidarity Fund. Then, as TUC influence inside the ICFTU weakened, it was the turn of the British unions to protest and refuse to give money to the Fund. It is only recently that an uneasy truce has been established.

Nevertheless, it is apparent that the dominant influence in the use of ICFTU funds is American. In addition

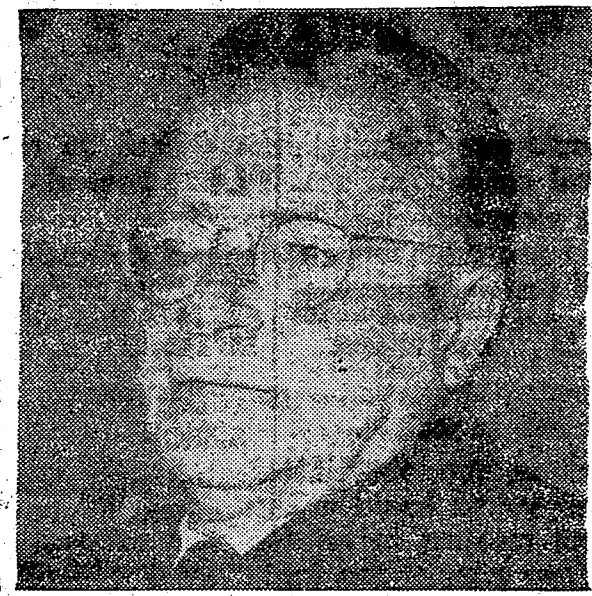
Continued on page 4



This is the mess of pottage for which Mr. Rwigagasole sold the workers of Africa.

OBITUARY:

Thorez and Togliatti



Togliatti, the militant Italian Communist leader who recently breathed his last.

IN the course of the last few weeks, the working class movement in Western Europe has been severely affected by the successive deaths of two of its most prominent leaders, Maurice Thorez, Chairman of the French Communist Party, and Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party. Much has been the part played by these two militants, who had, both of them, devoted practically all their lives to the service of the working class movement in their respective countries, that one is entitled to assert that not only French and Italian workers and progressive forces are directly bereft by their loss, but the working class movement and progressive forces all over the world feel themselves concerned.

However, before we make a modest attempt to give here a review of their militant lives, the meaning and range of their action, we have the duty to circumscribe our theme. As we are mourning their loss and at the same time praising them as the great communist leaders they have been, it should be stressed that we are not and we would have no right to exalt them just as great individuals; we cannot but see them in their proper perspective, that is as representatives of the workers and peasants who constitute the Communist Parties. Therefore, we cannot understand them correctly unless we look at them as strongly tied up with their Parties, and through them, to the world working class movement.

While this basic fact does not imply in any way an under-estimation of their own personalities and what they have given to their Parties, it is always necessary to stress that they should never be separated from the whole life and activity of these parties. In fact, their lives were connected with the working class movement as a whole. We might even say that their own personalities and qualities would not have developed the way they did, without and apart of this support and impulse coming steadily from their parties, from the mass movement, and ultimately from the international strength of the communist movement.

At the same time, it is equally true that the French and Italian Communist Parties would not have been exactly what they are without the significant contributions these leaders have all through their lives brought to them. Perhaps, in this connection it is worth quoting what a French Communist poet, writer and militant, Aragon had to say about Thorez, which applies also to Togliatti.

"It is usually said about Maurice Thorez that he has built the Party, and this, of course, is to a very large extent quite true. It is even what may later appear to have been his merit and greatness. But it would be unfair, it would account to a betrayal of his thinking and teaching, to forget the dialectical inter-working of actions and reactions, and to be content with stating that Maurice Thorez built the Party, omitting that it is within the Party that Maurice Thorez himself was built. To omit it would amount to forgetting what was the real life, what had been the way of learning of this particular life... Maurice Thorez was indebted to the very Party of which he was the builder for all that he knew and for what he was. It is out of this double mechanism of his development that was born what is to remain his own contribution. In all this he was never a mere reflection of the workers Vanguard, but one who was ahead of it and opened new ways to it."

It seems that the above lines written by a poet should throw the right political light on the exact significance of the deep sense of loss shown by millions of people in France, in Italy, in fact all over the world.

We cannot here deal at length with the full life and struggle of these two leaders. That would require a detailed account of the story of their Parties, even more, of the story of their countries. But we want at least to mark and underline the most significant

features and lessons of their life-long struggles and developments.

Both of them, the French miner's son and himself a miner as well as the young Italian lawyer, joined the Communist movement immediately after the Soviet Revolution

which for the first time put the working class into power. Both of them had to stress and put into practice the idea that proletarian internationalism and national consciousness were not incompatible. On the contrary, they had to be understood and applied as two aspects of the same political entity. They saw the working class and its Party as having to inherit and to take upon themselves the best progressive cultural traditions of their people, so that, against the more and more blatant betrayal of the "bourgeoisie"—taking side in both countries with Hitler against their own people, the working class movement is now truly representing the one living future of their countries.

Both Thorez and Togliatti, constantly worked towards a

rational development of the working class movement according to the particular social, economic, historical and cultural conditions of their own countries. Nevertheless both of them were always convinced of the duty of maintaining the solidarity and the cohesion of the international working class movement. For this stand both of them were the targets of the most slanderous attacks of the reactionaries.

It is now worth recalling a few salient points and events of their lives.

MILITANT COMMUNIST

Born in 1900, elected a member of the Central Committee of his Party in 1924, Maurice Thorez, as a militant communist of an imperialist country, was to take prominent part in the anti-colonialist struggle led by the Party, a cause for which the Party had been fighting constantly since its birth.

Thus, Maurice Thorez happened to be in 1925 the chairman of the Committee against the Rif War, waged by France and Spain against the national uprising led in Morocco by Abdel-Karim. He was

one of those who appealed for a protest strike, in which one million French workers demonstrated their solidarity with their Moroccan brothers. Later on, as a Communist M.P., Maurice Thorez was to intervene in the French Parliament to protest against the colonialist repression in Indochina in the years 1931-32.

After the Second World War, as General-Secretary of the Party he was to play a leading role in the strenuous fight of the working class against the Vietnam War, and, in later years, against the Algerian War. In these necessary struggles Maurice Thorez, with the Party, were only asserting the fundamental principle that a people who oppressed another people, cannot be free themselves. He saw it as an assertion of the true spirit of his own country, which had

itself to be freed of its own imperialist strata, if it was to be free and happy. Furthermore, he saw in these struggles the prerequisites and the guarantees of a future of friendly relations on a footing of equality between the French people and the peoples formerly oppressed.

STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

It must be remembered that when France, and practically the whole world was threatened by the growth of the Hitlerite racist and fascist regime, Maurice Thorez made the Party the pioneer and vanguard of the national movement, in which, as a catholic writer had to admit, "only the working class had, as a class, been loyal to the nation."

Again, after the end of the Second World War, the French

working class has been one of the leading working class movements which have consistently been struggling against American imperialism which is trying to dominate Western Europe, as well as Latin America, Asia and Africa. Here, too, Maurice Thorez was always in the fore front. But this was a part of the great struggle to save and conquer peace for the whole world, to avert the monstrous threat of a nuclear war.

As for Togliatti, he had to assume his part as Communist under very different circumstances. The Italian Communist Party, founded by Antonio Gramsci, was just born, when the fascist regime of Mussolini assumed power. Subjected to a ruthless repression, the Italian Party was to be outlawed within a few years by the fascists and its general secretary, Gramsci, sent to a jail, from which he came out only to die. It was under these dramatic circumstances that Togliatti had to take the lead, living underground himself most of the time, arrested several times in Italy and in France during the Nazi occupation, but fortunately never identified by the Fascists.

The central idea of Togliatti during these difficult years was to build against the Fascist regime a wide front of all progressives. And he succeeded in this before the Second World War started.

It was during the same period that, at the historical 1935 Congress of the Third International, Thorez and Togliatti

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AATUF, ICFTU and WFTU

Continued from page 3

the fact that George Meany is Chairman of the committee which disburses the cash, the AFL-CIO is spending enormous sums on its own outside the ICFTU, particularly in Africa and Latin America, to further the aims of US imperialism. It was recently reported to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US Congress by George Meany that 23 per cent of the income of the AFL-CIO was being spent abroad in the "front lines" of the cold war. The total runs to many millions of dollars.

The AFL-CIO activities complement those of a number of US agencies concerned with cultural, academic, religious and other relations.

Heading its report: "Private Agencies Aid US in Africa. They Often Do the Job Better Than Government Can, the State Department Says", the New York Times of September 17, 1960 lists a number of organisations co-operating with the US Government.

The news item continues: "The United States Government is turning to private agencies and educational institutions as instruments of United States policy in the newly independent nations of Africa."

INTIMATE TERMS

As far as the trade union movement is concerned, the policy was publicly expressed by Richard Nixon, at that time Vice-President of the USA, after a tour of Africa in 1957. In his report to President Eisenhower he wrote:

"I pay tribute to the effective support that is being given by the trade unions in the United States to the free trade union movement in the countries I visited... It is vitally important that the US Government follow closely trade union developments in the Continent of Africa and that our diplomatic and consular representatives should come to know on intimate terms the trade union leaders in these countries."

This is a continuing policy regardless of changes in the US Government, and is a matter for top-level interest.

The late President Kennedy himself visited the 9th Convention of the AFL-CIO in December 1961 to add his weight to it.

There he said:

"It is not surprising that so many of the new political leaders in Asia, Africa and Latin America began their careers as labour leaders. It is not surprising that in many of these countries the single most dynamic and democratic force for change has been the forces of organised labour. And it is not surprising to find that so many of these organisations have been nurtured and encouraged by material and moral support from the greatest free labour movement in the world."

But there are some unsophisticated voices which give the game away.

Two years ago Leonard Woodcock, Vice-President of the United Automobile Workers of America, speaking at the union's Convention in support of a proposal that the union should establish its own fund of 1,600,000 dollars for overseas work said:

"If the State Department gave the money it would be branded 'Imperialist money', but if it comes from a trade union they can't say that." The short answer, of course, is "Can't they?"

The neo-colonialist activities of the ICFTU are not confined to the actions of the organisations as such or of the Americans and British. A number of other affiliated national centres operate similar and parallel policies, notable among which is the West German D.G.B.

A recent number of their magazine Welt der Arbeit reported that 18 German trade union officials had been sent to various countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and that the project was being subsidised by the Ministry for

Economic Co-operation to the tune of one million marks. The magazine innocently adds the comment:

"This shows that the Government takes the need for trade union work in the developing countries very seriously and realises that unions there often fulfil a political role."

Statements of this kind from many sources reveal the importance the Western capitalist governments attach to the work of the unions from their countries in carrying out a neo-colonialist policy within the mass movement in the African countries, a modification of policy necessary in the period of the transition to independence, of the African peoples' upsurge and of the abolition of direct colonial rule.

THE ICFTU AND AATUF

The most important problem facing the neo-colonialists in the international trade union field is the desire of the African unions to have their own continental-trade union organisation, based on a policy of positive neutrality and anti-imperialism and committed to working with the progressive African Governments to build up the foundation of economic independence, liberate the peoples from the bonds of foreign monopoly domination and create a rising standard of living for the workers and peasants.

The widespread criticism of the ICFTU in Africa and of the independent activities of certain of its national centres in their work of corrupting, bribing and penetrating some of the trade union movements, has led the ICFTU to attempt to counter the AATUF by strengthening its Regional Organisation for Africa and sponsoring the African Trade Union Confederation.

The over-riding aim of the ICFTU leaders is, by one means or another, to fight to keep the organisational connection between themselves and the maximum number of African national centres, and to keep them from contact with trade unions other than those connected with the

ICFTU.

If the widespread criticism and suspicion of the ICFTU's neo-colonialist policies lead to the African Regional Organisation outliving its usefulness, then an African Trade Union Confederation in which the affiliated bodies are permitted to retain their affiliation to the ICFTU is the next best thing.

The desire to hold on to this connection at all costs is the key to the attacks on the AATUF which has been categorised by the ICFTU as a "fictitious body" and a "self-appointed continental directorate", while the Free Trade Union News of the AFL-CIO has classified it as "a rump".

One might well ask the question: "What has the ICFTU to fear if its motives will stand examination?" The AATUF has specifically stated that it has no intention of cutting itself off from the rest of the world trade union movement, but it is prepared to have relations and to co-operate with any other international trade union body in the pursuit of common aims, on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

Could it be that the aims of the ICFTU leaders are not those of the African trade unions? Could it be that the application of these principles would eliminate the practice of wholesale bribery and of indirect support for Western capitalist policies? Logically there seems to be no other explanation for the ICFTU's obsession with the issue of the direct affiliation of African unions.

THE WFTU AND AATUF

In contrast to the ICFTU, the policy of the World Federation of Trade Unions is unequivocally one of full support for the formation of an All-African Trade Union Federation.

Ever since the first moves towards African trade union unity were made with the formation of UGTAN, the World Federation of Trade Unions has given sympathy and support.

After the first Congress of UGTAN in 1959, the repre-

sentative of the WFTU who was present there wrote:

"The WFTU sets the same goals as the UGTAN in the struggle against the imperialists, that is to say, prosperity, freedom and peace in the world, and will continue to give active support to the African workers, without distinction, in their struggle. It will work constantly for stronger friendship and fraternity with the Africans' trade union centre on the basis of complete equality and mutual respect, so that we can co-operate fraternally, win our common struggles and achieve international trade union unity."

As developments led toward the foundation of the AATUF the attitude of the WFTU was again unhesitatingly made evident.

At the Fifth World Union Congress, held in Moscow in December 1961, the resolution on solidarity with the trade unions in the fight to eradicate colonialism stated:

"The WFTU considers the creation of the All-African Trade Union Federation as a great victory of the forces fighting for unity of the African trade union movement. The fight for unity of the African trade unions, based on anti-colonialism, opposition to the new forms of colonial oppression, to imperialism, feudalism and reaction, deals severe blows to the splitting elements represented by imperialism and the ICFTU. The latter will not give up its activities against unity and must therefore be firmly opposed."

Dealing with the fight to abolish colonialism and to defeat the new forms of colonial oppression, the resolution says:

"The All-African Trade Union Federation and the African workers can rely on the sincere friendship of the WFTU in this field."

The World Federation of Trade Unions has shown in practice that it is prepared to co-operate loyally on a basis of equality with any

organisations devoted to the anti-colonial struggle and to the betterment of the living conditions of workers and peasants, regardless of affiliations.

SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE

Its work in founding the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of Algeria during the terrible war of liberation was responsible for supplies of money, food, clothing, blankets and medicines being sent to the trade union movement, and in wholehearted political support given to the Algerian fighters for freedom. The wounded were cared for by WFTU national centres and young Algerians given vocational training to fit them for the tasks of reconstruction after the end of the war.

Now, the WFTU is mobilising support for the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa, and here again, is prepared to meet its responsibilities in the fight against apartheid and for the liberation and prosperity of the people of South Africa.

The WFTU supports the policy of breaking the grip of the European Common Market on the economies of the African countries and will support an African Common Market based on protection for the industrial development of Africa, exploitation by Africans themselves of their own natural resources, land reform, nationalisation of foreign monopolies, co-ordinated research and transport, diversification of trade and an increased standard of living for the working people.

The WFTU stands for the closest co-operation between the workers of Africa and those of the European countries, capitalist and socialist, in the joint struggle against their common enemy—imperialism.

It is this unity, despite all the efforts of those who would divide the workers along artificial lines, which will ultimately ensure full independence, rising prosperity, democracy and soaring cultural standards in a world at peace.

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The duration of the course will be as follows:

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For holders of G.C.E. (A.L.)	do
Higher School Certificate	3 years (for the degree)

Students who are expecting their examination results may also apply.

Applicants should state, among other details, the subjects offered for their examinations.

The closing date for the receipt of applications is 15th September, 1964.

Consciencism: Speech delivered by the Hon. T.O.S. Benson

DR. NKURMAH, as a contemporary African leader and thinker, has chosen to think aloud on many occasions by translating his thoughts into writing on issues affecting Africa in particular and world peace in general. To me, 'CONSCIENCISM' is the sum total of the philosophy which he has so ably expounded in his earlier works, to wit: 'I SPEAK OF FREEDOM', 'TOWARDS COLONIAL FREEDOM', and 'AFRICA MUST UNITE'. The Ghana President, like the African revolutionary that he is, has always pre-occupied his mind and time with two major issues—African unity and how to fit the rich African past into contemporary thinking and practice. These two matters are so dear to his heart that rarely does he speak or write without making some reference to them.

And yet Dr. Nkrumah's present thinking is not isolated. It all started in Britain during our student days when the idea of Pan-Africanism was born. The extent to which this idea was accommodated was reflected in the first Pan-African conference held in Manchester in 1945, and attended by many nationalists from all parts of Africa. It is true that the theme of the conference was African freedom; nevertheless, an element of African unity pervaded throughout.

Another idea closely connected with the issue of unity culminated in the establishment of the once famous WASU—West African Students Union. It was thought then by the founding fathers that unity on a continental

scale was near-impossible because of the lack of knowledge of each other and, of course, there were the issues of the vastness of the continent and the debilitating colonial systems which were then operating. It was these considerations, perhaps more than any other, that led them to restrict their field of operation to West Africa—British West Africa, to be precise. Later, the West African Secretariat was set up in London with Dr. Nkrumah as the Secretary.

What do all these add up to? They point unmistakably to African unity, and the approach was inevitably regional. But with the wind of change which began sweeping through the African continent in the last decade, the issue of African unity in its totality has gained prominence and momentum. Attempts to crystallise this unity manifested themselves in the Brazzaville Group, the Casablanca Group, and the Monrovia Group of African States.

These regional groupings were soon found to be a handicap rather than an impetus to the achievement of the real objectives of African unity. It was to correct this lapse, and to strengthen the voice of the new Africa in

(Nigeria Minister of Information)

the comity of nations, that the regional groupings were dissolved at last year's Addis Ababa Conference to make way for a single organisation—the ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. Having achieved the semblance of African continental unity, the new problem is how to stabilise it.

It is here that the many questioning minds which go to make up the sovereign States of Africa have been asserting their cherished right to intellectual freedom. For example: A school of thought to which Dr. Nkrumah belongs believes fervently that this can be attained through a union government with its concomitants—an African strike force or an African High Command, an African Common Market, an African News Agency, etc. Another school of thought religiously believes that the solution can be found in a gradual but systematic and purposeful approach through co-operation in the economic, technical, communications, transport, educational, and cultural fields. Yet another school of thought holds strongly to the view that a continental union government should be based on regional grouping. For instance, there should be a group each for West Africa, East Africa, North Africa and Central Africa, all of which are to come together in something of grand confederation of sovereign States.

There are of course variants to these themes. But whatever

the theme and however passionately propounded, let no one mis-interpret the purpose and meaning of these heart-throbs of Africa on the march. Africa is determined to unite, and is in fact uniting, whatever the sceptics and myopic may say. And let no one cherish and nourish the belief that unity and uniformity are synonymous expressions. For like the fingers, the African States may be unequal in size, population and resources. But in their unity of purpose and the exercise of sovereign rights, they should be equal in every respect—like the hand. I look forward to the day—not too far ahead I hope—when the handicaps and inconveniences which arise from different currencies and rigid frontiers, will be removed.

As an aside, I might mention one of life's little ironies as between my good friend, Dr. Nkrumah, and myself. Whilst he has taken unto himself a wife from "the Land of the Pharaohs", I went to the "Land of the Free" here in West Africa to get mine. You can be sure that this was no one of those I "grand designs" which tend so much to bedevil international relations: Cupid shot his arrows, and there was precious little Accra and Cairo, and Monrovia and Lagos, could do about it.

Fortunately, as mentioned earlier, the Casablanca and Monrovia Groups lost their identities in the "Land of the Lion of Judah" last year. So

SPEECH BY DR. AZKOUL,
Lebanese Ambassador in Ghana,
who translated "Consciencism"
into Arabic.

I THINK that you would like me to devote these few words to the reasons for which I have translated "Consciencism" into Arabic.

It is a fact, that half of the Arab world is African and that consequently, the whole Arab world is organically connected with Africa. Therefore, the development and orientation of Africa is of great interest to us.

It so happens also that "Consciencism", in its analysis of the African personality, considers Islam, together with Western Christianity and African traditional heritage, as the three elements composing the African personality; it further tries to provide a philosophy and an ideology aimed particularly at bringing harmony among these, at times, conflicting elements. The Arab world being the birth place of Islam cannot, therefore, be indifferent to that attempt.

May I also add that, that small part of the Arab world, called Lebanon, which is both Christian and Muslim, and

which takes a keen interest in matters of the mind, would be particularly anxious to follow such an attempt based on philosophical foundations and to try perhaps to contribute to its development and evolution.

For all these considerations, I felt, it is my duty, independently from my personal attitude towards the contents of the Book, to translate "Consciencism" into Arabic, in order that the Arab world may, with a spirit of objectivity and understanding, read it, analyse it, criticise it and perhaps offer some valuable contribution to the solution of some of the problems raised in it.

I translated the Book with the hope of strengthening the interest of the Arab world in what African leaders think, mainly when, in their thinking, they raise and try to solve basic human problems, which not only affect Africa, but are of common concern to all mankind, as it has been masterly done by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in his recent Book "Consciencism."

that my friend and I need not now lose any sleep over what the worshippers on the shrine of protocol may say!

Which ever concept of unity ultimately triumphs, "CONSCIENCISM" is Africanism. It is "Blackism". It reflects a philosophy which is African in content, the basis for this philosophy being the need to unite Africa through an ideology which is essentially African.

can. To use Dr. Nkrumah's own words:

'African unity, to be stable, must be based on an organic African society. To define this organic African society an ideology is needed. And to buttress this ideology, a philosophy, which elucidates the theoretical foundations of the ideology, is also needed.'

SPEECH DELIVERED BY GHANA HIGH COMMISSIONER

Continued from page 2

not led to the total elimination of the traditional African way of life proves not only the strength and virility of the traditional African system but also the impossibility of crushing ideas, customs and traditions by force.

The answer to the problem of the crisis of the three Africas can be found by way of philosophical synthesis. Out of the three Africas must be forged a new Africa which is a philosophic unity distilled out of the best features of the existing three Africas. As "Consciencism" puts it on p. 70: "With true independence regained, however, a new harmony needs to be forged, a harmony that will allow the combined presence of traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Christian Africa, so that this presence is in tune with the original humanist principles underlying African society. Our society is not the old society, but a new society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences. A new emergent ideology is therefore required, an ideology which can solidify in a philosophical statement, but at the same time an ideology which will not abandon the original humanist principles of Africa."

This, then, is the task which "Consciencism" sets out to accomplish. It knows that going backwards to the traditional African society is out of the question. It realises that the demarcation of spheres of influence for the three strands in present day African life is really impracticable. It recognises that the way forward lies in seeking a philosophical synthesis of all three civilisations. "Consciencism" therefore provides us with "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."

The philosophical synthesis that "Consciencism" represents is attained through a dialectical process. The mechanical adding up of the tenets of the three civilisations leads to chaos. We have to select the good elements of each society. And this means that the new philosophy must be a dialectical growth out of the three strands in contemporary African life.

"Consciencism" takes from traditional African life the egalitarian and humanistic principles. These are:—

- 1 man is an end in himself and not a means to an end;
- 2 the individual is rooted to the group and the group cares for the individual.

From Euro-Christian civilisation, "Consciencism" takes principally two things:—

- a. the scale and type of economic activity;
- b. the idea of the accountability of the individual conscience.

And from Islam, "Consciencism" takes the tenet that it is the duty of man to go to the help and upliftment of his fellow man.

After these concepts are blended together into a body of coherent thought, the whole system must be given a philosophical viewpoint. Is this viewpoint to be idealist or materialist? "Consciencism" founds itself on materialism because "it is materialism... that in one form or another will give the firmest conceptual basis to the restitution of Africa's egalitarian and humanist principles." It rejects idealism because it breeds oligarchy, and its social implication... is obnoxious to African society. It is materialism, with its monistic and naturalistic account of nature, and socialism that derives the highest development from this transformation."

The appeal of 'Consciencism' derives from three sources. First, it concentrates on solving real and urgent problems facing the emergent nations of Africa. It has a direct bearing on the lives of 280 million peoples of Africa. This is why a Caribbean author has referred to it as the "manifesto of the African Revolution".

Secondly, 'Consciencism' is the first really philosophical study that has emerged from Africa. While other studies have been descriptive or speculative, but from the sociological, anthropological or psychological viewpoint, this is refreshingly analytical in its approach and philosophical in viewpoint.

Thirdly, 'Consciencism' draws heavily on the pool of world knowledge. Its first two chapters present a majestic survey and critique of Western philosophy from the earliest times. And this survey provides the general outlook of 'Consciencism'.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's latest book—'Consciencism'—is a follow up to two earlier works—'Towards Colonial Freedom and Africa Must Unite. Towards Colonial Freedom' sets out the concepts and strategy that must guide the African liberation movement fighting against imperialism and colonialism. 'Africa Must Unite, by using the practical experience of Ghana, shows how a newly independent African state can win the fight against neo-colonialism and attain national unity, national security and political stability. It also puts the case that rapid, all-round, self-induced development for the new African states requires as its condition the political unification of the African continent. And now 'Consciencism' has arrived to give us the philosophical basis for this new African society of continental dimensions.

Mr. Minister,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

With the appearance of 'Consciencism' a new page has been opened in the philosophical life of the African peoples.

The new situation calls on African intellectuals in all fields of learning to come forward and apply the canons of philosophical consciencism to their studies. Be it in the natural sciences or in the social sciences or in the field of culture, both the methodology

and the tenets of 'Consciencism' will prove immensely rewarding. More especially in the social studies and in the field of culture and the arts. African intellectuals would achieve a re-evaluation and an enrichment of existing knowledge that will play a major part in building the new Africa. The result will be the flowering of African thought—a true African Renaissance.

OBITUARY

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liatti (then known as Ercole) were to expound the political line of the "People's Front".

embracing the whole of the working class, itself, and uniting around it all the progressive forces of the country. It was on this line that the two leaders during the war, organised the national anti-fascist resistance in their countries. It was also in compliance with this line that after the war, they assumed ministerial responsibilities in the governments of their respective countries, thus being able to take some positive steps forward for their peoples.

Then, came the Cold War. In 1948, the Cold War climate inspired a criminal attempt against the life of Togliatti. But this turned out to be an occasion for the demonstration of the tremendous popularity of the communist leader. At the first news of the attempt, all over Italy workers went on strike, while from all parts protests flowed in.

And now, the gloom cast over the people of France and Italy by the death of these two leaders has been another cause for a vivid demonstration of the strength of the Parties they helped to build. In France for instance the workers parties as in Italy are now, in spite of the ill-wishers determined to carry on their great struggles, to reassess and reinforce their

strength.

Yet, one cannot pay homage to Thorez and Togliatti without stressing an important feature. As Communist leaders in the full sense of the word, they were not politicians in the narrow traditional meaning of the term. In fact, both of them, true intellectuals of great future, never neglecting any human activity, were genuine men of culture. Both of them while enriching themselves culturally in the course of their militant lives at the same time played their part in the development of literature, arts and philosophy which was taking place in the same period.

To a large extent, it would be true to say that, in France as in Italy, the two leaders did much to attract writers, artists and scientists to the Communist Parties, or to the Communist movement. They were themselves writers and thinkers whom history cannot neglect. An account of French culture during this period which would not mention Maurice Thorez's autobiography, *Son et la Peuple* (first published in 1937), would be a distorted one.

In short, they were real "men in the full sense" and one would like to apply to them the famous phrase of Gorki. "A man, it sounds so proudly."

EDITORIAL

THE DANGERS OF REGIONAL GROUPINGS

AT a meeting in Monrovia, Liberia, four African states—Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast—agreed to set up a high-level joint commission to study the possibilities of a free trade zone embracing their countries.

A commission has been set to prepare proposals on the subject for a meeting of the heads of the four countries "with a view to their adoption."

At another meeting in Dakar, Senegal, Mauritania, Senegal, Mali and Guinea have outlined a three-point programme for developing the Senegal River Basin. The programme includes production of energy and industrial development linking the four countries.

There are many reasons why one should suspect that these economic groupings are being created by foreign interests. But it may not be necessary, at this stage to analyse the motive force behind these arrangements. What we are forced to point out is that faced with the onslaught of neo-colonialism in Africa, no grouping of any kind without a continental political direction can be free of imperialist manipulation.

Modern history of Africa also indicates that efforts at regrouping or regionalisation are inspired not by geographical proximity, but by political direction from outside the continent of Africa.

Regionalisation breeds balkanisation, which in turn promotes rivalries among foreign powers. These powers not only exploit the individual weaknesses of the balkanized states, but also use these states as pawns in their game of making inroads into each other's spheres of influence.

The invariable result of all this is to put the brakes on the economic development of the countries concerned.

It is true that economic transformation is both the most vital and the most urgent problem facing independent Africa today; it is the yardstick by which our newly acquired political freedom must be measured. But in our anxiety to achieve this result we must not close our eyes to the realities of the African situation.

It is true there are distinct geographical and economic areas of Africa with physical factors of resources and transport. But the history of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics teaches us that such geographical and economic areas must be under unified political direction.

In the United States, for example, the four large geographical and economic areas—the industrial east, the modern agricultural Middle West, the old South which is traditionally agricultural and the industrial West—did not start before the creation of the United States of America. They developed into viable economic areas as a result of the central direction given to them by the union government of the United States.

One fact we must not forget is that if we create regional groupings without central political direction, they will surely move in different directions and their differences will become more accentuated and their objectives which we are told is towards African Unity will thus become very difficult to achieve.

Nothing can save Africa at this stage more than a Continental Union Government.