

THE SPARK

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EDITORIAL

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

YES

The Ghana revolution is a popular socialist revolution. Its driving force is the all-conquering power of the down-trodden classes that constitute the majority—the men and women who work and till the soil, and have as their allies the anti-imperialist, anticapitalist intellectual and traditional elements. It has as its foundation the unity of all popular forces.

The Ghana revolution is African in content since it aims at the total liberation and organic unity of Africa. It is universal in outlook since it is anti-imperialist.

The objectives of the revolution are to free the people from want, to enhance their stature materially, mentally and spiritually, so that they, as the ancient dream has it, will truly live as men.

The Ghana revolution is popular because it is based on the people. The Leader of Ghana believes that the power of the State must generate from the people. Hence he has thrown the challenge to all enemies of the people to oppose the right of the people at the forthcoming referendum, if they can.

Kwame Nkrumah emphasises that the tactics and strategy of the Ghana revolution must be based on mass struggle and mass action because the people will bring all their magnificent qualities to bear in the new life only when power is in their hands.

They alone can and will transform Ghana into a first class socialist country in the whole world; thereby putting an end to poverty, unemployment, class inequalities, social arrogance and privileges. The farmers will ensure that every inch of land is brought into cultivation and made to support general prosperity. The workers will bend every energy to raising production on which the well-being of all can be securely based. And the result of all this is that the people will stand forth in all their strength and dignity as free men and women in a socialist society. The decadent and corrupt cliques of degenerates who are sapping the fortunes of the people will then be destroyed. Their demise will further enhance the unity of the people. And as long as there is unity in the camp of the people who are the most reliable forces of the revolution, the revolution will be indestructible. It will grow from strength to strength. It will win more and more victories.

Ghana is not yet socialist. But the preconditions for a socialist solution of her problems are maturing, because the people know that the capitalist path of development is grotesquely outmoded and simply cannot solve their problems. The people know that under their popular democratic regime there

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The Committee of Nine Faces Crisis

THE Dar-es-Salaam based African Liberation Committee otherwise known as the Committee of Nine, appointed by the Organisation of African Unity to harmonise all aid for liberation movements in Africa and to operate the special fund set up for assistance to liberation movements, is faced with a crisis.

Sources close to the newly formed Union of Non-independent African States reveal that the Freedom Fighters have lost confidence in the Committee of Nine and they have decided to sidetrack it and work on their own. The Union has asked the OAU to create a continental forum to promote the basic concepts of eliminating colonialism and imperialism.

In October 1963, Julius Sago, a Columnist of the 'Spark' exposed the extent to which the freedom movements are being undermined and rendered nugatory by the activities of the Committee of Nine.

He said among other things; that:

The Liberation Committee has exceeded the powers given it by the Addis Ababa Conference. Three instances of this could be cited. The Committee has now assumed the responsibility for planning the strategy of the liberation struggle in all dependent territories. It now seems to lay down that all efforts at liberation must be concentrated on one central task—to get the occupying colonial power to enter into negotiations for the grant of independence. This is certainly an unrealistic general formulation. Conditions in the various territories differ and a successful strategy in one country may prove futile in another.

Therefore the Liberation Committee should allow the leaders of the liberation movement in each territory to plan their strategy while confining itself to supply assistance requested by these leaders. It will be seen that, in the long run, this is the only workable formula in the present circumstances.

Secondly, the Liberation Committee has exceeded its power; by deciding to set up a commission for propaganda in the colonial territories as a wing of its Dar-es-Salaam Secretariat. This is at page 15 of its report. This commission is to use three principal media—press, radio and conferences. Is the Liberation Committee planning to set up a radio station and a press of its own? Or is it hoping to requisition existing press

and commandeered broadcasting time on existing radio stations? In either case, it will be wasting valuable funds which could be better spent on other items. The same argument applies to the organisation of conferences by the Liberation Committee.

Thirdly, the Liberation Committee, acting entirely outside its mandate, has transferred the primary role in helping liberation movements to the "neighbouring countries". Far from dealing directly with liberation movements as laid down in its mandate, the Liberation Committee has subordinated itself to the wishes and dictates of neighbouring states, that is, states adjoining the colonial countries.

"NEIGHBOURING STATE POLICY"

The effect of this decision is that all activities by the Liberation Committee as regards any liberation movement are subjected to the veto of the African state or states that are geographical neighbours to the country under consideration. This is a transfer of authority altogether out of keeping with the Addis Ababa spirit. If ever the Liberation Committee considered such "neighbouring state" policy necessary, it should seek a mandate from the African Heads of State and Government.

This decision is dangerous in three ways. It gives one or two countries the final say over assistance contributed by all African states. It enables this state to dictate to the various organisations that make up the liberation movement being assisted and robs these organisations of the right to be heard by all African states. It permits

imperialist powers who greatly influence this neighbouring state to have a hand in determining the fate of the liberation movements.

A second set criticisms of the work of the Liberation Committee relates to its Secretariat structure and its proposed budget.

Apart from an Executive Secretary with three assistant secretaries, the committee has set up three standing commissions: on general policy, defence and finance. This secretariat will decide its own budget (p.13 of official report), and run "an information service as part of the Executive Secretariat" (p. 15).

This structure is unduly elaborate and expensive. Since the main function of the Liberation Committee is to harmonise aid for liberation movements and operate the special fund, one standing committee acting for the Committee of Nine is all that the situation requires. The Executive Secretary could then act under constant guidance by and consultation with this standing committee which in effect will be a sub-committee of the Liberation Committee itself.

The power given to the Secretariat to decide its own budget is contrary to accepted practice. The effect is that the secretariat is self-animating and could thus become a frankenstein monster vis-a-vis the Liberation Committee itself. There is insufficient control in the hands of those who set it up—the Liberation Committee and ultimately the Conference of African Heads of State and Government.

THE BUDGET

The approved budget for the six months July to December 1963, does not reflect any real understanding of what the situation requires. The Committee's report (at page 4) shows that its funds at £120,000 secured and another £148,930 promised. Yet it budgeted for a total of £727,000 for a period of

only six months with no provision whatsoever for the support of the armed struggle in the colonies. This huge figure does not include the administrative expenses of the Executive Secretariat which are not given.

The sum of £250,000 is to be spent in setting up seven "housing centres and training centres" in the independent African states that are geographical neighbours of the colonial territories. Another £150,000 is to be spent on running these centres in only six months and included in this sum is a monthly pay of twenty-six shillings for each "trainee" (i.e. freedom fighter). Each centre is to be equipped with a van and a liaison car" (p. 14).

Another £27,000 is to be spent on "external missions" of the liberation movements. And the staggering sum of £300,000 is earmarked for propaganda in 12 colonial territories.

A break down of this budget reveals the following pattern:—

(a) All capital expenditure is to be made outside the colonial

territories in erecting housing and training centres;

(b) 37 per cent of recurrent expenditure is spent outside the colonial territories;

(c) 63 per cent of recurrent expenditure is spent on propaganda; and

(d) Not a mite is spent on military equipment even though according to the report "many of the Nationalist leaders who appeared before the Committee requested military aid" (p. 8).

SECRECY

The Liberation Committee has shown little regard for considerations of secrecy and has accordingly diminished from its ability to supply effective military assistance to the liberation movements. Perhaps this is due to its apparent relegation of military assistance to the background.

What evidence is there for this view?

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SHE ARRIVES ON MONDAY



Cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova and a Ghanaian girl in Moscow. She arrives in Ghana on Monday on a short visit.

Colonialist War Bases In Africa

Africa

PART ONE

IN the February 8, 1963 issue of "THE SPARK" we stressed the need for a concerted fight by all African leaders against the military designs being formulated by the Western bloc against Africa.

It is our view that these military arrangements are being directed against the African movements for liberation from colonial rule and for complete independence.

Recent incidents in many parts of Africa have proved us right. The unhappy fate of the Congo and the wanton misuse of the military in the French zones of influence to foster the ambition of General de Gaulle, have proved our case beyond any doubt.

We have decided to publish two articles on the subject. In this issue we carry the first part on effective treatment of the issue by a Soviet political scientist of world repute, Mr. Y. Ivanov. We shall reproduce the article of February 8, 1963 on the subject in our next issue.

—The Editor.

THE imperialist states, which loudly claim to be "friends" of the Africans, in fact do everything they can to prop up the rotten colonial regimes on the African continent. Not only do they attempt to subordinate the newly independent African countries economically, but they also try to draw them directly into the orbit of the aggressive military blocs and enmesh them in a web of military bases. "Military bases," N. S. Khrushchov has said, "are like a running sore across the face of the world today. They are a thorn in the side of the African states, disrupting their normal political and economic life and constituting a constant threat to their independence and security."

In NATO plans, Africa is supposed to serve as a jumping-off point for war in the European and other theatres. "Europe and Africa", writes U.S. military theoretician General Gavin, "are part of one tactical theatre. Africa, in fact, is the key to the defence of Europe". With obvious reference to this kind of statement by NATO generals who urge that Africa be turned into the Western Powers' strategic reserve, the Cairo magazine *Nahdet Afrika* commented that NATO members regard Africa as a major base for conducting operations in the event of war, more important even than Europe."

The colonialists try to make continued acceptance of their bases a condition of African independence. *Nahdet Afrika* reports that there are in Africa at the present time at least 17 air and 9 naval bases belonging to NATO members. Some of these bases are directly under the command of the aggressive North Atlantic alliance.

The biggest Western bases are sited in North Africa which is adjacent to the NATO armed forces deploying area. Other bases are spun out along the east and west coasts in order to secure communication lines for the imperialist countries and the dispatch of their troops in time of war.

STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

Now that fundamentally new means of armed struggle exist, imperialist military bases abroad, including Africa, have naturally lost their former strategic importance. Today the aggressor, should he dare to start up military operations, has not the slightest hope of sitting the war out quietly in some spot, however remote. He will suffer a crushing retaliatory blow, wherever he may be.

Nevertheless, the aggressive circles are still holding on to their network of foreign bases, so as to use them in the first instance to locate their striking force as close as possible to the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving states and secondly in the hope of drawing off at least some of the retaliatory blows from their own territories in the event of war. This vastly increases the danger of foreign military bases for the peoples of Africa who have already suffered enough from colonial military adventures. For it is no secret that the powerful magnet of these imperialist bases would attract to this continent the threat of colossal destruction, if the warmongers were to succeed in setting off a world conflagration.

In the post-war years the U.S.A. the main bulwark of modern colonialism, has been particularly active in setting up military bases in Africa.

One of the biggest U.S. bases in Africa is Wheelus Field in Libya. Units of the U.S. Strategic Air Command have been stationed here for a long time and now the base has been made a training centre for pilots from other American bases. According to the American press, there are

14,000 U.S. servicemen at Wheelus Field. It was reported at the end of 1962 that a group of rocket-launching pad specialists had arrived at the base. Air FORCE crews from Britain, France and West Germany also receive training here.

Recently a new U.S. military airfield was built at El Utia as an emergency landing strip for the Wheelus Field base. At the air display held to mark its completion, jet planes fired conventional weapons and staged a "mock-up" of a nuclear attack. The *Giorinale di Tripoli* described the display as a "demonstration in the efficacy of weapons of death".

The U.S. military chiefs are extremely anxious to keep hold of their Libyan bases and ignore the growing resentment, including parliament, for their liquidation. The Syrian newspaper *Al Alam*, in a report a short time ago about Libya's desire to establish control over Wheelus Field, stated that the American Ambassador to this country had been instructed "not to permit widespread discussion inside Libya about the U.S. bases".

ENCROACHMENT OF SOVEREIGNTY

Soon after the Second World War the United States obtained the French Government's agreement to set up a number of bases in Morocco (Ben-Guerif, Nouasseur, Sidi-Sliman, Kenifra, etc.) where it deployed U.S. Strategic Air Command and naval units. U.S. servicemen in Morocco number 5,000.

The Moroccan people have always demanded the closing down of the U.S. military bases, regarding them as an encroachment on their sovereignty and security and their country's policy of neutrality. The American colonialists, however, have shown no particular desire to yield up their positions. The U.S. *News & World Report* once wrote in connection with the U.S. Moroccan negotiations on the bases: "The idea is to gain time, so that a U.S. withdrawal could at least be spread out over several years."

After lengthy negotiations it was announced that the bases would be withdrawn by the end of 1963. However, some foreign press reports gave an alert. The *Arab Observer* newspaper, for example, wrote that the United States hoped to retain the right to use the Kenifra base, though formally it would be handed

over to the Moroccan Government.

During the Second World War the United States got Liberia to sign an agreement on the construction of bases in her territory and in particular on the use of the port of Monrovia. The agreement gave the U.S.A. "the right to establish, use, maintain... and control... such naval, air and military facilities and installations at the site of the port, and in the general vicinity thereof, as may be desired... for the protection of the strate-

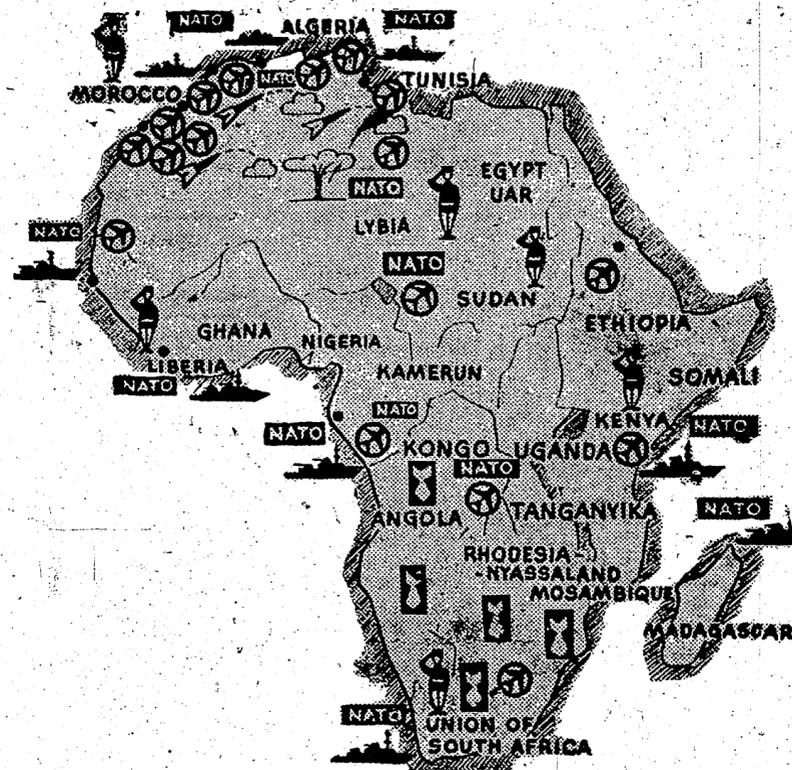
duously try to convince the African peoples that foreign bases are essential to protect them from the mythical "Communist menace". The Ghanaian *Evening News* remarked some time ago that the setting up of American bases in Africa was dictated solely by the interests of U.S. imperialist companies.

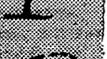
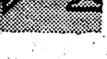
In order to protect these companies, the paper wrote, the American leaders have since President Truman's time invented the myth about Communist intrigues in Africa and have continued strengthening their war

the subsequent five-year period, the British Government declared its intention of keeping troops in these regions for "supporting the civil power", or in other words for suppressing the national liberation movement.

BRITISH COLONIALISM

In Kenya, which is Britain's chief military stronghold in this part of Africa, the East African Command has its headquarters and the 24th Infantry Brigade and other Army Strategic Reserve units are stationed.



	AIR BASES		STRATEGIC PORTS
	NAVAL BASES		RAW MATERIALS FOR ATOMIC BOMBS
	ATOMIC TESTS		MILITARY MISSIONS
	ROCKET SITES		NATO BASES

gic interests of the United States of America in the South Atlantic". The Americans operate in Liberia a big military aerodrome called Roberts Field.

Under an agreement signed in 1953, the U.S. armed forces were given long-term use of certain military bases in Ethiopia. The United States also has a radio-relay station in Eritrea set up during the war years.

INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION

The United States is making every effort to gain a military foothold in other parts of Africa. In Zanzibar, for example, it has built a rocket-tracking station which also collects intelligence information transmitted from American artificial satellites. An agreement also exists for establishing U.S. bases on the Spanish Canary Is.

The U.S. colonialists assi-

bases in Africa and building new ones... After NATO had been set up, the paper went on, these bases, besides the task of protecting commercial concerns, acquired a new function: they were used to help the colonial Powers to suppress the African national struggle.

Britain too still retains a considerable number of military bases on the African continent. Under an agreement imposed on Libya in 1953, Britain obtained 20-year ownership rights over the air base at Al Adem and certain other installations in the country. Recently representatives of the British Command conducted talks with the Libyan authorities on assigning NATO nuclear ships to Tobruk and Zuara.

East and Central Africa come in for special attention from the war-minded British colonialists. In its White Book for 1962 on military construction over

British troops use the Kahawa base and the Embakazi air base, near Nairobi. Mombasa is an important naval base and at the present time British ruling circles are trying to detach the territory where this base is sited from Kenya in order to maintain their positions in East Africa.

The Kenya bases are supplemented by British strong points in Nyasaland, and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. There have been press reports, for example, about the building of a nuclear bomber base in this region.

Britain is permitted to use the air and naval base at Dar-es-Salaam and the Tabora air base in Tanganyika, and the military airfield at Entebbe, Uganda.

As soon as the former French colonies had won political independence, French colonialist and mili-

tary circles tried to make the majority of them accept French troops and military bases on their territory. The French weekly *Aux Ecouttes* made a direct plea "to save... air and naval bases in Africa". "For us," it argued, "there is only one imperative need—to retain at any cost air and naval bases... which remain as the only signs of our might, the only reliable strong points in our overseas strategy."

When French troops have finally withdrawn from Morocco, Wheelus Field in Libya will rank as one of the biggest French bases in North Africa. From here it is possible to control a large part of the Mediterranean; part of the French Mediterranean fleet is based here and there are aerodromes and other military installations.

Under the Evian Agreement Algeria gave France permission to lease the major naval base at Mers-el-Kebir and certain other military installations for a period of 15 years. France leased the Reggane and Colomb-Bechar nuclear and missile test sites for several years.

FRENCH IMPERIALISM

France retains her military bases and strong points in almost all the Afro-Malagasy Union countries Ivory Coast, Gabon, Dahomey, Cameroun, Congo (Brazzaville), Mauritania, Malagasy Republic, Niger, Senegal, Central African Republic and Chad. Only Upper Volta has refused to sign an agreement on bases.

The naval and air base at Dakar, Senegal, and the naval bases at Diego Suarez, Malagasy Republic, and Djibouti, French Somalia, are regarded by French military circles and the NATO command as exceptionally vital to their plans.

The Portuguese colonialists, who rely on support from the United States and the other NATO allies, are hastily shoring up their military positions in Angola, Mozambique, and so-called Portuguese Guinea. Some time ago a joint command of Portuguese troops in Africa was set up. There are several tens of thousands of troops in Angola and in Mozambique.

The Spanish colonialists have troops and garrisons in Seuta, Melilla, Ifni, Saguiet-el-Hamra, and in the Canary Island.

Bases in racist South Africa are in effect part of the network of colonialist war bases. The naval base of Simonstown at the southern tip of the African continent is of exceptional importance. The South African racials have also

established strong points on the annexed territory of South-West Africa.

News has recently come through about extensive military penetration of the African continent by West Germany. According to West German press reports, the Bundeswehr now has military contacts with ten African States—Nigeria, Malagasy Republic, etc. The West German militarists plan to get permission from the African countries for strategic weapons depots, called in this connection that former war minister Strauss and before him Heusinger urged their NATO partners to set up military bases in Africa in order to strengthen "NATO's southern flank".

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Now that the national liberation movement is advancing so rapidly, the colonialists are trying to unite their forces in order to suppress it and strengthen their own positions in Africa. A special committee on African affairs which has the job of co-ordinating the colonial Powers' measures in the political, economic and military fields, has existed in NATO for many years. The United States too gives the other colonial powers a helping hand in conducting colonial wars and bolstering up their positions in Africa. The South African weekly *New Age* reported that total U.S. military aid to colonial Powers with possessions in Africa was nearly \$7,000 million, while the African countries themselves received only a widow's mite in the form of economic aid.

The recent plans to locate U.S. Polaris submarines in the Mediterranean off the very shores of Africa is clear proof that the imperialists are always and everywhere solely concerned with pursuing their aggressive aims. Not a single NATO country dared to vote against the U.N. General Assembly resolution proclaiming Africa a nuclear-free zone, but now, by their attempts to make the Mediterranean waters washing the shores of North Africa a nuclear-missile jumping-off area, the United States and its allies are grossly violating this decision. The *Al Gunhuriyah* newspaper remarked in this connection that "the NATO countries, moved by aggressive aims, have behaved like the man who goes out of your house through the door only to try and get back in through the window".

THE REFERENDUM

THE sequence of events since the fateful court verdict of December 9 could quite easily mislead many people into holding the view that the forthcoming referendum is meant to adjust the constitutional provisions that govern the relationships between the President of the Republic of Ghana and the Judiciary. Such a view of the impending national referendum is incomplete and misleading.

The aim of the referendum is to adjust the relationships between the people and the judiciary. This, however, is but one part of the whole operation. The other part of the referendum—and the most important part—is to adjust the position of the people in relation to important institutions, not only the judiciary, which are connected with the daily life of our people. Furthermore, the referendum is meant to put our national life firmly and squarely within the context of a socialist pattern of society.

The question of the judiciary, even though it seems to have sparked off the whole operation in which we are now engaged, is merely a part of the referendum. The heart of the present exercise is to enthrone the concept of the supremacy of the people; to make it abundantly clear that such supremacy is directed to only one goal—the greatest happiness of the greatest number which

can be realised only in a socialist society. Looked at from this angle the constitutional amendments relating to the judiciary are consequential in character. They are meant to mould the judiciary into an institution serving the people and not an organ of reaction standing in the way of the people.

If then we take the supremacy of the people as the starting point—as the

heart of the present referendum campaign—we have to ask one pertinent question: Through what institutions or organs of state will this supremacy of the people express itself in reality? Seven million people cannot always gather together to take decisions on all matters affecting the people. Such a plebeian democracy was possible only when the state could be confined within the boundaries of a village or a small community. Today the size of the state makes such an approach impracticable and impossible. The supremacy of the people can no longer be expressed through a convocation of the entire people. It has to be expressed through institutions created by the people; institutions subject at all times to the will of the people; institutions given

THE ONE-PARTY STATE

definite powers by the people and accountable to the people for the exercise of these powers conferred on them.

The constitution of the Republic of Ghana has decided to enthrone the people. Accordingly, its first article maintains that "the powers of the state derive from the people". By this principle, the people create the state and not vice versa. Hence the state must serve the people. This is the only reason why it has come to existence.

SOURCE OF POWER

This provision was contained in the original constitution. The proposed amendment to this article of the Constitution merely seeks to make explicit what is already implicit. It presents the people "as the source of power and the guardians of the state".

Flowing from this amplification, all powers exercised by any person or any institution in our state are openly acknowledged as having as their source the people. And by setting it down openly that "the people are the guardians of the state" the new provision reserves to the people the right to see to it that the state is engaged in the fulfilment of their will. In return for this the people must protect the state against all forms of attack.

We shall deal more fully with the concept of the supremacy of the people under our constitution at a later stage. Now we may turn to a consideration of the proposed amendments. These institutions are:

1. THE PARTY
2. PARLIAMENT
3. THE JUDICIARY

By assigning definite powers to these institutions, and by defining the relationship that must exist between them, the people make certain that their supremacy at all times is upheld and given concrete expression.

We shall deal with these institutions one by one.

First, the Party.

Under the existing constitution, which is to be amended, the party is not seen as an institution of our state. Although it was known that political parties existed in Ghana, no specific provision was made about them in the constitution. One of the proposed amendments seeks to rectify this position.

The new provision which is to go in as article 1A of the revised constitution contains two sub-sections. These read as follows:—

- "(1) In conformity with the interests, welfare and aspirations of the people, and in order to develop the organisational initiative and political activity of the people, there shall be one National Party which shall be the vanguard of the people in their struggle to build a socialist society and which shall be the leading core of all organisations of the people.
- "(2) The National Party shall be the Convention People's Party."

SIGNIFICANCE

This proposed amendment is indeed one of great constitutional and political significance. For it sets out boldly and honestly to establish a one-party system in this country.

The idea of a one-party system is not a new one. Political scientists the world over have treated the matter in their own light.

other circles here in Africa.

What the leader of our revolution, our teacher and guide is telling us is that the one-party system can lead to democracy, stability, and progress only when practised within a socialist society. Under any other social order, it will inevitably lead to dictatorship. And he is proved right by any impartial assessment of the lessons of history. For in a capitalist society or in neo-colonialist regime clearly demarcated groups control the factors of production, distribution and exchange, i.e. capital. These groups in search of profits are always in conflict with one another.

Hence they seek to control political power through the organisation of political parties. But in a socialist society, on the other hand, the means of production, distribution and exchange i.e. capital are publicly owned—owned, that is, by the entire people for whom the state acts as trustee. Economic power and political power are thus vested in one and same group, namely the entire people. There can be no need for more than one-party under such a system.

DIFFERENT CHARACTER

Another point worthy of note is that the one-party in a socialist society is of a different character from the political parties in a capitalist society. It is not an instrument for the control of political power in the interest of one or other of competing economic groups. Rather, it is an organisation of the best elements among the people, thrown up by the people themselves and dedicated to the sole purpose of administering things in a way to achieve general satisfaction and contentment. Such a party, to succeed, must necessarily contain the best, the honest, and the most loyal servants of the people. That is why the proposed amendment calls it the "core of all organisations of the people", and the vanguard of the people.

It is this notion of a one-party system which the forthcoming national referendum seeks to entrench in our constitution. Any other notion is alien to our belief, hostile to our interests and damaging to our aspirations.

The proposed amendments to our constitution seek a one-party system that springs from the people, lives with the people and serves the people. They reject in its entirety the notion of a one-party state which serves as an instrument of a small upper class for the oppression and exploitation of the people.

The one-party system in Ghana will arm the people with all the power needed for dealing with the enemies of socialism. It will have the way for the total triumph of our socialist revolution and, by so doing, it will permit the blossoming of a new era where all are free, equal and happy because none lives by exploiting the labour of others.

The People and the Judiciary

UNDER the Constitution of Ghana, the people are supreme. They are the source of power and the guardians of the State. And for the purpose of running the public affairs of the nation in a way to suit themselves, the people create some institutions on which they confer definite powers. The Judiciary is one such institution.

The supremacy of the people expressing itself through an institution involves four things. In the first place, the institution is created by the people and given clearly defined powers. Secondly, the institution must be guided at all times by what is the best interest of the people. Thirdly, it is the people themselves who decide what their best interests are and, with this as the yardstick, decide if an institution set up by them is functioning properly or not. Fourthly, the people must have the right to discipline any persons serving in any of its institutions whenever they consider the work of such an individual harmful or inefficient.

The Judiciary, as an institution created by our people, cannot be an exception to these general rules. And it is this consideration which has led to the proposed constitutional amendment regarding the judiciary.

THE REMOVAL

The appointment and removal of the Chief Justice, the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Judges of the High Court are governed by the provisions of Article 45 of our Constitution. The new proposal seeks to amend this article only in one regard—that, in addition to the existing methods of removing judges from office, the people now wish to confer on the President the power to remove from office a judge of the Supreme Court or a Judge of the High Court for rea-

sons which seem to him sufficient.

Under this amendment, there will be no change whatsoever in the manner of appointment of Judges. However, there is a change in the manner of removing Judges from office. There will now be two ways of removing Judges from office:

1. by a two-thirds majority vote of the National Assembly on a resolution which states clearly either that there is "misbehaviour" or that the Judge is suffering from "an infirmity of body or mind".
2. by Presidential decree once the President is satisfied that the Judge should relinquish office.

The first provision is rather limited and restricted. Parliament can only act if the judge is physically unfit or if he misbehaves. What happens if the judge sets himself up against the fundamental objectives of the state or the people? What if a judge persistently shows by his judgements or declarations that he is completely out of sympathy with the declared objectives of the people and their decision to build a socialist state? What if a judge by his action has shown himself to be a true and obedient agent of imperialism and neo-colonialism or has proved himself an agent of a foreign power and is determined to help in the establishment of a counter-revolution? Obviously in any such case parliament may not be able to pin-point a stated misbehaviour for most of these

are done surreptitiously. Nor can parliament say that these acts namely: playing the role of a foreign agent or being out of sympathy with the aspirations of the people are tantamount to infirmity of mind or body.

The truth is that under the existing constitution there is no provision for punishing such a judge. And so we reach the intolerable situation where the people set up an institution to serve their best interests but are powerless in dealing with it when it decides to resist the expressed will of the people.

SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Article 1 A of the revised constitution has clearly stated that Ghana must become a socialist society. This is an entrenched clause which only the people can alter. But Article 1 empowers the people as "the source of all power and the guardians of the State" to confer definite powers on certain institutions for the sole purpose of realising "the interests, welfare and aspirations of the people". It follows from this that the judiciary, which is an institution set up by the people to serve the people, must contribute directly and overtly to the realisation of the supreme goal of the State—the welfare and happiness of all within a socialist society. Any other interpretation makes non-sense both of our constitution and of the *raison d'être* for setting up the judiciary.

To bring out the absurdity of any other interpretation, could one imagine the people deciding to go socialist, creating the judiciary to assist in this process, but allowing this very judiciary to defend capitalism or even fascism?

The only way to justify such a falling out of step by

the judiciary is to argue that the judiciary is not a creation of the people. This line of thought however is most harmful. It not only negates the fundamental principle of the supremacy of the people. It also denies that the judiciary is a social institution and accordingly opens the door to those metaphysical concepts of social institutions that facilitate the domination of the people by powerful vested interests.

RESPONSIBILITY

If then we agree, as we must, that the judiciary is the creation of our people and meant to serve our people in their drive to build a socialist society, one question poses itself: Who is to decide whether or not the judiciary is serving the cause of socialism? Surely there are only two arms of state that could shoulder this responsibility. Parliament or the Executive. But Parliament has been assigned purely legislative powers while the Executive is in direct control of the management of things in a way to lead smoothly to a socialist society. It seems pretty obvious that the responsibility rightly devolves on the Executive. And this is precisely what the proposed amendment seeks to do—to invest the Head of the Executive, the President, with the power to discipline judges who deliberately obstruct the nation's advance to socialism.

There is a second set of arguments for vesting the President with powers to remove judges from office. Our Parliament does not sit continuously. Should a delicate situation arise, the National Assembly has got to be assembled. It must hold its debate before vot-

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The Referendum—CONTINUATION

THE PEOPLE ARE SUPREME

THE supremacy of the people is the central and cardinal concept around which our entire constitutional edifice is built. It was in order to assert this concept that our nation, in 1960, discarded the old negotiated constitution which we inherited from the colonial days as a condition for the grant of freedom.

We have worked the 1960 constitution for some three and a half years now. And during this period we have seen some of its weak points and loopholes. Furthermore, our society has evolved far beyond where it stood in 1960. Therefore our constitution, a living organism which it is, must grow with our society. It must at all times protect the gains of the people and simultaneously permit a steady advance to greater progress for the nation and a fuller life for its citizens.

It has accordingly become necessary to make a few changes in our constitution in order to permit a faster and surer advance to our chosen goal of socialism. But the constitutional changes do not in any way alter or restrict our original concept of the supremacy of the people. On the contrary, the proposed changes all go to further reinforce this concept. The heart of the forthcoming referendum therefore is to enthrone, to further emphasise and to make even more explicit this doctrine of the supremacy of the people.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT

How do the proposed amendments serve to reinforce the supremacy of the people?

Article 1 of our constitution which enthrones the people is being amended by further defining the people "as the source of power and the guardians of the State". This means that no power is exercisable under our constitution except it emanates from the people. The State itself is the creation of the people and therefore must serve the people.

A corollary from this is that whenever the state serves any interest inimical to the general will, then the people reserve to themselves the right to terminate the existence of that particular state and to set up another in its place. In other words, the whole purpose of the State is to serve the people; and because it serves the people, the people have the duty of protecting the State.

This view of the state is fundamentally opposed to some other theories of the State in modern times. In particular, it is opposed to those theories of the state which are based either on what is termed the "real will" or on a supposed "social contract". The first view—"real will" theory of the state—has succeeded in putting the state into the realms of metaphysics and, by making it something beyond the comprehension of the people, has fashioned it into an instrument for oppressing the people. The extreme manifestation of the brutal consequences of this view is fascism.

The 'social contract' theory of state, for its part, has been a static doctrine which, in practice, has had the effect of tying the people to a concept of society designed by the bourgeois class to secure its class interests.

RATIONAL BASIS

Today in most leading countries of the world, the supremacy of the people has been accepted as the only rational basis on which the state could be founded. However, this seeming unanimity in theory does not extend to practice. For when it comes to practice, there are two schools of thought each basing itself on the concept of the supremacy of the people. These are the socialist and the representative democracy schools of thought. In the first case—the socialist school of thought—the supremacy of the people is asserted directly by the people. Under the second view, the representative democracy school of thought—the supremacy of the people is asserted through the class of the owners of capital. Ghana has chosen to follow the first road—the socialist road—for we maintain that the capitalist class can never be the true exponent of the will of the people nor the effective guardians of the interests of the people.

Having defined the people "as the source of power and the guardians of the State", our constitution then sets out to establish a few institutions through which the supremacy of the people could be registered and made manifest. These institutions could be grouped into two categories—the primary institutions set up by the people and answerable directly to the people, and the secondary institutions set up by the people but answerable to one or other of the primary institutions created by the people. The primary institutions are the National Party, the President and Parliament. The secondary institutions are the Judiciary, the Public Service and such like organisations that help the efficient functioning of public life.

DEFINITION

The one National Party is defined under the proposed amendments as the vanguard of the people

in their struggle to build a socialist society" and as "the leading core of all organisations of the people." This means that at all times the one National Party is made up of, and directed by the people. It produces all the leading persons that guide the national effort in every walk of life. It of course determines the membership and composition of Parliament.

Another institution for giving effect to the supremacy of the people is Parliament. It is entrusted with the enactment of laws which govern all executive actions. The proposed amendments affect Parliament in two ways. Firstly, Parliament is now explicitly defined as "the peoples corporate representative" thus emphasising the point that it is expected to reflect the will of the people at all times. To guard against possible human failings, however, the people reserve to themselves the right to elect Parliament periodically. Secondly, parliament's power to surrender the sovereignty of Ghana has been limited to only one issue—"the furtherance of African Unity".

PRESIDENT

The third institution for registering the will of the people is the President. Only one proposed amendment affects this institution. It is given the power to dismiss judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court who are obstructing the nation's advance to socialism. But, in the last analysis, even this power is being exercised by the people, for the President is the direct appointee of the people and periodically gives an account of his stewardship by submitting himself to elections in which the entire people take part.

It is convenient here to refer to a proposed amendment which, though not touching on the mechanics of the power of the people, has tremendous historical and psychological significance for the people of this country. This is the proposed new national flag of red, white and green with a five-pointed black star in the middle of the white. The red, white and green is well known as the flag of the Convention People's Party. To make it the national flag symbolises the absolute triumph of the people of this country over both imperialism and the internal class enemies of socialism. It shows that the new Ghana is not a compromise between the people and some other forces. It is the expression of the unconditional victory of our people.

The black star, as is well known, is the lodestar

of Africa and symbolises our unshaken belief in the total emancipation and organic unity of Africa under a continental union government.

Thus our new national flag is a symbol both of victories won and of challenges to be faced. By it we have put paid to the machinations of reaction and counter-revolution inside Ghana. And by it we are announcing to the entire

world that the supremacy of the people in Ghana is a reality and is meant to pave the way for the supremacy of the people everywhere on the African continent.

SUMMARY

We are now in a position to summarise what the proposed constitutional changes mean. In general, these changes further strengthen the hands of our people in

Continued from page 3

ing on whether or not a judge should be removed. This process takes time. It may take a week or longer. In the meantime, the nation is held in a state of suspense and anxiety. Such a period of suspended animation may well prove dangerous for the affairs of state, for it could lead, if not to a serious breakdown, at least to some damage to public morale. The proposed amendment will avert such a situation.

REMOVAL OF JUDGES

A third consideration is that a minority in the National Assembly could make it impossible for a recalcitrant judge to be disciplined. The two-thirds majority vote before a judge is removed means in effect that a little more than one third of the members of the National Assembly could block any disciplinary action against a judge. Imagine a situation like this. A judge takes a line which is openly against socialism, the declared goal of the people. The National Assembly is called upon to remove him from office. However, 43 members vote against in a House of 114 members. This means that 71 vote in favour. Yet the judge cannot be disciplined because the necessary two-thirds majority (76 votes) has not been secured. A difficult and paradoxical situation arises in which even a majority of parliament which is "the corporate representative of the people" is powerless in dealing with a judge who flouts the will of the people. Such a perilous and precarious situation could arise under the existing constitution and remain unsolved. But under the proposed amendment, such a situation, should it ever arise, could be resolved in a few brief moments.

NOT PECULIAR

For the sake of those of us who think that nothing is worthwhile except it emanates from Britain or the United States of America, it is worthy of note that the amendment discussed here is not peculiar to Ghana. In Britain, parliament can remove a judge. At the same time the Monarch can dismiss a judge. But everyone knows that the Monarch acts only on the advice of the Prime Minister. The whole arrangement reduces to this: that the Prime Minister can dismiss a judge. He merely has to do it through the Monarch. In addition, we must never lose sight of the fact that there are several other checks on judges in Britain

their advance to socialism. Specifically they mean:—

- i. That one national party of the people shall lead and direct our national effort towards the building of a socialist society;
- ii. That Parliament can surrender the sovereignty of Ghana only in the furtherance of African Unity;
- iii. That the people, through the President, can discipline any judge whose activities are prejudicial to the peoples cause, namely socialism;
- iv. That Parliament is nothing more than the "peoples corporate representative";
- v. That the people are the source and fountain head of all powers exercised in this

constitution. The sum total of all these amendments is the enthronement of the people, the reinforcement of the supremacy of the people.

Tribute for this historic work must go to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the Party. Once again we have been given a clear manifestation of Dr. Nkrumah's unbounded faith in the masses. By giving a massive 'yes' vote to the proposals we shall strengthen the hands of the socialist forces here at home. Abroad, we would have given notice of our determination to play the role history has allotted us—the laboratory and power house of the African Revolution which grinds inexorably towards its goal of a united people, led by a continental union government under the banner of socialism.

JUDICIARY

which do not exist here. In England the Lord High Chancellor is the President of the House of Lords; he is also the Head of the Judiciary and is again an important member of the Government. Being so the Lord High Chancellor has of necessity to take notice of Government Policy in whatever he does judicially or otherwise. Apart from the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice is also a member of the House of Lords and through his membership of the Lords he can physically feel the temper of the people whom parliament represents. There are the law journals and law reports which trenchantly criticise any unsound judgment. In addition there are the Benchers of the various Inns of Court who could call in and censure members of the legal profession, always re-

serving to themselves the right to strike any person off the role of the Inns of Court and thus throw him out of the legal profession.

GENERAL OBJECTIVE

In the United States of America, the President has the power to "pack" the Federal Supreme Court, that is, to appoint new judges of his liking. He also has the power to retire judges before the stipulated retiring age. These were powers which President Franklin Delano Roosevelt used very effectively in the mid nineteen thirties when he was fighting for his New Deal Programme.

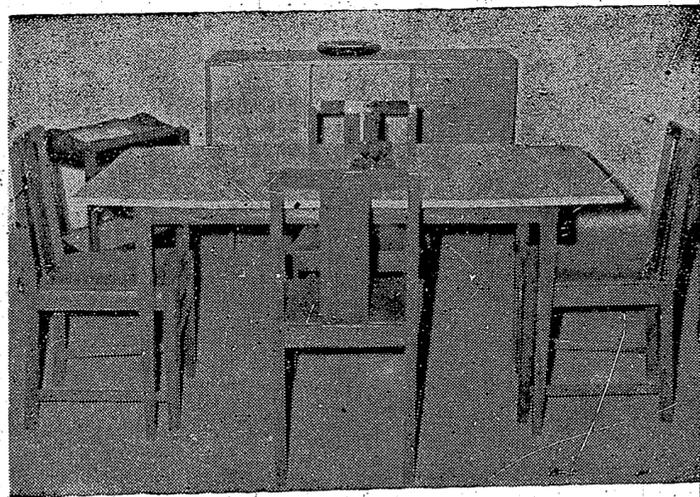
This is what the proposed amendment seeks to do. The people being the source of power, seek to invest not only parliament but the President with the power

to discipline any member of the judiciary.

To summarise, the people are the source of all power. They set up the judiciary as an institution to serve the general objective of socialism. The people must be able to remove members of the judiciary on grounds of ill-health, misbehaviour and inefficiency measured in terms of our advance to socialism.

It has been shown that the proposed amendment to the power to remove judges meets the demands of our socialist revolution. It is not peculiar to Ghana. And it fills a gap which could have proved dangerous in times of crisis. Above all, it ensures that the judiciary at all times shall remain the servant of the people in their chosen march to socialism. Therefore the proposed amendment deserves our wholehearted support.

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THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY

THE Convention People's Party stood head and shoulders above the plethora of parties that clustered the Ghanaian political scene in the fifties. But while the C.P.P. lives on, all the other parties have floundered and perished. In political, economic and social affairs, the Party has followed a clearly defined, consistent, easily discernible line of action and the open secret of its immense success is that it has always been a Party of the people, run and controlled by the people over whom it has held a hegemony, not of an elite or patronage, but of policy.

The inference being that, though some of the political movements which appeared earlier on achieved great results in their time, their activities were largely motivated less by the interests of the broad masses than by those of the lawyer-merchant minority middle-class who controlled the movements. And the achievements are easily dwarfed following a cursory comparison between them and those of the C.P.P.

● HIGH LIVING STANDARDS

At home, having achieved our political independence for us, the Party has embarked on an extensive programme to raise the living standards of the people by providing more food, better and enough housing and adequate employment facilities. In short the C.P.P. has become the vanguard of the gigantic political and national reconstructional programme which Ghana has chartered for her future weal.

Since its inception in 1949, the people have shown in a not unremarkable way their confidence and belief in the leadership and programmes of the Party by their overwhelming support for it. In the 1951 general election the people won with a wide margin to spare. In 1954 the score was 72 out of 104 seats. This trend was confirmed in 1956 when the Party won 71 of 104 seats despite the strong currents of feudalism and tribalism that rose against it in Ashanti and the North. In the Republican referendum of 1960, the Party once again swept over 97% of the constituencies in the country setting the path which will certainly be followed with even greater success in the forthcoming referendum.

Today, more than ever before, the C.P.P. stands out the colossus of political organisations, not only in Ghana, but across the entire continent, streamlined and articulate, permeating the most sensitive heartbeats of the national and continental scene.

So that none can really draw a line between the Party and the nation; the C.P.P. is Ghana and Ghana is the C.P.P. All this meaning that Article 1A of the proposed amendments to the constitution on which we shall be voting merely gives *de jure* recognition to the *de facto*. The provision reads:

"(1) In conformity with the interests, welfare and aspirations of the people, and in order to develop the organisational initiative and political activity of the people, there shall be one National Party

which shall be the vanguard of the people in their struggle to build a socialist society and which shall be the leading core of all organisations of the people.

"(2) The National Party shall be the Convention People's Party."

Yet the Article is significant even if only for the fact that on its adoption the constitution will for the first time recognise the sterling contributions and values which the C.P.P. has made and continues to afford to our Ghanaian heritage. This is not the first time the nation has spoken of the single-party system of Government. In September 1962, the National Assembly overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a one-party state in this country. Chad closely followed this move in February last year. Tanganyika also followed suit. Since then other African countries have followed the trail while countries like Guinea, Tunisia, Algeria and Liberia already practise it. Thus, by and large, the one-party system has assumed a significance as the instrument of the African Revolution.

● ONE-PARTY

But talk of one-party system of government raises a few pertinent questions. Addressing the Second Conference of African Journalists in November last year, Osa-gyefo the President reiterated our intention to build a People's Socialist Parliamentary Democracy. How far does the one-party system conform with this aim? Can one-party system be democratic? Why should Ghana be a single-party state at all? These are some of the questions that must be answered.

Political philosophers constantly differ in their definition of democracy. But that does not detract from the fact that democratic institutions and governments exist today. In any case we can deduce the content of democracy and realise its essential attributes. These appear to be universal adult suffrage based on one man, one vote; the ability of the individual to participate in choosing his government; an elected and representative legislature; periodic elections, freedom of speech and association and the rule of law.

If these are the essentials of democracy which system of government, one-party or two—or multi-party system guarantees them? History is replete with instances where the proliferation of political parties in the older established countries of Western Europe has not prevented the rise of dictatorial regimes. Take Italy for example. Between 1919 and 1925, the Fascist Party grew into a single-state party despite the previous

by
Ekow Eshun

existence of several other parties. Nor was the elaborate state machinery of the Weimar Republic able to resist the German National Socialist Party (NAZI) from crushing all other parties to become a single party in Germany. Neither Nazi Germany nor Fascist Italy was a democratic state. Hence the multiplication of parties in those states was not, in itself, a factor that could guarantee democracy.

● POLITICAL STABILITY

Similarly the multiplication of parties does not necessarily presuppose political stability. We all know of the sordid and altogether unwholesome state of chaos rather than order and good government which afflicted multi-party Fourth Republic France.

On the other hand, critics of the one-party system claim that it could easily lead to muzzling of speech and give rise to dictatorship because, they hold, it does not afford sufficient checks and restraints. The second contention is unfortunate because it arises merely from the widespread view that only Fascist and "Communist" states (with the crude and false connotations given to communism by the West) could be one-party states.

As for the first criticism, it is the contrary that could be valid. For in one-party states no division exists between opposition and government. Consequently there is no inherent fear of contravening party discipline. As a result there can be freedom of expression within and outside the party, not necessarily in the interest of the party as such, but in that of the nation as a whole, for the party in a one-party state is the nation.

Granted even that the accusation is proper, it remains equally valid for a two or multi-party state as well. Sir Ivor Jennings says: "Indeed, many members of the Labour Party may agree with the Conservative Government in a particular debate, but, since the party is polythetic and depends for its effectiveness as an opposition on party discipline, the dissidents have either to keep silent or to make 'party political' speeches of the worst kind, those in which the speakers not only exaggerate, but express notions with which they do not agree" (Ivor Jennings: Party Politics Vol. III p. 17). Everything notwithstanding, we can easily point at several countries in Africa and elsewhere which are one-party states but which are perfectly democratic at the same time.

● DEMOCRACY

It appears then that the question whether a country is democratic or not must be answered within the context of the particular country under review and must not be based on the system of government that country practises. For while there are some one-party states as well as two—or multi-party states which are democratic, others may not be. Here U Thant speaks more explicitly: "The notion that democracy requires the existence of organised opposition to the government of the day is not valid. Democracy re-

PARTY

quires only freedom for opposition, not necessarily its organised existence."

But if both systems may, or may not, give rise to democracy why does Ghana prefer the one-party system? Is it likely that the system will safeguard all the essential attributes of democracy in Ghana? Is the system suitable to us, culturally, traditionally and socially?

Ghana has adopted the universal adult suffrage for a long time now. Our record of elections and referenda is a very honourable one which does not leave room for any doubt as to how the question of consulting the people will be treated in the future. The impending referendum illustrates this point.

The recent frank and open discussion on the Party's Programme for Work and Happiness from the humblest village to the Eleventh Party Congress where it was adopted, the uninhibited right of the press of free speech and discussion—these are examples of the freedom of speech, and association in Ghana which, surely, can be indefinitely multiplied.

In our country the struggle for political independence was very fierce and difficult. The successful fight against the bastions of colonialism was waged by the C.P.P. which, till this day, continues to retain the unwavering loyalty of the people who have resolutely stood together. Hence, on the expulsion of the British, or the "other party" from our country, no fundamental difference of interest was left among us. Because we were all arraigned on the same side of the line, fighting for the same goal against a common enemy, the colonial oppressor. Noting this state of affairs, the ECONOMIST wrote as follows a few months after independence:

"Since there is no basic difference in their (the C.P.P. and the Opposition) approach to, say, employment, education and housing, the opposition only criticise in a rather woolly way, saying, in effect, that they would do the same things, only better and more honestly" (From Africa Must Unite, p. 75).

The fact that there is no basic divergence of interest, coupled with the regularity and disarming majorities with which the C.P.P. has been returned in previous elections held in the country, at general, municipal and local elections as well as in the 1960 referendum, clearly illustrate two points. One, the Party's Programme for socialism has been endorsed and re-endorsed over the years. Two, the people know only one party, the C.P.P.

● SOCIAL POSITION

The social position facing the C.P.P. after independence is eloquently summed up in section Eleven of the Party's Programme for Work and Happiness as follows:

"Independent African States are faced with urgent and pressing problems of reconstruction, for the solution of which all the available national resources both human and otherwise must be mobilised. This situation is almost analogous to a state of war and national emergency which is always met in the older established countries by the formation of coalition or national governments."

These are the same reasons that have currently engendered discussion on the one-party system of government in Nigeria, supporters of which include important personalities like Dr. Okpara, Chief Osadebey and Alhaji Maitama Sule.

Besides all these factors, the multi-party system of government is foreign to our traditional concept of democracy. Descriptions of African democratic consti-

tutional arrangement of the Zulu, Ngwato, Bemba, the Akan, to name only a few, by Coleman, Pritchard, Apter and a host others clearly illustrate this point. For political parties, much less opposition political parties, do not appear in the description of any African indigenous institutions.

That, however, does not mean that the institutions are undemocratic. We all know, for example, that sovereignty has always lain with the people themselves who elect their chiefs and who reserve the right to depose them when they so desire. There is also the claims and counter claims, criticism and the spate of discussion that, for example, go with the selection of an Omanhene, Manche, Na or Fiaga.

● CONCLUSION

From all this, we can conclude that historically and socially, as well as traditionally and culturally, Ghana should opt for the one-party system of government rather than any other type of government.

But important still the one party-system of gov-

ernment we want to adopt is a *sine qua non* for the building of socialism, the way of life we have freely chosen for our economic reconstruction. The people, having overwhelmingly opted for socialism and progress must erase the contradictions inherent in class and party political struggle from our society.

The task of liquidating the ramparts of colonialism and building a happy life for the entire people at the fastest pace requires the maximum total effort, not of the C.P.P. alone, but of the entire people. Because the task is too arduous to allow for a dissipation of our forces. Therefore, the C.P.P. must mobilise our total man-power resources for the herculean task of social reconstruction of our country so that we can produce the necessary conditions for the greatest welfare of the people.

These considerations compel us to move forward *en masse* to vote an overwhelming YES at the Referendum. That is the surest path of the revolution and our happiness.

THE U.S. AND PANAMA

UNTIL 10th January 1964 when a shot fired, Panama was known to be under the iron heels of a fascist military dictatorship utterly servile to United States imperialism.

● WIND OF CHANGE

On the 10th of January, Panama accused the United States of America of an unprovoked armed attack. Panama recalled her ambassador from Washington and declared her intention of breaking all relations with the U.S. Roberto Chiara, President of Panama has now decided to raise the question at the U.N. Security Council.

● US IMPERIALISM

So far the U.S. forces, have killed 15 people and wounded 200.

In 1903 neither the Monroe Doctrine, nor membership of Pan American Union, prevented the U.S. from grabbing Panama from Colombia to which it belonged. As a result of many years of struggle which was accompanied by bloodshed, the U.S. pledged itself to fly the Panama national flag side by side with the U.S. flag in the canal zone. Now the U.S. has cynically refused to continue flying the Panama flag. More than that, on the 9th of January, U.S. armed forces committed bloody outrages. They shot down peaceful youth demonstrators who went out to protest against the impudent violation of the national sovereignty of their country.

Now the Panama Ca-

nal Zone has been turned into a place of concentration of special U.S. forces.

What is happening in Panama today is only part of a mighty "wind of change" blowing over Latin America. The growing demand for agrarian reform in Peru, Brazil, Venezuela; the nationalisation of the oil companies of Argentina; Brazil's independent foreign policy and the restrictions she has imposed on foreign capital are part of the mighty wind.

It is now apparent in Latin America that U.S. bait of 20,000 million dollars over ten years under the "Alliance for Progress" programme has failed to help the people of Latin America on the road of progress. "The New York Times" reports that at the November 1963 meeting of the "Alliance for Progress, held at Sao Paulo in Brazil, there was revolt against the Alliance. Jose Antonio Mayobre, Executive Secretary of the United Nation Economic Commission for Latin America told the meeting that "what is apparent before the eyes of the world is that after two years of this programme we are far from attaining the minimum goals set and that in many countries stagnation, economic retrogression and the inflationary spiral are the predominant situation". Politically, the "Alliance for Progress has

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TWO ARTICLES ON THE GHANA REVOLUTION BY KWEKU YAKUBU AND KWAME ABADJI, STUDENTS OF THE KWAME NKRUMAH IDEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, WINNEBA.

proved insolvent. Within the two years and more in operation the number of countries with formal trappings of "constitutional democracy" has diminished not increased. There have been putsches in Guatemala, Ecuador, Honduras and the Dominican Republic. All these putsches were engineered with the help of the C.I.A. and financed by U.S. big business.

The struggles of the peoples of Latin America are part of the struggle of mankind for peace and progress and as such deserve the widest solidarity on everybody's part.

Joint Ghana-China Communiqué

AT the invitation of the President of the Republic of Ghana, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Chou En-Lai, paid a friendly return visit to Ghana from January 11 to 16, 1964. Premier Chou En-Lai was accompanied by Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, together with other officials of the People's Republic of China.

During his stay in Ghana, Premier Chou En-Lai and his entourage made a tour of interesting places in Accra, including Tema harbour and the industrial centres in the vicinity. The distinguished guests were cordially received everywhere and had an opportunity to learn personally the feelings of warm friendship which the Ghanaian people have for the Chinese people and their representatives.

The Premier was impressed by developments in Ghana and expressed great appreciation for the outstanding achievements of the Republic of Ghana, under the leadership of President Nkrumah, in safeguarding national independence and developing the national economy. Premier Chou En-Lai admired the role of Ghana and its leader in the vanguard of the National Liberation Movement in Africa, in promoting African solidarity and in defending world peace.

In the course of the visit, the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China had meetings and conversations with Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana.

The conversations between the leaders of the Republic of Ghana and the People's Republic of China were held in an atmosphere of cordial friendship and complete mutual understanding and were characterised by the reciprocal de-

sire to discuss frankly the major international problems as well as questions pertaining to Sino-Ghanaian relations.

The exchanges of opinion revealed a community of views on such problems as imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, general disarmament, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, the settlement of international issues through peaceful negotiations and the strengthening of Afro-Asian peoples' solidarity against imperialism.

DANGERS FACING MANKIND

The two parties noted that the greatest danger facing mankind at this time emanated from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Both parties were of the opinion that there could be no lasting world peace unless a resolute struggle was waged against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. Accordingly, both parties pledged their full support for the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle in

Africa, Asia and Latin America. Both parties agreed that all anti-colonialist movements in the world should close their ranks and wage a united struggle against the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. It was considered that the convening of an Afro-Asian/Latin American/People's Anti-imperialist Conference was desirable, and that the possibilities for such a conference should be explored. It was also considered that an Afro-Asian Conference was necessary and that active preparations should be made to convene it. Both parties were greatly encouraged by the significant progress which had been already achieved in the anti-colonialist struggle. In Africa a large number of countries had already gained their independence and there were bright prospects of still others coming to swell the number. There were, nevertheless, a number of areas on the African continent where the forces of colonialism showed very little sign of yielding. Both parties expressed firm support for the peoples of Angola, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, French Somaliland, Gambia, Mozambique, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Portuguese Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and Swaziland, who are valiantly fighting for independence and freedom. Both parties were convinced of final victory for these peoples in their struggles.

SOUTH AFRICA CONDEMNED

The two parties condemned the colonial rule of the South African authorities and their policy of racial discrimination and, in common with progressive mankind, supported the struggle of the South African peoples for equal rights and national liberation. Both parties called on all countries to terminate any existing relations, particularly economic relations, with the gruesome regime of South Africa.

The two parties reviewed the situation in the Congo and agreed that everything should be done for the U.N. forces to be withdrawn from the Congo. After the withdrawal of the U.N. forces from the Congo the African countries needed to heighten their vigilance against neo-colonialist intrigues in that country.

Premier Chou En-lai solemnly indicated that in handling its relations with the African countries, China has consistently and unswervingly taken the following stand in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference:

1. it supports the African peoples in their struggle to fight imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence;
2. it supports the governments of African countries in pursuing a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment;
3. it supports the African peoples in their desire to

bring about solidarity and unity in the manner of their own choice;

4. it supports the African countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultation;
5. it holds that the sovereignty of African countries should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed.

AFRICAN UNITY

The two parties also discussed at length the efforts of the African peoples to establish African unity. These efforts had recently culminated in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity at the Summit Conference of African States in Addis Ababa. The Chinese side expressed its supports for the efforts of the African countries and peoples to promote African unity and solidarity aimed at defending their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. This was essential in eradicating all forms of colonialism from Africa; ensuring the economic and cultural development of the African peoples and achieving for them a better life. The Chinese party appreciated the Ghanaian leader's active efforts to achieve liberation and unity in Africa. The Ghanaian party expressed its appreciation of the sincere sympathy which the People's Republic of China had always maintained for the African people in their struggle towards liberation and unity.

On disarmament, the two parties considered that genuine general disarmament and the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons was the goal for which all peace-loving nations and peoples of the world should strive. They were ready to make unremitting effort to this end in concert with all other peace-loving nations and peoples. The Chinese side reaffirmed its support for the resolution of the Summit Conference of African States on general disarmament and the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Africa.

WORLD LEADERS' SUMMIT

The two parties considered that a World Conference of Heads of Government would be beneficial if it could be convened for the purpose of signing an international convention prohibiting the development and use of all nuclear weapons and the complete destruction of existing nuclear weapons and their stock-piles.

The two parties discussed at length the state of the Sino-Indian border dispute since the Colombo Conference of Six Non-aligned States. They noted that the Sino-Indian border situation had relaxed, and they expressed full confidence and hope over the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese side appreciated the peaceful efforts made by Ghana and other Colombo powers. The two parties expressed their determination to continue to support such peaceful efforts aimed at bringing about direct Sino-Indian negotiations.

Both parties declared that the foundation of good rela-

tions among all nations should be the observance of basic principles of international life, namely, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, equality and mutual benefit and the solution of all international issues by negotiation. Both parties also agreed that Afro-Asian countries should settle all their disputes in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference.

The Ghanaian side reaffirmed its support for the restoration of China's legitimate rights and position in the United Nations as an indispensable requisite for the proper functioning of that Organisation, and objected to any attempts being made to create "Two Chinas".

The Chinese party, on

their side, reiterated their support for increased Afro-Asian representation on United Nations bodies and agencies to reflect the growing influence of the Afro-Asian countries in international affairs, and re-affirmed that this question of increased Afro-Asian representation should not be linked in any way with the question of the restoration of Chinese rights in the United Nations.

SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENTS

The two leaders noted with satisfaction, that significant achievements had been made in the promotion of mutual friendly relations between their two countries. Contributory to this achievement was the satisfactory implementation of the various agreements—Treaty of Friendship, Agreement on Economic and Technical Co-operation, Trade and Payments

Agreement and Agreement on Cultural Co-operation—which were signed between the two countries during the Ghanaian leader's visit to China in 1961.

Both parties pledged their determination to strengthen further the existing bonds of friendship and mutual understanding as their joint contribution to the establishment of even greater trust among states and to the evolution of international peaceful co-operation.

Both parties were convinced that the visit of Premier Chou En-Lai to Ghana had conducted to the strengthening of the friendship between the Chinese and Ghanaian peoples and to the development of friendly and co-operative relations between the two countries, as well as to the promotion of Asian-African solidarity and the defence of world peace.

ACCRA,
16th JANUARY, 1964.

The Committee of Nine

Continued from page 1

At page eleven of its report the Committee openly sets out the two types of military formations to be used. Each formation consists of eleven men (a "chief" and "assistant chief" and nine men).

The first formation contains a chief with automatic pistol, a compass, a pair of field glasses and 200 cartridges. He is supported by an assistant chief with one rifle and 200 cartridges. The rest of the formation is made up of seven men, each with a rifle and 200 cartridges, and two men each with a machine-gun and 500 cartridges.

The second formation contains a chief with automatic pistol, compass, field glasses and 200 cartridges; an assistant with a machine-gun and 500 cartridges; 9 men with 8 rifles and one machine-gun.

And so without even engaging in a skirmish, the enemy knows the size, the composition and the equipment of units of the liberation army!

At page 4 of the report, Barclays Bank in Dar-es-Salaam is made the bankers to the Liberation Committee. What about the possibility of the Committee's accounts being known to the enemy? According to the report an "assurance" was given by the Chairman as to the reliability of the Barclays Bank in keeping accounts secret and its unquestioned integrity and fine record in the past. Assurance indeed!

CONTROL OF AID

All aid is to be collected for the liberation movement by the government of the "neighbouring" independent state. The representative of the Liberation Committee in the neighbouring country must work in close collaboration with the government of the country. And the neighbouring country must be granted the right of supervision over all aid meant for liberation movements in the nearby colonial country.

On paper, all these provisions look quite harmless

and even helpful. In practice however, things are bound to be quite different. These powers could be used to obstruct groups of freedom fighters unacceptable for one reason or the other to the government of the neighbouring independent African state.

And what if the "neighbouring" state is a client state of one of the imperialist powers? The whole strength of the liberation movement is known to the enemy and favourable conditions are created for active repression of the nationalists or for the colonial power bargaining with them from a position of strength.

Military intelligence is a vital arm of military action. The carefree approach to the problem of military assistance shown by the Liberation Committee means that the liberation movements can have no secrets unknown to the enemy. It is like fighting a war with a powerful enemy fifth column operating in your rear.

It has been shown that the work of the Liberation Committee so far is riddled with serious defects. Its mandate has been exceeded. It has surrendered powers at vital points to individual African states without authority to do so. Its headquarters organisation leans on the side of bureaucracy. Its first budget shows little concern for the liberation struggle inside each colonial territory. And its disregard for secrecy, if persisted in, would greatly sap its effectiveness.

However, a close study of the official report leads strongly to the conclusion that these errors of the Liberation Committee arise not from ignorance but from fundamentally incorrect views on how the national liberation movements are to be helped forward. These wrong notions reveal themselves in three main concepts:

Firstly, there is the thesis that the struggle for independence is to be conducted by way of negotiation with the colonial powers. In the

case of colonial territories "where the colonial power has accepted the principle of representative government and independence" then "those members of the Committee and of the Organisation of African Unity who have special relationship with the colonial power concerned should use their good offices to hasten the achievement of representative Government and Independence by peaceful and constitutional means" (p. 17).

This thesis is defective in at least three aspects. In the first place, it is founded on the exploded doctrine that colonialism seeks to prepare the peoples under it for full self-government.

In the second place, it is completely oblivious of the lessons of history, namely, that if the colonial power "guides" the colonial territory to freedom the end result is not complete independence but neo-colonialism.

In the third place, this thesis introduces the concept of African groupings by the back door contrary to the spirit of Addis Ababa. For in effect it is saying that the liberation of say Southern Rhodesia is something which the African members of the British Commonwealth have to negotiate with Britain.

It is admitted, rather reluctantly, that some colonial powers have to be brought to their knees by positive action. Even here, the military action envisaged is merely for the purpose of compelling the colonial power to negotiate.

In their issues of November 21 and November 24 respectively two London newspapers, *The Daily Mail* and *The Observer* attacked the SPARK for allegedly exposing the secrets of the Committee of Nine. We made it abundantly clear to them editorially that we would never tire of stressing the point that the Committee of Nine must serve the liberation movements and no one else.

We insist on the fact that the correct formula is that the Committee of Nine should give the national liberation movements the amount and type of assistance they want and at the time it is wanted.

WE STAND BY THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS!

EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

are certain measures which are of a state-capitalist nature; but they understand that the measures can play a revolutionary role—a significant preparatory and transitional role—in relation to the ultimate goal of socialism.

The Ghana revolution has been misrepresented by ignorance and deliberate lies. But its features are not unique to Ghana. They are present in other anti-imperialist revolutions. Capitalist-minded men in high places may rant, and smear, and conspire; but they cannot stay the course of history.

Whatever they do does not surprise us because any one who has been active in a revolu-

tionary movement knows from experience that such acts are the stock-in-trade—part fantasies created by fear, part malicious fabrications—of the enemies of the people. Socialism inevitably will come to Ghana, as it already has to over a third of mankind. It is displacing capitalism, just as capitalism displaced feudalism. This is the law of history.

Between now and the day on which the referendum will be held the people must stand together as a solid phalanx. They must demonstrate that their unity persists. That it grows. That it is real. They must show that they are the militant arm within the victorious army of the African Revolution.

