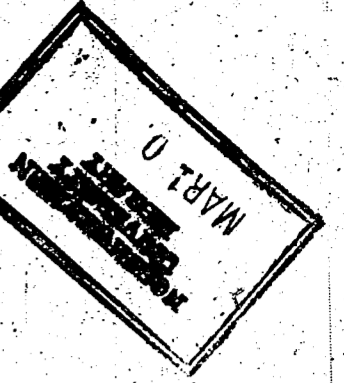
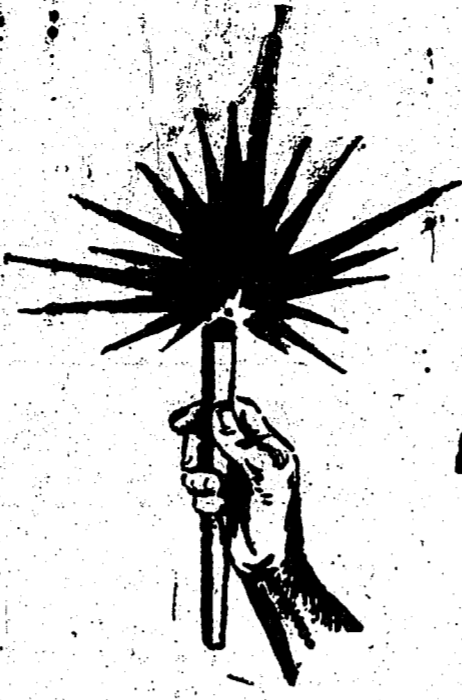


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## EDITORIAL

### The Next Phase (4)

#### THE PUBLIC SERVANT

A LITTLE reflection will bring it home forcibly to any dedicated crusader for socialism that an important factor in the success of the new phase of the socialist revolution in this country is the quality of our public servant. It is pretty obvious that success in our national drive for social and economic reconstruction on the basis of socialism will owe much to the integrity, the ability and the enthusiasm of those called upon to man the administrative machinery of the State.

In earlier periods, more especially under colonialism, the public servant lived apart from and above his people. He was not expected to identify himself with the political yearnings of his people.

Today, our circumstances as a nation have changed. Our people have voted massively and overwhelmingly for a one-party state committed to the building of a socialist society.

What is the place of the public servant under the new scheme of things?

He has been transformed overnight, as it were, from a politically neutral technician into an active pioneer builder of a new social order. And he must rise to the occasion by being efficient, honest, and deeply imbued with the ideals of the new era.

But the public servant cannot be left to adjust his mental outlook the way he likes and at the pace he chooses. He must march with the times or his bishopric let another take.

The architects of the socialist revolution must have a firm hand on the recruitment, training, posting, promotion and dismissal of public servants.

# State Apparatus of the New Era

by Julius Sago

It is now generally agreed that with the successful completion of the national referendum on constitutional changes the evolution of the Ghana nation has entered a new phase. This new phase is qualitatively different from what preceded it. Its basic features are basically different from those of the earlier phase.

However, there has been little attempt to spell out and spot-light the points of difference. This is particularly the case when we consider the state apparatus, that is to say the machinery of public administration. There is a general feeling that some changes have become necessary because of the changed political conditions of the new phase. But what precisely should these changes be?

It is useful at the onset to state in precise terms where the difference lies between the pre-referendum and the post-referendum eras. Before the referendum, we had a two-party system even though experience had shown that one of the parties was in an advanced state of decay. Under that system, a party won a majority at the polls and proceeded to form a government. This government used the public services to give effect to its policies. Under this arrangement, the public services (civil service, police, army, public corporations, etc.) existed as an entity separate from and independent of the political parties. The less it identified itself with political ideas and objectives the better. It had an inertia all its own and was in a position to exert considerable influence on poli-

cy-making. At times, it was even in a position to recast policies.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

This was the character of the administrative machinery we inherited from colonialism. We have persevered with it for six full years. And experience has shown that where the national objective is complete social and economic transformation at a speed that will eliminate the backwardness of centuries in a matter of decades such a ponderous and slow grinding administrative machinery with built-in resistance to change simply cannot meet the needs of the times.

The assumptions of the state apparatus in the pre-referendum era were false. Firstly, the state administrative machinery was not made up of persons who are politically neutral. Colonialism took great care to select, train and appoint into the civil service only persons who had the colonial concept of society and accepted western values. How do you explain the fact that supposed "communists" were debarred from holding offices either as administrative officers or in the field of education? How do you explain the fact that known nationalists in the colonial civil service always suffered persecution ranging from random transfers and incessant queries to the hold-up of increments and supercession in the promotions race?

Secondly, it is simply irrational to expect a human being occupying a position of responsi-

bility in a community to remain absolutely unconcerned on vital questions relating to the direction along which his society is to evolve.

Thirdly, there is no such person as a pure adviser. Every adviser, even when he deals with the most technical subjects, consciously or unconsciously relates his advice to some set of values or motives which he openly or tacitly accepts. To claim, therefore, that there are persons with no ideas as to what is right or wrong is to live in a world of abstraction where illusion is mistaken for reality.

The basic fact of the post-referendum era is "the one national party which is the vanguard of the people in their struggle to build a socialist society." It is no longer possible for the state apparatus to exist in complete isolation or insulation from the political aspirations of the people.

#### THE ONE NATIONAL PARTY

The one national party is expected to give expression to the needs and aspirations of the people. This means that it not only has to determine objectives and the order of priorities. It has, in addition, to see to it that these objectives are in fact attained with the minimum waste of limited resources. And since the state administrative machinery is the most important medium for realising these objectives, it is pretty obvious that the one national party must take an intimate interest in how this machinery functions. In short, the one national party must look on the state administrative apparatus as one of the instruments available to it for satisfying the needs of the people.

The new situation calls for a thorough re-examination of the relationship existing between the party

and the cabinet as well as between the cabinet and the ministries and/or the public corporations and boards. There is need for a new type of public servant, expert in the handling of technical problems and imbued with the ideals of the new society, he is out to serve. There is also the need for far-reaching structural changes in the machinery of public administration.

#### THE NEW PUBLIC SERVANT

First, the new public servant. There is no gainsaying the fact that he must be a real expert. He must know his subject and always be in a position not only to give correct advice but also to assess the social impact of alternative solutions to any given problem. So far he is only slightly different from what he used to be in the colonial and early independence days, the only difference being the nature of problem on which his advice is sought. While in the old days he was to advise in a way to make imperialist exploitation work, today he has to advise on problems connected with social and economic reconstruction on a national scale.

The second attribute of the new public servant, and one in which he is totally different from his counterpart under colonialism, is the need to identify himself wholly with the ideals of the new social order. He cannot be either apathetic or neutral. He is a builder, a pioneer, and a worker striving to set up a new society. There must of necessity be a lot of trial and error in his work. He must exude a fanatic belief in the justness of the new order, for without this he will at best be a cog in the wheel and at worst a saboteur. In both cases he will not be of much use to the socialist revolution.

This new public servant cannot be secured through Sunday school sermons and endless exhortations. Let it be admitted that these measures are needed. But what is here emphasised is that these measures, by themselves, are not enough and cannot bring success.

Something more is needed. And this is a firm hand on the recruitment, training, posting and promotion of the public servant. Very few public servants will pay adequate attention to style of work as long as promotion is automatic and increment is routine. Nor will he continue to rely unduly on his diploma from Cambridge and Oxford when he sees others less qualified (academically) but more efficient (practically) supercede him when the time comes for promotion to top posts.

#### FIRM CONTROL OVER PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS

A firm hand on recruitment, training, posting and promotion of public servants means in practice a firm control over the civil service commission and similar organisations as well as over the scholarship secretariat. And since it is futile to entrust control of public servants to civil servants, it stands to reason that these bodies, the civil service commission and the scholarship secretariat, should be outside the civil service. In a one-party state, the ideal solution is to put these organs directly under the Central Committee of the one national party.

This brings us to a consideration of the new relationship between the Party and the Cabinet on the one hand and the Cabinet and the Ministries, boards and corporations on the other. The greatest danger here lies in an undue overlap of functions between the Central Committee and the Cabinet.

Both organs at the moment are entrusted with policy-making. Such dualism could lead to serious conflicts and experience has shown that the greatest single factor in obviating such an eventuality so far has been the towering political prestige of Kwame Nkrumah.

It is necessary to draw a line and draw it thick. And it seems that in accord with the position of eminence of the one national party, the Central Committee must accept full responsibility for

and discharge all functions relating to policy-making.

If the policies come from the Central Committee what then is left for the Cabinet? It seems that the cabinet could best be saddled with the duty of breaking down broad policies into a series of complementary administrative measures. It will decide what specific administrative actions must be taken and in what sequence in order to give effect to the policy decisions of the Central Committee.

This breakdown of broad policy decisions into detailed administrative acts and directives has been, up to now, the work of the Ministries with the Minister and his Principal Secretary playing the leading role. What then is left for the Ministries (and/or public corporations and boards) to handle? These institutions could now concentrate solely and wholly on the implementation of specific directives agreed upon at cabinet level.

#### THE STRUCTURE

The structure advocated here involves few but important changes. The Ministry, no longer charged with policy formulation, has to concentrate on execution. The cabinet is now the place for breaking down policy directives into detailed administrative instructions. Hence, the Cabinet Secretariat must cease to be a mere filing and collating body. It must include the experts who have to advise on the administrative requirements and general implications of policy. Hence, it should have very close contact with the Party's Central Committee from where all major policies issue.

To keep the control and direction of the public services within the aegis of the one-national party, a few apparatus of the state should be transferred from the civil service to the control of the Party Central Committee. These organs include the State Supply Commission, the Budget Secretariat, the Scholarship Secretariat and the Civil Service Commission.

# A REJOINDER TO KWEKU FOLSON OF UNIVERSITY OF GHANA ON: ONE PARTY SOCIALIST STATE (I)

— by Kwasi Oware

KWAME NKURUMAH IDEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

THE masses of Ghana, the people who matter most in the present revolutionary process of our country's constitutional development, have shattered the surreptitious theory of Mr. Kweku Folson to pieces by their unanimous affirmative votes at the recent referendum on a One-Party Socialist State.

Mr. Kweku Folson, a lecturer in Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon, described as "an eminent African scholar and a socialist" by the Capitalist mouthpiece, "The Sunday Chronicle", stabbed Africa in the back when he published a very vicious article in British Guiana recently. In that article, published first in the "Venture", culled by the "Sunday Chronicle" and beamed over the air by the British Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. Folson makes shabby and low-level arguments built upon disagreeable premises and wishfully concludes that a One-Party state is incompatible with socialism in Africa.

Before dealing with his article in detail, we have to bring to light some vital points of a treacherous nature. Mr. Folson knew that he was writing about the political situation in Africa. He knew that British Guiana is NOT in Africa. He was aware that British and American Imperialism are fighting a losing battle in British Guiana. He, of course, had heard or read at the time that Ghana and many African states were clamouring for a one-party-cum-socialist system of government. And yet, he deliberately chose not only to publish his untimely article in British Guiana but also did so just before our Osagyefo was about to throw that question to the Ghanaian masses for their verdict.

The underlying implications of this calculated act cannot be under-estimated. In short, Mr. Folson wanted the people of British Guiana to disregard their most popular leader, Premier Cheddi Jagan, who is a Marxist-Socialist and a progressive nationalist.

Kweku Folson's article could influence certain people in that country, thus breeding confusion and chaos. Again, with the subsequent publishing of the article in that Fleet Street newspaper "The Sunday Chronicle" and broadcast on the B.B.C. in London, Folson thought he could marshal the unholy forces of British Capitalists and Neo-colonialists against the already strong morale of prospective Ghanaian voters. This attitude of mind from a government-sponsored Ghanaian scholar is tantamount to treachery of the highest order.

## WHY NOT IN AFRICA?

Here, we may pause to ask: Why did Kweku Folson choose to publish the article outside Ghana and Africa? Why did he do so in British Guiana? We demand an answer. If he thought he could do so and escape the wrath of the right thinking Ghanaian and African masses he had deceived his soul. "By thy deeds ye shall be known". We feel it was only logical and honest for him to gather enough courage and publish the article in any part of Africa if not in his own country since he confined himself to the problems of one-party socialist states in Africa and not in British Guiana, Great Britain or the United States of America.

Right from the beginning of his article, Mr. Folson admits that "it is now becoming generally acceptable to the Western socialists that one-party state is an indispensable instrument for building socialism in Africa". He said, however, that a few years ago this view was not shared by the people in the West. Mr. Folson viewed this shift in Western opinion as "disastrous". He, in fact, broods over this new thinking and charges that recent events in Africa have proved that one-party system and socialism are incompatible. This is a piece of academic dishonesty and an intellectual depravity weaved around objective political appraisal.

## DISHONEST INTELLECTUAL

If Mr. Folson were honest he would rather have attributed the need for a one-party social system in Africa to the "recent neo-colonialist infiltrations". Perhaps he forgets that a nation that has been subjugated to a limitless colonial domination; a nation that has been exploited, mercilessly, must put off the garment of her erstwhile colonial oppressor and work hard to regain her lost self-respect and find her rightful place among the comity of nations immediately she succeeds in achieving independence.

It is common knowledge that the colonial powers intentionally leave their administrative and constitutional institutions behind when independence is achieved. It is, therefore, suicidal for an indigenous independent nation to walk in the shoes of colonialists and neo-colonialists. The legacy left over by the Colonial oppressor is that of a capitalist social arrangement in which exploitation of man by man is the focal core of continued degradation of the majority of the populace—the workers and farmers—whose sweat goes a long way to make the wealth of the nation and whose productive capacity accounts, more or less, for the expenses of University students. It is, thus, imperative that a social change that will bring social justice and equality to the mass of the people should be effected.

A simple study and analysis of Karl Marx's famous theory concerning the laws of social development will reveal at once to us that socialism is an inevitable substitute for capitalism. Just as the ancient primitive

communal society gave birth to slave society; just as the slave society gave rise to a feudal society and capitalism came out of the womb of the feudal society, so it is that out of the ashes of capitalism emerges a new social order known as Socialism in which the welfare of the people becomes the supreme law and in which the means of production are concentrated in the hands of the people.

Mr. Folson, we feel, is aware of these social changes and knows for certain that whatever happens capitalism cannot hold sway over society indefinitely.

The contradictions within a capitalist society are too glaring to be allowed to continue for a longer period in the history of mankind. We are tempted to believe that the above historical facts are well known and accepted by Mr. Folson; that is why in his article he circumvented the issue and refrained from attacking socialism as such. Instead, he uses all kinds of academic phrases, mingled with one or two references to Western writers like Robert Michels, Dr. Talmon and Duverger, to launch an illogical attack on a one-party state-cum-socialism in Africa. In essence, his article could best be summed up, in Proudhon's words, as "a masterpiece of oratorical jugglery".

Mr. Folson flagrantly contradicts himself by saying that "any system of government which does not put the government firmly under the control of the general mass of the people is incompatible with socialism". Perhaps Mr. Folson is unaware that a socialist government is more accountable to the mass of the people than that of a capitalist one. In Ghana, at least, the people are the source of power, if our government were unaccountable to the people of Ghana, our President would have been able to effect the present constitutional changes by appealing only to Parliament.

## POWER FROM THE MASSES

Unlike other constitutions of the West to which Mr. Folson is so much accustomed, the Ghana constitution carries many entrenched clauses. Such clauses cannot be changed or amended without prior reference to the mass of the people for their own judgement. Their verdict is the supreme law.

A quick glance through Part One, Article One of our Republican Constitution reveals, inter alia, that "the powers of the state derive from the people by whom certain of those powers are now conferred on the institution established by this Constitution and who shall have the right to exercise the remainder of those powers and to choose their representatives in Parliament now established..." Article Three of

this Part of the Constitution states also that: "the power to repeal or alter this Part of the Constitution is RESERVED TO THE PEOPLE."

Again, in Ghana, Parliament is soon to become a corporate representative of the people and that in a one-party state all citizens will have the right to take part in the building of the nation. Nobody will be excluded from such a civic task, as Mr. Folson advocates. We are building our country as a team, we shall have to put to full use all the energies of all the people; "from each according to his ability, to each according to the work done". We need the services of theoreticians as well as practitioners. We need the services of architects and draughtsmen as well as that of masons, carpenters, painters, farmers and labourers. Nobody will be outside the scope of our society. And vigilance on the security of

our state will also be kept by all and sundry.

It is only in a capitalist society where a handful of merchants, lawyers, lecturers; in short, the middle class men, constitute themselves into a privileged class and force their minority decisions on the mass of the people, concentrate wealth and the means of production in their selfish hands and enjoy the luxury of life at the expense of the producers. In such a society the welfare of the "ruling bourgeois class" becomes paramount; and slaves continue to be slaves, labourers continue to produce labourers from generation to generation. This is social injustice and we want Kweku Folson to know it.

## DEMOCRACY

We have been saying, time and again, that democracy does not necessarily imply the establishment of multi-party organisations. Indeed, democratic centralism in which the decision of the

majority prevails over that of the dissenters can best be practised in a one-party system of society.

Within a one-party state criticism and self-criticism form a vital part of the manipulation of governmental machinery. Inner-party criticisms appear to be a "myth" only to Kweku Folson who appears to have been blindly influenced by the central ideas of his Western masters—Duverger and Talmon—to such an extent that he exposes himself as an ignorant young man as far as the history of Africa is concerned.

Perhaps Mr. Folson may refresh his memory by studying some aspects of our ancient heritage which we are not prepared to renounce.

From time immemorial, before the infiltration of the white man into the Continent of Africa, there was nothing like an opposition in the whole fabric of African political systems. The Head of State of Kingdom ruled objectively and efficiently with the advice of his counsellors who in turn

carried the voice and wishes of their respective people. Any deviation by the King or Chief could lead to his destoolment for a new one of the the people's choice to be democratically elected. There was nothing like a "ruling king" and "a king of opposition" in one state or kingdom. Yet, governmental duties were properly executed.

In our Akan traditional ruling system which Mr. Folson might know very well, the people were governed perfectly well without any mention of an officially opposing section. The Chief was bound to rule in accordance with the wishes of the mass of the people under him. The Chief or King could not even declare war on another state without prior consultations with the people, neither could he retreat from the battle field by his own volition. The Chief and his counsellors did not represent any privileged economic or social minority class. Whom they dared do so the masses quickly put them to justice. The government was thus accountable to the mass of the people.

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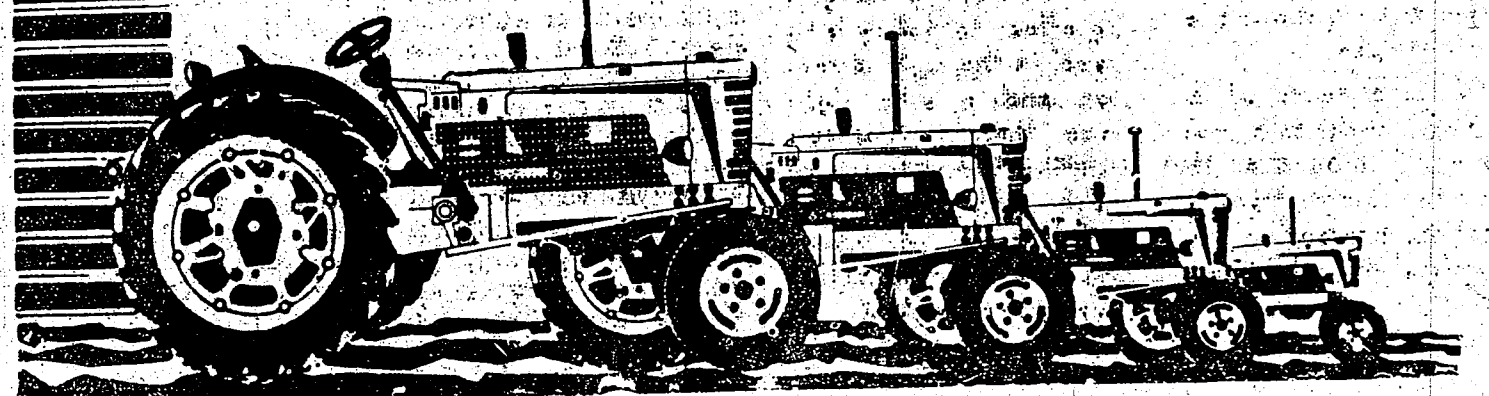
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# West German Neo-colonialism in Africa

WEST German weapons used against the peace fighters in Angola, West German Air Force officers in khaki uniforms in Nigeria, "advisers" from West Germany for the Malagasy naval units, West German support for the production of rockets and poison-gas in South Africa—these are just a few facts, to begin with, on the stepped-up military penetration of Africa by Bonn militarists.

This "military development aid"—in the case of Portugal, the West German imperialist call their supporting the bloody suppression of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique "economic-military co-operation"—shall be even stepped up next year. As was announced in Bonn a few weeks ago, the budget of the West German War Ministry envisages for these purposes not less than 150 million German marks for the year of 1964. According to the West German journal "DIE WELT" this means that appropriations for this item have increased more than tenfold within two years, i.e. since 1962.

all, it is their wish-dream that the colonies remain in the hands of Portugal.

Herr Jaeger, Vice-President of the Bundestag and leading member of the Bonn government party, Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union, confirmed this after his visit to Portugal and Angola cynically declaring: "If Portugal continues to possess these territories for another decade it will have won the struggle for them, because within one to two decades the so-called sovereign Africa will perish in chaos as these states are not able to govern themselves." What a profound contempt lies in these words of the racist Jaeger.

But Salazar has not been the only one in whom the Bonn militarists placed their hope. In 1957, the Bonn military journal "Wehrkunde" recommended, in view of the atomic menace to the European industrial centres, to take advantage of the relations to France and "install a peripheral arms production in North Africa". To gather experience for the African mission of the Bundeswehr, West German military men inspected French troops in Algeria and especially the foreign

legion which mainly consisted of West German mercenaries. It is known just as well that dismissed German foreign legionaries from Algeria were employed as instructors by the Bundeswehr to enable them to pass on the experience they had gathered in Africa. The Bonn militarists intended to harness also their British NATO allies to the implementation of their expansionist aims in Africa. As early as 1960, the British Defence Minister announced that the Bonn Bundeswehr could use military bases in East Africa, particularly in Kenya.

### CLOSE CO-OPERATION WITH VERWOERD

Today, the West German militarists, no longer using their NATO allies, even attempt to penetrate Africa directly by means of their military development aid. South Africa and Nigeria are most recent examples of this. The other day, the Bundeswehr journal "Vierteljahr" expressed its great interest in "ideal training grounds" in South Africa, writing: "The Namib desert at the Whale Bay in the former colony of German South West Africa is an ideal training ground for desert warfare. The desert offers space enough

for tactical training with Service ammunition. Differently from us, there is no training ground problem there." The West German imperialists hope to penetrate through Verwoerd into the UN mandated territory of South West Africa which was practically annexed by him.

Bonn has, however, other plans, too, with the hated South African racist Verwoerd regime which is being denounced by the world public, plans which are already being implemented. The news that Bonn was taking a share in developing rocket production in South Africa was highly disturbing to the African peoples. Already some time ago, several West German firms, among them Messrs. Boelkow near Stuttgart engaged in the development of rocket and other power units, sent technicians and scientists to Pretoria. Also arrangements on the use of South African testing grounds by the Bonn War Ministry are said to have been made on such occasions.

### BONN MILITARISTS' MACHINATIONS IN AFRICA

These facts which are far from reflecting the whole extent of the Bonn militarists' expansionist machinations in Africa, should be greatly alarming to the African peoples. Africa is being dragged into warlike plans which were drawn up not only by the Bonn General Staff

but also at the NATO head-quarters where former Nazi generals play first fiddle. Bonn press chief, Herr von Hase, had to confirm this at a press conference where he said that "the military assistance had been agreed upon in detail" with NATO. This proves that this is a comprehensive, carefully prepared NATO campaign which, among other things, is aimed at incorporating Africa as a strategically important area in the military preparations against the southern flank of the Socialist Camp. This fact does not only run counter to the decisions taken at the Summit Conference of the African Heads of State at Addis Ababa on a policy of non-alignment, but constitutes, at the same time, a direct menace to life and security of the African peoples. Moreover, it is a grave danger to the independence of the young African states and to the liberation movement of the still suppressed peoples on the African continent; for the NATO imperialists, and at their head the West German and American imperialists, are striving for a new neo-colonialist occupation of Africa. It is high time that all Africa become aware of this danger and that the African peoples unite even more closely in order to frustrate the aggressive, neo-colonialist machinations of the Bonn and NATO militarists in Africa and to make Africa an important factor for peace in international politics.

### BACKING FOR SALAZAR

For a long time the West German militarists have cherished the desire to gain a footing in Africa. They are especially interested in Africa as a rich source of strategic raw materials, as a training ground for troops and a military base. At first they tried to implement their aims through their NATO ally Portugal. From Salazar they obtained concessions enabling them to exploit the rich mineral resources of Angola. The Krupp enterprise and the Federal Government invested £100 million in that country. Salazar received military equipment, including aircraft with launching devices for rockets as well as trucks and arms for his colonial war. A 150 million-dollar-credit granted by Bonn to Portugal enabled the fascist regime to continue and even to intensify this oppressive campaign.

Salazar said, he was ready to grant further concessions. He placed military bases in Portugal at the disposal of the West German Bundeswehr, where especially Air Force units, including West German paratroops, are trained. As a result, the Portuguese dictator was in a position to make available further troops to throw them into Africa. It is only the expected wave of protest of the African peoples that keeps the West German imperialists and militarists from sending troops of their own to Angola. After

THE extraordinary conference of African Foreign and Defence Ministers held in Dar-es-Salaam, capital of Tanganyika, completed its work towards the end of last week. This emergency conference held under the aegis of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was summoned by President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika to consider the possibility of sending an African force to East Africa following the series of mutinies by units of the East African armed forces. Now that this conference has risen, we are in a better position to consider the facts of the East African situation.

The chain of events was sparked off by a bloody coup d'etat on the spice island of Zanzibar. This coup led to the overthrow of the Sultan of Zanzibar and his regime of Arab feudalism. The Sultan has since sought asylum in Britain after escaping by way of Dar-es-Salaam. Then in quick succession we heard news of army revolts in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. From all reports the revolt was severest in Tanganyika where normal government was temporarily interrupted.

As a result of these army mutinies, British troops

have been rushed into the area. A British aircraft carrier and a destroyer, are lying off Dar-es-Salaam and there are at least 2,000 British soldiers inside the three East African territories or on ships lying a few miles off-shore. A contingent of British commandos stormed ashore at Dar-es-Salaam, killed at least five Tanganyikan soldiers and disarmed a battalion of the Tanganyika rifles. This battalion has since been disbanded by President Julius Nyerere. And after the discharged troops have been restricted to their home villages and some 200 trade

unionists placed under arrest, we are told that everything is back to normal in Tanganyika.

### NO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM INVOLVED

There are at least three views about the recent events in East Africa. One view is that it was inspired by international communism. This is what a section of the Western press has been telling the world. Unfortunately for this view, the political leaders in East Africa have strongly stressed that there has been no sign of international communism in the events. Official statements from both Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam on the disturbances have completely eschewed communism.

A second view is that independence was given a bit too soon to the East African countries. Here again the source is the Western press and radio. There is no point dilating on this view which is a gross insult on the African people.

This leaves us with the third view, namely, that neo-colonialism is using these incidents to strengthen its grip in East Africa. In significant support of this view, attention should be drawn to two facts. First, the British press, including the influential "Economist", have maintained that the recent events in East Africa will serve to hasten the merger of the three territories of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika into an East African Federation.

### BRITISH COLONIALISM

The important point here is that the East African Federation, as envisaged, is to be held together by the East African Common Services which is an administrative machinery set up by British colonialism, firmly manned and controlled by elements who owe loyalty to Whitehall and care little for the views of Nairobi, Kampala and Dar-es-Salaam.

The second fact is an article that appeared recently

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in the Sunday Telegraph, a paper very close to the ruling group within the British Conservative Party. This article gave out the news that the British Government is planning new talks on the question of a British military base in Kenya. In this connection, it will be remembered that there is an agreement between Britain and Kenya to the effect that all foreign military bases in Kenya will be liquidated in the course of this year, 1964. This shows that Britain, far from honouring the existing agreement, is planning ways and means of forcing Kenya into accepting a British military base in the area. And what better way could there be for achieving this than by creating and fomenting unrest of a nature and on a scale that will compel East African leaders to call for British troops?

It is against this background of neo-colonialist intrigues and subterfuges that we must consider the recent emergency conference of the Organisation of African Unity held at Dar-es-Salaam. Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, aptly reflected the views of progressive Africa on this conference when he said in effect that it was unnecessary.

### AN ALL-AFRICAN FORCE

If the Tanganyikan leaders want British troops out of their country, then they alone can do it for it was they who invited these troops in the first instance. If the Tanganyika Government wants African troops from a few African states, then she could negotiate directly with these states. There was no need for calling a conference of the Organisation of African Unity.

In the circumstances, it seems President Nyerere, by calling an emergency OAU conference, was merely trying to get an all-African blessing for his line of action. This sort of manoeuvre is certainly not what the OAU is meant for.

The whole question of an All-African Force deserves full and sympathetic consideration. No doubt such consideration will be given at the Lagos Conference of Foreign Ministers of the O.A.U. But a note of warning must be sounded at the very start.

Firstly, an All-African Force cannot serve much use until it is subject to political direction. This calls for concurrent consideration of the problem of setting up a Union Government for all Africa.

Secondly, it will not be in the interest of the African Revolution to use such an African Force in support of a regime which does not enjoy the support of the broad masses of people in the country affected. For if we do not insist on this, then the Organisation of African Unity will soon find itself defending reaction everywhere on this continent to the satisfaction of imperialism and to the chagrin of the African people. Under such circumstances, the All-African Force will become the enemy of the people wherever it is used; and such a situation will make African unity even more difficult of attainment.

The moral from all this is clear: An All-African Force is desirable and even urgent. But if it is to serve the African Revolution, then it must be an arm of a union government of Africa.

## THE DAR-ES-SALAAM CONFERENCE BY X'RAY

# Panama: U.S. Imperialism at Work

**DURING the Second World War the United States bought 4387 million of Dollars in raw materials from several sources. Out of this amount, more than half came from Latin America, 75 per cent of it was food. Even today from a list of strategic materials drawn by the State Department, 30 out of 77 items on the list come from Latin America. This reliance on Latin America by the American industry explains, apart from other factors, the attitude of the U.S. towards Latin America.**

In the same way as the European countries included Africa in their sphere of influence and converted the African countries into colonies, exploiting the Africans, America has considered Latin American countries as their own colonies, and despite the fact that the Latin American countries have had formal independences for a long time these were only on the paper as no Latin American Government ever dared to go against the wishes of the American companies or of the American Government. In fact many of them were American puppets and still

are. Failure to accept orders from Washington has, always meant American intervention, either by American Marines and troops or by subversion, financed and directed by the U.S.A.

Recently history shows us what happens to the unfortunate Latin American people who want to be independent from Washington. The case of Cuba which nearly brought a third world war, the invasion of Guatemala, the occupation of Santo Domingo and now the killings in Panama are only the latest efforts on the part of the American Government to stop Latin

Americans from being independent.

## INCESSANT AGGRESSION

This has been going on for a long time. American imperialism has attacked the Latin American countries 121 times in the course of 60 years. On many occasions American Marines were involved directly. One only has to remember the famous phrase of the late President Theodore Roosevelt "The United States deserve to have only a friend in the world: The United States". When he said that the United States had just occupied Cuba!! Not even themselves had much faith in the moral reasons for their actions.

The Canal zone in Panama is very much in the news these days. President

Chiari, a right-wing man, who represented up to now the interests of the small capitalist class in Panama, has been compelled by the brutality of American im-

considered by the State Department a "safe man" and most of his actions were concentrated in beating down strikes and in support for the exploitation of the

**from THE INSIDE..**

perialism to break relations with the U.S. and to appeal to the O.A.S. (Organisation of American States) to intervene.

## "SAFE MAN" REBELS

Nobody should think that the action of President Chiari is the action of a man seeking publicity and honours. Up to now he was

Panama workers by the Panamanian capitalists allied to their Yankee masters.

Panama is a country divided into two parts by the Panama Canal. The country is divided, because the canal belongs to the American Army and through it to the American Government that considers it a part of the U.S.A. territory. Situated in Central America,

# AFRICAN WATERS NOT FOR NUCLEAR WARFARE

**A RECENT statement by Ceylon's Prime Minister, Mrs. S. Bandaranaike, in the light of present circumstances in Africa, deserves to receive more attention than it did in so far. Here is the text of this statement, quoted from the "Ghanaian Times" of 27th January:**

"Mrs. Sirimaivo Bandaranaike, Ceylon's Prime Minister, has declared that her Government would deny entry to Ceylon to naval vessels and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons or those equipped for nuclear warfare."

## WAR MONGERS

This declaration was made in connection with the U.S. decision to send warships of the U.S. 7th Fleet with nuclear capacity into the Indian Ocean, wherefrom they can incidentally proceed quickly to Eastern African shores!

What should attract our attention in the Ceylonese stand is the fact that this policy takes into full account the new developments within the strategy of the war-mongers. In other words, it brings to light that, here in Africa, while on one hand, we have still to lead a steady struggle to eliminate all foreign military land bases still existing on the continent, at the same time, we have already to be on the alert against new imperialist threats based on a new strategy for atomic warfare. In order to safeguard peace and independence in Africa, and

therefore contribute to the world-wide fight for peace, we are now confronted with a two-fold task.

This, in fact, has been, more or less consciously, shown clearly in a statement of the U.S. President last year. On the 25th January 1963, in a Press Conference, the late President Kennedy explained to the journalists why his government was then evacuating a few missile bases in Italy and Turkey. "We are going to send into Mediterranean Waters some submarines armed with Polaris missiles, which are more modern weapons. We are convinced that these will ensure a more adequate security".

## U.S. ATOMIC EXPERTS

Indeed, U.S. atomic warfare military experts think that, in view of the tremendous retaliation power of socialist countries, it has become safer to pile up the dreadful atomic weapons in a few very agile submarines, more able to hide anywhere, to go around the world unnoticed, and always ready to send death and destruction to towns and countries many thousands of miles away, and too difficult to locate for instant reprisal.

Whether the U.S. experts are right or wrong in the

technical field is not our concern. The fact is that they have evolved and have already put into practice this new submarine strategy, the dangerous consequences of which have to be weighed very cautiously by the African states if they want to keep Africa in peace and security.

It is only too obvious that with the growing fleet of Polaris submarines, one of them could, at the time of an eventual world crisis like the one of 1962 on Cuba, stay unsuspected in African waters or nearby, and from these hiding places, inside African waters launch nuclear missiles at the Socialist countries.

In such a case, it would be very likely that the counter-attack will hit the African state from whose waters or environs the crime must have taken place, even though this was done without the knowledge or consent of the Government and people concerned.

Of course, such a danger already exists, especially with the foreign air bases still operate on our continent, with special reference to the huge U.S. Air base in Libya called Wheelus Field, where it is well-known that aircraft carrying atomic devices have been based since the end of the last world war. This is precisely why the African struggle for peace should, in the true Addis Ababa spirit, be aimed at completely prohibiting foreign forces—which of course, are forces of imperialist powers—from using African land,

air as well as waters for any purpose and under any pretext.

At this point, we must come back to Mr. Kennedy's frank statement. Apart from his remarks on the "more modern" submarines, he had something to say in favour of relatively older kind of weapons.

## MILITARY BASES IN AFRICA

"It might be that the world has to witness around the end of the sixties or the beginning of the seventies several conflicts on such a scope as need not be settled by using missiles, in other words, more limited wars where manned bombers would be very useful."

This part of the statement obviously applies to the present net of military bases still operated by imperialist powers like Mers-el-Kebir in Algeria, Wheelus Field already mentioned, Dakar, Nairobi, Simonstown, etc. On this point the whole of independent Africa has already made it clear by the Addis Ababa Charter, that all this net work of foreign bases should be evacuated NOW, and that it is the duty of every conscious African Government, all the more of every African patriot, to lead a relentless fight for their total liquidation. It is only too well known that much remains to be done in this field. The way French troops were rushed into Brazzaville last August, into Gabon in the past few days is a warning to all.

But, at the same time, precisely as the imperialists themselves are more and more aware of the fact that they cannot hold on indefinitely to their fixed bases,

we can see them working out other ways of keeping our continent under their control. After all, it is worthy of notice to remark that, on the eve of the Zanzibar Revolution, British and U.S. warships were on the alert in the neighbouring waters. The U.S. 7th Fleet, as we have already pointed out, under the pretext of a cruise in Indian Ocean, was not very far from the coast of East Africa. In any case, African States are not in a position to ascertain whether these imperialist warships carry atomic weapons or not. In any case, too, African peoples know very well that by their very presence in African waters, these warships are always a threat to their independence and freedom.

## PAINFUL EXPERIENCES

Such painful experiences, like the recent events in Eastern Africa, explain to some extent what some French military experts had in mind when they expressed the view that bases like Bizerta or even Mers-el-Kebir are now useless from the strict military point of view. They meant they had other, "more modern" ways and means for coming back whenever they like either by sea or by air.

The conclusion seems to be clear enough. Not only the foreign military bases should go once and for all. In addition, imperialist warships, as well as war planes, should no longer be allowed to wander around or over Africa. Any vessel carrying nuclear weapons should be made to keep far away from this continent.

This is what a United Africa has got to fight for. It is what the United African masses must strive for.

the country has been controlled for many years by the United Fruit Company, an American company that also controls several other small countries in Latin America, and by a group of American banks.

The area of Panama is 75,902 square kilometres and the Canal Zone 1432 square kilometres. Even the United Nations do not consider the Canal as Panama territory and in its publications the Canal Zone is always given as a separate area belonging to the U.S.A.

## THE CANAL

The Canal was built by the American Army and inaugurated in 1915. It is administered by the Panama Canal Co. whose chairman is a soldier from the U.S.A. Army. The American imposed Government of the time was ordered by the American Government to give the land necessary for the canal and a strip along the canal of 5 miles wide, although in reality this goes beyond 15 miles, in many places. To build the canal the Americans created the State of Panama out of a province of Columbia. So from the first moment Panama and the canal were an American backyard.

## DOLLARS

The canal was built at a cost of 380 million Dollars. The Panama Government under the agreement receives 375,000 Dollars per year, although the annual profits of the canal are calculated to be 48 million Dollars.

In 1961 alone, 10,866 ships went through the canal and paid fees to the value of 54 million Dollars. In fact the business is so good that the Americans have a project to build another canal in Atrato, about a hundred miles South of the actual canal.

## EXPLOITATION

In the canal zone are employed 18,735 Latin Americans whose joint salaries amount to 47 million Dollars per year which gives an average of about 2,500 Dollars each. There are in addition 4,211 North Americans whose salaries are 25 million Dollars that is to say an average of about 6,000 dollars.

Financial and racial discrimination are used in the canal not only between Panamanians and North Americans but also between Black and White, between White and Indian. If we consider that the population of Panama, excluding the canal zone, is 1,100,000 inhabitants, of whom 11 per cent are White, 13 per cent Black, 10 per cent aboriginal Indians and 65 per cent Coloured, we could see the importance of this problem.

## U.S. FINANCIAL CONTROL

The investments of the U.S.A. in Panama for instance in 1952 were 383 million Dollars. All the Banks in Panama belong to the United States: the Chase National City Bank, the First National Bank who are even issuing banks for the Balboa, the National currency of Panama. The Panamanian Government has

no National Bank and therefore the national funds are kept in these foreign banks. These banks then lend the money of the Government to foreigners and pocket the profits, without even consulting the Panamanian Government.

The largest companies in Panama belong to the U.S.A. Coca-Cola, Orange Crush, the National Railways, the National Radio Tropical (belongs to the United Fruit Co.), the Union Radio, the National cable services, Esso, Texaco, Union Oil, the mines of Rosario, the Alcoa Aluminium Corporation etc., etc.

This enormous concentration of financial power in the hands of the United States means that everything is paid in Dollars which are considered current money in Panama at parity with the Balboa which has a very much reduced circulation, even outside of the Canal Zone.

## POVERTY AND NEGLECT

Owing to the control of the economy by the U.S.A., the parts of the country which were not of interest to the Americans were left in dire poverty. As an interesting fact I could say that despite the fact that Panama is an agricultural country, less than 40 per cent of the country's needs are covered by local produce, and agriculture represents only 25 per cent of the Gross National Product.

The problem of Panama is the problem of the whole of Latin America.

American investments are followed by pressure to have pro-American Governments. Where Dollars and pressure fail, the marines follow, or armies are formed and equipped by U.S.A. to produce pliable Governments. The U.S.A., since the famous Monroe Doctrine and even before, used Latin America as hidden colonies, where manufactured products could be sold at high prices, and raw materials bought for a song.

From 1938 to 1954 American imports from Latin America went up from 485 million Dollars to 3,310 million. As a market for manufactured goods from the U.S.A. Latin America is more important than Canada, more important than Western Europe and much more than Africa, Asia and Oceania put together.

Panama, like the rest of Latin America, is awakening. The lowering of the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone which brought about the killing of so many Panamanians by the American troops, brought a swift reaction which could not have happened a few years back.

## THE CUBAN EXAMPLE

The Cuban example has shown Latin America that it is possible to be free and independent without fearing the U.S. Marines provided the will to be independent is strong enough. Today in many parts of America, Venezuela, Columbia, Santo Domingo, etc. freedom fighters are establishing the people's right to freedom despite neo-colonialism and American Marines despite U.S. Dollars and the new American gadget for exploitation: the Alliance for Progress.