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AMBASSADOR'S
LECTURE ON
HISTORY OF U.S.
DOMINATION OF
HIS COUNTRY

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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.

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 Conscientism, 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.

WHEN WILL WILSON REPUDIATE PHILIP?

Prince talks of 'Patience' while Smith builds strength

by A Spark Correspondent

PRINCE Philip has over the years acquired a certain notoriety for saying 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

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 protests 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 I 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 recognises 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

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 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 sure that it is not "inevitable".

Prince Philip lulls 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 revealing article whose appearance coincided with the Prince's outburst, the "Economist" summed up the situation thus:

"So far, Mr. Ian Smith has achieved mastery 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 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 fortnight to test out the strength of the Republic's Rhodesian white buffer. The governor-general of Portugal's colony of Mozambique is soon to be given a grand tour of Rhodesia.

"Rhodesia's deputy prime minister (and minister of defence), Mr. Dupont, was in Lourenco Marques, capital of Mozambique, last week; he came back smiling. One of Mr. Smith's former Ministers, Mr. Grant, has been made envoy to Pretoria; another, Mr. Reedman, is headed for Lisbon.

'WHITE SOUTH'

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



Was Prince Philip "indiscreet"—or just voicing official policy?

undoubtedly imperil the Commonwealth. 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 self-opinionated 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 the Labour Government.

OFFICIAL POLICY

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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task of holding the Zambezi frontier against the black north. The time will come when Mr. Smith will feel secure 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 urges "patience" and argues that "a few years here or there do not matter."

ACTION NOW

The African members of the Commonwealth made their position clear at the Commonwealth conference. They want no more stalling, no more dilly-dallying. They want action now.

Kwame Nkrumah warned Mr. Wilson that the future of the Commonwealth—of whose Head Prince Philip is the consort—could well depend upon the manner in which the Rhodesian problem is tackled: "Failure at this conference to settle the Rhodesian question will

"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, Nkrumahism, is the application of the principles of scientific socialism to our African social milieu."

Now both the words of Lenin and the words of Nkrumah, 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, tribal traditions were more or less liquidated following the feudal Norman Conquest in 1066, in Ghana and much of the rest of Africa

such tribal communalist traditions exist right to the present day. Hence, in applying scientific 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, Britain or Ghana. But there are also profound differences in the scientific socialist approach to the problem of how to reach that common goal—socialist society—whether starting 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 government.

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 independent America.

THE FOUNDATION

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 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 hierarchy of employment.

"Nobody told me" is taken as a valid excuse 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-and-file worker with ideas, with constructive criticism, who could make useful and positive suggestions at his place of work for raising the productivity of labour?

Is the wage-system yet in a 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 Com-

plaints 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 improvement 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 as contributions towards the

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 exposé of complaints that are found to be justified are all ways in which the "common man" can be drawn into greater participation in public life.

CREATIVE WORK

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 creative 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 doing?

Of course, no local community or groups can be allowed to undertake "self-help" 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

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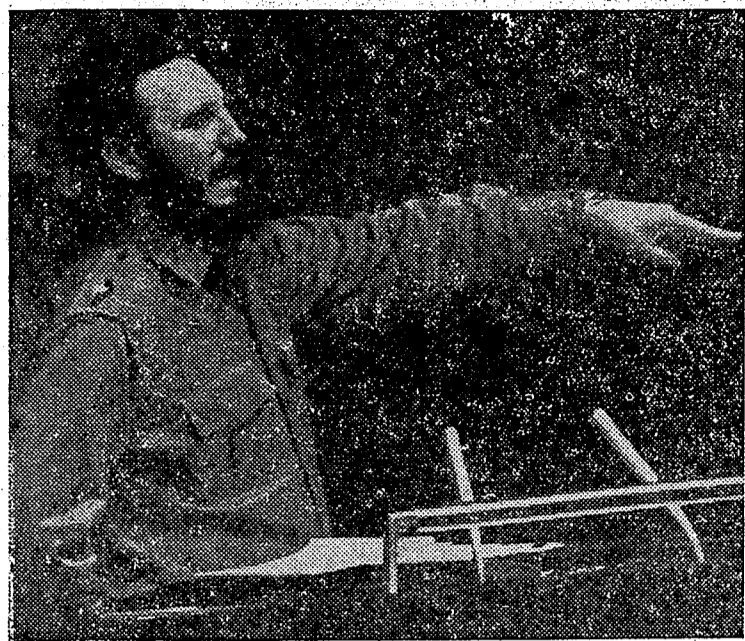
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		GH 700 THU. SAT. 0900	GH 702 WED. 0900	GH 704 MON. 0900
ACCRA	DEP.			
ROME	ARR. DEP.			
ZURICH	ARR. DEP.			1555 1645
AMSTERDAM	ARR. DEP.			1800 1850
LONDON	ARR.	1625		1945



HOW U.S. IMPERIALISM RULED CUBA



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

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.



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

de Cuba by the Americans. More or less about the same time, another Spanish fleet was destroyed in the Philippines and the U.S. Army landed in Puerto Rico.

ruled by a U.S. general. U.S. troops occupied the whole of the country. The vacuum left by the Spanish colonialism was filled by U.S. imperialism.

was formed to protect U.S. investments in the sugar industry.

PARIS TREATY

Spain was unable to keep up the struggle and at the beginning of August asked for a peace settlement. On December 10, 1898 the Treaty of Paris was signed without the participation of the representatives of the Cuban Liberation Forces who had never been officially recognised by the U.S.A.

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

The U.S.A. remained four years. During that time they introduced changes to prepare the way for permanent domination.

Every job within the Civil Service was given to conservatives who had never fought against Spain. The people, the soldiers and the officers of the Army of Liberation, who had fought against Spain, for 30 years were excluded, especially the black Cubans.

A bitter enemy of the Cuban Independence was appointed Minister of Agriculture, Trade and Public Works, despite po-

United States Exploitation

BETWEEN 1898 and 1902 enormous areas of Cuban land passed into the hands of Americans, and part of Cuba's mineral resources came under the control of American firms.

North American capital started building a railway crossing the Oriente province. In October, 1899 the newspaper *Times* from Minnossotta said:

companies. Many other firms were Spanish and not a single U.S. bank operated in Cuba.

But as soon as the Hispano-American War ended, a veritable plague of Yankee adventurers, investors and speculators came to Cuba. It is estimated that in 1905 13,000 North Americans were in Cuba engaged in trade and business.

They had already bought land worth more than 50 million 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 to tobacco, railways, public services 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.

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 Cuban 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.

INSTRUCTIONS

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 formed by white people, blacks, Asiatics and their mixed races. It is quite clear that to annex such a people within 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 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 cross-fire 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

to the U.S. Sixty years had to elapse before one of these islands, Cuba, was able to free herself from U.S. domination. The other islands are still suffering from the consequences of the Paris Treaty: Puerto Rico is a colony, the Philippines a neo-colony.

U.S. HANDS

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

pular protest. North American civil servants and military men surrounded themselves with the 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. Military Government ordered the disbanding of the Cuban Liberation Army and the surrender of its arms and war material to the Government. 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



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

IN U.S. HANDS

IN 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 230,000 acres) and the United Fruit Co. (224,000 acres)!

Before 1930 gas and electrical services belonged to an American company, the Electrical Bond and Share. The telephone system was owned by the International Telephone and Telegraph Co. Half the railways were under the control of the National City Bank. The mineral wealth was monopolised by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and other firms.

The first loan to the Republic of Cuba was of 35 million dollars at 5 per cent. By the time it was finally re-paid, the Cuban people had paid about 180 million dollars.

Then more and more loans were negotiated by the Morgan Bank. At that time the investments 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-

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 conditions 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 Governments, 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.

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TWO ALTERNATIVES

While the U.S. Press was daily insulting Spain, Mackinley 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 Socialist countries, Cuba has the modern weapons with which to defend her freedom.

