

# THE SPARK



A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

(Registered at the G. P. O. as a Newspaper)

No. 100 2d.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1964

## WHY I FOUNDED

BY  
**KWAME NKRUMAH**

## "THE SPARK"

IN 1957 the Gold Coast attained political independence, and Ghana was born. This new nation was conceived as a prototype of the new Africa. I see the new Africa as one vast reconstructed society rising from the ruins of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and spreading over the mountains, valleys, cities and hamlets with its people firmly united by bonds of humanism and egalitarianism.

The first task of Ghana was to help the anti-colonial struggle everywhere in Africa. At midnight on March 6th, 1957, as the Union Jack was lowered for the last time in these parts and the new flag of Ghana with the lodestar of Africa fluttered in the evening breeze, I declared that "the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of Africa."

Ever since, Ghana has worked assiduously to achieve this objective. In pursuit of this goal, we immediately arranged for two Conferences—the Conference of Independent African States and the All-African Peoples' Conference—which were successfully held in Accra in 1958.

### TRENDS

At that time, there were only eight independent states in Africa. By 1963, the number had risen to thirty-two. The drive to free the African continent from colonialism had yielded rich dividends.

I must, however, point out that the de-colonisation of Africa has been helped on by two trends. These trends, though agreed on the need to liquidate colonialism, are nonetheless antithetical in their aims. The first trend—the national liberation movement—derives its motive force from the African masses and sees the termination of colonialism as the first step, the political condition, to the complete elimination of imperialism from the African continent. The second trend was set in motion by the imperialist powers. The aim has been to accommodate the demands of the African peoples for independence without relaxing the grip of imperialism over the wealth of Africa. The result has been the setting up of states which are politically independent but which remain economically and militarily dependent on the former colonial powers. This is what I have described as neo-colonialism.

It has therefore become imperative to open a new phase of the African Revolution. Neo-colonialism now has to be unmasked and defeated. And neo-colonialism is a much more dangerous enemy than colonialism. For under a neo-colonialist regime, imperialism sheds the odium of direct alien rule but retains all the advantages of economic and military control.

The struggle against neo-colonialism is an integral part of our peoples efforts directed at national reconstruction. Indeed, the two processes are but the two sides of the same coin. There is a direct correlation between national reconstruction and the struggle against neo-colonialism. For fundamental economic changes can proceed only where the old economic rela-

tions of imperialism are destroyed. And what is true of the economic sector is also true of all fields of national life.

The destruction of neo-colonialism and the building of a new social order in its place cannot be achieved by merely wishing it. This requires certain conditions for its full and rapid realisation. And the two key-conditions for its realisation are African unity and socialism.

African unity—by which we mean the political unification of the African continent made manifest in a Union Government for all Africa—is the political framework within which the process of liquidating neo-colonialism

## Its Role in the African Revolution

can proceed apace. It is the political condition for de-colonisation of the rest of Africa without installing neo-colonialism in its place. It is the political condition for the early and complete break-up of the bastion of international finance capital in the southern portion of the African continent.

### NEW IDEOLOGY

The other condition—socialism—defines the new social order that must replace the imperialist system of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid. Any attempt to destroy colonialism or neo-colonialism without putting something new and better in its place will only lead to a recrudescence of imperialism in one form or another.

The two conditions outlined above coalesce into one condition precedent for building the new Africa—a new ideology. The new ideology must be scientifically formulated. It must be vigorously propagated. For a united people armed with an ideology which explains the *status quo* and illumines our path of development is the greatest asset we possess for the total liberation and complete emancipation of Africa. And the emancipation of Africa completes the process of the emancipation of man.

These are the considerations that lie behind my decision to found "The Spark". The new Africa needs a new ideology, socialist in content and continental in outlook. The propagation of such an ideology demands an ideological journal or journals serving all Africa. Hence "The Spark".

To-day "The Spark" publishes its one-hundredth issue—a great achievement when compared to the first Russian prototype "Iskra", which produced only fourteen issues.

### "THE SPARK"

In the second half of 1962, having convinced myself of the imperative necessity for such a journal, I invited two of my associates in the Bureau of African Affairs to work out the details of a newspaper that would specialise in ideological work and thought and provide the intellectual revolution which could dispel the doubts and confusion concerning the ideology of the African Revolution. Their proposals came

to me for the establishment of a paper to be known as "African Opinion". I accepted the proposal but rejected the name. I named the new journal "The Spark".

Our fight for a socialist Africa has to be conducted simultaneously on three fronts.

In the first place, it is necessary to show the superiority of the socialist path of development over the capitalist road in the circumstances of contemporary Africa. With little or no investment capital of our own, with a very small core of technical men (both the handiwork of decades of colonialism), we have to point out to our people that the fastest rate of development accompanied with a humane distribution of the largesse of progress could be achieved only by following the socialist path of development. As developing countries, the independent states of Africa need public ownership of the means of production and distribution. They need centralised overall planning. They need political stability with the reins of power firmly in the hands of the people.

With the general acceptance, even if grudgingly given in some quarters, of the socialist path of development, it becomes necessary to spell out the content of socialism. This is the second front of the ideological battle. The

many erroneous and deceitful concepts of socialism currently put out have to be exposed and destroyed. Concepts like African socialism, pragmatic socialism, traditional African socialism, Arab socialism, etc.—all these have to be analysed and carefully examined so as not to confuse the African people as to the real meaning of socialism and the correct way to set about achieving it.

Here we have had to wage an unflagging battle for the general acceptance of the principles of scientific socialism. Socialism, in its basic principles, is a science. And science has no geographical limitations. The duty of Africa is to embrace these universal principles of socialism while giving the institutional forms that take into account our African background and heritage.

This requirement of socialism in Africa, that is, the need to take cognisance of our African background, brings us to the third front in the ideological war. The need here is to give a philosophical statement of socialism that will preserve the universally valid principles of the ideology within the context of African history, African tradition and African aspirations. In short, socialism includes the restitution of the egalitarian and humanist principles of traditional African life within the context of a modern technical society serving the welfare needs of all its people. Such a philosophical interpretation of socialism within the context of the African social milieu, I have set forth in "Conscientism: An Ideology for Decolonisation and Development"

### AFRICAN UNITY

Side by side with this three-pronged offensive on the ideological plane, we have to fight for our concept of African unity. Although we appreciate its tactical advantages, we reject inter-African co-operation in limited spheres as a permanent strategy of the African Revolution. Such a limited co-operation will neither give us the centralised direction needed for our rapid all-round development nor can it put a stop to the machinations of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Our view is that only complete unity, made manifest in a political union of this continent, can give us the requisite political framework within which both to expel imperialism and to carry through rapid all-round self-induced development.

Imperialism is an international phenomenon. Its operations on the African continent cut across political frontiers. No one African state can, by itself, cope with imperialism. At best, the state can hold imperialism at bay. It cannot completely destroy the monster.

### HISTORIC MISSION

Imperialism is an exploitative economic system operating on continental dimensions. It is necessary to forge a political weapon of con-

tinental dimensions to deal effectively and expeditiously with this evil system. This is the unassailable case for the continental political union of all Africa. These, then, are the tasks before "The Spark". This paper, and others which will follow in its wake, is our primary weapon for the conduct of the ideological battle in Africa. Our salvation as a people lies in the complete elimination of imperialism from our homeland and in the erection in its place of a new social

order, continental in dimensions, modern in outlook and socialist in content. We cannot achieve this lofty ideal without an ideology expressly pointing to the ideal. And when this ideology has been created, it is necessary to get the people to embrace it. Social reconstruction, to be far-reaching and lasting, must be founded on a mobilised and united people. And the people are mobilised if they are rallied round an organisation and an ideology. This is the historic mission of "The Spark".



The Founder of "The Spark."



EDITORIAL No. 2

# OUR HUMBLE PLEDGE

WE HAVE published 100 issues of "The Spark". Our readers will remember that our first issue came out on 15th December 1962. This week we look briefly along the road we have travelled and brace ourselves for the struggle ahead.

The period covered by our one hundred issues has been a period of struggle. Making our humble contributions to the socialist revolution in Africa, we have been compelled to focus our attention on the urgent problems of the day as they arose. Accordingly, the exposure of neo-colonialism has been our central theme:

This battle has been conducted on several fronts. We have fought neo-colonialism in its attempts to strengthen its grip on independent African states, in its surreptitious efforts to stage a come-back in those African states where its influence has been broken, though not finally eliminated, and in the realm of inter-African relations.

We have conducted a ceaseless struggle against neo-colonialist manoeuvres in the ideological sphere. For it is now clear that neo-colonialism seeks to cast its spell over African minds through the dissemination of spurious versions of socialism

In addition, we have conducted a struggle against all attempts by imperialism to invade, corrupt and control the state machinery here in Ghana as part of its grand strategy for paralyzing the African Revolution through the destruction from within one of its most powerful bases.

The period covering our hundred issues has given us a rich harvest of the techniques and strategies of imperialism whether in the form of colonialism, apartheid and neo-colonialism or simply in the supply of technical assistance including peace corruptors and experts generally. And we are aware that the next one hundred issues will demand of us even greater exertion and vigilance.

The big lesson of our first period is that imperialism has made a complete change in its plans of operation on the African continent. With its eyes still fixed determinedly on the continued exploitation of this continent, this perennial enemy has found it necessary to adopt new tactics and employ new forms of struggle.

Summarily put, imperialism has decided to fight from the inside. In those African states where the people have taken the path of radicalism and socialism, the tactic of imperialism is to fight from within the ranks of the ruling political party. It seeks for, esta-

blishes contacts with and subsidises those elements whose reactionary class interests make them willing agents in the drive to paralyse the advance to socialism from within. The only answer for this manoeuvre is for the leaders of the socialist revolution to ferret out these reactionary elements from the hierarchy of the ruling political parties and from important state organs like the civil service, the police, the army and the judiciary not forgetting the colleges and universities.

In the African states of neo-colonialism, an important aspect of imperialist tactics is to infiltrate progressive organisations, organise splits within them, engineer provocations, and generally pave the way for the destruction of all organisations of militants. Often self-styled socialists who spring up overnight like mushrooms are used in this dirty game.

In the realm of inter-African relations, imperialism's new line is to pay lip service to African unity while busily organising a few client states as the Trojan horse through which to foist its own concept of unity upon our continent. For this purpose, some neo-colonialist client states and political agents have been specially selected, carefully groomed and gratuitously financed.

In the ideological field, the new technique reveals itself in a frantic attempt to concoct and disseminate the confusing doctrine of "African Socialism" which is neither African nor socialist. Of course, under this general label must be included other slab dash socialisms like Arab socialism, democratic socialism, pragmatic socialism and what not!

The fundamental element in the new situation progressive Africa has to face in the months and years ahead is that the enemy will operate increasingly from the inside. This changed tactic must not deceive our people into believing that the enemy has been routed. For such an atmosphere of deceptive outward calm is a convenient cover for imperialism and its agents to cajole, seduce and strike when the people are off guard.

Rather, we must improve our vigilance. We must track down the enemy no matter what disguises he decides to put on. We must recognise him and do battle with him whether he carries a grenade, disburses a limitless purse or brandishes an olive branch. We have no alternative. This is the duty we owe the socialist revolution in Africa in the months and years ahead.

For the coming one hundred issues we shall be fully committed to the struggle for continental union government of Africa.



## ANNOUNCEMENT

All subscribers of "The Spark" wishing to renew their subscriptions for the year 1965, should address their applications to :-

"THE SPARK PUBLICATIONS",  
P.O. BOX M. 171,  
ACCRA.

Annual Subscription Rates :-

- Air Mail (Countries outside Africa) £5 10s -
- Surface Mail 26s -
- Local 13s -

# THE GHANAIAAN ROAD TO SOCIALISM

(Impressions of a four-week visit)

by Pat Sloan

FIRST, let me be personal.

In 1929, I graduated from Cambridge University with First Class Honours. I make this point, not out of boastfulness, but to show that any criticism I make of that educational background are not the grumbings of a "failure". By the accepted standards, I was a "success" at Cambridge.

Yet, looking back, I today appreciate how utterly narrow, how lop-sided that Cambridge education was. I was turned out as an allegedly "cultured" person, a successful product of one of our "older universities", having been encouraged for three entire years to read and to study absolutely nothing apart from textbooks on Economics! That such narrowness should represent the zenith of a "liberal education" in Britain is a point that should be very strongly borne in mind when Legon (modelled closely on Oxford and Cambridge) is brought into closer accord with socialist aims.

Again, though I studied Economics in Cambridge at the time that the First Five-Year Plan was launched in the USSR, and the Five-Year Plan was operating during nearly two years of my life in Cambridge, not one hint of the fact that a new economic system had come into operation on one sixth of the globe ever filtered into our textbooks or lectures. The Socialist world was absolutely foreign to Cambridge (and still is, with minor modifications). But the Socialist world has got to become the blood and bones of Legon, for no university under socialism can do good by still training people for life under capitalism.

After two years, after Cambridge, I worked as a university lecturer in North Wales, one of the few parts of Britain where a national minority still speaks its own language on a considerable scale. I did not appreciate the significance of

that fact then. But, years later, having lived and worked in the USSR where national languages were fully recognised, I realised how often, in North Wales, I as an English-speaking examiner had (quite unconsciously) penalised a wretched student because his "English" was below my standard. So, whatever his mental capacity, he was in fact penalised because he did not write "good English". When I am told that many Ghanaian exam papers are still sent to London for correction I am deeply disturbed. I do not believe that the English approach to material "badly written" in the English language has much altered since the early 1930s.

In 1931 a major anti-Soviet propaganda campaign was raging in Britain. This stirred my curiosity. I went to the USSR to see for myself. I found work and returned to work there for five years. This was my "ruin"—from the

orthodox English point of view. By 1936 when I returned to Britain I was no longer fit for academic work—I had become a Marxist—and thus my whole career developed, from then, as a writer and lecturer on Soviet affairs. But not of the type encouraged by the British Government or the British newspaper millionaires.

In fact, this visit to Ghana is the first time in my life that any Government in the British Commonwealth has sponsored a lecture tour by me on its territory, to lecture on Soviet socialism. This fact itself is an indication of how the policy of the Ghanaian Government, under the personal guidance of Kwame Nkrumah has turned in favour of socialism.

Readers will now understand that the impressions which I have formed in four weeks in Ghana have a certain personal background: My approach is that of a Briton brought up in a middle-class family (which accepted all the conventions of the day, capitalism, imperialism, "our colonies", etc.) who graduated along orthodox channels as an economist, who then started to investigate socialism, and in the early 1930s, as a result of first-hand comparison of the social systems and theories of Britain and the USSR, became a Marxist and a specialist on Soviet affairs.

To me, on this visit to Ghana, I have had in mind

always my British background coupled with my first hand knowledge of the USSR during the years of the First and Second Five-Year Plans (I actually lived there from 1931 to 1936, the First and Second Plan ran from 1928-32, 1932-37).

With this background, Ghana has additional interest. Let me resort to that familiar English phrase "On the one hand... on the other".

What struck me first, on arriving in Ghana, was the very great number of visible sprouts of the new socialist system which are already in evidence: State farms and the State Farms Corporation; the Ghana National Construction Corporation, the Farmers' Council, "self-help" schemes, the power of the trade unions (I have seen an Agreement with a partly foreign owned firm which would arouse the envy of any trade union in Britain today), the Party Programme, the Trade Union Programme, and the Seven-Year Development Plan. In education, the Winneba Ideological Institute.

All these things point in one direction, the direction of socialism.

But now, "on the other hand".

While all these pointers in the direction of socialism exist, there are still very many obstacles and survivals from the past to be overcome. One British woman working here, said to me: "The worst effect of colonialism has been to deprive people of self-confidence."

Here is an example. I may

be wrong in this particular case, but in principle I do not think I am.

I am interested in architecture. Ghana has an enormous number of new buildings, of which a great many are designed by Europeans. At Elmina there is a most attractive "Motel". In answer to enquiries I was told that the architect is a Ghanaian. So I asked what he is doing now, expecting that from his excellent work on the Motel he would now be occupied on some bigger job.

But not at all. "He has gone to Britain to study" I was told.

## NEED FOR CREATIVE WORKERS

Now why? Here you have an architect capable of doing excellent work. Here you have a country crying out for your own Ghanaian skilled creative workers. And when a man is able to create good things he is sent to Britain for further studies. What for? Ghana needs creative workers of its own, developing its own national traditions. I cannot believe that when one of your creative workers demonstrates his maturity in useful work, he should be "exiled" again to Britain for further treatment.

I believe that where matters of technical detail are concerned, also high-quality production, Britain can provide useful aid. But when it is a matter of building up your own architecture, culture, the sciences of planning and allied financial techniques geared to socialist planning instead of private profit, British "help" can be an obstruction, for the

simple reason that however honest the expert, he is not an expert in socialist planning, and his approach is bound to be limited by the categories of British capitalism, and British (capitalist) public finance.

In the many schools I visited I was amazed at the amount of British influence still at work. There are honest British citizens here who are really trying to help. There are also honest British citizens here who knew so little about socialism before they came that they are utterly incapable of influencing their pupils in the direction in which Ghanaian society is moving. There are Ghanaian teachers who are more British than the British. And there still are, of course, those who are not even honest, not supporters of the present trend towards socialism and who are quite consciously obstructing the present course of development. I have been rather shocked at the strength of these forces.

## BRITISH HEADMASTER

A real shock came at Tamale when I personally saw a British headmaster of a secondary school write something (a schoolboy joke that was not obscene) on a lavatory wall. In Britain if a Headmaster was caught in such behaviour he would be tactfully dismissed as having had a "nervous breakdown".

Another thing which has shocked me is your libraries, and, indeed, your bookshops. Both in Accra and in Tamale, I looked through the central library. In both, I felt I was

back in England, for the selection of books available hardly differed from a typical provincial English library. Perhaps the most offensive imperialist books have been removed, I had not time for a close study. But positive books, useful in the building of a socialist society, are almost entirely absent. Even books on Africa are not prominent. And when I was shown the "largest bookshop" in Accra I found that while it carried the religious title "Presbyterian" its contents were no different from any purely commercial bookshop in imperialist Britain today.

So, it seems to me, while the socialist direction has now been adopted in Ghana, and the Party, the trade unions, the farmers, and many mass organisations are now working conscientiously along these lines, on the other hand resistance is considerable, and I feel that in education and literature an enormous job is still to be done.

A word now on the friendliness of the Ghanaian people.

When I came to Ghana, as a European, I wondered if I would in any way be made to feel conscious of my "colour" of being one of a "minority" race surrounded by Africans.

In fact, I have felt no such thing. The friendliness on all sides has made me forget that I am "white" while most of the people round me are "black". Such differences just have not mattered. Much more important has been the way in which different people

continued on page 6

## CZECHOSLOVAK PRODUCTS

from the line of motor vehicles and light metal engineering in: the traditionally high quality in the rich assortment.

highly efficient  
highly economical  
supply by

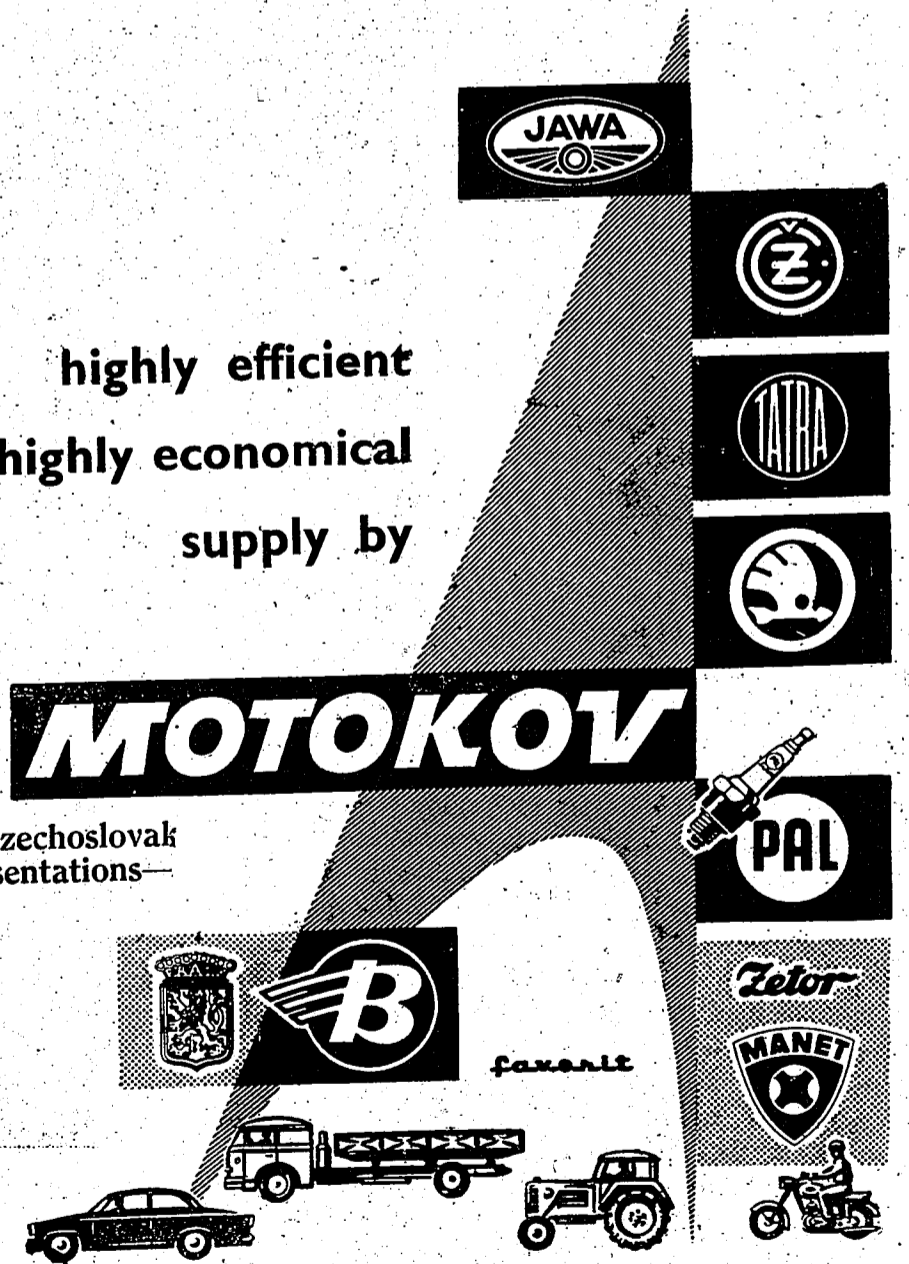
# MOTOKOV

the largest exports organisation in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Agencies — representations — assembly plants all over the world.

Passenger cars SKODA and TATRA-Commercial vehicles PRAGA, SKODA and TATRA-Buses SKODA-Motorcycles JAWA and CZ-Scooter MANET and CEZETA-Mopeds STADION and JAWETTA-Accessories and equipment for motor vehicles PAL-Tyres BARUM-Tractors ZETOR and agricultural machines and implements.

# ENDECO

Engineering Development Co. Ltd. P.O. Box 2165, Accra. Tel: 64180 Accra.  
Workshop: Industrial Area, Ring Road West, near Technical Lloyd's show-room.



# Economic Necessity For African Unity

THE Editorial in the 1st number of the 'Spark' began:

"We are committed to the struggle for the total liberation and unity of Africa." It is obvious that there can be no unity with Verwoerd or with fascist Portugal. Full unity with the countries they suppress can be achieved only after the liberation of those countries.

What is perhaps not so obvious is that the full liberation of the peoples of Africa depends upon their unity. This is true not only in the sense that the political liberation of those still under direct foreign rule depends upon the solidarity of the peoples and governments of the independent states with those who are oppressed; it is true not only in the sense that economic liberation from the modern form of imperialism, the economic pressures, neo-colonialism and blandishment depends upon the economic strength of politically independent African states exerted as a united force, but it is true also in the sense that the most rapid liberation of Africans from poverty and disease is possible only through unity.

The U.N. Economic Commission for Africa agreed with this when it wrote "If Africa is to achieve a high rate of economic growth to enable her to catch up with other regions of the world in standard of living and the economic distance between her and other regions of the world is to be covered in 5 or 6 decades, planned economic development on a co-ordinated and integrated basis for all the countries in the region is imperative." (emphasis added by author).

Despite support from so impeccable a quarter, there are still those who attribute the appeals of Kwame Nkrumah and other leaders for African economic integration—and political unity as a precondition or economic-integration—to an international Pan-Africanism rather than to the hard logic of necessity.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The case for African economic integration is built on a logic of survival and a logic of advance, which they have been the first to understand and propagates. "We can hang together or we shall hang separately".

No one will suppose, after the experience of the Congo, the difficulties in East Africa, to say nothing of experiences in Latin America and South East Asia, that political independence can never be reversed. For imperialist powers do not accept readily the law of once-tasted fruits. The only protection is the building up of political strength, and from it, economic strength on the basis of industrialisation. Can each country do this alone?

## SORRY HERITAGE

African countries were left with a sorry heritage on which to build. Though the continent is endowed with immense natural resources, the countries are individually poor, their difficulties are immense, and in the short-run the ties with their former masters embedded in an inherited economic structure do not leave them much freedom or immediate resources with which to manoeuvre. In "Africa Must Unite", Kwame Nkrumah spoke of the economic as well as the political balkanisation of Africa. A large number of tiny states, each with a lopsided export economy is confronted by and historically linked, through trade, investment and currency, with states whose policy is the pursuit of maximum capitalist profit. Even the individual monopoly enterprises may do business on a world scale many times greater than that done by even a considerable group of small African states.

Such firms will offer to build in different economies the different stages of a single productive process between raw materials and semi-finished products. One country will get the mine, another the plant which processes the mine products. The ships which

transport materials from one to the other are also owned by the foreign monopoly. This is economic balkanisation. The only answer to it is political unity and economic co-ordination based on it. Countries which are relatively weak as individuals become strong when they act together against an economic enemy.

Let us be clear that our capitalist enemies have already for their part learnt this lesson. The countries of the European Common Market have joined together in a single Development Bank for collective investment in Africa. In this way they hope to heal their internal quarrels over the spoils of collective imperialism by making these spoils larger. Consortia link bankers, industrialists and governments from Europe and the United States in common projects to exploit Africa's wealth.

How much more compelling and noble the case for unity among our countries. We want unity and strength not to exploit others but to rescue ourselves from exploitation, not to maximise profits for the few, but to maximise welfare and benefits for the many.

## NECESSITY FOR PLANNING

So far we have dealt with the dangers of disunity. We now deal with the long-term positive necessity for planning on an all African scale.

Such necessity can best be demonstrated by considering briefly three other commonly discussed paths to development:

- (a) go-it-alone for each country
- (b) regional integration
- (c) African Common Market.

Let us make clear at the outset that we are not rejecting any of these as integral parts of a broader, all-African concept. What we are rejecting is the view that without such a concept, any of them can bring salvation.

The first point is tackled frankly in the 7-Year Development Plan of Ghana, which, as among the richer of African countries, with splendid access to the outside world might be supposed to have the broad chance of going it alone; but still "an inward looking policy of industrialisation" is not possible for Ghana except in the very short time. Even if we advanced a plan on the basis of that approach for Ghana in which the national product per head were, say, double that of the present £76 per annum that would still be far short of the level of £400—£1,000 per annum of the advanced countries. Any increase in income per head much beyond £200 per annum will depend upon Ghana becoming an industrial trading nation".

The reasoning here is simple and understandable. 7 million people even with £200 per head per year means a total purchasing power of only £1,400 m. (Yet there are African countries with a population of 2m. and an income per head of less than £30 and a national market where total spending power is £60m.), a market of such a size cannot support all, or even many, of the industries which go to make up a technologically ad-

vanced country. In the process of African industrial advance, specialisation and trade between African countries is inevitable.

But on an unplanned basis what will result are decisive tendencies making political joint action against neo-colonialism more difficult. For if each country chooses blindly a large industrial complex, say a large integrated steel plant based on home produced ore, or a modern heavy engineering or chemical plant there is no reason, if the process is uncoordinated as between countries, why two or more—should not do the same. The result—over-capacity, wasted resources, bitter rivalry. Africa can afford none of these.

To obtain the necessary co-ordination does not mean that all countries would be follow-

ing a socialist path, though that would make it easier. But what it does mean is that such plans shall be in the state sector, under the control of government, and that the benefit, which flow from co-ordinated industrialisation shall be distributed between countries in such a way as to leave them all better off.

## BASES FOR DOMINATION

Within such a policy some plans may well have a regional character, if only for reasons of inadequate transport. But because industrialisation with modern techniques (e.g. in transport of gas, electricity, in communication) requires large expenditures whose fruits are many times greater, the larger the area and the longer the

period over which planning is done, piecemeal regional schemes are not by themselves enough. Quite apart from this there is the danger as shown by the experience of the Central African Federation, that one country, beginning to gain a little factor than its neighbours, will find itself the target of foreign investors who want to use it as a base for dominating the expanding markets produced by growing industrialisation.

It is for this reason too, that a Common Market is not enough. As happened after the Commonwealth Preference of 1931, one after the formation of the European Common Market in 1957, capital from the United States flowed in to produce within the protected area those goods which it could no longer profitably export there. For individual

countries to accept such capital seems an attractive policy. It is, however, an opportunist and dangerous policy, for not only does it increase the share of foreign ownership in the countries in question, but it turns them into economic bases for domination of the market of other countries. That is why the road to independence or to its pre-condition is unity.

On the other hand, there is the alternative to establish state-owned plants in a co-ordinated way on the basis of loans negotiated by the greater bargaining power of an all-African organisation, and distributed by it to individual African states. That is quite another matter. Then to protect such plants, until such time as they grow in size, strength and experience, by a common African tariff makes good sense.

## AFRICAN REVOLUTION

Continued from page 2

Thirdly, the new intellectual must accept and support the leadership of the people. There is no longer any room for the intellectual, as intellectual, to claim the right to political leadership.

Lastly, our new intellectual must be ruthlessly objective in his work. To parade subjectivism as science is to stultify scientific advance and to slow down Africa's rate of progress.

Comrades, the African Revolution needs a new intellectual. That African intellectual who revels in foreign western habits, who lives in detached aloofness from the people whom he pities but never understands, who is more concerned with the way he pronounces his words than with the meaning of these words—such an intellectual is today an anachronism. We have been saddled with this irritating mimicry because our intellectuals of old, some drawn from the upper classes that collaborated with imperialism, others nursed by the good grace of the early missionaries, and all fed on fat sinucures and cushy jobs by colonialism thought that life's greatest treasure lay in gaining admissions into the privileged circles of our former masters. Indeed they were

learned men. But they became slaves to their learning instead of using their knowledge as a weapon for the liberation and a guide to the reconstruction of our society. All this is now dying out. And we hope it will soon be gone, gone for ever.

The new African intellectual, springing as he does from the people, must bend his learning to the upliftment of the people. He must sympathise with our cause and enthusiastically identify himself with the aspirations of our people. He must serve the people; for, in the people, to borrow the words of St. Paul, he lives and moves and has his being.

Just as the old intellectual, happy on his Mount Olympus, clung to ivory towerism and drew intellectual nourishment from Western concepts and traditions, so the new African intellectual must uphold the concept of always being with his people. He must think in terms of the African social milieu.

Once again, as "Conscientism" puts it:

"Our philosophy must find its weapons in the environment and living conditions of the African people. It is from those conditions that the intellectual content of our philosophy must be created" p. 78.



4th NOV., WEDNESDAY:

U.A.R.: A copy of the declaration endorsed at the second Non-Aligned Nations Summit Conference held recently in Cairo, United Arab Republic, has been presented to U Thant, United Nations Secretary-General in New York by U.A.R. permanent representative at the U.N.

The U.A.R. representative explained to U Thant that the document—a programme of operation deals with problems included on the provisional agenda for the coming debates in the U.N.

SOUTH AFRICA: All United Nations member States have been asked to submit replies to 13-point questionnaire issued by the U.N., stating among other things, the political and economic actions they have taken against the apartheid Pretoria regime and how these have been effected.

MOROCCO: Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) has arrived in Casablanca, Morocco, from Algiers, as part of his tour of some O.A.U. member states.

Mr. Diallo said at the airport that he would discuss African problems and next meeting of the O.A.U. with Moroccan officials. The next meeting of the O.A.U. takes place in Accra in September next year.

5th NOV., THURSDAY:

GHANA: Kwame Nkrumah has sent a message of congratulations to President Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States on his victory in the American Presidential elections.

The message said: "Please accept my personal congratulations on your election as the 36th President of the United States of America". Your resounding success augurs well for world peace and security."

IVORY COAST: The Ivory Coast was chosen as the site for the headquarters of the African Development Bank.

The voting by the Bank's board of governors at their recent meeting was held in Lagos, Nigeria.

Ivory Coast secured a total vote of 14 as against Cameroon's nine with two abstentions.

6th NOVEMBER, FRIDAY:

U.A.R.: Representatives of African States meeting in Cairo, U.A.R., have recommended to the Secretariat of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) the study of the possibility of using artificial satellites for Communications between their countries.

SOUTH AFRICA: Three Africans who were sentenced to death on March 16 for sabotage, were due to be executed today at the Pretoria Central Prison.

The three men were, Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayinga and Zinkel Okabu.

Appeals for commutation of their death sentences were made by some world leaders, including U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

GHANA: Speaking at a press conference in Accra, Foreign Minister, Mr. Kojo Botsio, expressed Ghana's hope that the New British Government would press on for the establishment of an African majority rule in Southern Rhodesia without delay and described the mock "referendum" by the white Rhodesian settlers as "faracial".

7th NOVEMBER, SATURDAY: ZAMBIA: The Secretariat of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) has admitted the Republic of Zambia as the 35th member of the Organisation.

TANZANIA: The Minister of Industry, Mines and Power, Mr. J. S. Kasambala, has said at a meeting of the Tanganyika Association of Chamber of Commerce that Tanzania is to impose a total and immediate official ban on all imports from and exports to Portugal and its colonies—Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea.

9th NOVEMBER, MONDAY:

GHANA: Speaking at a special reception held by Kwame Nkrumah in his honour at Flagstaff House in Accra, Mr. Fenner Brockway, a well known anti-colonial fighter and former Labour British Member of Parliament said that he was deeply impressed by the positive assertion of the African Personality and culture everywhere he went in Ghana.

Mr. Brockway praised Kwame Nkrumah on pioneering the campaign for a Continental Union Government for Africa.

TUNISIA: Tunisians have voted heavily 92 per cent—to re-elect President Habib Bourguiba and all the 90 candidates of the Socialist Destour Party to the five-year term Parliament.

DAHOMEY: The Dahomey Government has strongly protested against the recent execution of the three South African freedom fighters by the Verwoerd racist regime of South Africa.

In an official Communique, the Dahomey Government called on all independent African Countries to agree on a policy, without delay, by all means possible to remove the danger of apartheid in South Africa and that by their present attitude, countries which supported Verwoerd were acting as accomplices in deliberate murders in South Africa.

10th NOV., TUESDAY:

CONGO (Leopoldville): The National Liberation Council of the Congo has announced that some 11,000 white mercenaries have arrived in the Congo to strengthen

en. Premier Moise Tshombe's forces in their fight against Congolese guerilla forces.

The committee said the mercenaries included Belgians, Israelis, Cuban counter-revolutionaries from the U.S., Portuguese and South Africans.

ZANZIBAR: Sheikh Abeid Karume, first Vice-President of the Tanzania Republic has announced the detention of 62 people for subversive activities.

In a statement issued he described British press reports that "several hundred" people had been detained, as "nothing but lies."

KENYA: The Kenya African Democratic Union has agreed to join the Government to bring about a one-party state in Kenya. Mr. Ronald Ngala, the party's President announced this in Nairobi.

TOGO: An executive meeting of the Togo National Workers' Union (U.N.T.T.) has unanimously rejected new wage-scale proposals and called on the Government to convene a national conference of trade union representatives to discuss the new proposals.

Exhibition  
Optical Precision Instruments  
from November 17th - 28th  
at the Ambassador Hotel, Accra,  
opened daily from 11 a.m. to 8 p.m.

**VEB Carl Zeiss JENA**  
German Democratic Republic

# U.S. CAPITALISM - Myth

## NEW BOOKS

# and Reality

### AMERICAN CAPITALISM.

By J. K. Galbraith

PELICAN BOOKS, 4s.

### THE WASTEMAKERS

By Vance Packard.

PELICAN BOOKS, 4s. 6d.

THESE two books should be read together for the second debunks the first in no uncertain manner. Galbraith is an economist with —by now—an international reputation. The title of another of his books "The Affluent Society" has now passed into common usage as allegedly describing capitalist society in Western Europe and the United States in the second half of the twentieth century. He is also one of President Kennedy's bright boys, nominated by him as U.S. Ambassador to India. A certain aura of liberalism surrounds him.

In addition to all this, he is one of the few authors who can write about economic matters with wit, humour and simplicity.

But despite its excellence of style and much that is useful and thought-provoking, American Capitalism adds up in the end simply to a sophisticated apologia for monopoly capitalism.

Galbraith begins with a useful outline of the views of the classical founders of political

economy, with their emphasis on competition, and goes on to deal with Says famous law, that over-production in a market economy was impossible since every sale represented a purchase and every purchase a sale.

### HARD REALITIES

As the author shows, these views come up against the hard realities of economic development—the growth of capitalism to the stage of monopoly (or "oligopoly", as he prefers to call it), the regular crises, booms and slumps, etc.

But "oligopoly" leads to great concentrations of economic power in a few hands, the ability to charge high monopoly prices, to impose the will of a few on all consumers, large and small.

How are slumps to be prevented? How is the growth of monopoly, the extent and power of which in the U.S.A. is notorious and is admitted by Galbraith, to be justified?

Before becoming good and Red and turning to socialism, listen to Dr. Galbraith. He (along with J. M. Keynes, on whom he leans rather heavily) will show you, first, that monopoly is not really so bad after all, its power can be curbed; second, monopoly capitalism has been unjustly slandered—it is really progressive; third, there is no alternative—certainly not socialism, which is a form of social organisation suitable only for backward countries (p.187).

He emphasises what he calls the "countervailing power"—

the power of the buyers, the consumers, of trade unions, of farmers and co-operatives, etc.

These, according to Galbraith, can by their action curb and check monopoly and secure lower prices and higher wages. There is a certain very limited truth in this, but it ignores the basic economic and class realities of monopoly capitalist society.

Again and again Galbraith lauds monopoly as the source of invention, change, technical progress: "the net result... is that there must be some elements of monopoly if an industry is to be progressive" (p. 182).

### PART OF STORY

But this is only one part of the story. The monopolies do indeed have the resources for large-scale research and technical development, and competition between them does bring about technical advance—but the reverse is also true: monopoly capital also "sits on" new developments if they threaten entrenched monopoly interests, and above all it is monopoly which is responsible for stagnation, over-capacity, etc.

But the trick here is to limit the analysis of the role of monopoly to industry alone and ignore its basically anti-progressive social role.

In the U.S.A., above all, monopoly capital is the bastion of political reaction and from the U.S.A. it is the bastion of reaction throughout the whole world.

The whole point of Gal-

by Jack Cohen

braith's theory is well summed up in the following:

"The phenomenon of countervailing power does provide a negative justification for leaving authority for production decisions in private hands.... This interference (by the state with the private decisions of monopolists) is now unnecessary because those affected... are able, in effect, to look after themselves" (italics mine-J.C.) (p.181)

With this Galbraith underlines what his book was written to prove—that monopoly capitalism, the private control of the apparatus of production by a few big monopolies, is the best economic system we have, or can have.

### CRAZY SOCIETY

What "progressive" monopoly capitalism really looks like, what "countervailing power" adds up to, what life in the U.S.A. is like for the ordinary citizen and consumer is outlined in the Wastemakers.

Packard—no socialist, far from it—gives us a picture of a crazy society whose vast productive apparatus can only be kept going on the basis of organised waste and the bludgeoning of consumers to buy more and more things they don't really need and which

they cannot afford.

To keep the wheels turning, "planned obsolescence", the deliberate discarding of cars, mechanical goods of all kinds, the clothes, etc., well before they are used up, is propagated as a "national duty". Manufacturers produce shoddier and shoddier goods which last less and less time. The accent is on "newness" and "style".

And the full weight of advertising, especially on TV, is directed to persuading people that if they haven't got the latest and newest, they are less than the dust.

An inescapable consequence

is pressure to buy goods on credit

### DECLINE IN STANDARDS

The consumer credit debt has reached the fantastic figure of \$50 billion (The Times 9.9.63). Not only does the consumer have to pay more; he is also saddled with a tremendous burden which he hardly ever shakes off.

By the spring of 1960 the "Federal Reserve Bank of New York was expressing concern that too many consumers were getting too deep into debt. It noted that half of all American families were being forced to devote one-fifth of their incomes to meeting commitments" (p.147).

The author shows how this frantic drive to step up production regardless, has resulted in a prodigal waste of the

U.S.A.'s natural resources. But most clearly of all he shows that its major result has been to degrade and dehumanise the ordinary American citizen, who is increasingly pressured to think only of himself, only of acquiring more and more goods in order to go one better than his neighbours.

It leads to the dominating role of TV in the lives of the people and hence to a tremendous decline in cultural standards: "A Gallup Poll found that most Americans questioned could not recall reading any kind of book in the past year" (p.300).

This is the real face of American capitalism—and before getting smug and superior, remember it is happening here too as American methods more and more dominate British economic, political and social life.

# The Ghanaian Road To Socialism

Continued from page 4

have reacted (whether Ghanaian or European) to the news that I was here on a lecture-tour on the USSR.

There is one exception to this: Sometimes I have seen sad little clusters of Europeans

sitting about in tightly-knit groups with a look on their faces as if they would be ever so much happier if "For Euro-

peans only" were still inscribed on the door!

As an anti-imperialist for 30 years, it causes surprise that the Ghanaians are so tolerant of Europeans. The tolerance is good, but let it not be extended to trustfulness in cases where the European is not completely at one in outlook with the Ghanaian on the present lines of development in Ghana.

Finally, I have found that a very great task faces Ghana which has no parallel in the history of Europe.

In Europe, the line of development has been the classical Marxist one: first capitalism emerges from Feudalism, this creates a working class, and with a working class here develops the working-class ideology of Marxism and a Marxist Party. At the appropriate time, when the old rulers can no longer govern and the working class can no longer tolerate the old conditions, socialism comes to power, led by the Marxist Party.

For almost a hundred years this, in rough outline, has been the European Marxist way of looking at things. But now, in Africa, with the anti-imperialist revolution in progress, a completely new historical process is taking place, in which Ghana is giving a lead to the whole of Africa.

Here we have a country where the well crystallised European class-divisions have never clearly formed. Instead all sectors of the population united against imperialism and for independence. One Party led this struggle. And today that one Party is leading the country forward.

But what is "forward" for Ghana and Africa today?

To go through a capitalist phase, based on production for selfish profit, with all the wasteful production and sacrifice which that would entail? Or to go forward with a planned economy based on social ownership? This too may mean sacrifice, but it is sacrifice for the common good, as against sacrifice for the private profit of individuals (whether Ghanaians or foreigners).

If the capitalist path were chosen, then Ghanaian capitalists would "freely" borrow foreign capital to develop "their" businesses. Imperialism, driven out by the front door, would come in again at the back. It is right that this path has been rejected, and the path to socialism chosen instead.

But this means, after achieving power, and after taking over the State, the education of the ruling Party in the principles of Marxism or scientific socialism, the creating of a working class to man the big industrial projects now planned, and to draw the mass of the people into the positive work or construction of the new society.

It also means the uniting of Africa, for who can say that imperialism has been driven out so long as Africa is still divided by arbitrary lines by the colonialists. To unite Africa is not only to end the imperialist-imposed frontiers, but to make possible an economic Plan for the development of Africa as a whole, which as a unit can equal the USSR in both size and potential economic strength.

These are the impressions of a month in Ghana. I hope that the observations of an anti-imperialist Briton will prove informative.



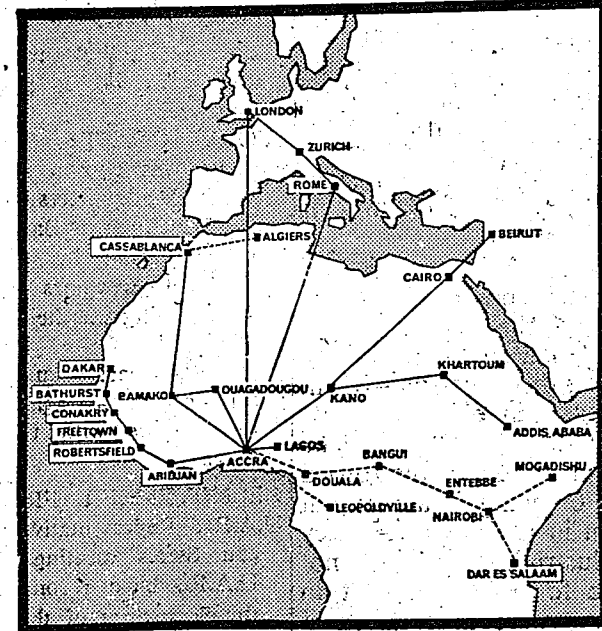
### GHANA AIRWAYS BRINGS THE WORLD TO YOUR DOOR

On the GHANA AIRWAYS big jets you are only hours away from the capitals of Europe, Middle East and Africa. And you travel in supreme comfort.

It's so much quicker to use the GHANA AIRWAYS flights which link Ghana's major towns and cities.

Always keep handy a GHANA AIRWAYS timetable. Copies are obtainable from your local travel agent, or from:

GHANA AIRWAYS CORPORATION  
Ghana House, Accra  
P.O. Box 1636  
Telephone: 64859 (10 Lines)



## FLY Ghana Airways

THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA



## TWO FREEDOM MOVEMENTS UNITE

THE representatives of the Idea Popular de la Guinea Equatorial and the Movement National Liberation of Equatorial Guinea (I.P.G.E. and M.N.L.G.E.) met in Accra, Ghana, on 12th October, 1964. After studying the actual situation in their country, Equatorial Guinea, which is still under the domination of the Spanish imperialists, they agreed on full co-operation in the struggle towards the immediate liberation of Rio Muni and Fernando Po and for the achievement of full and complete independence for Equatorial Guinea.

In pursuance of this, the two organisations ACCEPT the principle of forming a single Front to allow for a better struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism;

CONDEMN without reservations the regime of neo-colonialist autonomy granted by General Franco to the people of Equatorial Guinea;

EXHORT the people of Equatorial Guinea to take up arms in the event of General Franco refusing to give a date within this year for the total independence of Equatorial Guinea;

REQUEST all members and leaders of both movements (I.P.G.E. and M.N.L.G.E.) inside and outside the country to undertake to work together in order to form a single National Liberation Front;

REQUEST all nationals now collaborating with dictator Franco to join the true National Liberation Front at once before it becomes too late for them to do so;

INVITE the Council of Autonomous Government of Equatorial Guinea to resign immediately, unless Franco fixes a date for the independence of Equatorial Guinea.

Signed by:

ATANASIO NDONG MIYONE,  
General Secretary of  
M.N.L.G.E.  
JESUS MBA OVONO,  
Permanent Representative of  
I.P.G.E. in Ghana

# CATEGORIAL CONVERSION

THE philosophical battle between monism and dualism (or for that matter pluralism) had, until the arrival of PHILOSOPHICAL CONSCIENCISM, assumed the form of a never-ending and indecisive battle. The monist had, in brief, held that the question "What does the world consist of?" was answerable only by reference to ONE thing. In other words they held that WHAT THERE IS i.e. that from which everything could be derived was one and not two or more. Not that they had all agreed as to what this ONE THING was.

Thales the Greek pioneer philosopher had, for instance, claimed that this ONE thing was water. Thales was a materialistic-monist for he held that the one fundamental thing that is was a material thing. If a philosopher should believe that everything that exists is a manifestation of spirit, then he will be a monist too for he will be claiming that everything can derive from one kind of thing, spirit. He will also be an idealist for he chooses not matter but spirit as the basis of his monism.

In spite however of this very significant difference between materialist monists and idealist monists, they are in equally significant agreement: that whatever the manifest properties of something that exists it can always derive from a particular basic substance.

In this monists fundamentally disagree with those who think that there are more than one thing which have fundamental existence. Such people—the dualists and pluralists—do not agree that the universe could be explained in terms of only one thing, and they consequently hold that an explanation of the universe is possible only in terms of at least two basically different things. John Locke, the famous English philosopher and founder of the Empiricist school, held—although very grudgingly—that both matter and spirit existed. His intellectual mentor, the Frenchman Descartes believed that the world consisted of matter and spirit, although he persistently emphasised that one could only be certain about the existence of spirit but not about the existence of body. (In *Consciencism* the claim that one can be certain of the existence of a soul—a thinking entity—is shown to be based on nothing more than a question-begging argument (pp.17-18). The dualist, in any event, believed that the question of what there is can only be answered in terms of more than one thing—generally they hold that the explanation is only possible in terms of matter and spirit.

## MONISTIC AND DUALISTIC

Beyond the bar of logic and of common sense both the monistic and the dualistic positions were highly unscientific to say the least. The monistic hypothesis for explaining the universe appeared to fly in the face of common sense and common experience. For all normal and intelligent people know that there are a great many things which are material as well as many things which are not material. They know that both these two kinds of things—material such as stones and animals and non-material such as thought and ideas—exist in the world around them. They therefore find it difficult to accept any explanation which either, like Thales' seems to say that non-material things do not exist or like Plato's, that material things do not really exist. They regard philosophy as being concerned with the world as it is and any philosophy which would seem to explain away the world they know instead of explaining the world as it is, they consider to be undesirable and certainly unhelpful.

The dualistic hypothesis is also subject to a difficulty, though a difficulty of a more subtle sort. The dualists postulate the actual existence of matter and spirit (body and soul, substance and idea) The very wearisome question which any serious inquirer is likely to ask is: How do these two clearly different things come to interact—as they so patently do in the world. What is the relationship between mind and body (soul and body) if they are so different? Dualism, while it appears to square more comfortably with naive common experience, raises a fundamental question which

## SECONDARY EXISTENCE OF SPIRIT

Until the formulation of 'Categorical Conversion' therefor the explanation of the world preferred by both monism and dualism produced nothing but bewilderment. In *Philosophical Consciencism*, we are for the first time introduced to a new approach which promises to remove this bewilderment.

Philosophical Consciencism is of course materialistic and as such therefore, it would appear to be inevitably monistic. And such indeed it is. But it is this and more. It is remaining true to the monistic position, it is still realistic and circumspect enough to realise that naive monism cuts across the grain of popular experience which is not to be lightly scoffed at. It rejects the dualism which postulates that both matter and spirit (body and mind) exist independently of each other and in their own right. For it cannot accept this and retain its basic materialist character. But while it rejects the independent existence of spirit, it does not deny the existence of spirit. It accepts, with common experience, the existence of non-material elements in the world, but it postulates that their existence is not INDEPENDENT but SECONDARY. In a sense *Philosophical Consciencism* agrees that matter and spirit are different; that they are two separate categories such that what may be correctly, and meaningfully, said about the one may not be correct or even meaningful about the other.

Here then it would appear that *Philosophical Consciencism* is capitulating to dualism. If it is admitting the actual existence of TWO categories of EXISTENTS, then it is agreeing with dualism.

If it is, then it is vulnerable to the fundamental objections against dualism—how do the two different categories interact? But in fact *Philosophical Consciencism* is not capitulating to dualism and is therefore not vulnerable to dualism's major bogey.

*Philosophical Consciencism* admits the existence of non-material entities but says that their existence is merely secondary. The only thing that exists independently—that has PRIMARY existence—is MATTER. Although spirit exists, it does not do so independently of matter.

*Philosophical Consciencism* remains true to its monistic and materialistic character by postulating the PRIMARY existence of matter, and it seeks the necessary rapprochement with common experience by admitting the ACTUAL existence of SPIRIT (non-material entities).

Since *Consciencism* thus admits the actual existence of two different categories of things, it must seek to answer the question—fatal to naive dualism—as to how these two categories can and/or do interact. *Philosophical Consciencism* has the answer—the simple but revolutionary answer—in the concept of CATEGORIAL CONVERSION. "The key to the solution of the problem—(the problem of

accommodating the assertion of the primary reality of matter with the hard facts of actual experience) lies in categorial convertibility" (*Consciencism* p.20).

By categorial conversion is meant the transforming of one category into another: the production of one category by using one or more categories which are different from the one produced.

"By categorial conversion I mean such a thing as the emergence of self-consciousness from what is not self-conscious, such a thing as the emergence of mind from matter." (*Consciencism* p.20).

With the concept of categorial conversion, *Philosophical Consciencism* succeeds in providing a basis for a position which is essentially monistic and materialistic (by asserting the primary reality existence of matter) and at the same time compatible with the "hard facts" of actual experience, (by accepting the actual existence of the categories of matter and mind)

## WHAT IS MATTER?

The difference between *Philosophical Consciencism* and the naive monists is that it does not assert, as they do, the SOLE reality of matter. It asserts the PRIMARY reality of matter, and therefore permits reality—SECONDARY reality to spirit (mind). The difference between *Philosophical Consciencism* and orthodox dualism is that unlike dualism, *Philosophical Consciencism* does not accept the independent existence of mind, as against matter. It grants to mind only SECONDARY existence. "Mind" according to *Philosophical Consciencism* is the result of a critical organisation of matter. Propositions about mind(s) are reducible without residue to propositions about body... (*Consciencism* p.24). That is to say, it takes matter and no more to produce mind. The difference between "non-conscious matter" and "conscious matter" is merely that of ORGANISATION or ARRANGEMENT.

Just as the substances we know are reducible to elements so is mind reducible to matter. Common salt is a very different thing from either sodium or chlorine, its chemical components. Yet common salt is nothing but the result of a particular combination of the elements—sodium and chlorine. The same is true of ordinary water. It is reducible without "residue" to its chemical ingredients—hydrogen and oxygen.

In both these examples we have been dealing with two entirely different categories: elements and substances which are not elements. Both exist in fact and to that extent are real. Common salt is no less real for being a compound of two elements. But its reality is entirely different from that of the elements—sodium and chlorine. The latter are real in a primary way whereas the former is real only in a secondary sense.

## MATTER IS PRIMARY

In the same way *Philosophical Consciencism* holds that mind does in fact exist, that it is real, NOT an illusion; but it goes on to show that it is real only in the sense that it does not and cannot exist independently of matter—its reality is dependent on the reality of matter. Its reality is secondary. There can be no mind where there is no body.

And this difference between PRIMARY and SECONDARY reality (reality) is made meaningful by reference

to the concept of categorial conversion. The two things matter and mind do exist: they are different and thus they form separate categories. But they are not really different things. They are in fact one and the same thing. Matter and mind are reducible to one thing. We call matter the primary thing because while we can arrange matter to produce mind we cannot produce matter by any arrangement of minds. The categories of mind and matter exist but the one (mind) can be converted into the other (matter).

Thus by means of the concept of categorial conversion, the materialist monism is saved and at the same time reconciled with the "hard facts" of practical experience. This reconciliation is of course imperative to a philosophy which holds that "PRACTICE WITHOUT THOUGHT IS BLIND (and) THOUGHT WITHOUT PRACTICE IS EMPTY" (*Consciencism* p.78).

## NOMINALISM, CONSTRUCTIONISM AND MATERIALISM REDUCTIONISM

In fact categorial conversion makes the controversy between monism and dualism less acerbic. The only reason why the naive dualist cannot seek refuge in categorial conversion is that he *himself* has made it impossible for him to do so. He has asserted the concurrent primary reality of both matter and mind, hence he does not talk of reducing one to the other. Reducibility (convertibility) is possible and meaningful only when there are primary things (irreducibles) and secondary things (reducibles). If you assert that two things are each primary you are saying that they cannot be reduced to each other or to anything else. Thus the naive dualist creates his problem and takes away the only possible solution.

*Philosophical Consciencism* is of course not so naive: it does not assert naive dualism, it accepts "practical dualism" and makes it compatible with materialistic monism by means of categorial conversion.

Of course it is not to be supposed that *Philosophical Consciencism* does actually trace the mechanics of this conversion. What it asserts is that the problems of "practical dualism" and "basic monism" can be explained by reference to categorial convertibility. But it does, and indeed need not, provide the actual method by means of which such conversion is accomplished. It merely states that such conversion is possible. It is not the task of philosophy to trace the details of such conversion: that is one of the tasks of science. Philosophy is only called upon to show the POSSIBILITY of the conversion (*Consciencism* p.20) but *Philosophical Consciencism* does not escape the problem that easily. It goes on to show how it "can demonstrate the possibility of the conversion". It indicates the two ways in which this can be done. The "possibility of the conversion can be demonstrated in one or other of two ways either by means of a conceptual analysis or by pointing at a model." (p.20) These methods are provided by logic and science—"both of which owe their origin and early development to the demands of philosophy" (p.21). The "Conceptual tools (provided by logic) by means of which the formal problems of categorial conversion are coped with, are contained in NOMINALISM, CONSTRUCTIONISM AND MATERIALIST REDUCTIONISM, in which *Philosophical Consciencism* holds some category (matter here) to be a primary category of reality, and holds other real things (e.g. mind) to become real only in so far as they are ultimately derived from the

ABOUT two months ago, we published in our columns this article which deals with a very important aspect of "Consciencism", Kwame Nkrumah's latest philosophical work. "Categorial Conversion" is in fact Kwame Nkrumah's contribution to human knowledge which is bound to live.

We were, therefore, not surprised to find the great interest which the article excited in Ghana, in Africa and all over the world. There were, however, some salient features of this philosophy which were not treated in detail in the first article. We have here elaborated these points and have every reason to believe that our readers will have an even greater joy in reading once more this philosophical contribution which they so fondly treasure.

primary category of reality" (p.21). For the model philosophical consciencism appeals to science. "Matter and energy are two distinct, but, as energy has shown, not unconnected or irreducible categories. The inter-reducibility of matter and energy offers a model for categorial conversion" (p.21).

## PHILOSOPHY MADE MEANINGFUL

Even though philosophical consciencism does not itself attempt to answer the question of how categorial conversion actually takes place, it shows clearly that it is possible and,

ever more, it demonstrates the possibility by opposite example (model) and by providing a pointer to the direction to be followed in pursuing the subject further. More than this it would be unprofitable and unfair to ask any philosophy.

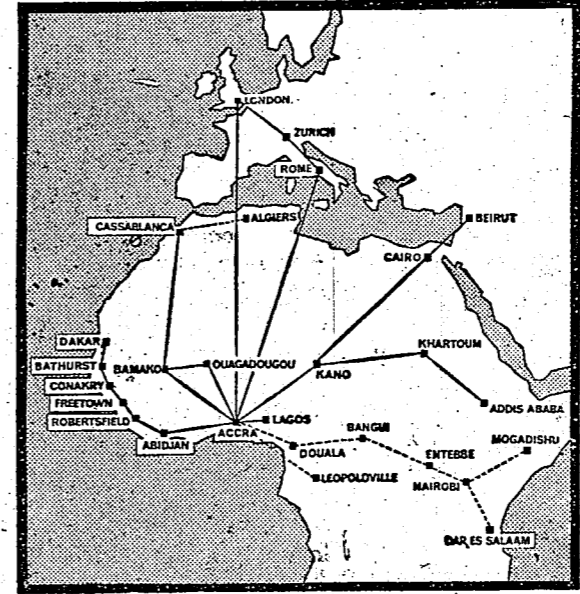
By enunciating and elaborating on the concept of categorial conversion, philosophical consciencism has not only clarified and fortified the materialistic position against "common sense" objections, it has made philosophy a meaningful discipline to society and has provided a directional sign to future philosophical as

well as non-philosophical discussion. Not that it is any wonder that this has been done in a book which is described as propounding a "philosophy... for de-colonisation and development with particular reference to the African revolution." What is surprising, and refreshingly so, is that it should have been done by means of a concept which, in spite of its originality, appears so simple even to the uninitiated. Our wonder is: why did it not occur to the old philosophers and to us earlier. Or is it really that simple?

**6 1/4 HOURS**  
**ACCRA to LONDON**  
 FLY **Ghana Airways** All-Jet  
 990 CORONADO



Travel more quickly, more pleasantly to London by GHANA AIRWAYS STARLINER—direct non-stop all-jet flight from Accra to London. Just 6 1/4 hours of smooth, relaxed comfort with first-class service by Ghanaian hostesses, and international cuisine to be enjoyed.



GHANA AIRWAYS has direct routes from Accra to all the major cities in West Africa, Middle East and Europe

Days of Operation	ACCRA departure	LONDON arrival
Monday	*10.00	17.25
Wednesday	*10.00	17.25

\*Local time

FLY **Ghana Airways**  
 THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA  
 Details from your local travel agent or from GHANA AIRWAYS CORPORATION, Ghana House, P. O. Box 1636, Accra, Tel: 64850 (10 lines)  
 London Office: GHANA AIRWAYS, 8 New Bond Street, London, W.1. Telephone: HYde Park 1791 or VICTORIA 8121

EDITORIAL

# OUR HUNDREDTH NUMBER

WITH this issue of "The Spark" we reach our 100th number. This is a milestone in our history and an occasion for looking backward a little, for redefining our aims again and for prospecting a little into the future.

In the relatively brief period of our existence there is no doubt that we have made an impact as agitator and educator in the Socialist Revolution in Africa. We have readers everywhere who look for

our issues knowing that from them they will obtain knowledge and inspiration and a sense of unity with the whole forward march of the people of Africa towards continental union government and a fuller, better life.

We have readers too inside and outside Africa, some of whom would prefer if we did not appear, who try to blacken us and discredit us. They support a dying cause, the cause of imperialism and the inte-

rests of big business in Africa. History is about to throw them on its rubbish heap and we hope to go on playing our part in that very necessary cleaning up operation.

Our past issues have dealt with the current political problems of Africa as they have arisen. Outstanding among our campaigns has been that for the total liberation of Africa and even in our short lifetime we have seen yet more new independent

African states come into being. But the struggle for liberation continues and we shall see the sharpening of the fight to free South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the territories occupied by Fascist Portugal. We present the case of these our brothers fighting for their freedom and we make no apology for criticising severely the Liberation Committee of Nine whose efforts to assist them in the name of Pan-African Unity have in fact laid

the national liberation movements open to disunity and to new dangers.

Sometimes we have to fight on two fronts, against imperialism and against those who, however well meaning they may be, play into the hands of the imperialists because of their muddled political thinking or because they lack political guts.

We are dedicated too not only to the struggle against imperialism in its

old manifestations but in its new forms and against some of its newer recruits... we fight neo-colonialism. This needs, perhaps even more, political and ideological clarity because it is a new world phenomenon. Imperialism has had to learn new tricks in its attempts to continue its super-exploitation of Africa. In the midst of the immediate post liberation period of many African states, when some of them are asking themselves 'What Next?' neo-colonialism steps in to offer apparently easy and short cut solutions to their acute problems. This we combat.

economic and cultural life. It is a powerful creative contribution to the cause which we serve.

Before its appearance we were the harbinger preparing the way for its arrival. On its appearance, the London weekly, "The Observer" of May 3, 1964, in fairness to us said we "enthusiastically embraced" it. We are dutifully committed to the task of expounding "Consciencism" because we are convinced that it raises the problem of philosophy and ideology in Africa out of the quagmire of stagnation on to a higher plane of dynamic cohesion.

We try to equip our readers with information about the complex economic and cultural problems of Africa and the steps being taken to overcome economic dismantlement and the starving of the culture and traditions of our peoples. We stand for the idea that Africa is committed to scientific socialism, needs a philosophy designed not merely to explain to the world, but to change it, to transform our societies into modern socialist states which will be able to provide a richer and fuller life for our people.

A movement without an ideology is lost from its inception. If it flounders from situation to situation without a clear guide, without an understanding of the laws of social development it cannot give that clear uncompromising lead which the complexities of modern politics demand. Similarly a movement without a paper fights with one hand tied behind its back, and we see our function as expressing the practical and ideological aims and tasks of the movement for the complete liberation of Africa, for continental union government and for socialism in this great continent.

The application of Marxism-Leninism to African conditions (which is the essence of Nkrumism) is one of our main tasks. Without ideological clarity the African revolution can fall into the trap of bourgeois nationalism, can be isolated from the world's forces of progress and if that happens we shall play into the open hands of neo-colonialism. "Consciencism", published this year, has been a great inspiration and will ever be an invaluable guide to all Africans who strive to decolonize their political, economic and cultural life.

In the words of our very first issue, 'We are committed to the struggle for the total liberation and unity of Africa. We hope to discuss through our columns the problems of the socialist revolution in Africa'. We humbly submit that we are bent on fulfilling this commitment. To our friends all over Africa and in the rest of the world we send our warmest greetings. "The Spark" has kindled a flame: the flame which will guide us to total liberation, unity and socialism.

**THE SPARK**  
A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION  
(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

**EDITORIAL**  
THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

**EDITORIAL**  
Africa and the Revolution

**EDITORIAL**  
The New Offensive (1)

**EDITORIAL**  
THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

**EDITORIAL**  
A.A.T.U.F.

**EDITORIAL**  
CONSCIENCISM - Ideology Manifesto of the Revolution

**EDITORIAL**  
THE COMMON MARKET - A neo-colonialist web

**EDITORIAL**  
OLD WINE IN NEW CASK

**EDITORIAL**  
THE IDEOLOGY FOR THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

**EDITORIAL**  
The Army in the New Africa

**EDITORIAL**  
BARRY MORRIS GOLDWATER

**EDITORIAL**  
Neo-Fascism in U.S.A.

**EDITORIAL**  
ENEMIES HAVE STRUCK

**EDITORIAL**  
The People's Lives

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1964

**NEW PUBLICATIONS OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION**

You cannot miss any of these revolutionary publications:

- COMMITTEE OF NINE** ... 3d.  
A critical analysis of the Liberation Committee of Nine set up by the O.A.U.
- WHAT IS CATEGORICAL CONVERSION?** ... 3d.  
A study into a very important philosophical concept in 'Consciencism'. Nkrumah's contribution to knowledge.
- KWAME NKRUMAH AND THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION** ... 3d.  
A terse, succinct and scintillating résumé of Kwame Nkrumah's Works.
- SOME ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF NKRUMISM** ... 5s.  
A study of the main principles and ideas developed by Kwame Nkrumah for the guidance of the struggle for African unity and of the general struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Obtainable from:  
**THE SPARK PUBLICATIONS.**  
P. O. Box M.171.  
ACCRA.