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IN HIS FINAL  
ADDRESS TO PAR-  
LIAMENT, WARNS  
AGAINST ANTI-  
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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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# THE SOCIALIST PARLIAMENT

THE National Assembly is dissolved. General elections have been fixed for Tuesday, 8th of June.

These proclamations made by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in exercise of his powers as the President of the Republic bring to an end the life of the First Parliament of Ghana.

Simultaneously, they plunge the entire nation under the guidance of the Party, the victorious Convention People's Party, into the exercise of constituting a new, the Second Parliament of the Republic of Ghana.

**OBJECT LESSON**

Indeed this is crucial exercise of far-reaching importance. It will demonstrate to the entire world that ours is a mature nation that can achieve fundamental social and economic changes within the framework of political stability. It will be an object lesson to all Africa on how democracy is organised and made to work smoothly and effectively under a one party socialist state. It will reflect our resolve to follow our chosen path of socialist development. In short, the purpose of this momentous exercise is to set up a new Parliament that will accelerate our march to socialism and African unity.

**DYNAMIC VIEW**

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah told the National Assembly on Tuesday that the First Parliament served the nation well in the formative years of our Republic. At the same time he warned that the second Parliament must not only consolidate our gains but push the Revolution forward. In other words, the Revolution gives birth to parliament; and parliament in its turn becomes a lever for furthering this Revolution.

This process of interaction and inter-relation between the Revolution and Parliament is of great importance. Our Parliament is not and cannot be a fossilised institution. It is not merely an institution for protecting our gains. It is, in addition, an institution for promoting our efforts at national reconstruction. Hence, for us, and for all emergent nations, the nature of parliament is constantly changing, in order that the right type of parliament may be provided for each stage in our national evolution.

This dynamic view of parliament makes the composition of our new parliament a crucial issue. Concretely, this problem reduces to which social and economic forces should be represented in parliament, and what should be the relative strength of these forces. Our people must be told, in plain language, that we cannot build socialism with a National Assembly the majority of whose members represent social and economic forces hostile to socialism. Nor can we build socialism even with a National Assembly made up of persons who are indifferent to or lukewarm over socialism.

**SABOTEURS**

The General Secretary of the Party put this issue clearly and forcefully in his dissolution speech on Tuesday in the National Assembly. His words in this regard are both a call to service and a warning to the feet-draggers and hidden saboteurs. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said: "Let us hope that the men and women who will be called upon to serve in the next Parliament will accept this challenge and heed the call of the nation for a greater effort in our struggle to complete the economic and political

emancipation of our country, and to assist in the realisation of our cherished goal—a united Africa within the framework of a Continental Union Government". The line of march is clear: Accelerated tempo in socialist construction at home; in Africa, continental political unity.

**A WELCOME MOVE**

The question then arises: What sort of a Parliament does this nation need at this stage?

In the first place, we need a Parliament of service not of self. The motive in our drive to enter parliament must be service to the African Revolution in both its domestic and external aspects. Personal gains must be of secondary importance.

It is to achieve this noble and lofty ideal that the Party has decided to put an end to the capitalist formula of career parliamentarians. Although members of our National Assembly will be paid an allowance of £50 a month to cover expenses incurred in the performance of their parliamentary duties, membership of the Assembly will no longer carry a salary. The aim is to warn the career seekers to leave the National Assembly out of their reckoning, and to direct their efforts elsewhere.

In the second place, we need a Parliament whose members are loyal to the Party and its ideals. It is not enough to profess loyalty on the eve of elections. It is not enough to shout party slogans merely as a tactic for unseating a member of the old House. Loyalty to Party principles and ideals must be a permanent feature of the political make-up of our new legislators.

It is to this end, that the Party has decided on in-

roducing the recall. Members could be withdrawn from Parliament at any time on the discretion of the Central Committee of the Party. This is a welcome move. It should help keep all members on their toes. And it is proper that the Central Committee, the collective leadership of our Revolution, should exercise this power.

The nation fully endorses the General Secretary's statement that "we must be prepared to accept a sterner discipline at all levels and among all our Party functionaries, public officers and all sections of our people". We agree that "only in this way can we all wipe out those anti-social and anti-socialist practices and other forces which militate against our national reconstruction, our progress and aspirations".

**NORMS TO APPLY**

Every true Party member, every loyal citizen of this nation welcomes these bold pronouncements on the contours of our new Parliament. It now becomes a matter of paramount importance that the selection of candidates for the new parliament should in fact give effect to these lofty new criteria.

What norms should be applied in selecting members of the new Parliament?

This is an important question, for the warm endorsement of the current exercise by the entire nation will depend to a great extent on the persons put before it as candidates for the new House. The Party machinery is strong and effective. It can get anybody into the National Assembly. Therefore of much more importance must be the need to win the confidence of the people on the candidates we select.

We are of the considered opinion that the enthu-

siastic support of the people will be elicited if some clearly defined yardstick is applied to the selection of candidates.

**UNWANTED MEMBERS**

First, the members of the dissolved House should not be returned en masse, even if the enlargement of the House permits some 84 fresh members to join the fold of the law-makers.

It will be a grievous affront on public conscience to return any person who entered the old House on the platform of the United Party. This rule must be rigorously applied, even to those who have since "crossed the carpet" to join the ranks of the C.P.P. in the House.

To nominate members who were still U.P. at dissolution is simply indefensible. To nominate the U.P. "carpet crossers" is to reward opportunism. These carpet crossers should serve the C.P.P. in humbler positions in order to demonstrate their fidelity. If they find this formula unacceptable, then old members who belong to this category could avail themselves of the right to contest as independent candidates.

**LOYALTY TO PARTY**

Another rule that should be applied to old members is loyalty to the Party and compliance with its directives during the life of the old House. Those who have sought wealth in shameless disregard of the Leader's call for a divorce of politics from business must be shown the door.

To return these glaring cases of contract brokers, of traffickers in essential goods operating by themselves or through wives and relations is to make a mockery of the peoples' cry for protection against heartless men who use the position given them by the

people to exploit and brutalise the people. Public enthusiasm for the cause of the Party will grow to the extent that we demonstrate our readiness to arrest and penalise anti-Party activity among top party and state functionaries.

Secondly, the selection of new members for the National Assembly should be guided by a few rules. For it is by sticking to a few clear-cut rules that we can cope with the obvious danger of new men riding into Parliament on the wings of influence and connection.

**STUMBLING BLOCK**

Foremost among such rules is ideological orientation. We have reached a stage where only persons who are ideologically sound—the test to be made by the General Secretary himself—should be considered as members of Parliament.

A second criterion must be a record of loyalty and service to the Party unalloyed by corruption, abuse of office and flirtations with cliques of power seekers.

The third criterion is popularity among the Party rank and file. The Party must make sure that a new candidate enjoys some

measure of popularity among the people in the constituency where he is to contest or in his sphere of activity. For the Party machinery to go to the aid of persons who do not satisfy this popularity test might lead to the strengthening of misfits who could become a veritable stumbling block to the well-being and progress of the Party.

The Central Committee meets today. It will grapple principally with the task of compiling a list of candidates for the forthcoming general elections. The Central Committee enjoys the confidence of the Party rank and file and of our entire people. For our people know, from practical experience, that the Party leadership has always brought success and victory to them and to the nation.

We are confident that the Party list for the June general elections will meet the needs of the next phase in our socialist revolution. By it we shall demonstrate to our people our readiness to remove all obstacles standing in our path to a socialist reconstruction of our nation. By it we shall impress on our friends and foes alike that we know where we are going; that we know how to get there.

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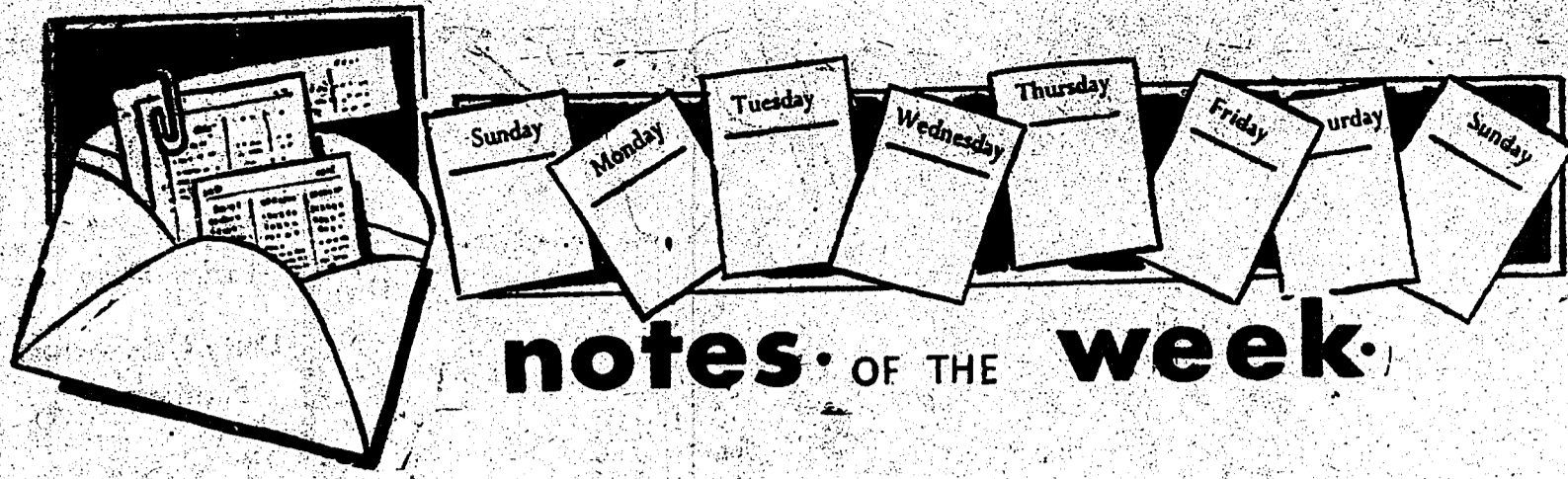
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notes OF THE week.

**THERE** are indications that Washington is finding itself obliged to face up to the failure of its "big stick" policies in Vietnam and Dominican.

More and more notes of exasperated bewilderment are to be heard not only in the reports of even the most stridently jingoist U.S. commentators, but also in official State Department handouts.

It is not so very long since U.S. spokesmen were confidently assuring the world that the extension of the war in South Vietnam by the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the North would speedily bring the popular uprising against the U.S. puppet regime in South Vietnam to an end.

The theory was a classic symptom of the delusion that has bedevilled U.S. thinking ever since the end of World War Two.

Even though they have long lost their atomic monopoly, American policy-makers still suffer from the "Jupiter complex"—the delusion that they are gods, able to destroy their enemies with bolts from the heavens, that bombs and Marines are the answer to every problem.

\* \* \*

But, in the blunt words of the Washington correspondent of the London Times (17.5.65) "the fact of the matter is that bombing has failed as an instrument of diplomacy."

Far from weakening, the national liberation movement in South Vietnam has—as official U.S. sources have been forced to admit—grown stronger since the U.S. attacks began.

American policy-makers are increasingly finding themselves forced to the realisation that the continuance of their present line means not an easy victory and the imposition of an American peace, but deeper and deeper involvement in a war they cannot win and which daily threatens to expand.

It is not without significance that U.S. policy in South-Vietnam has aroused one of the most widespread protest move-

ments since World War Two in America itself, especially among the academic community.

As a commentator has noted, the U.S. government cannot afford to ignore or alienate a large proportion of the intellectual community, especially when it appears to be the only articulate opposition at a time when the suspicion of the manipulation of opinion is widespread.

There can be no solution to the dilemma of U.S. policy in South-East Asia without a recognition of the fact that there can be no peace while U.S. planes continue their attacks, and while the State Department refuses to acknowledge that the affairs of South Vietnam can be settled only by South Vietnam people themselves, without foreign intervention.

\* \* \*

Likewise Washington is being obliged to re-think its policy on Dominica. "Another great American reversal has begun... The communist menace has suddenly disappeared and the junta which earlier enjoyed the protection of American arms is now seen to be the stepchild of the murdered dictator, Trujillo", wrote the Washington correspondent of London Times (19.5.65).

"This reversal, or modification of the doctrine", he went on, "can be variously explained, but clearly the situation in Santo Domingo was misjudged, as was reaction within the hemisphere and elsewhere abroad... The effort to prove that the rebel constitutionalists were about to be captured by communists is now seen to be ludicrous."

"The situation was misjudged..." The phrase could be the epitaph of our world in this nuclear age. If the world is to survive, Washington must curb its "Jupiter complex".

Washington claims to be the champion of peace and democracy. Let it prove the sincerity of its claims by refraining from armed intervention in support of reactionary dictatorships throughout the world.

\* \* \*

The British plans have the backing of the rulers of the South Arabian Protectorates, who are virtually the paid employees of the British Colonial Office and subject to immediate dismissal should they in any way deviate from policies laid down in Whitehall.

But the freedom movement in Aden and the Protectorates, united in the Organisation for the Liberation of the Occupied South, has re-affirmed its rejection and boycott of any such phoney commission and warned that it will resist by all means available, including

civil disobedience. The latest manoeuvre by the British Government follows the fiasco of the constitutional conference which was planned for last March, but which had to be postponed, despite the preliminary visit to Aden last December by Mr. Anthony Greenwood, the Colonial Secretary in the Labour Government.

\* \* \*

What are the Labour Government's policy and aims in Aden? It is clear that Mr. Wilson's "East of Suez" policy demands the retention of the military base at Aden. Mr. Greenwood has more than once re-affirmed this in the House of Commons.

So, having decided that it is going to keep the base and make it effective come what may it only remains for the British Government to try to devise the method and the means.

There has been no change in the Conservative policy of binding the Adenis, with their militant political and trade union organisations, to the backward and largely subservient sheikhdoms of the Federation in order to diminish

the threat to the imperialist interests in the whole region.

There are at present some 15,000 British troops stationed in Aden and the Persian Gulf area, while the Aden base is estimated to cost the British taxpayer nearly £100 million per year.

Conservative and official Labour spokesmen alike claim that all this is necessary to safeguard Britain's oil supplies from the Middle East.

As the London Times commented on April 21st., 1958. "Who touches Aden touches Britain on a delicate spot... It is the only available place d'armes from which the defence of Britain's oil supplies from the Persian Gulf can be supported."

In fact, what the base is intended to protect is the fabulous profits of the oil companies.

\* \* \*

A genuinely free and independent Aden, far from jeopardising Britain's oil supplies, would save the British people millions of pounds, while many thousands of British young men would be freed from the necessity of making the Middle-East safe for the oil monopolies.

## When Thieves Fall Out

**THE** General Crisis of Capitalism is characterised by the sharpening of contradictions between the capitalist class and the working class, between the imperialist states and the colonial liberation movements, between Socialist and Capitalist systems and between imperialist states themselves.

\* \* \*

When the imperialist states, each pursuing their own selfish drive for profits wherever they can in the world, begin to fall out, the honest men can come into their own.

At such times it is possible for the united forces against imperialism, namely the socialist states, the newly independent countries, the national liberation movements and the progressive forces within the imperialist countries, to press forward their policies and make important gains.

The events which give rise to these reflections result from the policy of General de Gaulle's Government. Not even the most optimistic could be persuaded into believing that de Gaulle has had a great change of heart and is now opposing U.S. policies because he has been converted to anti-imperialist principles, or is contemplating becoming a socialist.

French imperialist interests received a tremendous setback by the defeat of France in Indo-China and in Algeria. De Gaulle, through the common Market and alliance with Western Germany, aimed to re-equip French imperialism and to exclude Britain and the United States if possible from European markets.

It is because of this that the United States was so anxious to get Britain included, so that a docile partner would be able to trim de Gaulle's sails. De Gaulle was strong enough to keep Britain out and defy United States wishes.

France still struggles to retain her imperialist hold over some of her former colonies in West Africa; she is also making a bid to regain her influence in South-East Asia and in Latin America.

The consequence of this growing rivalry is that the French Government has shown marked reluctance to play an active part in the imperialist war alliances, like N.A.T.O. and S.E.A.T.O.

She refuses to contribute to the Atlantic Nuclear Force and attended the recent S.E.A.T.O. Conference as an observer only. This was to avoid signing any declaration of support for the war in Viet Nam.

\* \* \*

Much to the fury of the American Government, De Gaulle has recognised the Government of the People's Republic of China, opposed the war in Viet Nam and has made new friendly overtures to the Soviet Union. Her latest challenge to the United States is to condemn U.S. intervention in Dominica and to announce that she is considering recognising the newly-elected President Caamano.

The progressive movement in France will be able to force the French Government yet further along the road to challenging United States policies while at the same time exposing De Gaulle's own imperialist motives.

**15th MAY:** SENEGAL: The Senegal delegate to the U.N. Security Council has said that regimes like those of Salazar, Verwoerd and Smith which are trying to stop the progress of nationalist movements in Africa will "be swept away like pieces of straws" by the tide surging forth in the continent.

**KENYA:** The Vice-President of the Republic of Kenya, Mr. Oginga Odinga, has accused the United States of "inflaming" the situation in the Congo (Leopoldville) by using the notorious Central Intelligence Agency.

The Kenyan Minister for internal security, Dr. Njoroge Mungai, has told reporters in Nairobi that "the fact that Kenya had not accepted the Soviet arms does not in any way mean that Kenya aligns with Western countries."

**16th MAY:** GHANA: A general declaration adopted by the Fourth Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference, has strongly condemned the aggression of the United States imperialism against the people of Dominican Republic in its efforts to rid itself of a corrupt and tyrannical military junta and to establish a democratic government.

**ETHIOPIA:** Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary-General of O.A.U. has said that precautions to meet any unilateral declaration of Independence by the white racist settlers in Southern Rhodesia, have been taken by the Organisation of African Unity.

**BASUTOLAND:** The formation of a new national government for Basutoland has been demanded by the leader of Basutoland's congress party (B.C.P.), Mr. Mokhele.

**KATANGA:** Mr. Moise Tshombe, Head of the Leopoldville administration, has arrived in Elizabethville to preside over a conference, which will discuss the reunification of Katanga which he seceded.

**ETHIOPIA:** A meeting between Ethiopian and Somali Foreign Ministers due to start on Saturday to discuss border questions in the Ogaden areas was postponed indefinitely, the Ethiopian Foreign Ministry has announced.

**17th MAY:** GHANA: The fourth Afro-Asia Solidarity Conference has ended at Winneba today, after nine days of sleepless-nights brimmed with activities directed at upholding the dignity of Africa and Asia.

**SUDAN:** The Sudanese Government has formally broken diplomatic relations with Federal Republic of Germany following a special Cabinet Meeting in Khartoum.

**TANZANIA:** President Nyerere has opened the annual conference of the Youth League of the Tanganyikan African National Union (T.A.N.U.)

The Vice-President of the Republic of Kenya, Mr. Oginga Odinga has accused the United States of inflaming the situation in the Congo (Leopoldville) by using the notorious central Intelligence Agency.

Dr. Njoroge Mungai, the Kenyan Minister of Internal security, has told reporters that "the fact that Kenya had not accepted the Soviet arms does not in any way mean that Kenya aligns itself with Western countries."

**ALGERIA:** Dr. Tedjini Hadam, Algeria's Minister of Habous, Religious Affairs, has declared at a press interview today that not only Algeria is prepared to attend the September Accra Summit Conference in full but she will also use all what is within her power to pursue other African States through Diplomatic channel to attend and he believes the conference will achieve a great success.

**BASUTOLAND:** Mr. Mokhele, Leader of the Basutoland Congress Party (B.C.P.), speaking in the new national assembly on a motion of no confidence in the pro-apartheid government of the Basutoland National Party has demanded the formation of a new national government for the country.

**ZAMBIA:** President Kenneth Kaunda has told, a five-man mission representing the Entente Council that he was sorry he could not meet them personally as he was away on a provincial tour.

**NIGERIA:** In an interview published in the "Sunday Express", Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has described the Governments of Ivory Coast, Niger and the Upper Volta as imperialist guided regimes and the Afro-Malagasy Common Organization (OCAM) as "the American group of states in Africa".

**18th MAY:** NIGER: Mr. Bonbacar Diallo, Former Niger Minister, detained since December 1963 in connection with an attempted coup, has died. An official announcement gave the cause of the death to fever but the popular view is that he died from starvation.

**GAMBIA:** The Gambian Prime Minister, Mr. David Jawara, currently touring Nigeria, has appealed to African States not to boycott the Accra September Summit of the Organisation of African Unity, it would not be rational at this time to change the venue.

**ZANZIBAR:** The Government has taken over more buildings and garages belonging to Indian merchants under the Government's Confiscation of Immovable Property Act.

**ALGERIA:** The Cheffia in the Bounegoussa river has been inaugurated by President Ahmed Ben Bella. He said at the ceremony that Algeria had been forced to forgo West German aid in rebuilding the port of Annaba, which was devastated by an explosion on an Egyptian arms ship in July last year, because the "present situation obliges us to abandon this aid in order to stand besides our Palestinian brothers".

**19th MAY:** NIGERIA: Mr. David Jawara, Prime Minister of Gambia has appealed to African States not to boycott the Accra September summit of the Organisation of African Unity.

**ALGERIA:** President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria has inaugurated the Cheffia Dam on the Bouramoussa river in Eastern Algeria. The lake of the dam is the second biggest in the country.

**BURUNDI:** Burundi's main political party, UPRONA (Union National progress) has won 16 seats out of the 33-member House, in results so far declared in the last week's general elections.

**GHANA:** Mr. M. T. da Fonseca, leader of a 21-man Brazilian trade mission now in the country, has praised the efforts of the C.P.P. Government to develop Ghana and provide better living for Ghanaian people under the direction of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

**20th MAY:** GHANA: Mr. David Jawara of Gambia has arrived here from Nigeria to begin a five-day official visit to Ghana. He was met at the Ghana's International Airport this morning by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

The National Assembly has hailed a new bill which makes hoarding of goods an offence punishable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding £100 or to 12 months imprisonment or both.

**NIGERIA:** Nigeria may attend the Accra Summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in September, an authorised Nigerian spokesman has announced in Lagos.

## How to go but stay

**BRITAIN'S** attempt to impose a tailor-made constitution on Aden and her South Arabian Protectorates which will safeguard the continued existence of one of her largest military bases East of Suez is running into heavy weather.

The Aden Government and the colony's main political parties have voiced strong opposition to the British plan to send a constitutional commission to draw up a constitution which would "submerge" Aden in a unitary state with the feudal protectorates and thus make it possible for Britain to transfer power into "safe" hands by 1968.

\* \* \*

"We certainly do not want a constitution of the making of a pro-British Government commission. The constitution must be made by the people's representatives in a Government emerging from a central

Parliament elected under United Nations supervision", declared Aden's Chief Minister, Mr. Abdul Qawee Mackawee.

A U.N. General Assembly resolution of December 11th, 1963 called on Britain to grant self-determination with elections based on adult suffrage under United Nations supervision, and U.N. has since repeated this demand.

\* \* \*

The British plans have the backing of the rulers of the South Arabian Protectorates, who are virtually the paid employees of the British Colonial Office and subject to immediate dismissal should they in any way deviate from policies laid down in Whitehall.

But the freedom movement in Aden and the Protectorates, united in the Organisation for the Liberation of the Occupied South, has re-affirmed its rejection and boycott of any such phoney commission and warned that it will resist by all means available, including

**ETHIOPIAN Foreign Minister, Ketema Yifrou,** has delivered a special message from Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to the Nigerian Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

**SIERRA LEONE:** Sir Albert Magai, Sierra Leone Prime Minister, has said in Freetown that his country is willing to attend the Accra Summit.

**TANZANIA:** Mr. W. S. Malecela, Tanzania Representative to the United Nations, has told the South African Representatives to the U.N. that the apartheid regime would end "in our life time because history is on the side of Africans".

**SUDAN:** Mr. Christopher Gbenye, Congo (Leopoldville) Revolutionary leader has condemned the formation of African groups such as the Afro-Malagasy Organisation.

**20th MAY:** ETHIOPIA: Representatives from 14 African Governments are attending the first of a series of courses on Africa's local government problems in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

**MALAWI:** 46 men charged for rioting, arson and malicious damages arising from last February's demonstration have been acquitted today because of lack of evidence.

**UGANDA:** Three people including Portuguese consul, have been sentenced to 2 years imprisonment at a Kampala Court for conspiring to forge 1,000 francs of Rwanda and Burundi currency.

**SOUTH AFRICA:** Counsel for Ethiopia and Liberia, Mr. E. A. Cross today argued at the International Court of Justice in the Hague that fascist South African regime, as mandatory over South-West Africa was obliged to apply international standard determined by competent organ of the international community.

**21st MAY:** GHANA: Mr. Charles L. Merwin, leader of the International Monetary Fund Mission currently visiting Ghana has described Ghana development programme as tremendous.

Mr. P. M. Peralta, deputy representative of the International Civil Aviation Organisation regional office for Africa has held talks on mutual interests with Mr. A. J. Dowauna-Hammond, Minister of Communications.

President Nkrumah has issued proclamation dissolving Parliament next Wednesday, President's Office has announced.

**NIGERIA:** Nigerian Daily Times has today called on the Nigerian Government to tell Premier Moise Tshombe of Leopoldville in a plain language that Nigeria cannot continue to support his administration which employs the race haters of South Africa to mow down fellow Africans.

**IVORY COAST:** Leaders of Afro-Malagasy Organisation (OCAM) will converge on Abidjan next Monday to have emergency talks, it has been officially announced today in Abidjan.

**TANZANIA:** Mr. Oscar Kambona, Tanzania's Minister of Foreign Affairs has said that African countries would specially request Britain to intervene in the Southern Rhodesian situation.

The Reverend Sithole, leader of Zimbabwe African National Union was released from jail this morning but has been served with a new five year restriction order.

**GHANA:** Mr. Kwesi Armah, Ghana's High Commissioner in London has said that the recent error committed by the London Times shows clearly the depths to which British journalism is sinking in its attempt to destroy the unity of Africa.

**GAMBIA:** Premier Jawara of Gambia currently visiting Ghana has said that basically Africa is already united and no amount of imperialist machination can impede its progress.

# What is the Commonwealth?

**THE Commonwealth is the present-day successor to what used to be known as the British Empire—in the modern period after the victories of the national liberation struggle have extorted the establishment of sovereign independent states among the majority of the peoples formerly subject to British rule.**

The Commonwealth extends over a quarter of the world's area and includes some 750 million people, or a quarter of the world's population. Similarly, the old British Empire extended over a quarter of the earth's area and included a quarter of the world's population.

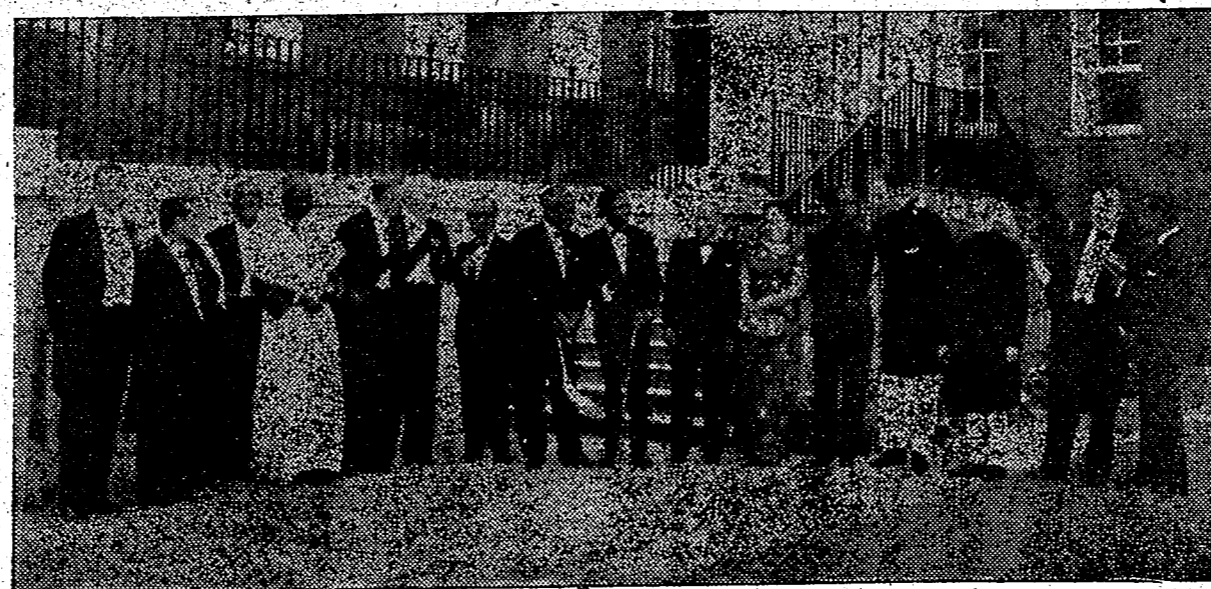
There are certain variations

in composition. Three states formerly in the Empire are now outside the Commonwealth: Burma, the Irish Republic and South Africa.

However, in the case of the latter two states, the separation is only partial; special common citizenship arrangements exist between Britain and the Irish Republic; and imperial preferential trading advantages, as well as arms contracts, are maintained with South Africa.

The Commonwealth is no permanent form of international organisation, but a temporary transitional form arising from historical conditions and associating for the moment both imperialist and non-imperialist states with many divergent interests in practice.

*With a Commonwealth Conference scheduled for London next month, R. PALME DUTT, Editor of Labour Monthly, discusses the question, "What is the Commonwealth?"*



COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS. THE PICTURE WAS TAKEN DURING THE 1964 CONFERENCE

## Origins of the Formula

"The Commonwealth" is a relatively modern formula adopted to describe the present stage of the outcome of the British Empire. Historically the term "the Commonwealth" was the title of the first British Republic established by the 17th century democratic revolution.

Thereafter the term fell into disfavour save among democratic writers, usually with left-wing and sometimes socialist tendencies (the title chosen by William Morris for his socialist journal was *The Commonwealth*).

In British official circles up to the First World War the only recognised term for the Empire was "the British Empire"; the King was the "King Emperor"; even the self-governing White Dominions were referred to collectively as "the Colonies"; and the Conferences with their Premiers were termed "originally" "Colonial Conferences", later "Imperial Conferences".

## OCTOBER REVOLUTION

It was not until after the opening of the general crisis of imperialism, following the First World War and the victory of the October Revolution, that successive changes began. The effective full independence of the White Dominions was recognised by the 1926 Conference and the Statute of Westminster in 1931.

The term "Commonwealth" began to be used to describe this association of Britain and the White Dominions, although in legal usage the term was defined to cover the entire range of "Britain and the British Dominions Overseas", including equally the White self-governing Dominions and the subject empire of India and the colonies, comprising six-sevenths of the whole.

Thus the term "Commonwealth and the Empire" began to be used as a supposed description of the two sections, the self-governing section and the subject section. In this way the Official Handbook issued by the British Government in 1946 was entitled *Handbook on the British Commonwealth and Empire*. By 1959 the latest version had become *The Commonwealth in Brief*.

## SWEEPING VICTORIES

It was after the Second World War and the sweeping victories of the national liberation movement over the world that the process of adaptation of the British imperialists, both in political technique and in terminology, became rapid.

As Professor W. I. Jennings, joint author of *The Constitutional Law of the British Empire*, and leading authority on Imperial Constitutional Law, explained in 1949 (*The*

*Times* 6.6.49): "Empire was associated with 'imperialism' which was the deadliest of all political sins. The use of 'Commonwealth' made political conditions slightly less difficult."

## THE THREE TERMS

However, in 1949, an official statement on behalf of the British Government (Premier Adee in the House of Commons on May 2nd, 1949) still laid down that the three terms, "the Commonwealth, the British Commonwealth or the British Empire" should be regarded as interchangeable and equally valid; "there has been no agreement to adopt or to exclude the use of any one of these terms."

As late as 1952 *The Times* could still write in an editorial: "The extension of the term Commonwealth... has blurred the edges of meaning... It would be more than a pity if the name of Empire were to be driven out" (5.1.52).

Today a far more advanced stage has been reached in the disintegration of the old forms of imperialism. In face of the strength of the national revolt in all territories, and the failure of the manifold colonial wars of the nineteen-fifties, most powerfully demonstrated in the fiasco of the Suez aggression, the British imperialists have had to concede the formation of politically independent states over nearly all the territories they formerly ruled while retaining as much economic and strategic hold as they are able by the methods of neo-colonialism.

## THE "EMPIRE"

The directly subject colonial Empire is now reduced to some fifteen millions, although the importance of the struggle of these for independence continues, and is all the greater because an examination of their geographical location will show that they represent a very important chain of military strategic bases dominating every continent.

Six hundred and fifty millions are now in the newly independent states. The term "Empire" has now become officially banned. By 1960, even that last stronghold of traditional Conservatism, the Primrose League (founded under the patronage of Disraeli, who first introduced the term "Empire" into official British usage), formally deleted the term "Empire" from its title and substituted "the Commonwealth".

All that remains now, still unyielding, are the decorations invented by Lloyd George—the C.B.E., O.B.E., and M.B.E. The "British Empire" may have vanished, but the "Commanders of the British Empire" remain.

**WHEN the Commonwealth Premiers Conference meets next month, twenty-one states will be represented. Four of these are of the White imperialist states—Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Seventeen are newly independent states, who have won their freedom by struggle against British imperialism, and are Asian, African or Caribbean.**

What link still holds this very varied and disparate assemblage together? Have we here a kind of ghostly survival of the old Empire, like the Holy Roman Empire lingering for centuries on the fragmented ruins of the old realm of Rome or Charlemagne?

Certainly the professed spiritual or mythical links have grown thin. The Queen? Six of the twenty-one states are Republics. Parliamentary political institutions? Pakistan is a military dictatorship, while Ghana has established by popular plebiscite a one-party state, and the majority of the other component African states have moved or are moving to this political form to express popular national unity and bar the way to imperialist disruption.

## LINK OF EMPIRE

A common foreign policy? Some are non-aligned; others are at the heart of imperialist military blocs. Some are imperialist; others are engaged in the struggle against imperialism.

The real link of the Commonwealth is nothing so mysterious or metaphysical or spiritual. The real link is in essence what has always been the link of Empire in the modern era of imperialism; the role of British finance-capital.

The sphere of the Commonwealth, together with the sterling area, represents the main overseas sphere of British finance-capital. A Board of Trade survey of net overseas investments of British companies (excluding oil, banking and insurance) at the end of 1962 showed 75 per cent to be in the Commonwealth or sterling area, as against 10.6 per cent in Western Europe or nine per cent in the United States. *Board of Trade Journal* 5.11.63).

## FINANCIAL FACILITIES

This sphere of the Commonwealth and the sterling area represents the countries in which British capital is the

predominant investor or foreign owner of resources, although in practice faced with increasing competition, especially from United States capitalist interests.

Some slight remains of the imperial preference trading advantages still continue for Commonwealth countries in the British market. Special financial facilities are also available for Commonwealth countries to raise capital on

more favourable terms in London.

In addition the periodical Premiers' Conference provides a forum without obligations, an opportunity for diplomatic interchanges and a channel for the still relatively weak Afro-Asian states involved to exercise a certain pressure on the imperialist states or obtain concessions in return for not bringing issues to too sharp a clash.

## TRADING BENEFITS

It should be noted that this separation has so far been largely formal, and that the special imperial preferential trading advantages have been continued.

The 1962 Conference met under the dark shadow of Britain's approach to join the Common Market, with the consequent prospect of putting

## Tory Division Over The Commonwealth

IT IS no matter for surprise that in face of this highly disparate character of the present composition of the Commonwealth Conference, the non-White majority and the visibly sharpening contradictions, an increasing and influential section of Tory opinion, previously the most ardent upholders of the sacred flame of Empire as their central emblem of their faith, should now have begun to display marked coolness towards the Commonwealth, and even to

question the desirability of its continuance.

*The Times*, which in 1952 had lamented over the prospect of the demise of the beloved term "Empire", on April 2nd, 1964, created some sensation by publishing prominently a feature article by "A Conservative" which denounced the Commonwealth as "a gigantic farce... the Commonwealth pretence does Britain harm."

In the ensuing controversy, the *Economist* on June 6th, 1964, gloomily pointed out that "it may prove harder to bring to an end the Commonwealth than to preserve it..."

question the desirability of its continuance.

## PRESSING QUESTIONS

The 1964 Conference was dominated by the question of the Rhodesian system of White racialist supremacy, after the African national movement had compelled the dissolution of the hated Central African Federation. This question of Rhodesia reaches an even sharper point at this year's Conference.

At the same time other questions press to the forefront, including the betrayal of the people of Guiana; relation with South Africa; the armed intervention in Congo, Aden and Malaysia, and the central international questions of the American wars against the people of Vietnam and of the Dominican Republic.

we may be stuck with it." These were characteristic voices of the advocates of close association of Britain with Western Europe as a more profitable alternative than the dwindling sphere of the Commonwealth. Other sections, however, and still the dominant sections of the imperialists, point out, as noted by the *Economist* in the same article, the importance of the Commonwealth as a "bridge between races between the new and the old nations, between the rich and the poor nations."

While doubts about the Commonwealth have thus spread in Tory circles, the Labour Party seeks to emphasise its role of foremost champion of the Commonwealth as the supposed embodiment of a new type of relationship free from imperialism. "The Labour Party," noted the article by "A Conservative" in *The Times*, "has become the party of the Commonwealth." But even here there is a conspicuous difference between the prospectus and the practice.

## The Labour Government and Commonwealth

**THE traditional prospectus of the Labour Government's policy, the Queen's Speech, prepared for the royal lips to pronounce at the beginning of its term of office, proclaimed with regard to the Commonwealth:**

"My Ministers will have a special regard to the unique role of the Commonwealth, which itself reflects so many of the challenges and opportunities of the modern world. They will foster the Commonwealth connection on a basis of racial equality and close consultation between member governments, and will promote Commonwealth co-operation in trade, economic development, education, scientific and cultural contacts and in other ways."

If we turn from these benevolent promises to the realm of practice we enter a different sphere.

"Close consultation between member Governments". Really? Where was the consultation on the 15 per cent surcharge on imports? The surcharge struck a blow at the trade of all the Commonwealth countries. It provoked loud yelps of pain and expressions of indignation from Commonwealth statesmen that they

had not been consulted. There was no consultation on the raising of the Bank Rate to 7 per cent, although this was equally a matter of very great concern to all the members of the sterling area.

It might be objected that such vital financial decisions, requiring prior secrecy and instant speed of execution could not be subjected to the processes of consultation. Precisely, consultation on everything except the really important decisions most vitally affecting the Commonwealth countries.

Or take the no less grave military and strategic fields. Where was the consultation over the decision to provide the British base of Ascension Island for the use of the Belgian paratroopers in order to make their armed descent into the Congo against the national liberation movement?

Obviously once again consultation would have been highly impracticable, since many and probably the majority of the Commonwealth states in Africa would have raised strong objections.

Thus the gulf between the initial benevolent professions of the Labour Government in relation to the Commonwealth and the actual colonialist practice has been brought into glaring prominence by recent events.

## Issues Before the Conference

**VERY big issues will be in the forefront at this year's Commonwealth Premiers' Conference.**

**FIRST**, Rhodesia, with its Constitution of White racialist dictatorship, demonstrated in the recent electoral caricature, and so far maintained by the Labour Government.

**SECOND**, South Africa, and the continued resistance of Britain and many Commonwealth states to the United Nations decision in favour of economic sanctions against South Africa.

**THIRD**, the Congo Republic and the criminal armed intervention conducted by American, British and Belgian imperialism.

**FOURTH**, Guiana, with the key significance of its people's struggle against the combined domination of American imperialism and British reaction, and the shameful violation of the pledges given by the Labour Party leadership while in opposition.

**FIFTH**, the colonial wars and

repression conducted by British imperialism in Aden and Southern Arabia.

**SIXTH**, Malaysia, the puppet state created by British imperialism and maintained by British arms round the central base of Singapore to dominate South East Asia and constitute a bastion against the national liberation movement.

Many other questions of the present international situation will also be in the forefront, especially Britain's support of the shameful American war against the people of Vietnam, and of the Dominican Republic.

These are only some of the questions of vital immediate concern in the current anti-imperialist struggle, alongside the many important questions in the economic and financial fields which will also be before the Conference.

All opponents of imperialism will hope that the anti-imperialist representatives in the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference will put up a good fight.

## COMMONWEALTH MEMBERSHIP GROWS

**THE thirteenth meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers and Heads of Government, since the first of such meetings in 1944, took place at Marlborough House, London, from 8th to 15th July, 1964. The eighteen independent countries taking part included Malawi (Nyasaland) which became independent on 6th July, 1964. Since the last Prime Ministers' meeting in 1962, the Commonwealth has been enlarged by the accession of seven former British dependencies, raising the total population of the independent members to more than 730 million.**

# VENEZUELA BLOOD & PETROL

THE complex political-military process in which the Venezuelan people are involved has resulted in a number of objective manifestations directing the consciousness of Venezuelan revolutionaries towards a correct interpretation of the general thesis underlying the Peoples' Liberation struggle.

Trials and errors, triumph and defeats and the systematic study of specific Venezuelan problems have resulted in the choice of a strategy and tactics which clearly lead the way to the achievement of their revolutionary ideals: the total independence of Venezuela.

Let us recall the main stages of the revolutionary struggle of the last few years.

On January 23rd 1958 the popular forces overthrew the dictatorial regime of Perez Jimenez, taking advantage of the triangular contradictions existing between the dictatorship itself, imperialism, and the Venezuelan upper classes.

These contradictions were intensified by the pseudo-nationalist and demagogical provocations of Jimenez which neither served the interests of the dominant imperialism nor those of the local upper classes.

\* \* \*

The anti-Jimenez movement succeeded thanks to the active participation of the mass of the people. This popular participation in the overthrow of the dictatorial regime was interpreted as being the result of the general hatred of tyranny.

Ignoring the true aspirations of the people the upper-classes led the movement into the classical imperialist trap, presenting "Representative Democracy", as the solution to all problems.

U.S. imperialism and the ruling classes used their most devoted stooges, Romulo Betancourt, to achieve their aim. This faithful servant of imperialism secured an overwhelming majority in the presidential elections.

The enemies of Venezuelan progress took advantage of this to increase the shameful exploitation of Venezuelan resources. At the same time they were busy distorting the policies of revolutionary organisations and watering down the aspirations "Venezuelan solution" to the "Cuban solution".

The new regime created its own apparatus within the workers' and peasants' organisations to confuse and mislead the masses; it resorted to mass repression against the people,

using the army and specially-created secret terror organisations.

Instead of studying the proposals put forward by the most consistent patriots in order to find a genuine solution to the problems of the Venezuelan nation, the people and its vanguard were denied all forms of peaceful protest.

The regime prevented any democratic solution of the problems. Its only answer was naked violence.

\* \* \*

A serious economic crisis then developed which for the first time in the history of Venezuela resulted in the devaluation of the national currency, the Bolivar. The public debt was considerably increased; unemployment got worse, the cost of the living jumped; the peasants, betrayed by a fake agrarian reform, intensified their migration into the large cities; the rights of Universities and Secondary schools were violated, their students persecuted and murdered; the progressive press was strangled and the moderate press bought.

The voice of progressive representatives at the congress met only with indifference, while demonstrations in favour of the Cuban revolutionary people were violently crushed. Meanwhile, the regime welcomed Cuban counter-revolutionary units, which reinforced the repressive apparatus and investigation networks.

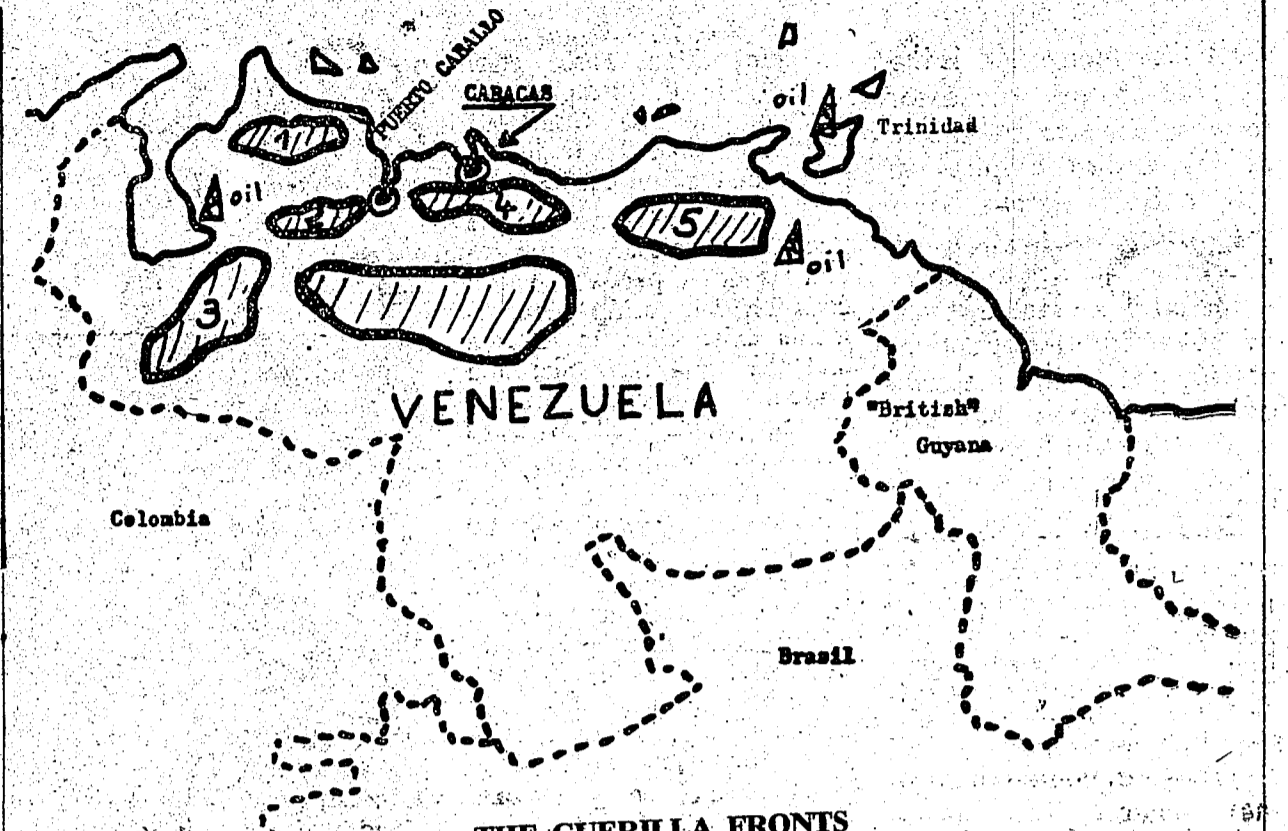
This situation made it necessary for the people to find a correct strategy of self-defence which found a concrete expression at the third Congress of the Venezuelan Communist Party.

The progressive forces stressed the need to enlarge the struggle and to organize the revolutionary elements in such a way that the people could fight effectively, all legal possibilities of self-defence having become useless.

The Venezuelan people have been fighting for its true independence for almost three years.

The blood of patriot peasants, workers and progressive intellectuals is being shed in this struggle against a vicious neo-colonialist regime and U.S. imperialism.

We here publish an interview with one of the Venezuelan freedom fighters, Comrade Pedro Duno of the F.L.N., recorded at *The Spark*.



THE GUERRILLA FRONTS

- 1. SIERRA SAN LUIS: "Jose Leonardo Chirimos", including the Falcon, Lara and Yaracuy States led by Major Douglas Bravo and Major Elias Manuill Camero (Emiliano).
2. COASTAL RANGE: "Simon Bolivar" front, in the Sahara State.
3. ANDES: "Libertador" front, composed by the guerrilleros from

Portuguese, Barinas and Trujillo States, led by Major Dr. Juan Vincente, Major Cabezas (Pablo), Major F. Ojeda (Roberto) Major Lubben Petkoff (guayacon) and Major Dr. Gregorio Lunar Marquez (Rolando).

mountains of "El Bachiller", Miranda state, under Major Sanchez.

5. ORIENTAL RANGE: "Mannel Ponte Rodriguez eastern front, including the state of Oriente and a number of isolated groups scattered over Venezuela, not sufficiently powerful to constitute a front.

## Pedro Duno talks to Spark

What are the Revolutionary parties in Venezuela? Can you give us a few details about the character of the Liberation Front?

THE liberation struggle in Venezuela started three years ago. The first armed revolutionary movements were essentially popular acts of defence against the repression and reign of terror being carried out by the pro-North American Betancourt Government (1959-1960).

In the rural areas, as well as in the cities, the transition from peaceful struggle to armed struggle was the result of a situation so critical that it had repercussions on the economic and social structure of Venezuela, which left no room for solutions which did not stem from a desire to produce a radical change in the social and economic system of the country.

At the outset the armed struggle was a direct reply to the government's use of force, and was popular act of self-defence.

But the people's attitude was more than simply a reflex, or a response.

It must be clearly understood that violence and the sweeping away of democratic rights in Venezuela are not the results of a subjective, capricious decision taken by a group of men who were, and still are, in power.

The official reign of terror was at that time the only form of power, and it aimed at maintaining the status quo. The high degree of political consciousness among the masses, the radical character of politics among the youth, the example of revolutionary Cuba, the urgency of a solution to the peasant problem, the tremendous increase in unemployment, were all weighty factors which led the people to make a radical choice—revolution or counter-revolution.

The Government had to choose between freeing the country from semi-feudalism in the rural areas and from the domination of North American imperialism, or trying to perpetuate the existing state of affairs.

### DEMOCRATIC ACTION

It chose the second alternative, and this is how the armed struggle began.

The first lands which the peasant redistributed by their own united efforts were paid for in blood, death and massacre. When the workers demonstrated and demanded better living conditions, they were met with violence and repression.

Faced with such an attitude, the people resorted to arms. The Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) were the first body set up in 1962 to direct the Liberation Struggle in Venezuela. Shortly afterwards, a political organisation the National Liberation Front (FLN), was founded for the overall direction of the struggle.

The FLN and FALN embraced the Venezuela Communist Party (PCV) which was completely integrated with the revolutionary struggle, the Leftist Revolutionary Party (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria, the revolutionary section of the

Party of Democratic Action which broke away from that party to form the MIR), the Movement of May 4th, (a group of military revolutionaries, who revolted on May 4th, in the Naval Base of Carupano), the Movement of June 2nd, also made up of officers and revolutionary classes which revolted on June 2nd 1962 in the town of Puerto Cabello and heroically resisted the attacks of our enemy which was far superior in strength and striking power.

In addition to these organisations, the FLN and the FALN have in their ranks representatives from workers' organisations, peasants', students', women's and professional organisations, etc.

Can you give us the broad lines of the development of the armed struggle?

UP till now, there have been two great stages in the Venezuela struggle, coinciding with two different concepts.

The first stage was that of the civil and military revolt. The military revolt was in effect a strategic attempt to seize power, quickly. It was a struggle intended to achieve a quick result, a short war, only long enough to make it possible to storm and seize a position, start military and political operations, and win control over at least a considerable part of the nation's territory.

This first concept of the armed revolutionary struggle in Venezuela did not produce the results expected. This was because the revolutionary cadres were inexperienced in a type of struggle which was new to them, and because they lacked organisation.

### THE REVOLT

On the other hand, we came to the conclusion that it was extremely difficult to rely upon potential allies within the Armed Forces who would be capable of opposing the man who was a tool in the hands of the ruling classes.

In spite of the special conditions surrounding the Venezuelan Army which made it possible to penetrate it politically, the army nevertheless

remained an instrument of repression established by the ruling classes to defend their interests, and they paid special attention to it, utilising all their experience of repression and every opportunity to direct the activity of the troops to their own advantage. Nevertheless, this stage of the revolt resulted in two great victories for our people:

1. A large section of the people was won for armed struggle, and the people realised that this was an appropriate and correct method; and

2. An alliance was set up with a clearly defined structure, between revolutionary civilians and nationalist officers of the Regular Army.

From that point we had to adopt a new and more correct strategy—prolonged warfare. Although a beginning had been made in 1962 with organising rural guerrillas, it was after the revolt of Carupano and Puerto Cabello that the emphasis was really placed on fighting in the mountains.

The creation of a Peoples' Army (Popular Army), became the fundamental objective, and its success would depend on the creation of our own army.

### GUERRILLA WARFARE

The only valid method of creating that army was through guerrilla warfare.

In Venezuela, we must take account of one very important aspect of the question. The popular masses, in the urban centres have a very high degree of revolutionary maturity. The people of Caracas and all the main towns of the Republic have within a few years acquired considerable experience of fighting.

As a result, urban guerrilla units, "tactical combat units" (UTC), were created and are very active in the cities. These units played a decisive part during the revolt. They now carry out tactical functions, but still undertake important missions.

Another aspect worth noting in the importance of sabotage. In Venezuela we say that "strategic sabotage" is being carried out.

The oil installations of the North American imperialists are the target. Venezuela is

the world's second biggest producer of oil and oil is most important for North American military aircraft. To attack this sector is to put one's finger on one of the enemy's nerve centres.

An example of this type of sabotage can be seen when the paid mercenaries of North America launched the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba for ten days we reduced production to one-fifth the normal level.

Can you tell us precisely the character of the negative forces that are acting against the Liberation Movement?

THE negative forces? There are two basic problems that make Venezuelan struggle very hard and bitter.

First, there is the fact that we are fighting openly against the North American imperialists, who since the Cuban revolution cannot say that they are unaware of our objectives.

This means that it is quite possible that they may have to face an invasion by the North American Marines.

This is a negative factor. But it is at the same time an additional factor contributing to the unity of the people and an additional factor for obtaining the support of the brother peoples of America, the socialist states and workers' movements throughout the world.

### DICTATORSHIP

Our people are not afraid of the Marines. We would prefer not to have anything to do with them, we are deliberately avoiding provocation—but if they come, they will find us united and ready to face them in a struggle which will be perhaps very extensive and very painful, but it will be a struggle from which we are sure to emerge victorious.

The Americans have lost the first stage in the struggle in Santo Domingo (Pedro Duno was speaking on May 14th.—Ed.) The same will happen in Venezuela.

The second negative force is this. We are fighting against a military dictatorship which at present is veiled. We are

fighting against a typical neo-colonialist government, which masks its terror and anti-patriotic attitude under a cloak of representative democracy.

Undoubtedly, the need to shelter behind a cloak of legality is also a limiting factor for the enemy's activity. And so it may be said that the two negative forces in Venezuela are of a contradictory nature.

The Pentagon is now very anxious to keep up pseudo-democratic appearances. Otherwise it will have to impose a military dictatorship.

The forces which we regard as negative may very well change and turn against the enemy.

What are the tactics of the struggle employed in Venezuela?

EXPERIENCE has taught us that the tactics of guerrilla warfare are the most suitable. It was not easy to raise the first detachment, nor was it to secure the support and help of the rural masses.

However, we can now say with pride and satisfaction that in Venezuela a popular war is taking place, and we have four guerrilla fronts which have resisted all the enemy offensives.

Every six months, the pro-North American Government announces that there are no more guerrillas in Venezuela. This makes it possible for the Government to remove the troops from areas where it is unsuccessful.

Shortly after each declaration, the government has to prepare new offensives, because the guerrillas, in constantly larger numbers and with increasing skill begin to attack rural centres police posts in the villages, etc.

### TWO FOUNDATIONS

The guerrilla struggle rests upon two foundations;

1. Military detachments and

2. Political organisations in the rural areas.

Efforts to educate the peasants politically have met with great success. In this respect, a common expression used in the guerrilla areas is of great

Continued on page 5

### Notes on Venezuela

POPULATION: 8427,000 (1964)

AREA: 352,143 sq. miles

DENSITY OF POPULATION: 9.25 per sq. kilometre.

BANKING: One governmental central Bank of Venezuela; and 36 commercial banks, most of them U.S. owned, for example the First National City Bank, Royal Bank of Canada.

DIRECT NORTH-AMERICAN INVESTMENTS: 2,807 millions dollars up to 1963, distributed as follows: Oil 2,166 million dollars; Manufacture: 202 million dollars; Services 37 million dollars; Trade 185 million dollars; Others 217 million dollars.

EXTERNAL TRADE: (1962) Exports: 2,594 million dollars. Imports: 979 million dollars.

MAIN EXPORTS: Crude oil (67.2 per cent of total exports), Oil products, (25.5 per cent), Iron (4.6 per cent), Coffee (0.7 per cent) Cocoa: (0.4 per cent)

MAIN EXPORTS: Crude oil: 67.2 per cent of total exports; Oil products: 25.5 per cent; Iron: 4.6 per cent; Coffee: 0.7 per cent; Cocoa: 0.4 per cent.

MAIN IMPORTS: — Machines: non-electrical: 17.3 per cent of total; Transport equipment: 9.9 per cent; Electrical machines: 8.2 per cent; Steel: 7.5 per cent; Manufacture metal goods: 5.1 per cent; Drugs: 3.2 per cent; Chemical products:

3.2 per cent; Milk: 2.8 per cent; Paper: 2.2 per cent.

MAIN SUPPLIERS:—U.S.A.: 52.6 per cent; F.G.R.: 8.7 per cent; Great Britain: 6.1 per cent; Italy: 5.3 per cent; France: 3.0 per cent; Benelux: 2.1 per cent; Holland: 2.3 per cent; Switzerland: 2.0 per cent.

MAIN CUSTOMERS: — U.S.A.: 34.1 per cent; Aruba: 13.8 per cent; Curacao: 10.0 per cent; Canada: 8.5 per cent; Great Britain: 7.9 per cent; Brazil: 3.8 per cent; Holland: 2.9 per cent; Trinidad: 2.5 per cent; Federal Germany: 2.1 per cent.

The Venezuelan economy is essentially based on oil (discovered in 1922). Oil represents about 80 per cent of the total value exports (Venezuela is respectively the world's first and third largest producer of crude and refined oil). Oil exploitation is fully in the hands of U.S. trusts; Gulf, Shell, Creole (subsidiary of the Standard Oil of New Jersey), Texas Oil Company (Texaco, Caltex). Those companies do not process oil on the spot but in the "Duch" West Indies (mainly on Curacao island).

U.S.A. also has its hands on the iron ore mining industry.

The very rich iron ores in Southern Venezuela particularly, are under the control of the U.S. Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel corporation, also very active in South Africa.

# UNITY CUTS ACROSS FRONTIERS

by Pat Sloan

PERHAPS the most vital issue on which all progressive people everywhere must achieve clarity is the question of the role of Africa, and the evolution towards socialism in Africa, within the system of societies of human beings that inhabit the world today.

On the one hand, there is the colonialist and neo-colonialist tradition that has to be fought tooth and nail, a tradition of belittling that is African as "primitive", "savage" and "inferior". This is a colonialist manoeuvre which has been applied against all oppressed peoples, whether African, Asiatic, or Latin American, and even against the working people of the imperialist countries themselves.

## INFERIOR BEINGS

In Britain, for example, some forty years ago when the Labour movement had forced the authorities increasingly to build modern housing for the workers, it used to be a common comment among the ruling class that it was absurd to equip workers' houses with bathrooms "for they just used the baths to store coal in."

In fact, the ruling class attitude to all workers, whether of their own imperial countries, or the workers and oppressed peoples of colonial countries, was that they were "inferior" beings, whose position as the exploited and oppressed was "natural law": "The rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate, God made them high or lowly, and ordered their estate" as the Christian Hymn "All things bright and beautiful" used to put it.

Nowadays, in a Britain where the influence of the Labour movement (whatever its shortcomings) has grown enormously, these words have been cut out of the hymnbooks of the Church of England as being out of tune with the modern view of a "welfare state".

In the new Africa, a vast continent that was at one time entirely carved up among the imperialists, it is clear that all traces of this colonial and neo-colonialist attitude to Africans have got to be eliminated, and hence the positive value of the concept of the African personality, and the Nkrumaist stress on the need to synthesise all that is worth preserving in native African tradition, together with all positive and creative concepts brought to Africa in the Euro-Christian and Muslim traditions.

That is one side of the problem.

But there is also another side. Because the European countries were the initiators of colonialism, there are those in Africa who, very understandably, go beyond this point, and wish to eliminate all Europeans and European influences from Africa, alleging that all are to some extent tied up with imperialist ideology.

## MANIFESTO

Such an approach is dangerous to Africa, for it would lead to "throwing out the baby with the bathwater" to use an English proverb—and would in fact mean that African renounced much of modern science (because it originated in Europe) and much of modern

progressive political thought (because, also, it originated in Europe).

If we examine the contributions to African development which can be made by various individuals today, it is clear that an African who has been won over by his education, or bought over by less reputable means, to the side of imperialism and neo-colonialism, can be a menace to African independence and unity, whereas many Europeans, who are genuine opponents of imperialism and neo-colonialism, have a very substantial contribution to make to the struggle for African independence and unity.

## MARX'S SLOGAN

This is no accident. For it has to be fully appreciated that just as Europe was the birth place of capitalism and imperialism, of the oppression of wage-earners at home and colonial peoples abroad, so this capitalism and imperialism itself gave rise to its own antithesis in the very continent which gave it birth.

Thus, Europe was the birth-place of capitalism—but it was also the birthplace of the *Communist Manifesto* with its famous slogan "Workers of All Lands Unite!". And this slogan also has an interesting story.

When the *Communist Manifesto* was first published in 1848, the struggle was mainly in Europe, the struggle of the workers against the capitalists.

But with the spreading of the imperialist net throughout the world the struggle of oppressed peoples became a steadily increasing force in world affairs.

In the early 1920s in Moscow some comrades, taking note of this development, reformulated Marx's slogan as follows: "Workers of all lands, and oppressed peoples, unite!"

This caused a bitter attack from the dogmatic Communists of the day. But Lenin, when appealed to for his view, took the side of the comrades who had altered Marx's slogan. Referring to the new adaptation of the slogan in a speech in Moscow in December, 1920, Lenin said:

## NKRUMAISM

"Of course, from the point of view of the *Communist Manifesto* it is incorrect: the *Communist Manifesto* was written in quite different conditions: but from the point of view of politics today it is correct. Relations have grown sharper. All Germany is boiling. All Asia is boiling. You have read how a revolutionary movement is coming into being in India. In China there is furious hatred of the Japanese, and the same of the Americans... The peoples are being taught by the course of events to look on Russia as a centre of attraction."

That was in 1920. The *Communist Manifesto* was in 1848. Things had changed and Lenin

recognised that no slogan is immutable, every political idea has to be adapted to new circumstances, new applications of old doctrines are essential to human progress.

Hence, in Africa, Nkrumaism applies scientific socialism to the social roots of African society, and this cannot mean the automatic copying of Europe's experience.

## LESSON

But, on the other hand, it does not mean that all the highly valuable and useful lessons to be learnt from European experience should be simply discarded because they are "European".

Finally, Africans should always bear in mind that even at the stage of Europe's (and Britain's) most predatory carving up of Africa, here were voices raised in the lands of imperialism against this exploitation. The illustration here reproduced is an example.

This drawing was published in Britain in the year 1889, and was dedicated to the "Workers of the World". The theme is the unity of the working people everywhere. The words interwoven with the drawing are the following: "Solidarity of Labour... Fraternity... Equality... Freedom... Africa... Asia... America... Australia... Europe."

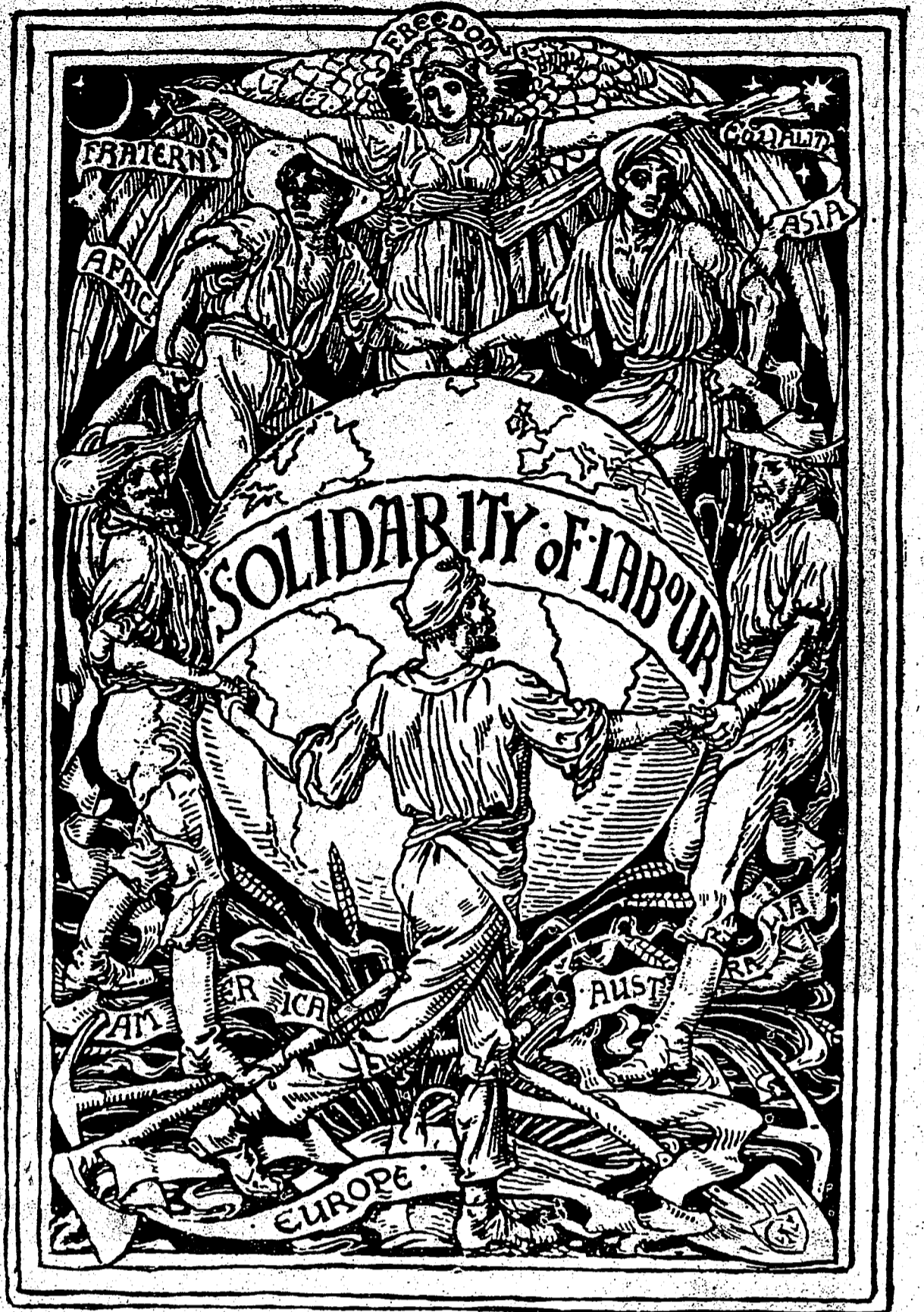
Today, when Ghana has been the scene of a further Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, it is worth recalling that in Britain, as long ago as 1889, while the peoples of Africa had still not developed their own great movement for independence, a progressive artist, Walter Crane, already published a drawing in which the words "Solidarity", "Africa" and "Asia" all appeared.

## SOLIDARITY

So while Afro-Asian solidarity today, African independence and unity, and a world-wide front against imperialism and neo-colonialism are essential; let it not be forgotten that for more than a hundred years scientific socialists and their allies in Europe have voiced the protest, not only of the European working class, but of the oppressed nations of the world.

Europe was not only the birth-place of imperialism, it was also the birth-place of scientific socialism, which has always recognised that the end of exploitation of man by man was a necessity for human progress, whether in the abolition of capitalist exploitation of the wage-earners at home, or imperialist exploitation of whole nations abroad.

The unity of the exploited cuts across all national frontiers, and the unity of all enemies of imperialism, whether today organised in Socialist states, working-class political parties, or national liberation movements, is the greatest need of mankind in the struggle for a truly human and peaceful society, where the welfare of each is consistent with the welfare of all, and every individual citizen develops his or her capacity to the fullest possible extent while working co-operatively for the common good.



Dedicated to the Workers of the World (1889) by Walter Crane, famous artist and illustrator, an early member of Morris's Socialist League.

## PEDRO DUNO'S INTERVIEW

Continued from page 4

significance: "The inside Government and the external Government".

That is how the enemy distinguishes between the guerrillas (the "inside government") and itself (the "external government").

The FLN organises the rural masses into rural commandos whose duty is to provide liaison and secure information etc.

The guerrillas are responsible, on their part, for the health of the rural population and for education. Sometimes we have to give a credit to the peasants, for their crops they in return supply us with grain or other foodstuffs at stated points.

What about the links between the Venezuelan struggle and the African One?

THE struggle in Venezuela is closely linked with struggle of all the peoples of the world. The varied experience in the Algerian revolution has been very useful to us.

Africa's liberation has had a very great impact on the minds of the great masses of the people in Venezuela. For us, it is a factor of moral support and hope.

Further, we are fighting a common enemy, and every blow dealt against imperialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America contributes to our total liberation. The people and the revolutionary organisations in Venezuela stand shoulder to shoulder behind their brothers in Africa. We look forward to the day when these sentiments will be crystallised in the form of practical aid.

We must meet the combined might of the imperialists with the combined might of the

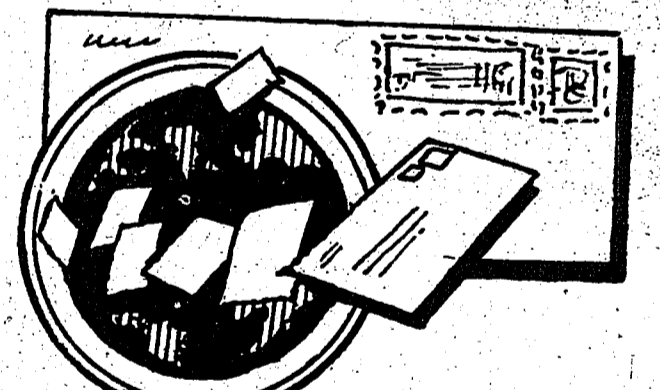
peoples of the world.

We believe that more can be done in this regard. We believe that the solidarity of the nations of the world must be accentuated and made more practical and effective.

In this respect we think that the extension of Afro-Asian solidarity to Latin

America is an important step.

We hail it with enthusiasm, and unreservedly support the words spoken by the President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, in particular, when he referred to the need to integrate a united front of all the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.



## Letters to the editor

A LOT of Ghanaians tend to judge the Congo by the Ghanaian experience. But what is this Ghanaian experience beside the Congo's own experience? Memories, it seems, are either too short or people just have not yet come into contact with the Congo experience.

If a highly educated African could show complete surprise upon his first contact only a few hours ago with the Congo's gory but deathless experience at the turn of the century, it shows how well a very liberal dose of a so-called liberal education has sheltered him from his own past. The ordinary man in the street should in the circumstances, therefore, be pitied for saying "why all this fuss, over the Congo?"

We have to doff our hats to the imperialists who know the importance of always keeping their defenders and potential

conveyers amply supplied with facts and figures of "communist aggression" and "communist atrocities". We must, therefore, dig up and re-issue the now out-of-print Morrell's *Red Rubber*, Mark Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, the Casement reports on the Congo, etc, which at present are regarded as subversive literature by the imperialists and are tucked away in capitalist museums and archives or gather mould on the shelves of specialized libraries of western educational institutions enjoying the very limited patronage of academics.

In fact, we have to keep constantly before the eyes of all Africans atrocities committed against the blackman from Australia, New Zealand through Americas to Africa. In this connection Ghana and the State Publishing Corporation, I feel, have a worthy role to play.

Tetteh Tawiah, Kumasi



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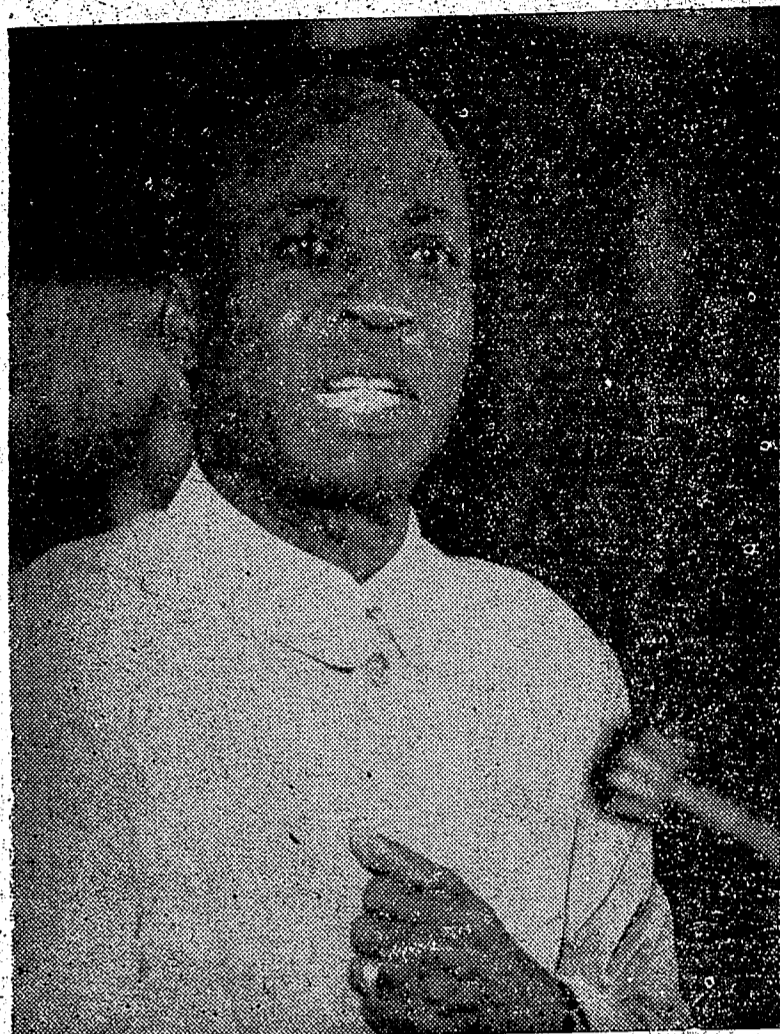
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# WE WILL WIPE OUT ANTI-SOCIAL PRACTICES

## Kwame Nkrumah's Final Address to Parliament



Kwame Nkrumah

LAST Thursday, I issued a proclamation by virtue of which this National Assembly, under the First Parliament of the Republic, will be dissolved with effect from tomorrow, 26th May 1965.

The Leader of the House has already conveyed to Members of the Assembly my message indicating the manner and results of the application of the policies of the Government during the life-time of this Parliament. I hope that Members of Parliament have been impressed by the vigorous and energetic manner in which this Government has carried out its policies, and the rapid and exciting tempo of development in all fields of our national life.

With the active and unflinching support of Parliament, the last five

years have seen spectacular changes in Ghana—in the field of education, industry, agriculture, social and economic reconstruction, and in our national economy. This is a challenge to the future.

Let us hope that the men and women who will be called upon to serve in the next Parliament will accept this challenge, and heed the call of the nation for a greater effort in our struggle to complete the economic and political emancipation of our country, and to assist in the realisation of our cherished goal—a united Africa within the framework of a Continental Union Government.

As you already know, the Government has accepted and approved the final report of the Delimitation

Commission. One of the significant recommendations of this Report is the increase of the membership of the National Assembly from its present number of 114 to 198. I am sure that this increase in the membership of this House will augur well for the country's future.

I have issued a Proclamation appointing Tuesday, June 8, as the date for the holding of the general election for the Second Parliament. The Government has decided that, in present circumstances, it should be the normal practice for candidates nominated for the general election to stand in any constituency, irrespective of whether they are domiciled there or not. The Central Committee as usual will make allocations as to the candidates for the election in the various constituencies.

We have reached the stage in our national reconstruction, where our energies should be directed not only towards the consolidation of our gains; we must be prepared to accept a sterner discipline at all levels, and among all our Party functionaries, public officers, and all sections of our society. Only in this way, can we wipe out those anti-social and anti-socialist practices

and other forces which militate against our national reconstruction, our progress and aspirations. The Party and the Government will therefore take such steps as will lead to a tightening up and enforcement of discipline, and to ensure the strict observance of the objectives of our socialist revolution and construction.

In future, in addition to his duties as a Member of Parliament, every Member of Parliament shall be in some kind of regular employment, and will be paid in respect of his Parliamentary duties an allowance of Fifty pounds (£50) a month.

In order to ensure that Members of Parliament faithfully discharge their responsibilities and obligations to their constituencies, the Central Committee of the Party will be empowered by law to unseat any Member of Parliament who in the opinion of the Central Committee has lost the confidence of the Party.

We are determined to proceed rapidly to build a strong economy in order to support and maintain our political independence. Our aim is to ensure that all persons living in Ghana shall have adequate means to provide themselves with enough food to eat, cloth-

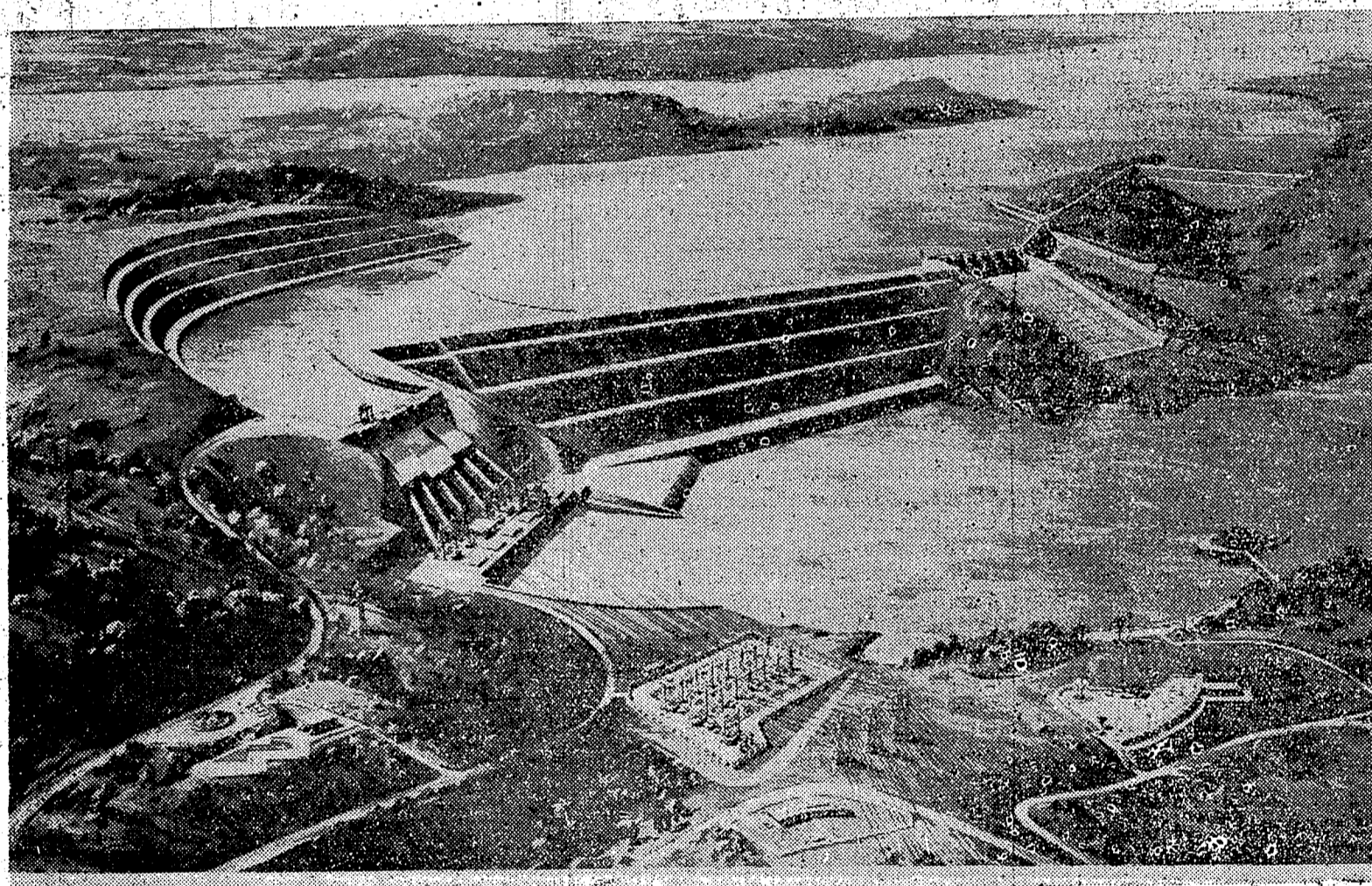
ing to wear, a house to live in and free education for their children and dependents. They shall also have access to free medical treatment. Further more, it is our aim to ensure that every citizen of Ghana will have full social security throughout his working life and will enjoy a pension on retirement from active work. All our socialist policies have been geared to this end.

The Party and the Government have been greatly encouraged by the support of the National Assembly in all its endeavours to create in Ghana a strong and prosperous nation, and a happy and contented community. I trust that the new Parliament will continue to give the Party and Government the same co-operation in its great tasks.

Let me now, on my own behalf of our great Party, thank Members of this Assembly for the work they have been able to do for the nation in the formative years of our Republic.

It gives me great pleasure to state that the First Parliament of our Republic has discharged its functions well and lived up to the ideals of the Party.

I bid you and this House farewell. May good fortune attend you, in your endeavours wherever you may be. And now, I leave you to allow you to perform your valedictory ceremonies.



A MODEL OF AKOSOMBO DAM WHICH WILL START GENERATING ELECTRICITY IN SEPTEMBER THIS YEAR.

## Five years achievement

THE last National Assembly passed nearly 300 Bills during its lifetime of five years. Covering all aspects of the national life, they were designed to speed the achievement of our aim of building a Socialist society. Among them were:

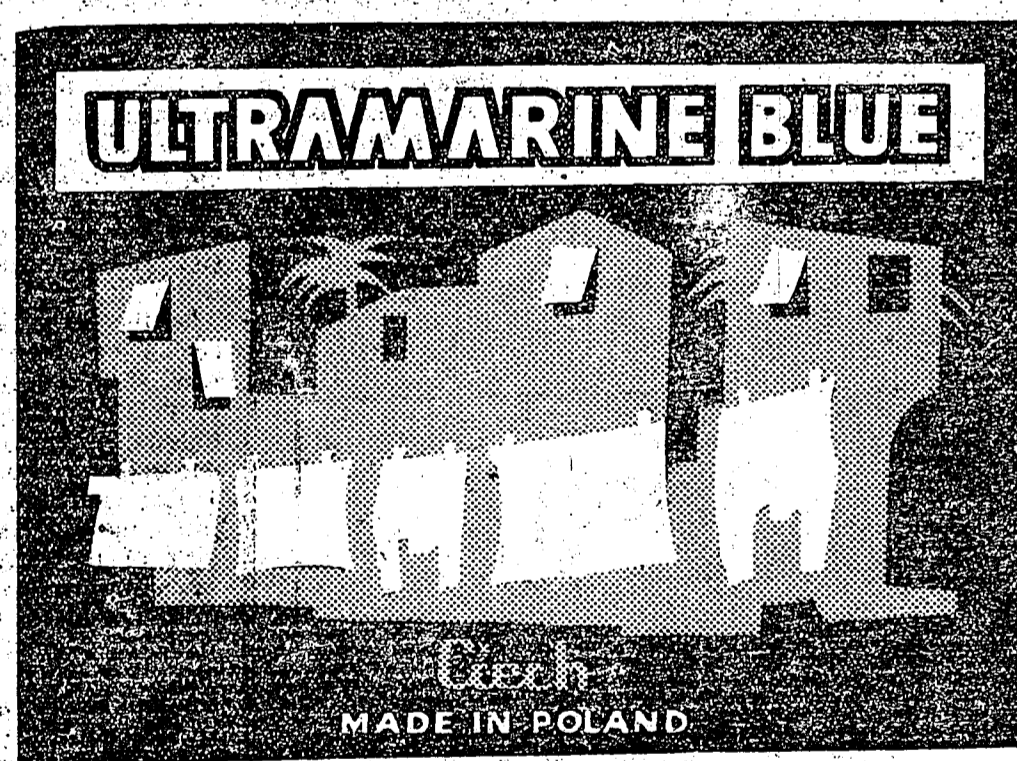
- The Social Security Act.
- The Education Act which gave concrete expression to our Socialist aim of bringing the benefits of education within the reach of all, making it free and compulsory.
- The University of Ghana Act and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Act proclaimed our intention of making higher education available to all who are capable of benefiting from it.
- The Industrial Relations Act insulated the workers against political sabotage.
- The Workmen's Compensation Act enables the trade unions to operate freely and effectively and to work towards improving the living standards of the workers.
- The Statutory Corporations Act relieved the country of too much dependence upon foreign commercial and industrial concerns. Legislation has also been

passed to encourage Ghanaians to contribute to the industrialisation of the country.

- The Capital Investment Act consolidated the measures which have so far been taken to stimulate activity in the private sector of the economy and to define the extent of the concessions that may be granted to foreign private investment.
- The establishment of the Bank of Ghana and the Ghana Investment Bank under statutes passed by the National Assembly accelerated commercial and economic progress.

The story of Ghana's development since independence has been one of increasing state participation in the building up of the country's productive capacity, both by investment in the directly productive sectors of industry and agriculture and in the equally important supporting spheres of education, public health, transport, water supplies and communications.

The first important step was the launching of the Volta River Project in 1958. This is perhaps the most important single project launched in Ghana. From September its power will provide an assured basis for industrial development.



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