

EDITORIAL **Briefing for Battle**

SOCIALISM can be built only by Socialists and in our society which is as yet still only in transition to Socialism, Socialists are not born but made. The battle for Socialism in the minds of men has to be fought, and fought hard.

As Kwame Nkrumah has pointed out, Ghana is not yet a Socialist society. By no means all the means of production, distribution and exchange are publicly owned. There are still substantial elements of capitalism in our society and these elements continue to provide the material basis for capitalist ideas.

Furthermore, we have inherited an educational system which has for decades inculcated capitalist ways of thought, capitalist ideas and capitalist prejudices.

These survivals of colonialism in the minds of men will not disappear of their own accord—the more so because they are being constantly nourished by those abroad who see a Ghana which has been decolonised not only economically but also ideologically as a threat to their continued domination.

There is no such thing as an ideological vacuum. If minds and hearts are not won for the ideas of Scientific Socialism, then they will be won for the ideas of capitalism and neo-colonialism.

But once they grip the masses, the ideas of Scientific Socialism become a great material force, giving the people new strength, enabling them to move mountains.

It is in this light that we should view the seminar for Ministers and leading Party functionaries which has just concluded at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba. The seminar was not a mere academic exercise, a retreat into an ivory tower for meditation on the higher things of life.

WHEN WILL WILSON REPUDIATE PHILI Prince talks of 'Patience' while Smith builds strength

PRINCE Philip has over the years acquired a

certain notoriety for say-

ing the wrong thing at the wrong time in the wrong place. But he surpassed himself last weekend when addressing members of Edinburgh University Union.

Barely had the last of the leaders of the African Commonwealth countries left Britain after the Commonwealth Conference at which they had demanded the greatest speed and determination in bringing majority rule to Rhodesia before the Prince was on his feet calling for 'patience'.

INGENUOUSLY

million Africans believe that they are entitled to the decisive say in the governing of their country —but the quarter of a million white settlers do not believe this.

MINORITY RULE

The Africans want one man to have one vote: they believe that that is what democracy is all about. The white settlers do not believe this. They do not want democracy. They want to preserve the rule of a tiny minority.

And if there is any risk of a bloodbath, it is they

"So far, Mr. Ian Smith has achieved mastery,

by A Spark Correspondent

over the security situation. He has swept all the African nationalists into restriction for five years. He has cut them off from communication with the outside world, and is now busy discrediting them among their own people.

'PATERNALISM'

"He is reintroducing paternalism with the backing of tribal chiefs who have been encouraged and made more aware of the outside



creet"—or just voicing official policy?

task of holding the Zambezi frontier against the black north. The time will come when Mr. enough to go over from the defensive to the offensive in his pursuit of independence... ("Economist", 3.7.65). As Kwame Nkrumah declared at the Commonwealth Conference, "it is essential to emphasise the threat to Africa which could arise through a military union between South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia. The formation of any such alliance and its direct or indirect support by N.A.T.O. Powers or any Western European Powers, would involve a threat to world peace." It is against this background that Prince Philip "patience" and urges argues that "a few years here or there do not mafter."

undoubtedly imperil the Common wealth. Our association is in real danger of breaking over this issue."

Attempts are being made to dismiss Prince Philip's remarks as the indiscretions of a selfopinionated young man unversed in diplomatic niceties who as a member of the Royal Family after all plays no political role.

Such attempts are designed to deflect attention from one vital point; "indiscreet" or not, the Prince's remarks in no way contradict the policy of Smith will feel secure the Labour Government.

OFFICIAL POLICY

It was a briefing for battle—for the battle to build a richer, fuller life for the people, for the battle to build a Socialist Ghana.

Scientific Socialism does not provide a set of ready-made answers to every problem—no such answers exist. It provides a tool with which the world can be remade.

It is a tool that must constantly be re-furbished. It can be kept sharp and bright only by constant study. The constant re-furbishing of the tool of ideology should not be simply a matter of personal study; the success of the Winneba seminar should prompt the Central Committee to make such seminars a regular feature of our Party life.

Nor should this ideological tempering be confined to Ministers and leading Party functionaries. The ideas of Consciencism, of scientific socialism as applied to Africa, must be brought to the workers for, as Kwame Nkrumah declared at Winneba, "without workers there could be no material change. They build our roads, our houses, etc."

It is the workers who by their labour create all wealth. It is they who have built Tema and Akosombo. It is they who are laying the foundations of our Socialist future.

They, too, must have the opportunity to arm themselves with the ideas of scientific socialism, so that they may be better equipped to play their vital role.

The workers too, must have their seminars and study groups, while press, radio and ultimately T.V. should be used to popularise the ideas that are changing the world.

No effort must be spared to make the literature of scientific socialism available to the widest circle of readers. Too many of our libraries and bookshops are still living in their colonialist past, their shelves full of neo-colonialist and anti-socialist literature. Let us go forward from Winneba and bring the ideas of scientific socialism to the people. Let us win the battle for socialism in the minds of men.

The Prince began somewhat ingenuously. On Rhodesia, he said: "I am not going to say anything about it, for very obvious reasons"—and then went on to make a statement which aroused angry pro-

tests throughout Africa and also in Britain. "I recognise, as I think

we all recognise, the impressions of many Africans about the situation in Rhodesia. But 1 think that in the long run it is better to spin out the process of the solution of these difficulties with patience, and therefore with a bit of luck to get a peaceful result than to risk a bloodbath and many other unpredictable results by forcing the pace at this moment.

"I think everybody recoanises that the ultimate result is inevitable. But I think a few years here or there do not matter if we can achieve this result peacefully and

quietly." Just what are these difficulties" which Prince Philip would like to see solved with "patience"the "patience", be it noted, of Rhodesia's Africans, not of its white settlers.

'DIFFICULTIES'

The "difficulties" are simply this: Rhodesia's four

who will cause it, because they are prepared to go to any lengths to maintain white supremacy—and because they alone have the weapons.

Prince Philip would have us believe that "everybody" recognises that "the ultimate result" is inevitable".

But Rhodesia's racist Premier Ian Smith does not think so; the overwhelming majority of Rhodesia's white settlers do not think so; and influential people in the City of London and Whitehall do not think so.

SHOOTING WORDS

What is more, they are working hard to make surethat it is not "inevitable". Prince Philip Iulls his African listeners with soothing words: "a few years here or there do not 'matter''. he says, "if we can achieve this result peacefully and quietly".

Meanwhile Ian Smith arms and connives with Salazar and Verwoerd to make sure that "this result" shall not be achieved at all. He is playing for time time to consolidate what the London "Economist" has termed "the Rhodesian white fortress".

In a revealling article whose appearance coincided with the Prince's outburst, the "Economist" summed up the situation thus:

world by expensive world tours that always finish up in the Transkei, South Africa's Bantustan...

"More important, Mr. Smith is finding ways and means of alleviating Rhodesia's loneliness in the world at large. There is already a strong fellow feeling between Rhodesia, Portugal and South Africa. This is being made more concrete.

'Two South African Ministers have visited Rhodesia during the past forthnight to test out the strength of the Republic's Rhodesian white buffer. The governorgeneral of Portugal's colony of Mozambique is soon to be given a grand tour of Rhodesia. "R hodesia's deputy prime minister (and minister of defence), Mr. Dupont, was in Lourenco Margues, capital of Mozambique, last week; he came back smiling. One been made envoy to Pretoria; another, Mr. Lisbon.

'WHITE SOUTH'

"The pieces are falling into place for a thorough going alliance of the white south, with Rhodesia assigned the major

ACTION NOW

The African members of the Commonwealth made their position clear at the Commonwealth conference. They want no more of Mr. Smith's former stalling, no more dilly-Ministers, Mr. Grant, has dallying. They want action now.

Kwame Nkrumah warned Reedman, is headed for Mr. Wilson that the future of the Commonwealthof whose Head Prince Philip is the consort—could well depend upon the manner in which the Rhodesian problem is tackled :

'Failure at this conterence to settle the Rhodesian question will

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Call for "patience", talk of "spinning out the process of the solution of these difficulties" coupled with ominous references to the blackmailing threats of a "bloodbath" put about by the white settlers have been part of the stock-in-trade of the Labour Government ever since it took office, and of Tory governments before it.

The Prince was merely spelling out official Government policy.

This is confirmed by the absence of any immediate and unconditional repudiation of his remarks by Mr. Wilson or by Mr. Bottomley, the Secretary of Commonwealth Relations, or by any other official spokesman.

If the husband of the Head of the Commonwealth was talking out of turn, then let the Labour Government say so.

COMMUNIQUE

The communique adopted at the Commonwealth Conference called for a constitutional conference on Rhodesia if discussions with Mr. Smith did not develop satisfactorily "in a reasonably speedy time".

The formula "in a reasonably speedy time"

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THE SPARK

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A GRIM exposure of conditions in Verwoerd's jails is contained in a series of three massive articles just published by a Johannesburg newspaper, the "Rand Daily Mail".

The articles were an account of the prison experiences of Mr. Harold Robert Strachan, a former Durban art lecturer who served a three-year sentence for allegedly conspiring to cause explosions.

Soon after his release in May, 1962 Mr. Strachan was acquitted on new charges of contravening the Supression of Communism Act-the Act Verwoerd regime uses to bludjeon all opponents of apart-heid— after the judge had ruled that the evidence given by police witnesses was "conflicting".

After the publication of the second article, six detectives raided the offices of the Rand Daily Mail. They seized notes and the text of the articles.

Nevertheless the paper published the third article on the following day-together with photographs of the police making the raid.

Within hours the police visited Mr. Strachan at his home in Durban and served an order under the Suppression of Communism Act confining him to his house from 6 p.m. to 7 a.m. daily, and nothing he says may be quoted in the South African press.

Action is also to be taken against the Rand Daily Mail, which has followed up the articles by a call for a judicial commission of enquiry into conditions in South African prisons.

South Africa's Prisons Act of 1959 restricts the publication of information about conditions in jails and places the onus of proof upon the publisher. The state merely has to allege that false information has been published. Last month Verwoerd's mis-named Minister of Justice, Vorster, introduced an amendment to the Act extending its terms to prohibit the taking or making and publication without permission of photographs or sketches of any person who had been arrested and was in custody. It also prohibits photographs or sketches of persons who have escaped from custody, of persons who have been executed or died in custody, and of persons being transferred from one prison to another.

are tried and punished by being put on special diets, placed in solitary confinement and denied permission to study.

On Robben Island, prisoners are either put on rock-breaking teams or are made to sew sacks, and at Kroonstad prison many prisoners are forced to dig trenches and then simply refill them.

White political prisoners were for a long time held in virtual solitary confinement, but this system has now been changed and they are sharing cells. They have very little exercise, however.

There are four grades of prisoners in South African jails, Categories "A", "B", "C" and "D". The lowest is Category "D" in which there are virtually no privileges. These prisoners are allowed only one letter and one visit every six

months. All political prisoners are automatically "D" and their chance of promotion from

this category is virtually nil. Finally, all other prisoners are granted a remission of 25 per cent of their sentence for good behaviour. But the Minister of Justice has said that under no circumstances will political prisoners be granted any remission whatever,

The demands that are being

made by the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners are : 1. That a reliable inspecting

body should be allowed to visit political prisoners at regular intervals of three months; That political prisoners be

given suitable work during which they will work together and be allowed to talk to one another ;

That exercise periods be extended and held in the open air where prisoners can talk to one another;

That political prisoners 4 should be moved out of Category D within a specified and strictly limited period, or preferably that they should not be placed in this category at all;

That political prisoners be granted remission on their sentences on the same basis as other prisoners.

It will be recalled that the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid in its report of December 8th., 1964 recommended that an international commision composed of eminent jurists and prison officials be set up to investigate charges of torture and illtreatment of prisoners in South Africa.

The commission, says the report, should be authorised to investigate the affidavits by former prisoners, interview present and former prisoners and look into prison conditons, and report as soon as possible.

AGGRESSION CONTINUES

IONDON saw one of its biggest ever demonstrations last week when thousands—many of them representing tens of thousands more—went to Parliament to declare their opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Every minute of the day the large central lobby of Parliament was thronged, and according to one reporter it seemed that every corner of the building was filled with groups in earnest conversation with M.P.s.

for peace and justice.

The demonstration was characteristic of the great tide of revulsion that is sweeping the world in protest against continued U.S. aggression in Vietnam-aggresion which is still aided and abetted by the British Government and also by Australia, whose troops have now been in action against

Vietnamese freedom fighters. A front-page story in the European edition of the New York Herald Tribune of July 2nd. unwillingly spotlights a fact which the U.S. authorities have hitherto been at pains to

side the large towns.

The same paper carries dramatic pictures of the damage wrought at the U.S. air base at Da Nang, whose defences were penetrated by a small group of freedom fighters last month.

This base is the biggest American military complex outside Saigon itself, and is protected by some 15,000 U.S. Marines who, in the words of one U.S. correspondent, "hold a defence perimeter for miles around".

Nevertheless, the freedom fighters penetrated to within mortar range-two or three



Wednesday to take stock of

progress made at the half-way

stage in the U.N. development

decade that ends on July 30.

*Two Ghanaian University Lec-

turers have left Accra for Berlin,

German Democratic Republic

(G.D.R.) to attend a five-week

international summer course at

the University College of Eco-

nomics, which opens today.

GUINEA: President Sekou Toure

of Guinea has in a broadcast

over Radio Guinea appealed,

to the new Algerian leaders to

ALGERIA: A correspondent of

the French daily L'Humanite

has today been ordered to leave

Algeria immediately for secu-

TUNISIA: Mr. Diallo Telli has

arrived in Tunis from Algiers

today to hold talks with Presi-

dent Habib Bourguiba of Tuni-

sia and other leaders of the

SUDAN: A Sudanese friendship

delegation led by Mr. Osman

Abudulla, acting under-secretary

of Sudan Foreign Affairs, left

Khartoum today for Chad to

submit a petition to the Chad

authorities to release the detain-

UPPER VOLTA: President Mau-

rice Yameogo of the Upper

Volta has said in Ouagadougou

that his country could not stop

at anything to maintain friendly

relations with its brotherly peo-

ple of Ghana when replying to

the speech by Malam Bukari

the new Ghana Ambassador to

the Upper Volta, during the

presentaton of his credentials to

GHANA: Alhaji Isa Wali, Nige-

rian High Commissioner in

Ghana, speaking at the ninth

annual speech and prize giving

day of the Berekum Training

College, today called on stu-

dents all over Afrca to be grate-

29th JUNE:

on June 19.

rity reasons.

country.

ed Sudanese.

the President.

28th JUNE:

DAHOMEY : President Sourou Migan Apithy, in a nation widebroadcast has said in Cotonou, Dahomey, that the country is on the verge of financial and economic failure with their trail of privation and misery.

TOGO : Togolese go to the pools today to elect local councillors for Togo's seven municipal councils and 17 rural administrative divisions with a mandate of five years.

SUDAN: The new, Sudanese Government's proposal to amend the present temporary constitution has met with stout disapproval from various members of the Sudanese Constituent Assembly in Khartoum.

IVORY COAST : Delegates from 21 French and English-speaking African countries attending the first African Conference of the International Voluntary Service Secretariat have ended their four-day meeting in Abidjan.

TANZANIA : President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has arrived in Paris, France, to have talks with President Charles de Gaulle and some of the other French leaders, after attending the Commonwealth Leader's Conference in London last week. He will spend three days in France.

MOZAMBIQUE : It has been announced that the Mozambique National Liberation Army killed 27 Portuguese Colonial Soldiers in the first week of June when they sprang surprise attack on the Colonial Soldiers.

GHANA : President Nkrumah arrived in Accra this afternoon from London after attending the Commonwealth Conference.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: Southern Rhodesia's police today shot an African in the African township of Harare during demonstration by some 500 Africans. A police spokesman allegedly said that the crowd stoned two private and two police verhicles.

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territory administered by racist Pretoria regime of South Africa.

NIGERIA : Nigeria has concluded air traffic rights agreements with Belgium and Netherlands, it has been announced in Lagos.

ZAMBIA: The Zambia Government has imposed an immediate ban on the export of copper scrap according to reports from Lusaka. The measure is to stop the smuggle of copper scraps to Japan and America.

*President Kaunda has warned that it would be a serious breach of faith if Britain contemplated giving independence to the few whites settlers in Southern Rhodesia on the understanding that the racist Rhodesian regime would be the judge when African majority should assume control.

GHANA : Ghana Celebrated her fifth Republic Annivesary today.

spare the life of Ben Bella, who 2nd JULY: was deposed in a coup detat

> GABON ; President Massemba-Debat of Congo Brazzaville will preside over the Equatorial Heads of State Conference which opens in Gabon next Wednesday. Countries attending are Gabon, Chad, Central Africa Republic and Congo Brazzaville.

SOMALI: President Abdullah Osman of Somalia is to make state visits to China, Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R.

SOUTH AFRICA : A French firm "La Societe Sucriere De L'Atlantique" is to grant a £4,500,000 Credit to the facist South African "Blyde Letaba Sugar Company" to build the largest Sugar mill of its kind in the world at Hoedsruit, South Africa.

GHANA: Forty-one Students of the Kumasi Wesley College, including 13 women, will spaticipate in the second annual world youth organisation Confernce to be held in Ibadan, Western-Nigeria this year.

IBERIA : A threeman Liberian Agriculture delegation headed by Mr. A. J. Melton, Special Assistant to the principal Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture has arrived in Accra by air from Monrovia on a three week reciprocal visit to Accra. While here the delegation will study various agriculture and industrial development in Ghana.

ful to the leaders of Africa for SUDAN: The Sudanese Prime Minister Mr. Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub, won his first Vote of confidence in the constituent Assembly today after a debate on the new coalition's policies.

There would, however, not be a total ban on pictures. Permission will be granted where it is deemed to be "in the public interest"-in other words, when pictures can be used to whitewash the Verwoerd regime's brutal treat-

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ment of its political opponents. Conditions for political prisoners in South-Africa are probably worse than anywhere else in the world. The intolerable conditions under which they are held were highlighted by the World Campaign for the release of South African political prisoners on South African Freedom Day last month.

There is discrimination between political prisoners and other prisoners. On Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the antiapartheid are held, criminal prisoners are encouraged by the warders to assault the poli-, desia and Zambia, but which tical prisoners.

* * The lobbyers represented scores of trades councils, dozens of unions at all levels, factories

and shop stewards' committees, Labour and Communist Party branches and Co-operative Guilds as well as religious and peace organisations.

Among them was Bertrand Russell, the 93-year-old philosopher and active campaigner

conceal-that some four-fifths of South Vietnam has already been liberated by the National

Liberation Front's forces. The paper reports that the South Vietnamese puppet government has now been obliged to ask the United States to inaugurate an air-lift to supply Saigon and five other cities.

This is an admission that the United States and its puppets can no longer control large areas of the countryside out-

miles-and destroyed at least three U.S. planes and other equipment.

The New York Herald Tribune notes that "nearby villagers who saw the squad (of freedom fighters-Ed.) did not inform Vietnamese officials."

There can be no more dramatic testimony to the sympathy and support which the freedom fighters enjoy among the ordinary people of South Vietnam.

President Kaunda has gone

"The position of Rhodesia

is very similar to that of Zam-

bia", he has pointed out. Rho-

desia is also landlocked and is

also dependent on South

"The proposed railway is in

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vide a service to Rhodesia

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sia, but it will be absolutely

essential when majority rule is

Here, clearly, is an oppotu-

nity for the African Develop-

ment Bank recently established

under the auspices of the Or-

ganisation of African Unity

with the backing of all thirty-

seven independent African

show what a united Africa can

Here is an opportunity to

states.

do.

established in Rhodesia."

KENYA: President Jomo Kenyat-

ta of Kenva today received Buganda's Kabaka (King) Mutesa Avond, in Kenya who is on a week's state visit to the country. He had a meeting with President Kenyatta on the latters farm at Gatundu near Nairobi.

* Field Marshal John Okello, who featured in the Zanzibar Revolution last year, has been today sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for entering Kenya unlawfully.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The Congolese Minister of the Interior, Mr. Godfred Monungo, has been elected Governor of Eastern Katanga by the Provincial Assembly.

U.A.R.: The first consignment of 8.845 tons of 300,000 tons of wheat to the United Arab Republc promised by Soviet Prime Minister, Alexei Kosygin arrived in Cairo today.

NIGERIA: Sir Francis Ibiam, Eastern Nigerian Regional Governor, has protested against the way Africans are sometimes portrayed in firms outside Africa.

GHANA: An engine for sea-going launch, which is capable of operating in the tropics has been designed in Moscow U.S.S.R., by a Ghanaian called Mr. Aaron Adjari Darko, one of the first "power specialists" to graduate from the Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow, it has been announced in Moscow.

ALGERIA: Hundreds of Algerians have demonstrated against the coup led by Vice-Premier 1st JULY : and Defence Minister Colonel Houari Boumedienne.

GHANA: Ghana will be among 27 countries to attend the United Nations Economic and Social Council Session in Geneva on

their broad vision in sparing no efforts to achieved African Unity.

ALGERIA : Marshall Chen Yi. Chinese Vice-President and Foreign Minister who arrived in Algiers, Algeria today in connection on with the postponement of Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, was met at the airport by the Algerian Vice-President Mohammed Said.

BASUTOLAND: Basutoland's pro-apartheid chief Jonathan Leabua is contesting in a byelection in the Mpharane constituency today in a bid to enter the Basuto Parliament Chief Jonathan leader of the ruling National Party was defeated month's ago in the country's general elections.

SUDAN : Armed Sudanese Government forces today dispersed mutineers blockading the Bor district in the Pahr EL Ghazel Region of Southern Sudan where four soldiers and a pro-northdistrict chief had been killed.

TANZANIA: Mr. Rashidi Kawawa Second Vice-President has said in Dar-es-Salaam that Tanzania is to resume normal friendly relations with Federal Republic of Germany.

* President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania today hitting back at critics who hold that African States should put their own houses in order before. trying to restore peace to Vietnam and the Congo, said at a luncheon in Paris with French President Charles de Gaulle that "we are all part of the same

SOUTH WEST AFRICA : The Tanzania delegate to the U.N. has called on Federal Germany to close her rocket "tracking station" in South-West Africa, a

world."

3rd JULY :

BASUTOLAND : The pro-apartheid African chief of Basutoland Jonathan Leabua won the by-election created in the Mphrana constituency to enable him enter parliament.

CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE) : Premier Moise Tshombe urgently recalled Mr. Godefroid Munongo former Interior Minister in the Leopoldville administration and now Governorelect of Eastern Katanga. No reasons were given for the recall.

4th JULY :

TANZANIA : President Julius Nyerere has said that the commonwealth was "too western and must not be used by the British Government for political purposes."

5th JULY :

MOROCCO : Princess Lalla Aisha of Morocco has been appointed to take up the post as her country's Ambassador to Britain.

SUDAN : The new Prime Minister Mr. Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub has appealed to Southern Sudanese leaders to help and chaos and insecurity in the South.

ENYA: A trade mission made of Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Foreign Minister and Dr. I. K. Kiano, Commerce and Industry Minister left Kenya today for Ethio-

ALGERIA : Colonel Bommedienne new Algerian President announced charges in the Algerian policy with emphasis on economic and internal reforms.

OPPORTUNITY FOR O.A.U.

THE proposal to build a racist Prime Minister Smith. railway linking Zambia and Tanzania hit the headlines in the West last week when it became known that People's China had offered to undertake a survey of the Tanzanian section of the route.

A glance at the map will demonstrate the economic and political significance of the proposed 1,300-mile line. Zambia is landlocked, and at present its copper and indeed almost all its exports must travel through Rhodesia to ports in Portuguese-held Mozambique or Verwoerd's South Africa.

There is increasing co-operation between Smith, Salazar and Verwoerd with a view to creating a "belt of steel" along the line of the Zambezi to defend a white southern Africa. An economic offensive against Zambia cannot be ruled out. One method would be for Rhodesia to cut off the supply of electricity going to Zambia from the Kariba dam, which is jointly owned by Rhois on the Rhodesian bank and

For petty offences, prisoners can easily be taken over by

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out of his way to make it clear Another form of pressure would be to shut off Zambia's that the new railway is intended to end Zambian depenoutlets to the sea. Already South Africa and Portugal dence on Portugal and have closed their ports to ship-South Africa; he envisages that ments of the arms which Zam-Rhodesia will have an African bia needs for her defence. government by the time it is The Zambian Government completed.

have set up a joint ministerial committee with Tanzania to study ways of building the railway and where it should go. Estimates of the cost vary from £58 million-the figure Africa and Portuguese territogiven by the World Bank-to ries. £150 million.

But the World Bank has described the project as "uneconomic" and has recommended the the building of a road instead. But this was based on a traffic estimate of only 200,000 tons by 1975, and Zambia wants to increase its copper output from 600,000 to 800,000 tons, and to send it all by the new railway if need be. The new line would also

carry exports of Zambian manganese and tin, as well as beef and other agricultural produce, and Tanzanian coal to Zambia.

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THE SPARK

"The Truest Kind of Democracy"

IN that profound exposition of the tasks facing Ghana, "Building a Socialist State", Kwame Nkrumah spoke in 1961 of "an evolving ascendancy of popular control of the country's affairs which, in effect, will be the truest kind of democracy that has ever functioned. For it will realise the aim of bringing most of the people into the running of the nation's affairs, in the interest of the people."

Compare these words with those of Lenin, applying scientific socialism to Russian conditions in 1917. "State and Revolution he wrote that:

"Democracy is of great importance for the working class in its struggle for freedom against the capitalists ... such a degree of degree of democracy is bound up with the abandonment of the framework of bourgeois society, and the beginning of its socialist reconstruction. If everyone really takes part in the administration of the state, capitalism cannot retain its hold." And he later refers to the

stage when -all members of society, of even only the overwhelming majority, have learned how to govern the state themselves, have taken this business into their own hands, have 'established' control over the insignificant minority of capitalists, over the gentry with capitalist leanings, and the workers thoroughly demoralised by capitalism".

These words were written in Russia in 1917. The words of Kwame Nkrumah were written in Ghana in 1961. It is surely clear, from this example, how Ghana's

"socialist ideology, Nkrumaism, is the application of the principles of scientific socialism to our African social milieu."

Now both the words of Lenin and the words of Nkru-

such tribal communalist traditions exist right to the present day. Hence, in applying scien-tific socialism to Africa, we find the following formula :

"Socialism and traditional African society can be seen as having a common ideological lineage" and

Socialism stands to communalism as capitalism stands to slavery."

There are thus profound similarities between the scientific socialist conception of socialism, whether in Russia, are also profound differences in the scientific socialist approach to the problem of how to reach that common goal-socialist society - whe-

therstarting from European capitalism or from the position of a newly-independent African state. However, whichever path is

chosen, one of the common ideas of socialism, necessary of application in all socialist societies, is the conception of the mass participation of the people in the work of govern-

Both capitalism and colonialism are dictatorships of capitalists and monopolists. Socialism, in whatever country, is government of the people, by the people and for the people, as Abraham Lincoln so effectively put it at the dawn of

THE FOUNDATION

independent America.

ment.

But Ghana, as yet, is not a socialist state. For, as the President himself put it in that Address of 1961 :

"At this juncture, Ghana is not a socialist state. Not only do the people as yet not own all the major means of production and distribution, but we have still to lay the actual foundations upon which socialism can be built, namely, the complete industrialisation of our country."

And, in doing this, he pointed out,

"We shall at all stages seek the co-operation of all the people and organisations who are to be concerned, in the final analysis, in performing the basic work." How much, at this early stage of Ghana's development towards socialism, is this actually being done? There is a widespread

characteristic of Ghanaian society today, inherited from the past, which is in no respect Britain or Ghana. But there in accord with this aim of "an evolving ascendancy of popular control."

TRIBALISM

This is the fact, to be noted at almost every level of Ghanaian life today, that the vast majority of people in their work, whether manual and unskilled or intellectual and skilled, await instructions from someone higher up in the hierachy of employment.

"Nobody told me" is taken as a valid execuse for doing nothing at practically every level. And as a result of this, the initiative of the people at all levels is thwarted by this inherited habit of waiting for

instructions or orders from above. This dependence on orders from above has probably two roots in the past.

While, on the one hand, the communality of tribal society has a nobility which capitalist individualism has destroyed, there are also negative features of tradition.

Tribalism has survived and perpetuated the human race for hundreds of thousands of years, precisely because of its conservatism. Every innovation was extremely slow. The tribe survived on the basis of repeating the experience of the past that had promoted the survival of its ancestors.

Hence the young citizen in tribal society is traditionally

by Pat Sloan

taught to look up to Elders and Chief and backward to Ancestors, for authority for everything. Initiative and innovation are not encouraged by such a system.

It was on this system that colonial authority was imposed. This too did not encourage initiative. It simply added to the existing authorities of Chief, Elders and Ancestors the new authority of the colonial Master.

The tradition of waiting for Authority to speak was thus intensified by colonialism, until rebellious national movements began to develop which were a revolt against the whole system of imposed authority.

It is this spirit of revolt from below which, under socialism, becomes harnessed into the positive channels of co-operation for the common good, in which the people increasingly play a conscious and positive part in shaping the life of their country.

MAIN ORGAN

But old habits die hard, and in spite of the experience of revolt against British rule, to wait for orders is still a national characteristic which tends to hold up development in the forward-looking Ghana of today.

The main organ of the working people, the trade unions, is correctly pledged to do all in its power to assist the fulfilment of the Seven Year Development Plan.

But are the unions doing everything possible to develop and to draw upon the initiative of the rank-andfile worker with ideas, with constructive criticism, who could make useful and positive suggestions at his place of work for raising the productivity of labour?

state that encourages such initiative? At the Ministers' Seminar at Winneba a former Soviet Minister of Agriculture now working in Ghana, Comrade · Bagramov, made the point that in Ghanaian State Farms the majority of workers receive a day wage which is paid quite irrespective of the amount of work they perform. Can such workers ever be really interested in getting the maximum production out of their working day?

REAL ECONOMY

Not only wages must be based on the amount and quality of work done, but every worker's positive suggestions for raising the productivity of labour should be seriously considered.

If, indeed, he has proposed a real economy, he should receive some personal reward for his extra contribution, while at the same time getting full social recognition as a public benefactor.

There is no reason why Ghana, even at this stage, should not have its Heroes and Heroines of Labour, and the creation of the Order of the

Black Star is a sign that this fact is, in principle, beginning to be recognised, though in practice it cannot be said to be fully operating until a considerable number of either individual workers in state enterprises or mixed enterprises or whole groups of workers employed collectively in such enterprises, are awarded the honour of becoming holders of this new Order.

COMPLAINTS BUREAU

In local government, also, there is now very great scope for encouraging the initiative of ordinary citizens. The fact that the Accra-Tema City Council has opened a Comp- 'as contributions towards the

Is the wage-system yet in a laints Bureau is a sign of a real attempt to bring the work of the Council into closer contact with the masses of the inhabitants.

When the trade unions and other organisations in the Accra-Tema area make full use of this new bureau, presenting to it the collective complaints and suggestions of their members, a new field for the operation of local democracy will be opened up.

And, despite the name of "Complaints Bureau", it is very important that citizens, both individually and collectively, should not confine themselves to formal "complaints" but should use the new bureau constructively as a vehicle by means of which positive proposals for improve-ment may be conveyed to the Council. Other Councils should

follow the example of Accra-Tema in this respect, and should not be afraid of encouraging "undermining"

SLANDER AND LIBEL

Wherever there are complaints, there is the danger that some of them may be irresponsible and frivolous and based on personal antagonisms and not on a constructive interest in the common good. This is unfortunately a universal possibility in all complaints. The safeguard is not to suppress complaints, but to analyse all of them objectively, and where serious irresponsibility occurs to initiate the necessary legal processes to combat both slander and libel.

Every social system has got to safeguard its citizens against malicious complaints, but every social system which is marching towards socialism has got to encourage to the greatest possible extent both complaints and suggestions which are genuinely intended

common good. Such practices as the elected representatives of the people, whether in Parliament or in local government, regularly giving an account of their work in office to those who elected them, the extension of the elective principle in society to an ever greater range of public offices, and the role of the Press as the investigator and exposer of complaints that are found to be justified are all ways in which the "common man" can be drawn into

PAGE 3

CREATIVE WORK

greater participation in public

life.

And, in a country which is still to a considerable extent illiterate, ways and means must be found for talking with the illiterate section of the population, not only to hand down decisions from "above", but to ascertain the "will of the people" from below.

If, in ancient Akan society, such a system of consultation with the people was in operation, then, surely, in a Ghana moving towards socialism such a system is even more appropriate than it was in the past? Much can also be done in drawing the people into crea-tive work for the good of the community in the "self-help" schemes administered by the Ministry of Social Welfare. But "self-help" could be developed on a wider scale than this. Why should not the people of a locality help themselves to improve communal services without waiting for a Ministry to assist what they are donig?

Of course, no local community or groups can be allowed undertake "self-help" to schemes that undermines some aspect of the national Seven Year Development Plan. But, in so far as such local initiative does not cut across the plans

(Continued on page 4)

mah, though applying scientific socialist principles in two far distant countries at an interval of forty-four years apart, contain a common socialist essence.

This essence lies in the whole idea of the people themselves playing an ever-increasing part in "popular control of the country's affairs" (Nkrumah) or "administration of the state" (Lenin).

SOCIAL PROCESS

Both statements point to a steadily growing control and participation in government by the people. Both look forward to "the truest kind of democracy that has ever functioned" (Nkrumah) and "a really fully democracy, a democracy without any exceptions" (Lenin).

And both see this development as a long social process. Lenin, in a society where capitalism had been well developed, saw such a democracy as being achieved at the end of a period of Dictatorship of the Proletariat in which there was "democracy for the people" which was at the same time the denial of "democracy for the rich folk."

Applying scientific socialism to African conditions, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has laid special emphasis on the survival, despite colonialism, of the collective spirit within tribal communalism. Hence, in Africa, he sees socialism as being within the reach of newly-independent states as a result of a gradual process after their achievement of political independence from colonialism.

Whereas, for example, in Britain, tribalist traditions were more or less liquidated following the feudal Norman Conquest in 1066, in Ghana and much of the rest of Africa

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YOUR SUMMER SCHEDULE (Ist APRIL-31st)

ACCRA	DEP.	GH 700 THU. SAT. 0900	GH 702 WED. 0900	GH 70 MON. 0900
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FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1965

The Delusion of 'African Socialism' foreign monopolies which still vances can be made economi-

OUR article last week set out some of the general theories which underlie African Socialism and which are invoked in the Kenyan programme. As insisted there, the programme appears to have more in common with a capitalist perspective than a socialist one.

We here propose to examine one or two of the points of the programme to illustrate. the main theme we put forward last week.

It is not made clear whether the programme is long or short term. It is not possible to decide whether some of the proposals are intended, for immediate and others for longer term implementation, when some initial problems will have been cleared away.

ECONOMY

We raise this as a genuine problem because it is necessary perhaps to emphasise that every newly-independent state comes into being in a real and in a particular situation.

Independence does not wipe the slate clean. On the contrary, there is a critical social and economic heritage imposed on the newly independent states which provides an acute challenge.

Often the transformation of these inherited forms and relationships is difficult and rather slow.

This is why the distinction between long and short term aims is important. That is why the perspective of a mixed economy as a short term is necessary, but which as a long term

aim is unacceptable. When the distinction is made, we can then see the general direction which is proposed and on that basis decide whether the programme is desirable or not.

The general direction of the Kenyan programme seems to us to be undesirable.

It fails to present any concrete estimate or analysis of

dependence on a single cash crop. We have already seen modern methods of production applied to cocoa: The use of pesticides, the cutting out of swollen shoot, the improvement of strains had led to tremendous increases in próductivity.

This has not meant automatic increases in the incomes of farmers. It has produced relative over-production and persistent falls in world prices until a crisis situation has been reached. Kenya is not the only coffee producer in the world. She has no monopoly position and if reliance is placed, as a long-

term principle, on its production as a major way of increasing incomes and providing a source of capital accumulation it will prove illusory. Kenya, what is more, is

launching such a policy at a time when prices of primary products are falling, unlike Ghana who increased production, initially, when prices were high.

Diversification of agriculture to reduce imports of necessary foodstuffs and to render farmers less dependent on foreign monopolies which dominate trade in their produce is vital, but remaining an agricul-tural country will not solve Kenya's problems.

Whilst the advanced capitalist countries are still the producers of Kenya's industrial imports, capitalism will still influence her economy powerfully.

Kenya's farmers may continue to increase their incomes as they did in the year 1963 from £11.6 million to £14 milion, but if the prices of their agricultural equipment, chemicals and other necessities continue to rise as they are doing, they will find their stand-



by A Spark Correspondent

The second of two articles dealing with the publication in the June issue of "Africa and The World" of the programme "Kenya Defines African Socialism".

in Non-Self- Governing Territories, as Kenya then was. This report suggests that: "The main objectives of de-

velopment policy is to step up the expansion of agriculture", but we suggest that unless the development of agriculture is seen as part of

the development of a balanced economy with industry developing also, their hopes will be illusory and political independence itself may even be threatened.

THE DESIGNERS

Nor can we congratulate the designers of this programme on their boasted empiricism. They boldly declare their "Willingness to borrow technological knowledge and

proven economic methods from any country ... without commitment to seek and accept technical and financial assistance from any source ... without strings; and to participate fully in

world trade-without political domination." Quite what all this means in real terms is not clear. But at a guess it may mean that Kenya will borrow the best from both capitalism and socialism.

Indeed, the assumption of the total programme appears to be that there can be a mixed economy which is neither capitalism nor socialism, but

African Socialism. It is unfortunate that one of the most important borrowings seems to be that on nationalisation and the model it takes, has for the mass

of the people been in fact a failure. The programme appears to have lifted its nationalisation policy almost complete from the policy of the British La-

bour Party, whose experiences one would have thought would

and social injustices. Such proposals have been operated in Western Europe for many years, they are beloved of social democracy.

Death duties, which have operated in Britain over decades, were intended to redistribute property painlessly, away from the rich to the poorer sections of the popula-tion. They have never achieved anything of the kind.

The structure of the ownership of wealth has not changed in Britain-indeed, wealth is becoming more and more concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people and one per cent of the population owns almost half the total wealth of the country.

Finally, we want to raise two important omissions.

Kenya's economic life, as we have indicated earlier, is still dominated by the impe-

of taxation to redress economic rialist pattern imposed in colonial days.

> The programme may be right when it declares that "concentration of economic power" has "no place in African Socialism and no parallel in African society" (we rather favour the concentration of economic power in the hands of the people as a whole under socialist forms.)

> But this statement obscures the fact that monopoly capitalism plays a decisive part in the life of Africa today and in Kenya no less than anywhere else. It may not be African, but it exists, and that is why we complain that the word "imperialism" is never mentioned.

It is not true to say that there are no sharp divisions in Kenya life. They may not be class divisions, but there is a basic antagonism between the economic interests of the mass of the Kenya people and the

dominate their economic life.

Unlèss that basic antagonism is resolved, on the basis of real socialist development Kenya will not win economic independence.

Incidentally, in passing, we fail to see why the "sharp class divisions" of Europe are referred to in the past tense, they still exist and are sharpening.

Neither is it strictly historically correct to assert that Marx was working at a time when monopoly prevailed; it was Lenin who experienced and analysed this stage of capitalism.

AFRICAN UNITY

The second disturbing omission from the programme is any mention of African Unity. The reason we queried the time scale proposed for the programme arose from our anxiety at the apparent ignoring of the immediate future possibilities for all-African economic Co-operation and the development of Union Gov-• ernment.

We know that certain ad-

cally and in every other way by the present African States, individually. But they are too small to be able to achieve the large-scale advances, which modern science and technology can make possible, given unity.

It is a pity that this never appears to have been considered by the programmers-or if it was, was it rejected ?

It is of course up to Kenya to propose her programme as she sees fit, but it is wrong to present her present effort as either "socialist" or specifically "African." It seems to us to bear the characteristic stamp of the limitations of the average U.N. Economic Expert or Social Democratic Planner.

TRAPS

We do not claim to have all the secrets of socialist development at our finger tips. But we, do believe it is possible to avoid the more obvious mistakes and try to avoid falling into the traps of neo-colonialism which threaten us all unless we build our socialism on the basis of scientific principles.

The Truest Kind of Democracy

Continued from page 3

of higher authorities, it should receive every encouragement to go ahead.

A useful lesson can perhaps be learned on this issue from the contrasted experiences of capitalist Britain and the socialist U.S.S.R.

In Britain, the whole system of local government has grown up on the basis of permissive legislation allowing local authorities to do this or that. If an activity by a local authority is not specifically allowed by Act of Parliament, then such an act is illegal.

ADMINISTRATION

formed the basis.

In Soviet law, the powers of local soviets have always been unlimited, unless some decision of a higher authority restricts them.

COMMON GOOD

Thus local authorities are free to enter into trade, the entertainments industry, catering and hotel-keeping, or any other aspect of Soviet life so long as their activities do not run counter to the laws and economic plans for the larger areas of which they form part. Under such a system all the

wards for instructions does not help a positive development. Many Ministries now complain that local authorities are inactive, that they "leave it all to the Ministry", that they fear taking the initiative. Partly this is due to financial

questions. Ghanaian local authorities were saddled by Britain with a rating system which, even in Britain, is today discredited among progressive people. In the U.S.S.R. in contrast,

of local authorities. ESSENTIAL FEATURE Only by such development, ever drawing more people at all levels into the work of "running the country", can Ghana move in the direction

.

taxes raised in its area. On this

point, Ghana could possibly

learn immediately from the

socialist countries, in a way

which would stimulate the life

of that "popular control" there are no rates. But every which is an essential feature of local authority receives there a socialism, whether European, percentage for local use of the Asiatic, Cuban or African.

Soviet Government represented the summit of a pyramid of which the local soviets

the real Kenya, as she exists today. Kenya has been independent for a year and a half and it would be fantastic to imagine that she would be able to break away from the pattern of dependence which imperialism has imposed on her.

Kenya still depends mainly on her coffee crop whose price is determined in a world market dominated by foreign capitalists.

Thus Kenya's farmers still work under the same relationships which operated when she was a colony. It would be very surprising if this had changed so soon.

Our main criticism is not that this has not changed but that the programme never admits that it constitutes a problem.

AGRICULTURE

Does the programme warn of the dangers of relying on a single cash crop at the mercy of the fluctuations of world prices? No .

Do we we find any recognition that one of the most urgent needs is to fight for better prices and at the same time diversify agriculture away from dependence upon coffee production?

No. The programme, in the most general terms, proposes to, "revolutionise agriculture in Kenya by developing unused and under-utilised land through consolidation. development credit, extension services and training and the introduction of modern methods of farming and marketing. Higher incomes in agriculture will stimulate the development of commerce and industry." This does not constitute a recognition of the dangers of

Tom Mboya, one of the advocates of "African Socialism".

New patterns of trade are important and the perspective of real industrialisation absolutely vital.

INDUSTRIALISATION

The points in the programme on agriculture are vague enough-but those on industrialisation are even vaguer. The very words "industry" or "industrial" occur rarely.

The most specific proposal, apart from the one quoted which establishes industries based on the processing of agricultural products, is that to increase the staff and capital resources of the Industrial and Development Corporation.

The type of industries and commercial undertakings to be expanded by it are not specified.

The setting up of a State Construction Company can be an excellent measure, but care must be taken to see that it is not used simply to develop infra-structure, paid for by the Government and people, while the priavte enterprise which uses these services is left free to invest capital in more lucrative ventures.

This is not partnership between state and private enterprise but the use of the state by and for private capitalist interests.

The proposals for agriculture and industry seem to us to have little in common with 2 socialist programme-indeed, they echo the proposals put out by the United Nations in 1958 in the report called : A Special Study on Economic Conditions monetary controls and the use sants and soldiers. The first

have been sufficient to deter anyone from imitating them. The programme states:

"Nationalisation, since it does not always lead to additional resources for the economy as a whole, will be used only where the national security is threatened, higher social benefits can be obtained, or productive resources are seriously and clearly being misused, when other means of control are ineffective and financial resources permit, or where a service is vital to the people and must be provided by the Government as a part of its responsibility to the nation." This is a description of capitalist nationalisation. It has no more in common with so-

calism than did Bismark's nationalisation of the German railways in the interests of Prussian militarism.

INADEQUACIES

The statement also reflects the view expressed in the United Nations document already quoted, which has this to say on industrialisation :

"Industrialisation is fundamentally a function of private enterprise. The government's task is to provide private initiative with the necessary basic structure. Public authorities take action only in exceptional cases

when private enterprise is not willing to establish an industry which is in the pub-

lic interest." This at least has the virtue of brutal frankness which is more than one can say of the Kenya programme !

There are many other problems raised by the inadequacies of this programme, all of which flow from a lack of really scientific principles.

One is the proposals about

The real reason for this is rooted in capitalism. The system of public administration has grown and developed on the principle that the role of Government (national and local) should be as limited as possible, while "private enterprise" should be allowed to do everything that is not specifically reserved to a public authority by Act of Parliament..

The practical effect of such

an approach is obvious : "Private enterprise" is safeguarded everywhere except in specific exceptional cases laid down by law.

In recent decades, of course, even the capitalist state has greatly extended its authority, but always against a background which treats "private enterprise" as "normal" and "State interference" as the exception.

As a result of this attitude, there are a hundred-and-one jobs that could usefully be undertaken by local councils in Britain which are not, for the simple reason that a special Act of Parliament would be required to secure them permission, and powerful forces defending private enterprise in Parliament would oppose most such increases in the powers of local authorities.

IMPORTATION.

To what extent this conception was imported into the Gold Coast by the British is, to me, still not clear. At any rate, it has nothing in common with socialism, exemplified by the experience of the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet state, in its very nature, was built up from below, from the elected councils (soviets) of workers, peahuman energy which, under capitalism, goes into "private enterprise", is channelled through the elected authorities of the country and is harnessed for the common good.

For a local Soviet in the U.S.S.R. to have to seek a special law to sanction action in a particular direction useful to the community is unthinkable. In Britain it is inevitable.

TRADITIONS

In Ghana, where national pre-colonialist traditions of self-government had a strong communalistic content, and where colonial rule served in many ways to obstruct or destroy the best in traditional communalism, it is very necessary that local initiative today should receive the maximum of encouragement.

Unfortunately, the inherited habit of always looking up-

BACK THEM UP

FOR several weeks now workers at Foyles Bookshop in London-it calls itself "the world's greatest bookshop"—have with the support of their union been on strike in an attempt to secure better wages and working conditions.

Expressing solidarity with the bookshop workers, who are fighting a firm notorious for its anti-union practices and general unsatisfactory working conditions many booklovers have withdrawn their custom, lorry-drivers have refused to deliver loads and postmen have refused to deliver the mail upon which Foyles relies for a large part of its business.

Many commercial and other organisations in Ghana have in the past done substantial business with this firm. We suggest that, as a gesture of soli-darity, they should patronise firms whose attitude and practices are more in keeping with our own Socialist principles.

When will Wilson repudiate Philip ?

Continued from page 1

leaves Mr. Wilson considerably latitude to pursue his private negotiations with Mr. Smith, as sections of the British press sympathetic to the Rhodesian racists have been quick to note.

But if Mr. Wilson thinks that it can be stretched to Prince Philip's 'few years here or there", then he is seriously mistaken.

He is mistaken too if, as some say he wants to do, he thinks he can fob

Africa off by giving Rhodesia not majority rule on the basis of one man, one vote but "independence with minority rule and safeguard for the majority."

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, the essence of the Southern Rhodesian problem is

that there exists under the British flag in a British colony a regime which does not offer in and brutal regime which repudiate Prince Philip.

exists in South Africa." This racialist regime must be ended—and ended now. When it suits its purpose, the British Government can act expeditiously enough-when for example, it is a question of ousting an elected anti-colonialist administration in British Guiana. Let it now act with equal expedition to oust the racialist lan Smith.

And let Mr. Wilson puessence from the vicious blicly and unambiguously FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1965

THE' SPARK

PAGE 5



HOW

Addressing the U.N. General Assembly, Fidel Castro denounces decades of U.S. neo-colonialist aggression against Cuba.

THE U.S.A. opposed the independence of Cuba from the Spanish yoke throughout the first part of the XIX Century. During the 30 years from 1868 to 1898 its position did not change. When the first Liberation War of the Cuban People against Spanish colonialism started in 1868 the U.S.A. Government even refused to grant belligerent rights to the Cu-

ban freedom fighters. In October, 1871 the U.S.A. President Ulysses S. Grant proclaimed all those who were fighting for the independence of Cuba criminals. In 1895 Cuba's second war of liberation started; again the U.S.A. Government declared its neutrality and refused belligerent rights to the Cuban liberation movement.

Cleveland, the U.S. President, negotiated with Spain for the sale of Cuba to the U.S.A. President Mackinley, elected with the backing of the most powerful U.S. monopolies, was more active than his predecessor on matters pertaining to Cuba.

TWO ALTERNATIVES

In a-lecture given at the School of Law, Accra, the Cuban Ambassador ARMANDO G. ENTRALGO, recalls the history of U.S. imperialist domination of his country, and how Cuba was made the testing ground for neo-colonialism.

filled by U.S. imperialism. The U.S.A. remained four years. During that time they

fought against Spain, for 30

RULEDCUBA

More or less about the same time, another Spanish fleet was destroyed in the Philipines and the U.S. Army landed in Puerto Rico.

U.S.

PARIS TREATY

Spain was unable to keep up the struggle and at the beginning of August asked for a The resolution allowed the peace settlement. On Decem-ber 10, 1898 the Treaty of U.S. President to employ the whole of the American Army Paris was signed without the for any purpose. Naturally, a few days later, Spain was at participation of the representatives of the Cuban Liberation Forces who had never been The U.S. military plan con-sisted of a naval blockade of Cuba to prevent the entry of officially recognised by the U.S.A.

On January 1, 1899 Spain handed over Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philipines

food and materials; the land-ing of troops near the city of Santiago de Cuba (capital of Oriente Province;) the neutralisation or destruction of the Spanish Navy and then the landing of troops in Havana.

INSTRUCTIONS

war with the U.S.A.

General Miles in charge of the operation received the following instructions from the U.S. Under-Secretary of War

Mr.J. C. Brekenridge: "The island of Cuba is form-ed by white people, blacks, Asiatics and their mixed races. It is quite clear that to annex such a people with in our Union would be sheer madness and before we carry out such an action we must clear the country, even although we use the same. methods used by God in the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah...

We must destroy everything within the range of our artillery. We concentrate the

introduced changes to prepare the way for permanent domination. Army of Liberation, who had

years were excluded, especially the black Cubans.



United States

Every job within the Civil Service was given to conserva-tives who had never fought against Spain. The people, the soldiers and the officers of the Army of Liberation who had part of Cuba's mineral resources came under the control of American firms. e black Cubans. North American capital A bitter enemy of the Cuban started building a railway cros-

Independence was appointed sing the Oriente province. In Minister of Agriculture, Trade October, 1899 the newspaper and Public Works, despite po- Times from Minnessotta said:



Cuba's young people are learning new skills, building up the industries which will end dependence on sugar.

companies. Many other firms were Spanish and not a single U.S. bank operated in Cubą. But as soon as the Hispano-American War ended, a veri-table plague of Yankee adven-turers, investors and specula-tors came to Cuba. It is esti-mated that in 1905 13,000 North Americans were in Cuba engaged in trade and business. They had already bought land worth more than 50 mil-

lion dollars. One single firm bought more than 50,000 acres in Oriente Province and built the biggest sugar mill known at the time, together with other purchases led to the formation, much later of the monopoly Cuban American Sugar Company.

The North American investments ranged from sugar 10 tobacco, railways, public ser-vices and mining. Already by 1906 investments totalled 200 million dollars. At that time North American capital had to compete against Spanish, English, French and German capital.

The sugar boom and the economic and financial crisis after the war allowed the whole of the financial and credit system in Cuba to fall into the hands of the U.S. banks; land, sugar mills, cattle, buildings everything came under the control of the North American monopolies; U.S. imperialism became master of the Cuban economy.

IN U.S. HANDS

TN 1927, out of the 175. sugar mills in production, not less than 75 were U.S. owned and the 62.5 per cent of that year's harvest was in their hands. More than 40 per cent of Cuba was controlled by U.S. companies like the Cuban American Sugar Co. (over 230,009 acres) and the United Fruit Co.

rialist capital was invested in sugar and in the colonial sectors of the economy which are usually the most profitable and the safest from the capitalist point of view, although they do not serve the interests of a healthy and balanced development.

This had important consequences. The tendency to invest in sugar distorted the Cuban economy, making it dependent upon sugar exports and upon the ups and downs of the U.S. and world sugar markets. The amount of land given over to sugar or held in reserve prevented the development of agricultural production and rural full employment, and also prevented the creation of an appropriate internal market beneficial to the development of an urban industry. The internal market was monopolised by U.S. exporters. Cuba-an agricultural country -had to import not only industrial consumer goods but even up to 30 per cent of its food stuffs. Capital re-invested in the sugar industry, for instance, was spent in the U.S.A. not in Cuba, because it was in the U.S.A. that everything was produced, from screws to the most complicated machine. Imperialist capital was able to make large profits, because wages and working conditions were lower in Cuba than in the U.S.A. U.S. capital was able to develop under condi-tions in which the labour market was always in its favour. There was always a surplus of labour. Such a situation depressed the labour market and lowered the wages paid by U.S. companies, especially sugar firms. Furthermore, the U.S. companies, with the co-operation of weak Cuban Govern-ments, between 1912 and 1925 brought to Cuba at least 252,000 Jamaican and Haitian labourers to employ in the cutting of sugar cane, paying them starvation wages. These labourers were exploited even more than the Cuban workers themselves, and became a reserve army used by the U.S. monopolist to depress the wages and further increase the profits of the imperialists. (Continued on page 6)



President Dorticos himself takes a matchet to help bring in this year's record sugar harvest.

to the US. Sixty years had to pular protest. North American "There is not much left for elapse before one of these civil servants and military men the inhabitants of Cuba exislands, Cuba, was able to free surrounded themselves with the cept to become paid workers

previously."

consequences.

Barner said:

"From Cuba we expanded

our economic and political

penetration to other parts of

Central and South America,

specially to Mexico, Haiti,

Santo Domingo, Nicaragua,

Honduras and Panama. Dur-

ing the same period we took to the Pacific Ocean and

we occupied the Hawaii Is-

lands, the Philipines and

China. The 1914-18 World

War provided us with very

good investments in the Al-

lied countries and the Euro-

pean loans made us a power-

ful factor in the European

Banking system. When oil

was discovered in Mesopo-

tamia and the Middle East

our interest spread to the

Middle East as well. Rubber

and other products brought

us to Latin America and

other parts of the world. Looks like there is not limi-

tation to the diversity and

expansion of our future eco-

nomic investments in the

Before 1898 economic rela-

tions between Cuba and the

U.S.A. were basically commer-

cial and centred on the control

of sugar market. U.S. invest-

ments were not more than 50

million dollars. The railways

were in the hands of British

world".

Exploitation

IMPERIALISM

While the U.S. Press was daily insulting Spain, Mac-Kinley offered two alternatives to the Madrid Government: either sell Cuba to the U.S. for 300 million dollars or war.

Spain accepted neither. It was at this time that the American warship Maine was very badly damaged by a mysterious explosion in the harbour of Havana, and 266 sailors died.

The origins of the explosion are still unknown, but it provided a pretext for the U.S. Congress to approve the famous Joint Resolution, saying . on the one hand that "the people of Cuba must be free and independent" and on the other requesting Spain to renounce its sovereignty over Cuba.

Now, thanks to

the Soviet Union

and other Social-

ist countries, Cu-

ba has the mo-

dern weapons

with which to

defend her free-

dom.

blockade in order that hunger and its eternal companion, the plague come to decimate the population and waste away the Cuban Liberation Army ...

"This army must be used constantly in scouting operations and actions in the rearguard of the enemy in order to expose it to crossfire and we must try that the most dangerous and desperate operations are given to them.'

In July, American troops landed near Santiago de Cuba, protected by the Cuban troops of General Calixto Garcia. Cuban assistance enabled the U.S. General Shafter to take the city and compel the Spaniards to surrender.

The Spanish fleet was destroyed in the Bay of Santiago

herself from U.S. domination. The other islands are still suffering from the consequences of the Paris Treaty: Puerto Rico is a colony, the Philipines a neo-colony.

hands of the Cubans who had fought two bloody independence wars.

The U.S. military Government in Cuba was under the absolute control of a U.S. officer who drafted decrees and ruled the country by military law.

Each province (six in all and one for Havana) was declared a military zone, each

most stubborn and anti-Cuban Spanish bourgeoisie, and "annexationists" who for 30 years called for the annexation of Cuba to the U.S.A. In May, 1889 the U.S. Mili-

tary Government ordered the . disbanding of the Cuban Liberation Army and the surrender of its arms and war material to the Govenment. They proposed to organise a mercenary body organised by U.S. military men to carry out repressive operations.

POLICE FORCE

The New York Chief of Police came to Havana to organise a U.S. type police force. In country areas a rural guard

(224,000 acres)! Before 1930 gas and electri-cal services belonged to an for North American investors ... soon they will be more in

debt than they have ever been American company, the Electrical Bond and Share. The That is how U.S. imperialist exploitation of Cuba started. telephone system was owned by the International Telephone We are going now to explain and Telegraph Co. Half the its origins, development and railways were under the control of the National City Bank. The mineral wealth was mono-THE FIRST STEP polised by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and other firms. The first loan to the Repu-Cuba was only the first step in the U.S. expansionist problic of Cuba was of 35 million cess. In 1928 the North Ameri dollars at 5 per cent. By the time it was finally re-paid, the can sociologist Harry Elmer Cuban people had paid about

180 million dollars. Then more and more loans were negotiated by the Morgan Bank. At that time the investmens of monopolist Yankee capital in Cuba were, according to conservative estimates, about 1,500 million dollars.

Official U.S. figures given only book value of the direct investments for major firms showed 774 million dollars of U.S. capital in Cuba up to 1956.

In 1959, at the time of the victory of the Revolution, one single U.S. company, Atlantica del Golfo, controlled about 476,000 acres of land; the Cuban American Sugar Mills controlled about 280,000 acres: the United Fruit Co. about 218,000 acres and the General Sugar Estates a similar amount.

American companies controlled areas potentially rich in oil as well as the whole system of distribution and sales, on behalf of the Standard Oil Co. and other firms. The key sectors of the Cuban economy were under the control of U.S. monopoly capital. In fact, the colonialist exploitation of Cuba was carried out to the extreme.

Eighty per cent of the impe-

U.S. HANDS Thus the government of Cuba fell into the hands of the U.S.A. instead of into the

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FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1965

true Cuba was the Cuba which

had 33 per cent unemployed,

s e m i-employed or employed

That is to say, out of a total

of 2.2 million 738,000 did not

have a proper job. In the Ori-ente Province, the cradle of

the Revolution, the annual un-

employment average was of 29

per cent of the total labour

FIRST CONSTITUTION

A 1953 census proved that

62.5 per cent of the rural population was living in huts with guano roofs and beaten earth

floor; 52.8 per cent of these huts did not have toilet facili-

ties; 87.9 per cent did not have piped water or bath-rooms; 84.1 per cent did not have electricity.

In 1957, another study car-

ried out amongst Cuban rural workers gave the following re-

sults; 14 per cent of the workers in the survey had or

had had tuberculosis; 36 per

cent were suffering from para-

sites and 4 per cent were illi-

This situation in the econo-

without any payment.

Where does Labour stand now?

The author of "The Labour Government 1945-1951", the first systematic record and analysis of what the first post-war Labour Administration did and failed to do, D. N. PRITT, distinguished lawyer, politician and writer, Presidential Professor of law at the University of Ghana, here surveys the first months of Mr. Wilson's administration.

HOW has the Labour

Government been doing? It has administered the country pretty efficiently, on lines not basically different from those of the Conservatives whom it had defeated; the similarity is particularly clear in the handling of the serious "balance of payments" crisis in which it has applied capitalist "remedies" leaving untouched the terrible drain on the country's economy caused by the vast expenditures on armaments and on troops stationed. overseas, which have continued on the old basis, and indeed have actually increased.

It has so far met without serious difficulty the problem of governing with a very small overall majority (reduced from five to three by the loss of an early by-election). It has gone ahead pretty steadily with most of its work, giving way to the opposition on no more

than minor points. But it is still too early to estimate how much of the major items of its programme will be realised in the coming months and years; this will depend partly on how long it succeeds in remaining in office without either being forced out by an important adverse vote or seizing on some development or achievement which might turn public opinion in its favour for a time, to hold a general election on its own initiative in the hope of securing a larger majority.

DISCONTENT

In these fields, the Labour as if he wanted to emphasise Party's pre-election declara-tions gave considerable encouragement to lovers of peace; the establishment of nurines, four of them are alclear-free zones in Europe, with ready under construction for some "disengagement" on the lines of the Rapacki plan formed a definite part of the the British government; so too in Scotland. The M.L.F. programme, in a slightly modified form A.N.F., (Atlantic Nuclear election programme; the renunciation of any claim to maintain a British "independent nuclear deterrent' was put forward by responsible leaders; substantial reduction Force), but with the same essential features from the point of view of West German partiin armaments expenditure at cipation, was not merely not any rate in Europe—was pro-mised; and Harold Wilson rejected but was expressly put forward in the House of Comhimself had declared pretty clearly in favour of the *de facto* recognition (even unilamons on December 6, 1964, month the Defence Minister, teral if necessary) of the German Democratic Republic.

RELUCTANCE

Reluctance to follow the Conservative policy of building Polaris submarines was strongly expressed; and "MLF."—the proposal to establish a multilateral or "N.A.T.O.-international" nu-clear force including West Germany-had been emphatically rejected by Wilson so far as it tended to bring West Ger-many nearer to becoming in any sense a nuclear power ("having a finger on the nuclear trigger"). What has become of all this?

biatant than is usual. How The proposal for a nuclearhave they come about in a free zone and for some disengagement in Europe has sim-ply disappeared; it is some-times said that this is due to government led by as shrewd as Wilson? opposition from the West Gerpart of the humble obedience man government, but in any to the U.S., and to internacase the proposal was incon-sistent with the (profoundly tional finance generally which the Labour Party feels-peranti-Socialist) policy of N.A.T.O, which the Labour haps correctly in a certain sense—that it has to give as Party leadership had never the price of help and support would be guilty; on the conpromised, as it should have done, to abandon. From the renunciation of British nuclear weapons there is a virtually complete departure; the 1965 Defence White Paper, the official statement of Government policy, hints plainly at the possibility of using (and therefore of course maintaining) British nuclear bombers "outside the N.A.T.O. area", a roundabout way of saying "in Asia"; and Minisquestions have shown clearly that government is not prepared to renounce the use of nuclear weapons "East of Suez" Imperialist-sounding The "East of Suez" is a Wilson phrase covering the policy of maintaining at heavy cost great naval and military forces in Asia for the protection of very profitable fields of colonialist exploitation of raw materials particularly in what is called "Malaysia" Armament expenditure ,far from being reduced has been doned, or betrayed any items raised to a higher point £2,120.000,000-than ever he-

equality". after the forthcoming general election in West Germany, for the convenience of Bonn. But it is clear that the British Government is prepared

to go a very long way in the betrayal of its previous declaration on this matter vital to the question of war or peace.

MR. WILSON, Labour Prime Minister of Britain. Has he modified, abandoned or betrayed his Party's Programme?

have a strong effect on even

the largest power, especially in

matters where public opinion

is already aroused, as it is

U.S. intervention there, its

criminal conduct in the actual

hostilities, and its behaviour

generally were and are inex-

- cusable on very many grounds,

and there was and is strong

opposition in the British La-

bour Party, in the U.S. itself, and in most of the rest of the

The Labour Party had cer-tainly done nothing before it

came into power to suggest that

it would give unqualified sup-

port to any and every misde-meanour of which the U.S.

trary, Wilson in opposition had

over Vietnam.

world,

Socialist grounds. and seeking For the moment, the matter to confine operations to cases has been quietly shelved until where there is some particular where there is some particular non-Socialist reason for nationalisation.

The Right Wing has moreover, always favoured compensation on scales so generous as to buy off the opposition of the private owners and to cripple the future operation of the industry in government hands.



U. S. Imperialism Cuba in

Continued from page 5

force.

terate.

AT this point I should say that although the typically imperialist methods of capital export became the basic means for the exploitation of the Cuban people, this did not preclude the old one; extortion through trade.

The high level of produc-tivity of U.S. capitalism ruled out any possibility of Cuban competition. Furthermore, the U.S.A. imposed a preferential tariff system which not only kept any other foreign compe-titors out of the Cuban market but also prevented the growth of Cuban industries. Two "Reciprocity" Treates signed in 1902 and 1934 accelerated the process of the con-centration of the external trade of Cuba in U.S. hands.

No Cuban Government prior to the Revolution led by Fidel Castro was able to oppose Yankee imperialism in order to defend the interests of Cuban industry.

TRUE CUBA

The unprecedented exploitation of the working class, the structural distortion of the national economy of production and export of a single product and the lack of an intensive and balanced development of the Cuban ecodramatic consequences of six-ty years of U.S. imperialist domination on Cuba.

mic field had a political counterpart; when Cuba was granted her formal independence in 1902 she saw her sovereign rights set out in the First Cuban Constitution curtailed by the inclusion of the notorious nomy clearly demonstrate the Platt Amendment, brain-child of President Theodore Roosvelt and Senator Orville Platt, by which the U.S.A. reserved Cuba in 1958 was not just the right to intervene directly the Cuba of its capital Havana, in Cuban internal affairs, and

In the Parliament of 1945-51, there was no real opposition by the owners or other capitalist interests to any of the various nationalisation measures except in the case of steel and to some extent of

road transport. The main "victims" had little prospect of earning profits if they remained in possession and the compesation was very, generous.

The steel interests, on the other hand powerful in themselves and in a position to earn vast profits, offered stubborn opposition, and when the Labour Government was defeated the Conservatives "denationalised" steel.

The Labour Party made it quite clear before the election that the nationalisation of steel was an integral and important item of its programme and it

Manoeuvres of that kind are recognised and constitutionally admissible in Britain; but there is at present little likelihood of any such favourable development, for rises in the cost of living and other sources of discontent have brought the Government a great deal of. unpopularity, as was strikingly. demonstrated by the recent local government elections, ters' answers to parliamentary with their strong swing against Labour.

This is not surprising, for "the government of the day" always earns unpopularity, and the weapons of publicity are overwhelmingly in the hands of the Conservatives; the Labour Party has not the support of even one daily paper. But apart from administration and apart from "carrying on the government of the country", what has the Labour Government done? How has it shaped its policies? Has it modified, abanof its programme? Has it made the country into even fore. more of a U.S. satellite than the Conservatives made it, or more of a prisoner of international finance?

Here an examination of the present position and a comparison of the Labour Party's pre-election declaration of policy with the subsequent conduct of the Government do not bring much comfort.

We must look at it in various fields. It will begin with armaments, including nuclear weapons policy, and the attitude to N.A.T.O., to the U.S., and also to the West Germany; I should include here also the attitude to the German Democratic Republic which is closely linked with the question of war and peace, and thus with the question of armaments.

TACTICS

Wilson's project of recog nising the German Democratic Republic has already emphatically and almost contemptously reversed by Wilson. Not content to let it drop silently, he actually associated himself on his visit to Bonn and to West Berlin, with the extremist West-German line of refusing to accept the oder-Neisse frontier with Poland and with the claims of West Germany to treat West Berlin as part of its territory. He went even further, of course, by maintaining all the arrangements for the visit of the Queen both to the West Germany and to West Berlin,

struggle to escape from pressed the Conservative Prime the country's acute financial crisis (itself due to the ex-Minister in Parliament to repense of adopting policies dic-tated largely by these powers). fuse to support the extension by the U.S., of the war to To some extent they are also North Vietnam. part of the policy of conciliat-

his complete departure from

As for the Polaris subma-

is a base to accommodate them

On the 17th of the same

Healey, went further and of-

fered West Germany partici-

pation in the ownership mana-gement and control of a new

strategic N.A.T.O. nuclear

force "on terms of absolute

THE betrayal of Govern-

promises is unhappily a re-

gular feature of parlia-

mentary democracy, but

these betrayals are swifter.

more numerous, and more

To a great extent, they are

ments of their election

Why these betrayals?

by Wilson.

his pre-election moderation,

ing the rulers of West Germany; this powerful state, which British Socialists ought to regard as an aggressive neo-Nazi police state, bent on restoring its 1937 frontiers by armed force and thus creating Europe's greatest danger to peace, seems to be an especial favourite of the Labour Government, largely because of the obsessive anti-Soviet attitude of the ruling Right Wing of the Party, which leads it logically to the wholly anti-Socialist policy of helping to maintatin a powerful reactionary government in Bonn as a barrier against any further Socialist developments in Germany or elsewhere in Western Europe. Let me turn to another field

of British policy, South-East Asia which today means above all Vietnam but also includes Malaysia.

On Vietnam, there was justificatiton for hoping that a Labour Government would at least exercise some restraining influence on the U.S., and still amply great enough to

Labour and steel

TURN now to a problem tical problem in Britain. of purely British politics,

great importance, namely that of the nationalisation of steel. Nationalisation

badly. Step by step as the U.S. has gone from one dangerous and criminal move to a worse one, creating the most acute danger of a third world war, the British government has given its uncritical and unqualified support until one felt that there was no enormity the U.S. could commit that would not be supported by Wilson's government, even if the whole of the rest of the world and most of the La-

Here, again, the govern-

ment has behaved very

bour Party disagreed. Once again, why?

There may well be, as most people suspect, a bargain that, in return for British support for their crimes in Vietnam, the U.S. will support the British in the Malaysian adventure against Indonesia.

But I give more weight to the more general point that the Government thinks it essential, or at least expedient, to give unconditional support to the U.S. in the hope of getting never forget that the prestige and keeping its support in the and influence of Britain are financial crisis at no matter

what cost.

but one nevertheless of Party treats it, rightly as a condition precedent to any advance towards a Socialist state, nationalised are proposed to whilst the Right Wing is hesi- be left untouched; and that tant professing reluctance to, the compensation proposed is presents an interesting poli- nationalise any industry on much too generous.

held to this point even after it saw how slender its majority proved to be.

Here, the picture is not nearly so dark and it is certainly too early to say-and perhaps too early even to fear or suspect-that the Government will run away from nationalisation of steel.

But there are elements in the government which are lukewarm on the point, and there was a very disquieting incident towards the close of the debate in the House of Commons on'the proposal (the Bill itself has not yet been drafted) when the Right Wing Minister for Economic Affairs, George Brown, made some remarks which suggested that there might be negotiations with leaders of the industry likely to open the way to at least a watering-down of the plan and thus to go some way towards betrayal.

The remarks may have been "kites' or balloons d'essai; if so, they had their answer, for there was at once a good deal of opposition in Parliament and in the country, and the kites or balloons may have erashed; but naturally a good deal of anxiety was created.

For myself, I do not think that the Government will run away on this point; but it will probably delay the introduction of the Bill until the Autumn, and a general election may come for one or another reason before the legislation can be carried through; moreover, the House of Lords may delay the passing of the Bill.

There are also some un-The left wing of the Labour satisfactory features in the proposal, in that a large number. of concerns that ought to be

full of skycrappers, villas, ave- even to establish an occupanues and luxury shops. The tion Government.

Neo-colonialism

THE Platt Amendment was the best way for U.S. imperialism to dominate Cuba without the difficulties of direct rule or annexation. For a time the U.S.A. considered the latter possibility, but reiected it. Why?

Firstly, because between 1898 and 1902 the balance of forces and the contradictions between the imperialist forces were not favourable to the U.S.A.

SAFEST METHOD

Secondly, even among the American people there was sympathy and admiration for the Cuban people who had so courageously fought for its independence. A n n e x a tion would have created internal political complications within

the U.S.A. Thirdly—and this is very important—the U.S. imperial-ists well knew that the Cuban people after fighting two wars and shedding their blood for 30 years to achieve their independence, would not tamely accept a mere change of colonial ruler after all their sacrifice.

They knew that it was possible to achieve the same ends without so much risk. Pure and simple political annexations is never an end in itself for imperialism. This is only the cheapest, easiest, and tion led by Fidel Castro in safest method available.

But there are many other methods to carry out economic annexation, which in fact is the main objective of imperialism.

It is possible to obtain economic control over a country without political annexation. Therefore, the U.S.A. decided to annex Cuba economically and Cuba made history by becoming the first country in the world to be a victim of neocolonialism-a system of hidden exploitation used on a great scale by the imperialist powers after the second World War in Africa and Asia.

THE VICTORY

The Cuban experience en-abled U.S. Big Business to perfect the system in order to use it in other Latin American Republics.

So the regime of U.S. military occupation ended on May 20, 1902 and the Republic of Cuba was officially established. A year later according to the Platt Amendment, the U.S.A. were granted a 99 years lease to instal a naval base in Cuban territory, Guantanamo.

U.S. imperialism was able to organise an ultra-reactionary alliance with the big landowners, the importers and same sections of the national bourgeoisie, which kept Cuba under neo-colonialist rule up to the victory of the Revolu-1959,

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