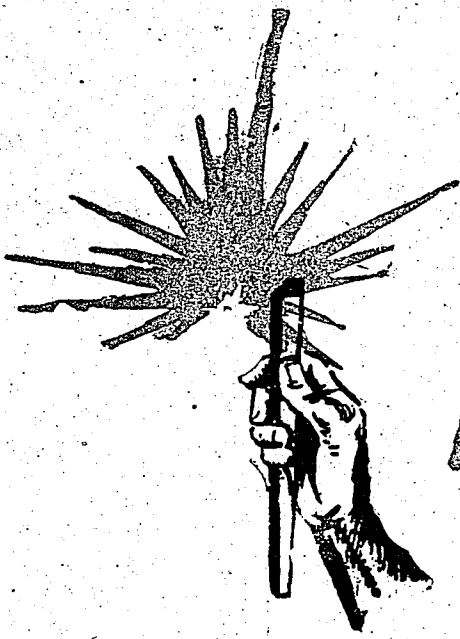


THE SPARK



A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

No. 81

2d.

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

FRIDAY, JULY 3, 1964

A REVIEW

THE GROWTH OF GHANA

THE Republic of Ghana is now four years old, and growing in strength with every day that passes. This growth has been assisted by the important changes which have taken place in our constitution since independence. We have an elected Head of State and we now have a one-Party system.

There are constitutions which are mere reflections of the past, embodying the slow accretions of gradual historical development. Very frequently they are the expression of ideas, laws and customs which retard progressive development. Other constitutions reflect the balance of forces between conflicting classes, guaranteeing only minimal rights which have been wrung from rulers by the struggles of the masses who have to be eternally vigilant in preserving and trying to extend them.

Ghana's constitution is not like these. Our country is trying to catch up with the most advanced industrial countries. We have to do this in a matter of a few decades, not centuries and every element in our political life and constitution must help to make this possible.

Our Constitution therefore, is not a museum piece, or a rag-bag hard won but unsystematic political concessions, it is an instrument of the people's will to build socialism. This is the only way we can catch up and ensure our prosperity. It is thus both the expression of present laws, political concepts and practices and of future perspectives and aims as well. Its dual character gives expression to our hopes for the future and our achievements from past struggles.

Our Constitution is an active aid to the masses and their Party in creating a Socialist Ghana.

The decision to establish Ghana as a Republic, in 1960, was not an empty gesture. It was not as some of our critics in Britain seemed to think a pertulant gesture of defiance, an empty rhetorical assertion of independence.

The decision was seriously and carefully considered. The Ghanaian people threw off the last constitutional remnant of their colonial past. They ended with the position whereby their Head of State was the hereditary ruler of a foreign country, a ruler who even in her own country has in reality merely a formal and ceremonial role to play. The masses who campaigned and sacrificed for independence would, rightly, never have understood if such a situation had gone on. By making this break one of the outstanding constitutional tasks left after independence was in fact achieved. We rid the political apparatus of our state of its colonial legacy, once and for all. This was a necessary and logical step.

Once this was decided, Ghana then had to determine the function to be assigned to the new Head of State. In some countries, the holder of this position, even where democratically elected, is often merely a figurehead, performing public ceremonial functions, but not actively influencing the course of national events. Ghana rightly decided that such a position in our state is superfluous. We are not opposed to ceremony or to the Head of State being a national symbol, but our young country has no time for empty ceremony, or for proceedings which reflect only a dead past. The Head of State in the Republic of Ghana must be the leader of the people. He initiates, teaches, organises and unites. In turn through democratic processes of consultation, discussion, referenda, he is influenced, guided and helped to reflect the will of the people in their advance to a new, just society.

The function of the Head of our State, is to play a vital role in leading the country rapidly to the successive stages of its development.

H. M. BASNER'S REFLECTIONS ON

The Fourth Anniversary

I WOULD consider Kulungugu and the publication of CONSCIENCISM as the two most important events shaping the character of the new republic. The referendum making Ghana a socialist state, and the launching of the Seven-Year Development Plan can only have the meaning which the political education of the above events give to the people of Ghana. Neither resolutions nor plans can create a socialist society unless political consciousness leads to decisive action of a socialist nature.

If the assassins had succeeded at Kulungugu, that would have been the end of socialism in Ghana, not necessarily because anti-socialists would have assumed power, but because Kwame Nkrumah had not yet completed his task of providing a theoretical basis for uniting the various social forces in an African country freed from colonialism into a cohesive whole with the common purpose of building a socialist society.

Kulungugu proved that the capitalist forces had no political programme for winning power except through violence: that they despaired of an ideological victory. But it didn't prove, (because the attempt failed), that they couldn't have rallied enough popular support in the political chaos which must inevitably have followed, to set up a regime. Such a regime could have carried on for a time with the normal capitalist techniques of deceiving the masses about their true aims by arousing racial and religious emotions, and by demagogic demands for unity in the interests of the nation.

The decision to make this change was an important extension of democracy for our people. New links were reinforced between him and the people because he was re-elected directly by popular vote. On the one hand this ensures that he is responsible to the people, on the other hand they give him their full support.

In this way we got rid of the mystique surrounding this position. The mystique of death, blood and heredity of which monarchy is an essential expression, was replaced by a modern, democratic rational and mature political principle. (So much for those who assured us we were not yet ready to govern ourselves and who still claim this when our brothers in their parts of Africa assert their demands for independence).

The function of the Head of State in Ghana is not only to give expression to popular will in the abstract. It is to give expression to the popular will to build Socialism. When a new nation is rushing to overcome centuries of imposed backwardness, it has to be streamlined and organised in such a way as to ensure the most effective carrying out of democratic decisions. Just as the Convention People's Party is organised on democratic centralist principles, so must the state be organised; this is reflected in our constitution. When the line of advance is determined through the action and interaction of democratic discussion and proposals generated from above and below, the decision thus taken is binding on all and it is the responsibility of the Head of the State to ensure that energy, determination and drive are applied in carrying it through. In this way, the Head of

political cranks or pointless terrorists.

ASSURED FUTURE

We can thus say that in the first four years of the republic, Ghana has weathered formidable political storms and now sails assured of political calm.

The calm is such that the President of Ghana can devote more time and energy than any other head of State in independent Africa to the cause of liberating and unifying the whole continent.

The masses of workers and farmers in Ghana could not have been and were not involved in the conspiracies of the anti-socialist or in the polemics about the nature of socialism in Ghana. Their struggles for national liberation were over, and they were seeking to consolidate their political gains by better standards of living. Their commitments were not theoretical or ideological, but towards a leader and a party who had shown results in the past and who now preached socialism as the best path for the future.

THE REFERENDUM

This phase came to an end with the Referendum on socialism and the one-party state. By this time a negative vote in the Referendum would have meant identification with the murderers of Kulungugu and the allies of the imperialists so the people voted overwhelmingly Yes.

But by this time the masses had more reason to vote for socialism in the Referendum than merely the bankruptcy of the anti-socialist opposition. Education, rising standards and developing industries had become identified with Osagyefo and the ruling party. No peasant lands were being expropriated and no disillusionments followed upon independence: There were absolutely no reasons why any worker or peasant should vote for any other system than socialism or a one-party state in Ghana.

The immediate gains of CONSCIENCISM are a political stability and reconciliation between contending socialist schools of thought which enable great projects and many development plans to unfold in Ghana without controversy. But these in turn bring new problems, not of an ideological but of a practical nature. They require forethought, application and honesty—a socialist incentive as well as a socialist morality. Without these the Seven-Year Development Plan cannot succeed, no matter how favourable all the other conditions will be.

A NEW SOCIAL SYSTEM

Although the private sector of industry and commerce is not inhibited, it cannot supply the personal initiative which a developing country requires. Although the morality of the communal society and of the Christian and Muslim religions still furnish sanctions, they cannot be strong enough for the social needs of an age passing over from a religious to a scientific outlook, and in a country developing a new social system.

Here again, CONSCIENCISM becomes all important for Ghana; this time not to reconcile the intellectuals and politicians, but to endow the whole nation with socialist incentive and morality. But CONSCIENCISM cannot be communicated intellectually to the mass of workers and peasants. It can only be translated by the Party in action. It is too early to say yet that this is being done. The Party emphasis is still too much on explaining not on enacting the principles outlined in CONSCIENCISM.

We are entitled to say, however, looking at the mighty projects in the course of development, like the Volta River Project, and the ambitious plans, like the D Plan, that a country with the political stability, the ideological strength and the human talents of Ghana is well on the way to socialist construction.

Although the failure of Kulungugu and the events which followed shattered the old opposition and made any further appeals by them for popular support impossible, there still remained divisions which could have given rise to new oppositions on the basis of anti-socialism. It only needed favourable circumstances such as must arise through hostile foreign pressures and internal shortcomings when a developing country is building a socialist economy.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONSCIENCISM

It is extremely doubtful if any significant number of the hard-core anti-socialists have been converted by the dissemination of the ideas in CONSCIENCISM. But they have now been reduced to individual dissenters and isolated pockets of resistance with a nuisance value for the capitalist system, rather than as potential leaders capable of staging a comeback as a political force to win Ghana for the capitalist world.

This is because CONSCIENCISM has convinced the waverers and honest seekers for the best path towards Ghana's development that socialism provides the only answer for a just society.

It has helped the 'socialists' who hate and fear the conception of African society as the venue of a class struggle and a struggle between religion and atheism.

Discredited by Kulungugu and intellectually routed by CONSCIENCISM the anti-socialist can no longer even be realistic conspirators, but are reduced to

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The Study of Consciencism

by A Special Correspondent

IN response to our invitation for discussions on "Consciencism", some of our readers have asked us to prepare a glossary of philosophers and philosophical terms discussed in "Consciencism". On this page and part of page four Our Special Correspondent has tried to respond to the request.

A Glossary of Philosophers and Philosophical Terms Discussed in Consciencism

THALES: Born in Miletus, a colony of Greece, in 624 B.C. and died in 548 B.C. at the age of 76. He was the first Greek philosopher. He was also a statesman, mathematician and astronomer. He even is said to have predicted an eclipse on the 28th of May 585 B.C. We know of his teaching through secondary sources and his philosophy is contained in a few assertions. His most important assertion is that water is the stuff of which all things are made. He did not show how water comes to be transformed to the many things of the world; nor indeed whether water itself had a source. He however seems to have anticipated the question of motion and inertness, when he said that "everything is full of gods". Thales had tried to explain the cause of the world not in terms of gods but in terms of natural things: "He attempted to explain nature in terms of nature". (Consciencism p. 31)

ANAXIMANDER

Born about 610 B.C. and died about 546 B.C. He was born in Miletus. He was a pupil of Thales. He was interested in astronomy, geography and cosmology, he made maps of earth and heavens; and he introduced the sundial into Greece. He wrote a scientific and philosophical treatise on Nature. He held that the source of all things was not water as Thales had said. He said water itself must have a source. The source of all things including water, he said, was the Boundless or Infinite, conceived as an eternal imperishable substance out of which all things come and into which all things go. From this Boundless, the different substance are differentiated as a result of eternal motion. He anticipated modern evolutionary theories by saying that man and all other animals began as fish. He says that life began in the moist part of the Boundless or Infinite. Everything he said must return again to the Boundless and then to be produced again. His theory was an advance over Thales. For he made the source of all things not one or the things but a completely different thing—and he also tried to account for change. Thales gave a theory of the primary substance without showing how you could move from this to others.

ANAXAGORAS

Lived between 500-428 B.C. Born in Asia Minor but lived in Athens as a friend of the great Greek statesman Pericles. In 434 he was charged with atheism and he had to flee Athens. He settled in Lampsacus where he died in 428 B.C. at the age of 72. He was a mathematician, astronomer and philosopher. Fragments of his work ON NATURE survive. His most important philosophical contribution was his statement that "everything is infinitely indivisible and that even the smallest portion of matter contains some of each element".

MONISM

As opposed to the dualists, the monists hold that there is only one real thing in the world. A monist may be either a materialist or a spiritualist (idealist). The materialists such as Thales or Marx, hold that this one thing is a material

substance. The spiritualists (idealists) e.g. Plato and Berkeley, hold that this one real thing is spirit, soul, or idea.

Philosophical consciencism holds that matter is the real basis of all things but agrees that other categories which appear to be different from matter do exist. These have reality but only in a secondary sense. The way by which Philosophical consciencism seeks to explain this "middle position" is by appealing to a concept called "categorical conversion".

CATEGORIES AND CATEGORIAL CONVERSION (OR CONVERTIBILITY)

This states that although matter and mind (body and spirit) exist as different categories, they are not independent of each other. A category is a class of things with a characteristic or characteristics which differentiate them, in a very significant way, from another class of things. The difference between two categories must be so pervasive that it would be inaccurate and nonsensical to try to say the same things (at least in many cases) about both categories.

In this regard mind and matter are two different categories. We can ask how heavy a body is or what colour it is. But we cannot ask the same questions about mind or an idea e.g. independence or love. This is because the two things, body and idea, are different categories of things. Other categories are QUANTITY AND QUALITY, SOUND AND LIGHT. The concept of categorical conversion simply states that some categories can be converted into others. In the special field of metaphysics, philosophical consciencism asserts that even though matter and mind are different, matter can be converted into mind, mind is reducible to matter, "mind is the result of a critical organisation of matter". Thus matter is PRIMARY and mind is SECONDARY even though both are real and exist. The two categories are interconvertible.

NOMINALISM, REDUCTIONISM AND CONSTRUCTIONISM

These are the logical devices by means of which categorical conversion is achieved and also explained.

Nominalism is the device by means of which we are able to arrive at a universal idea (e.g. the AVERAGE MAN) by extracting from individual objects (MEN) the essential and common qualities and ignoring their peculiarities. We give a name to the universal idea (average man) although there is no existing thing like the average man. It is merely useful as the NAME of an idea. REDUCTIONISM is the device by means of which we reduce 'one' category into its component element or elements. For example we reduce wood to the element carbon and others, we reduce sound to motion of particles at a certain speed.

THE SOPHISTS

The term sophist originally meant a wise and skillful man. After the attempts by the first philosophers to find the underlying unity in all things have failed and yielded different and conflicting theories, people generally became disillusioned about the likelihood or even the possibility of a final decisive answer. The new class of young free thinkers began to question the wisdom of the old men seeking such answers. Led by Protagoras they found refuge in the position that there is no such answer and that reality was in fact relative. This was their fundamental position from which they attacked dogma and other conservative ideas. They considered the best life as that of thought. They accordingly set themselves the task of educating the young peoples in the arts of thinking, speaking and politics. They organized themselves into itinerant teachers for pay. In due course their dedication to money became so great that they forgot their original ideals. They also came to be identified with people who were not interested in the truth—but only with-out the method of making anything appear true. They therefore acquired a reputation similar to that of lawyers of being interested in "showing that black is white." The term sophist gradually came to mean a person who uses spurious and fallacious argument even in the face of obvious facts.

SOCRATES

Sophism had degenerated in a free-for-all in philosophical discussions. Socrates aim was to show that, this was not acceptable; that there was such a thing as objective truth. In the Thaitetus of Plato, Socrates is seen demolishing the Protagorean theory that man is the nature of all things. Socrates was born in Athens in 469 B.C. and died in 399 B.C. at the age of 70. He was a remarkable man who claimed ignorance but who decisively exposed many views which he was generally taken for granted. He did not write any books and almost all our information about him is derived

from Plato, his pupil who makes Socrates the central figure in many of his dialogues. He is without doubt the most towering personality in western philosophy. He was accused of corrupting the youth of Athens by teaching them to question authoritative and orthodox views. Although he gave a brilliant defence, reproduced by Plato in the Apology, he was convicted and sentenced to death. He refused to run away and in 399 B.C., he himself took the hemlock poison by means



The Author of "Consciencism"

of which convicted persons were killed in Athens.

PLATO

He was a disciple of Socrates. He was born in 427 B.C. He founded the Famous Academy in Athens where he taught mathematics and philosophy in the tradition of Socrates. One of his pupils was Aristotle. He wrote a number of Dialogues — notable among which are the Republic, The Laws, The Apology of Socrates and the Symposium. These are all in dialogue (exchange) form, and dealt with important questions of philosophy, politics, and law. He died in 347 B.C. at the age of 80. Perhaps his most important philosophical teaching was the Doctrine of Forms. This in simple language means that the things we see in this world are not real things but imperfect reproduction (images) of Forms of the things. This the triangles and circles and tables etc. which we see are mere imperfect images of the ideal forms of circles, triangles and tables. The average uneducated man cannot see or come to know these ideal Forms so he takes the images for real. But the educated person can see these forms and it is only those who can see these forms who have true knowledge. To educate people to have this true knowledge Plato set out in the Republic an elaborate system of selective and inten-

sive education which would separate the gifted from the ordinary people and give the required education to each group. He believed in a type of communalism although he was all for a permanently classified society. He also propounded the theory that only the educated philosophers—those who had been selected and educated by the state to have true knowledge should be rulers (the philosopher kings). While he was for retaining classes, Plato also had a number of non-con-

servative ideas such as (i) that the persons to be trained to be kings should be selected from all children according to their genius and ability solely (ii) that when the state finds it useful to educate such people, they should be taken away from their parents and given the type of education that would enable them to fulfil their future roles well. He is one of the most important of all philosophers.

ARISTOTLE

He was a pupil of Plato. He attended the Academy of Plato, but later broke away and disagreed on a number of points from his master. He was a man of many parts. He wrote a philosophy, politics, laws, physics, mathematics, biology and other subjects.

It has been said that his philosophy is "the most complete synthesis of knowledge ever achieved by the mind of man". His philosophy embraces the whole range of the science. He was born in 384 B.C. He died in 322 B.C. at the age of 62. His chief disagreement with Plato, and perhaps, his chief contribution to learning is to be found in his discussions of the Platonic Forms. Plato regarded the visible world as unreal. His real world—the object of real knowledge—consisted in the world of the Forms. Aristotle could not accept this. He did not reject the Forms, but he was

unwilling to "place them beyond the stars", to separate them from the actual world of things. He sought to bring the world of Forms and the actual world of facts together. His solution to put it simply was this. Forms are not apart from things, but inherent in them. The forms are not over and above (transcendent to) the things we see and touch, but the Forms are in these things (immanent in them). Form and matter are inseparable. The clay by which the pot is made and the form of the pot cannot be separated. Both of them are fused together in the pot we see. Plato's Forms did not have clay. Aristotle's pot was both clay and form. The world of sense therefore is not a mere imitation: it is the REAL world. This real world is the true object of science. Because he conceives the domain of science in this realistic fashion, Aristotle was at home in science and he in fact was the man who initiated the natural sciences. Plato had glorified ideas, Aristotle glorified the world of sense and thus founded the School of science based on observation by the senses. Aristotle's influence in philosophy continued into the medieval world and dominated philosophical thinking through its adoption by St. Augustine, St. Aquinas and the Catholic Church. Much that was spurious was paraded as Aristotle's views and a great deal of dogmatic teachings of the church were attributed to Aristotle. It was not until the time of Descartes and Locke in the 17th century that any serious critical study of Aristotle was made. In spite of much cogent criticism, the philosophy and system of Aristotle has remained an important source of philosophical and scientific inspiration and the genius of Aristotle has always been acknowledged by learned circles.

PLOTINUS

He was a great philosopher of the 3rd century A.D. who sought to revive the philosophy of Plato. He was that is known as an ancient neo-Platonist. His chief importance lies in the fact that it was through him that the Christians sought to remould theology along Platonic lines. He classified Plato's ideas as the Forms and attempted to explain the relationship between soul and body.

AUGUSTINE, ST.

One of the foremost of Catholic Philosophers. Born in Tagaste in North Africa in 353 A.D. His father was pagan but his mother Monica was a Christian. After an early life of wanton debauchery and waste he was converted to christianity and became one of its foremost champions. He became a priest and Bishop of Hippo-North Africa (Libya). His important contribution to philosophy is perhaps his attempts to explain christian theology in terms of philosophy. He was a Platonist and sought to show how Plato's theories

were all compatible with the teachings of the scriptures. His most perplexing problem was the question of evil, i.e. how does an all-good and all-powerful God allow evil in the world. If he allows it when he can avoid it, he is apparently not all good. On the other hand if he cannot prevent evil he is not all powerful. Augustine never quite solved this puzzle successfully. He wrote many books, the most famous are: THE CONFESSIONS—an intellectual and spiritual autobiography—tracing the development of his religious and intellectual life, The City of God and On True Religion.

DESCARTES RENE

French mathematician and philosopher. He was born in 1596, and died in 1650 at the age of 54. He was educated by the Jesuits in the Catholic tradition. He founded certainty in mathematics but not in any of the philosophical studies. He yearned for certainty of knowledge and therefore repudiated the scholastic Aristotelian philosophy of the Catholic Church in favour of a method of discovering the truth. He called attention to some serious imperfections in the philosophical thinking of the time. His major philosophical doctrine consisted in his assertion that he had found one principle of philosophy which was certain as a mathematical principle; This was that he existed. He said no matter how many doubts all things are cannot doubt that one exists. He therefore formulated his famous statement "I think therefore I am (exist); for whatever thinks (including doubting, feeling certain or uncertain) must exist. This has been criticised greatly and effectively. Descartes also contributed to the motion that man is made up of two elements; the soul, the thinking element and the material element. Descartes also invented a number of theories in mathematics. His chief works are the Discourse on Method and Meditations.

LOCKE JOHN

English philosopher. Born 1632 and died 1704. Studied philosophy, natural science and medicine at Oxford. He was stimulated by Descartes. He escaped to Holland during the reign of James II and returned after the 1688 evolution to serve in public offices. His main philosophical work was the Essay on Human Understanding, in which he sought to show the sources and nature of human knowledge. His insistence that all theories should be proved by facts was the beginning of the School of Empiricism. He was also a political writer who wrote on religious toleration and political science. One of his most celebrated notions as the theory of social contract as the source

Continued on page 4

The Role of Britain in Guiana

By NAOJ

BRITISH Guiana's long and arduous struggle for independence is reaching a new and dangerous climax. The British Tory Government, with every means at its disposal—internal sabotage, the use of traitors, spies and provocateurs, the fomenting of racial hatred, the use of illegal Orders in Council and the use of troops has—tried to suppress the People's Progressive Party.

Under the leadership of Cheddi Jagan, this Party has won the last three elections and has constituted the Government of the colony. Because its policies are a threat to British and American big business which squeezes millions from the labour of the people of British Guiana, and because it will lead the people to real independence and to socialism, imperialism is trying to smash it.

The British Tory Government may be in its death throes but it can summon-up enough energy to continue its policy of suppressing liberation movements in various parts of the globe. In British Guiana, especially, the British Tories pressed by American imperialism acts in a typically vicious and callous fashion. The United States, already shaken by Socialist Cuba in the Caribbean, quakes at the thought of a Socialist British Guiana in the heart of her South American Empire. British Guiana is rich in coal, diamonds and oil. Booker Brothers, an American company, monopolises virtually the whole of British Guiana's sugar production and tries to dominate her rural areas. The Tories act in their own class interests and those of their American masters in suppressing the freedom of 500,000 people.

It is a pity that the official Labour Party leadership cannot show a better record in defence of British Guiana. In 1953 when the Tories suspended the Constitution, Jagan and Burnham toured Britain speaking

to mass meetings appealing for support. At that time the Labour Party Executive issued orders forbidding their organisations or members from giving them support. Fortunately for the reputation of the British Left, these orders were defied by some Labour Party members, but now the Labour Opposition in Parliament is hamstrung, it has lent itself to the Tories 'anti-Communist' crusade in British Guiana and in effect condones what is being done.

MASS SUPPORT FOR P.P.P.

In spite of all the frantic measures which the British Government has taken in the last ten years, in spite of a so-called General Strike which was financed by the American Central Intelligence Agency and the British Intelligence, the British Government knows the People's Progressive Party can win the General Election. Having sabotaged the Conference which was called for the purpose of deciding the date for independence, they are now imposing a new electoral system.

This system is based on a method of Proportional Representation which will prevent an overall majority being won by any Party and a new method of registering voters will effectively exclude thousands of Jagan supporters in the rural areas. Cheddi Jagan was prophetic when he wrote in September 1963 in an article appearing in Britain in *Labour Monthly* that "the dilemma of the imperialists is that they advocate constitutionalism but cannot defeat the People's Progressive Party by their own rules at free and fair elections. It remains to be seen what the final outcome will be. Will the British Government, goaded by the United States, change the electoral

system merely to defeat the People's Progressive Party? This effect would be rigging the elections."

IMPERIALIST INTRIGUES

To carry out their dirty work on the spot the British have a Governor in Georgetown well-versed in resisting national liberation movements. Sir Richard Luyt, educated in South Africa, the country of his birth, has been a member of the British Colonial Service for many years. After experience as a District Officer and Labour Commissioner in Rhodesia he was transferred to Kenya in 1953 and tried to bolster up British imperialism there as a Permanent Secretary in various

Ministries. Finally he was Secretary to the Cabinet. He is arrogant and he is ruthless. His latest move has been to arrest members of the British Guiana Government and Legislative Assembly, leaders of the People's Progressive Party and Trade Union leaders. In this way he has deprived the Government of its majority in the Legislative Assembly, the P.P.P. of some of its most experienced direction and the workers of their elected leaders in the industrial field.

The situation is extremely serious. The struggle cannot be suppressed by this treacherous policy of the Tory Government.

American and British efforts hold back British Guiana's day of victory but they cannot in the end prevent it. But their policy if at this stage successful will force the P.P.P. into extra constitutional measures, into mass industrial actions and possibly violence. If this happens, the suffering and the bloodshed will be the responsibility of the British and American Imperialist Governments.

A CLEAR STAND

The British Labour Party, due to take office probably in a matter of weeks, has a duty to make its stand clear. Is it for or against these measures. Will it continue an Imperialist policy in collaboration with the American Government or will it honestly accept the verdict of the people of

British Guiana in unfettered elections?

The Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference will be a force and a mockery if it condones such blatant imperialist manoeuvring and tyranny. It must act. Dr. Jagan has suggested a U.N. presence in the country while elections are being held, a measure which the newly independent states can press for in the United Nations.

The valiant struggle of the people of British Guiana demands the utmost support from every anti-imperialist. It is a struggle which can assist in the rapid development of freedom in the South American continent. We honour their courage and tenacity. They will win. Shame on Britain, their oppressors and long live the fight of the British Guianese people for Independence and Socialism.

DUTCH INFILTRATION INTO AFRICA

by Y. IVANOV

DUTCH capital's growing expansion in Africa may be explained by number of factors, the most important being the abolition of Holland's monopolies in Indonesia. The victory won by the Indonesian people deprived Dutch monopoly capital of huge profits (prior to the Second World War they constituted about one-third of Holland's national income).

Dutch penetration into Africa has, moreover, been facilitated by two other factors: the weakening position of the monopolies of the former metropolitan countries in the newly liberated African states and the possibility of speculating on the African's anti-colonialism because Holland never had any colonies on this continent.

TRADE EXPANSION IN AFRICA

Holland's trade with the African countries is constantly expanding. From 1958 to 1962, it increased from £139 million to £170 million. Holland's imports from Africa have increased quantitatively and altered qualitatively. In addition to agricultural raw materials (coconuts, cocoa, coffee, groundnuts, etc), oil imports have grown fast in the post-war years. The structure of Dutch exports has altered too. Besides traditional commodities (cotton fabrics, beer, livestock products), a big role in Dutch-African trade is now played by complex equipment and other important capital goods: long-distance communications equipment, radio receivers, drydock equipment, planes, ships, etc. In 1961, Holland ranked third in the export of radio sets to Africa, after West Germany and France.

In the past decade, Dutch trade expansion has been especially noticeable in Ni-

geria, which took 18 per cent of Dutch exports to Africa in 1962. The only country which exports more to Nigeria is Britain. Nigerian imports from Holland increased from £1,400,000 in 1950 to £16,200,000 in 1962.

Although Holland is a member of the European Economic Community, she trades more with the Commonwealth countries than with the Franc zone. This is nothing to wonder at. For decades Dutch capital has been the junior partner and rival of the British monopolies. Only about 24 per cent of Dutch trade with Africa is in the Franc zone. Dutch exports in 1962 to Nigeria alone exceeded those to all the African countries of the Franc zone (£16,200,000 against £12,760,000). Holland's imports from the Franc zone, Tunisia excluded, were in that same year less than her imports from Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone (£16,300,000 and £19,200,000).

Dutch capital plays a prominent part in Africa's freight trade. Goods are carried by the Holland-Africa Line (it has about 80 ocean-going vessels) and K.L.M. planes.

Direct investments are increasing along with trade. The leading role belongs to the Royal Dutch Shell and the Unilever margarine concern, whose biggest daughter firm is the United Africa Company. Since Shell and Unilever are Anglo-Dutch concerns, they are backed in their expansionist activities by London and The Hague. A notable example of such co-operation is the Commonwealth Development Finance Company, whose capital was provided by the British Government and British and Anglo-Dutch monopolies. The Chairman of this company is Lord Godber, who heads Shell, and one of its directors is Lord Heyworth, a former Unilever Chairman.

Shell's huge investments are constantly increasing. It takes part in exploiting oil deposits in the Sahara and over 20 of its daughter companies operate south of

the desert. In 1965, Shell plans to put into exploitation eight oil refineries in this part of the continent. It has already built or is building refineries in the Sudan, Nigeria, South Africa and other African countries.

HUGE INVESTMENTS

In Nigeria alone it has spent £80,000,000 on oil exploration over the past 12 years. By 1975, it hopes to increase oil output in this country to 10,000,000 tons. Unilever and its subsidiary, the United Africa Company, are pretty active too. They buy agricultural produce on a large scale, sell the goods which are imported to Africa, and invest capital in plantations and light industry. Unilever's investments in East Africa, made through subsidiaries, come to £9,800,000. In the Congo, it owns large plantations. In Ghana, it has built a soap factory, an automobile assembly plant, a perfumery and a plywood works. The United Africa Company has invested £36,000,000 in Nigeria alone. Together with the Dutch-operated Heinekens firm the United Africa Company has built breweries in Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Together with the Van Vlissingens and Ankersmits company, it is building a printed calico mill in Nigeria. Dutch capital also plays a big role in electrical engineering and gold mining in South Africa.

Dutch firms are also investing on their own. Philips, for instance, is modernising the telephone system in Sierra Leone, and building radio communications in Liberia. In Ethiopia, the H.V.A. Maatsh appieën N.V. has built two sugar refineries with a capacity of 75,000 tons a year.

In Africa, Dutch capitalists are investing chiefly in trade, transportation, oil and light industries, and agriculture. At the same time, relying on their links with the Common Market, they are junior partners in

the Mecambo company, the iron ore mining concern operating in Gabon, and the Consafric company, which exploits iron ore deposits in Guinea.

Dutch monopoly investments in the form of "aid" are growing too. Holland's "aid" to African countries is not rendered only through the European Development Fund for the Overseas Countries and Territories. The Dutch Recovery Bank, for instance, has granted Nigeria a £2,000,000 long-term credit to finance the purchase of capital goods and services. The Fokker company is taking part in the programme of economic aid to the Sudan. In their expansion drive, the Dutch monopolies assign an important role to technical "aid", which is destined to create

favourable conditions for investments. Surveys in this sphere are being carried out by the Netherlands Engineering Consultants, who are studying the hydro-power potentialities of the Niger dam, development of transportation in Niger and Dahomey, the hydrology of Nigeria's inland waters, etc.

The first groups of the Dutch Peace Corps arrived in Congo and Cameroun in 1963. Four million guilders will be spent on its activities in 1964, as compared with 800,000 in 1963.

A special organisation called the Africa Institute has been set up to assist Dutch monopoly expansion in the African countries. Its task is to collect information on investment conditions, organisation of farming and commercial missions to Africa, etc.



17th JUNE, WEDNESDAY: KENYA: A protest rally against the Pretoria regime's racial policies is to take place in Nairobi on Sunday.

Speakers at the rally will include Kenya's Premier, Jomo Kenyatta, Cabinet Ministers and some Party leaders.

NIGERIA: The National Convention of Nigerian Citizens (N.C.N.C.) has given a seven-day ultimatum to the Nigerian National Democratic Party (N.N.D.P.), ruling party in Western Nigeria, to end all acts of terrorism, vandalism and oppression in the Western Region.

The N.C.N.C. warned that "failing thus the N.C.N.C. would be obliged in duty bound to react with the same degree of fury and retaliation."

CAMEROUN: Addressing the opening session of a party seminar in Younde, President Ahmadou Ahijo told his audience that the party will react against "the corruption of morals which is the shame of our country."

NIGERIA: The Nigerian Federal Government and the United States Government

have signed a £5 million loan agreement for financing the Niger Dam project.

U.A.R.: It was announced by a spokesman in New York that the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, would attend the forthcoming meeting of African Heads of State summit conference next month in Cairo.

NYASALAND: Nyasaland's Prime Minister, Dr. Hastings Banda, has invited Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to visit Malawi.

RHODESIA: Youths between the ages of 10 and 20 raided the Lusaka office of the Zimbabwé African National Union (ZANU) of Southern Rhodesia, removed furniture from the office and piled it in the road.

18th JUNE, THURSDAY: GHANA: Speaking at the National Headquarters Secretariat of the Party, Mr. Augustine Ntamagara, Secretary-General of the Burundi Federation of Trade Unions, described Osagyefo the President as the guiding light and a source of inspiration to the people of Burundi in their fight against neo-colonialism.

Change . . .

It's a changing world, with new processes, new raw materials, new nations even—

Many new developments originate in the Soviet Union, and to be well-informed on Soviet industry, agriculture, education, science, and sport, one should read the illustrated, English language magazine

SOVIET WEEKLY

From your newsagent, 3d. or on subscription 10/6 for 6 months 21/- (3 dollars) yearly, post-free.

From: SOVIET WEEKLY (TSG) 3 ROSARY GARDENS LONDON, SW 7, ENGLAND.

JUST OUT
A Spark Pamphlet on
"THE COMMITTEE
OF NINE"
Contact
all Spark agents

THE GROWTH OF GHANA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the State is a position with a realistic function, with a decisive function.

The establishing of a Republic with this kind of Head of State is also the outcome of our recent history. By his leadership of the people in their struggles for Independence and in the setting up of the new Ghana Kwame Nkrumah has emerged, inevitably as its Head, giving active inspiration and leadership in all stages of the country's development.

The 1960 Constitution expresses what was already a welcome fact. This change strengthened national unity. Perhaps it is relevant to recall that in the same year that our Republic was established, Congo (Leopoldville) declared its independence. The history of the latter demonstrates the tragic consequences of a constitution which makes concessions to tribalism, regionalism and separatist tendencies; it can only result in anarchy, suffering and stagnation. Our Constitution on the contrary gives expression to all the unifying factors and forward looking elements in our society. The decision to cut this last link with the British monarchy was itself a unifying force. Those people in Ghana who wanted to call a halt to our post independence development and renew the old colonial relationships under a new guise were thus weakened as this remaining political link with imperialism was severed.

Since 1960, further constitutional changes have taken place and this is not surprising when we see the rapid changes which are unfolding in our society and which will continue. The decision to establish the one-Party system was taken with those same principles in mind which underlay the establishment of the Republic. The so-called Parliamentary democracies which have evolved over centuries in most of the industrially advanced states, reflect not only the successes won by the mass of the people over many years of bitter struggle, but they also reflect virtual stalemate in societies sharply divided into antagonistic classes. They represent a "modus vivendi," a temporary state of compromise between strongly opposing forces. Parliament is a battle ground (sometimes alas even a mock battle ground) rather than an elected body of representatives which can lead the people to attain the full fruits of their labour. Is it any wonder that in these industrially advanced capitalist countries there still remain acute social problems? They are potentially capable of solution but the forms of Government which reflect real class antagonisms actually perpetuate them and stand between the mass of the people and a just society. That is why in many fields of national life these rich countries of Western Europe and the U.S.A. reveal a picture of poverty amid plenty and stagnation in many sectors of their economies.

These forms of democracy reflect capitalist democracy not socialist democracy, they reflect the privilege of the exploiters to continue making profits from the labour of the mass of the people. Ghana does not want such a system. To a people united in their desire to build an industrialised prosperous, educated and just society, the only way forward is a planned economy with the means of production owned by the people as a whole. The political patterns of Western capitalist states have no relevance to this aim, they were devised for quite different purposes. Our one-Party State and the role of the Head of our State reflects the will of the people to overcome the legacy of imperialism and to build socialism which alone can guarantee them freedom of every kind.

It was not only with Ghana in mind that the Republic was created in 1960. Kwame Nkrumah and the C.P.P. have always explained the need for and they have always worked for an African continental government as the necessary guarantee of continental independence. Provisions exist in our Constitution for the yielding up of certain aspects of our national sovereignty to that of the broader sovereignty of African Union Government. To have retained a foreign monarch as Head of State would have been ludicrous, and justifiably, doubts would have been cast on our sincerity if we had not changed this situation.

It is the responsibility of all those who work for African Unity to work also for progressive, stable states reflecting the united will of the people, only in this way can African Unity itself be constructed on a firm foundation. This responsibility is always in the forefront of our minds when we are planning the new stages of our national growth. We know that a firmly united, well knit nation will play its part more fully in the achieving of continental unity and government.

We are proud of Ghana's development in its four years as a Republic.

Continued from page 2

of political society. His theory of state is represented in his two Treaties of Civil Government. There is much merit on these works even though most of it is written not as independent enquiry but as an apology to justify the glorious revolution of 1688. He opposed absolute monarchy, justified rebellion against tyrants and advocated for a separation of powers between the executive, judicial and legislative organs of the state. He also regarded the right of private property as one of the "rights of man". His influence on the American revolution was immense.

BERKELEY GEORGE

Irish Bishop of the Anglican Church (Clogne). Born in 1685 and died in 1753. Apart from his philosophical interests he had a number of interests such as the establishment of Colleges in America and a university for slaves in the West Indies. He also endowed a number of American universities and has one town in California named after him. He followed the empiricist tradition of Locke but was puzzled with the problem of substance. His chief philosophical doctrine was that all matter resided in the consciousness of a spirit. But simply he said that for every material thing to exist, it must be perceived (seen, smelt, touched, heard, tasted) by some one. The existence of matter, he said, depended on perception by some mind. To say that a tree exists but is not seen, touched, tasted, smelt by anybody is, he said, to talk nonsense. This has always been misunderstood and Berkeley always lived under public ridicule because he was accused of saying that matter did not exist.

MALEBRANCHE NICOLAS (1638-1715)

A Jesuit who reacted to Descartes theories. He sought to reconcile philosophy with religion, but his books were placed on the index of prescribed books by the Catholic Church.

KANT IMMANUEL (1724-1804)

He studied the classics, mathematics, physics, philosophy and theology. He was a versatile man with an immense capacity for work. He sought to redeem philosophy from the extreme emphasis on empiricism i.e. from the preoccupation with observed things. He sought to work out a compromise between idealism and empiricism. He wrote monumental works on philosophy such as The Critique of Pure Reason, The Critique of Practical Reason and The Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals. Kant stands out as one of the giants in the history of philosophy.

MILL J. STUART (1806-1873)

He was educated by his father James Mill and by Jeremy Bentham, the great Legal reformer. He acted as a secretary in the East India Company. He wrote on logic, economics, and philosophy. He also served in the British Parliament as a liberal. His main writings are Utilitarianism, The famous Essay on Liberty, Representative Government and his Autobiography.

WILLIAM OF OCCAM

He was an English man and a member of the Franciscan Order. He was born about 1280 and died in 1347. He studied at Oxford

and taught in Paris. He joined in the Philosophical controversy on the nature of universals. He says that we only perceive particulars—these particulars are the only things which really exist. We abstract from particulars the qualities common to them and with them we form the universal concept. (e.g.) Man: only individual men exist but we form the idea of MAN from these by including all the essential qualities common to them all and by ignoring peculiarities of each man. Since he did not believe in universals he also did not believe in objective justice. The rules of morality which God has given to man are not self-evident. They are binding because God has imposed them on us. God could have imposed different rules (i.e. injure those who help you) and these would have bound us all the same. There is nothing self-evident about these rules.

FREUD SIGMUND

The discoverer of psychoanalysis. He propounded the theory that dreams are not mere accidents but the working of the unconscious part of man. He devised means for interpreting dreams.

MACH ERNST (1838-1916)

A German professor of physics and philosophy. He held a theory of knowledge based on the proposition that the world consists purely of sensations and that substance is an illusion a construction which we ourselves make on the basis of our sensations.

LEIBNIZ GOTTFRIED (1646-1716)

Studied law, philosophy and mathematics. Received his doctorate in law at the age of 20. Descartes had thought of the world as being made up of two substances, soul (which thinks) and matter (which does not). Leibniz was troubled with the problem of how these two different things can read. His solution is to put it simply to set up a universal substance which conceived as both matter and also thinking. He considered the universe as a harmonious which governed by mathematical and logical principles. Matter is a collection of an infinite number of forces. Each of these forces is particular. These he calls Monads and endows them with a number of qualities we shall not go into here. In all, he sought to postulate the dual existence of mind and matter and to explain how they react against each other.

SPINOZA BEHEIDT (1632-1677)

Born in Holland. His parents were Jews but he later renounced Judaism. He was expelled from Amsterdam and lived in The Hague generally in poverty. He wrote one major work. The Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, in which he examined the claim that Moses wrote the first five books of the Bible. He also advocated freedom of thought and the separation of Church and State. He was a Pantheist i.e. he believed that God is in the world and the world is in Him. He is the source of everything. God and the world are one. God did not create the world as something external to him, but he is the permanent substance or substratum or the essence in all things.

WHITEHEAD ALFRED NORTH (1861-1947)

English physicist and mathematician and philoso-

pher. He collaborated with Bertrand Russell to produce the principle Mathematics. He wrote a number of important books on philosophy including the Concept of Nature and Principles of Natural Knowledge.

WITTGENSTEIN LUDWIG

Seaman mathematician and logician who settled in Cambridge University. His most important work was the Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus which was published in 1922.

PASCAL BLAISE (1623-1662)

French mathematician, physicist. He accepted much of Descartes thoughts but he concluded that knowledge of ultimate principles was beyond our ability. We cannot know the reason or purpose of the world and we cannot prove that there is a God or that the soul is immortal. In spite of this he was deeply religious.

JESSUITS

The Society of Jesus. An order of the Catholic Church that combined deep religious fervour and commitment with intellectual pretensions. They have remained the chief defenders of Catholic philosophy as well as a powerful means of education. They still wield much influence in the Catholic Church. Members have the title S.J. added to their names.

PROTOGORAS

Born about 500 B.C. He was not only a philosopher but a legislator. He made a code of laws for the city of Thurri. He is alleged to have been prosecuted for impiety but this may not be true. He wrote this about gods. "With regards to gods, I cannot tell sure either that they are or that they are not, nor what they are like in figure; for there are many things that hinder sure knowledge, the obscurity of the subject and the shortness of human life". He is chiefly noted for his doctrine that "man is the measure of all things, of things that are and of things that are not that they are". This is generally interpreted to mean that each man is entitled to his opinion and that when men differ, there is no objective truth by reference to which we can decide that one or the other is right or wrong. His statement and its implications are discussed in Platos dialogue the Thaetetus. Protagoras is usually taken as the exponent of the view that there is no objective truth and hence whatever is preferred or done by one people is to be accepted. He would not question law or morality by reference to objective laws but will ask whether it is what the society likes. In the same way we reduce mind to a certain arrangement of matter. Constructionism is the device by means of which we construct different categories by combining different categories or one category in a certain way. If we combine the elements of oxygen and hydrogen (one category in a certain way, we will obtain the substance of matter (a different category). We have one category out of another.

SOME PHILOSOPHICAL TERMS AND THEIR MEANING**METAPHYSICS**

This is the study of the nature of the world (universe). It deals in the language of Consciencism, with the question of "what there is". It is the most abstract of all philosophical

disciplines and it generally builds on much speculation.

EPISTEMOLOGY

This deals with how we come to know about the Universe. It is commonly called Theory/Knowledge. While metaphysics tries to answer the question of "What there is", epistemology seeks to answer the question how men come to know that anything exists. It deals with the means by which we acquire knowledge, with the limits of our knowledge and with the possible object of our knowledge.

ETHICS

This is the discipline which deals with morals. In its most comprehensive sense it is concerned with the principles of morals and it tries to provide criteria for criticising human conduct on moral grounds. There is however a tendency in "moral philosophers" to concentrate on the meaning of 'ethical terms' and to ignore the principles of morals. Sometimes these moral philosophers appear to be doing something not in any way connected with morals as the ordinary man understands the term morals. (see consciencism, pp. 5-6.)

LOGIC

This is the branch of philosophy which deals with the rules of thought. It is to be distinguished from PSYCHOLOGY, which tries to explain the process of thinking. Logic seeks to devise and explain rules for determining the compatibility or otherwise of certain ideas with others. It deals essentially with what ideas, statements etc. are compatible with each other, or contradicting to each other; what ideas or statements follow necessarily from other ideas or statements. It has been said that Logic does not teach one to think but this is not quite true. For if Logic succeeds in teaching a person to recognise incompatibility in thoughts and statements, it is to be hoped that such a person will not often attempt to put contradictory thoughts, ideas and statements together. Thus Logic can help a man to think correctly although it does not follow that one must necessarily learn logic before one can think logically.

DUALISM

This is the philosophy (metaphysics) which holds the basic principle that there are two main "things" in the world. The dualists answer the question: "of what is the world made" by the answer: "The world consists of two essential things. Generally these two things are said to be MATTER and SPIRIT or MATTER and IDEA. Descartes, for instance, held that there were two things, BODY and SOUL (a thinking being). Matter does not live but the soul is a living and thinking being.

For example he said every thing contains some fire but when fire predominates over everything else we call it fire; or if water predominates we call it water. (This is why in Consciencism, he is called an egalitarian. For if all men have elements in common, then there cannot be any significant and basic difference between men—there can only be differences of emphasis). He also held that the distinguishing feature of living as opposed to non-living beings was mind (NOUS). It is the only thing which is not in all things. It is only in living things. Mind he says has power over all things, and is

the source of all motion. Hence he believed that matter is inert—i.e. cannot move on its own account. He also believed that mind is uniform i.e. the mind of an animal is just as good as that of a man. All differences between different things with minds, he said, are only apparent and due to bodily differences e.g. Man's superiority is due to the fact that he has hands and can use them with agility. (He apparently did not discuss the gift of speech and we don't know whether he would have described it as a bodily difference). Anaxagoras was also a scientist. He is believed to have been the first to suggest that the moon shines by reflected light. He gave a correct theory of eclipses. He also said that the moon has mountains.

PANTHEISM

Is the philosophy which believes that God is part of the world, and is within the world around us. The deists (e.g. Christians and Muslims) believe that God is over and above the world (transcendent to the world). The Pantheists believe that God is within the world (is immanent in the world). To Pantheists the universe was not created by God as an external thing apart from him, but God is the source of the world and he is in it.

EGALITARIANISM

This is the philosophy which claims that all men are equal, and should therefore be treated equally. It does not assert that all men are in fact enjoying equality, but that they should enjoy it. It does not say that there are no differences between people; but it says that these differences are secondary and that they are irrelevant to the question whether they are to be considered basically equal. Men may be different in the same way that highlife and the symphony are different. But both are music and as music they are equal. We may like one and dislike the other; we may prefer one to the other, but it is not because one is not music or less music than the other. In the same way egalitarianism says all men are equal in spite of their differences and should be treated equally as men.

SENSATION

This is the term given to describe sense-feelings such as seeing, tasting, smelling, hearing, and touching. It is used to differentiate these sense-feelings from such things as believing, doubting, thinking, liking etc. These do not involve any sense-feeling and they don't need that there should be any bodily contact.

SENSATIONALISM is the philosophy which says that all we ever perceive of material things is what we perceive by sensation. When we say we see ball, we only see the outline and colour of the ball, we feel the softness of the ball, may be we smell the rubber and hear its sound when we bounce it. But these are all we see. We do not see "a round hollow thing of rubber etc.". We construct this from our sensations just as a blind man would if he also felt the ball. He does not see it, but he constructs from his own sensation. As opposed to the sensationists the realists say that we in fact "see" the ball and that what we perceive is not merely the sensations.