

DAILY SUMMIT SPECIAL (8)

THE SPARK



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WHO REALLY WANTS UNITY?

EDITORIAL

Mr Wilson's Munich?

BRITAIN'S Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson, is to go to Salisbury this weekend for further talks with Rhodesia's racist Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith.

It would have been appropriate for Britain to send troops. If Mr. Smith had not been a white man, that is what would have happened.

British spokesmen have repeatedly been telling us during recent weeks that if Mr. Smith makes a unilateral declaration of independence, he will be guilty of treason. He would then be a rebel.

Mr. Smith has already made it clear that his white supremacist government has resolved to make such a declaration, and in his last letter to Mr. Wilson—the letter which prompted the British Prime Minister's weekend flight—he bluntly declared that if Britain did not give independence on the basis of the 1961 Constitution (rejected by the African majority) then the settler regime would take it.

It must be the first time in history that a British Prime Minister has hurriedly packed his bags and hastened several thousand miles to parley with a man who has openly declared his intention to rebel.

One historic parallel does, however, spring to mind. In 1938 a British Conservative Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, flew to Munich for talks with Hitler.

There, too, it was a question of whether the British Government would remain loyal to its pledges or betray a people—the people of Czechoslovakia—to an alien tyranny.

Mr. Chamberlain returned waving a piece of paper bearing Hitler's signature and talking about "peace with honour".

Within a matter of months Hitler tore up the piece of paper bearing his signature; his troops seized Czechoslovakia and Munich became a synonym for betrayal.

Will Mr. Wilson come back from Salisbury likewise waving a piece of paper bearing Ian Smith's signature and assuring the world that all is well and that the rights of the African majority in Rhodesia have been "safeguarded"?

Any pledge from Mr. Smith is not worth the paper it is written on. Mr. Smith has already made it clear that he stands for the continued supremacy of the white minority. Any "safeguards" he can offer are worthless.

The only sure safeguard for the rights of the African majority is the safeguard that exists in every democratic country—the right of every single man and woman to cast their vote regardless of colour or wealth.

That is the only safeguard that will satisfy Rhodesia's four million Africans. That is the only safeguard that will satisfy the representatives of the African people now gathered in Accra.

If Mr. Smith will not accept such a safeguard, then Mr. Smith must go—and it is Britain's responsibility to make sure that he does. If Britain for any reason is unable to remove him, then the African states will do so.

"If armed force is required to bring the rebellious elements in the Colony to order, we expect the United Kingdom Government to use force to quell the rebellion."

"In the event of the United Kingdom Government failing in its duty, I am sure that the member states of the O.A.U. will take up arms in support of the four million Africans who form the majority in Southern Rhodesia."

Kwame Nkrumah told the Accra Summit.
Mr. Wilson must know: Africa will tolerate no Munich!

IN Accra. Heads of State and Government representing the major states of Africa and the overwhelming majority of its people have gathered together to discuss the urgent problems confronting our continent.

They are debating the central problem of creating an effective unified political leadership and of laying the basis for the economic co-operation which alone can free us from exploitation and dependence upon the former colonial masters of Africa.

They are discussing how best to render assistance to our brothers still suffering under the yoke of colonialism or under the heel of white supremacist regimes like that of Ian Smith in Salisbury or of Verwoerd in Pretoria.

But the leaders of the Entente states (Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey and Niger) and Togo are apparently not interested in discussing these vital issues with their fellow-heads of state and government.

Refusing to face up to the fact, now obvious to all, that their attempts to prevent the Accra meeting have failed, they preferred to come together in Ouagadougou and there continue their efforts to inflame differences and sow dissension.

According to Radio Togo and Togo-Press the five leaders base their refusal to come to Accra and join their colleagues on the assertion that the Ghanaian authorities have allegedly "made no efforts to detect and expel from Ghana elements hostile to the governments of the Ivory Coast, Niger and Upper Volta."

According to Radio Togo, "only the leaders of these groups have been expelled from Ghana." They included, it is further alleged,

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

"three Ivory Coast and one Niger national".

According to a communique setting out the position of the five countries quoted by Radio Togo, "by not undertaking to expel all the families of the subversive elements before October 21st President Kwame Nkrumah did not recognise that the Lagos resolutions have not been applied."

The first point that must be made regarding these allegations is that the decision of the extraordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity held in Lagos contained two operative clauses.

GUILTY

The first was that political refugees should be removed not only from Ghana but also from the Entente countries, which, as is common knowledge, provide asylum for Ghanaian dissidents.

While waging a strident propaganda campaign about Ghana's alleged failure to fulfil the Lagos decision, the Entente countries themselves are guilty of non-compliance.

The second called upon all members of the O.A.U. to attend the Accra Summit meeting and to assist in creating an atmosphere favourable to the success of that meeting.

Here again the responsibility for the fulfilment of the resolution was placed not only upon Ghana but all members of the O.A.U., including the Entente countries and Togo.

There are grounds for doubting whether the Entente countries were in fact ever sincere in their protestations of their desire to attend the Accra meeting "if only" Ghana would expel those whom the En-

tente countries considered "undesirable".

There are grounds for believing that the shrill propaganda campaign about the alleged activities of "subversive elements" allegedly based in Ghana was merely a cloak to cover up the real aim of the Entente to undermine the O.A.U. and African unity in the interests of certain non-African Powers.

It will, for example, be recalled that President Yameogo of Upper Volta bluntly declared that he for one would not attend the Accra Summit "whatever the outcome" of the Lagos meeting. Following the Lagos meeting, and in implementation of its decisions, the Ghana Government took steps to expel refugee political leaders who had been obliged to flee from the Ivory Coast and Niger.

It should be emphasised that the Lagos decision made no reference whatsoever to the expulsion of families.

The question of families was introduced at a later stage, apparently with the aim of creating yet one more obstacle to the success of the Accra meeting, despite the second operative part of the Lagos decisions.

The Secretary-General of the O.A.U., M. Diallo Telli, and the chairman of the Lagos Council meeting, Kenya's Foreign Minister, Mr. J. Murumbi, subsequently visited Ghana and expressed their satisfaction with the steps which had been taken to ensure the success of the Accra meeting.

By contrast, the Entente countries took no steps whatever to expel dissident elements which are known to have sought refuge, for example, in Ivory Coast and also in Togo.

In the interests of unity and prompted by the desire to create the most favourable possible atmosphere for the successful holding of Summit meeting, Ghana refrained from raising the question of the Entente countries' non-fulfilment of the Lagos agreement, and in pursuance of her policy of doing everything possible to achieve agreement, Kwame Nkrumah went to Bamako to meet the Entente leaders.

There the demand was made that the Ghana Government should within five days remove—by what means or to where was not stated—278 Niger nationals to be identified by the Niger Embassy in Accra.

PERSISTED

The Niger Embassy was able to identify only fifty, and all these have been expelled.

Incidentally, it is reliably reported that one method of "identification" employed by Niger Embassy officials was to strike the victims of their government.

The Government of the Ivory Coast complained of the presence in Ghana of eight Ivory Coast nationals; all have been expelled. Upper Volta likewise complained of the presence of eight persons; these too, have been expelled.

Nevertheless, Togo and the Entente countries have still persisted in their refusal to attend the Accra Summit.

Togo seeks to justify her absence by reference to unspecified "past and recent events", despite the fact that no approaches have been made to the Ghana Government regarding these events, and despite the fact that the differences between the two countries were

amicably settled prior to the opening of the Togo-Ghana border.

Instead of coming to Accra to discuss the problems of an African continental government, M. Houphouet Boigny contents himself with making statements while in Ouagadougou to attend a wedding.

Having for months held the fabricated "refugee problems" as a dagger pointed at the heart of the O.A.U., they now pursue their vindictive campaign against their political opponents to the length of refusing to participate in the discussion of the vital issues which affect all Africa.

The Geneva Agreement on refugees recognises that any sovereign state can permit political refugees from another country to dwell in its territory. There is scarcely a country in the world which does not provide such asylum.

The attitude of the Entente countries is not only at variance with the accepted standards of international law; by the extension of their vindictive campaign to the wives and even the children of their political opponents, they violate the standards of common humanity.

The Ghana Government has many times made clear its view that this issue was a false one, designed to divert attention from the real problems of Africa.

Nevertheless, in the interests of unity and the success of the current O.A.U. Summit, it was prepared to go some way to meet the demands of the Entente countries and Togo.

They, by contrast, have made each new concession a pretext to further increase their demands. Public opinion in Africa and the world can from this judge for itself who is genuinely in favour of African unity.

GHANA'S MINERS WIN NATURE'S WEALTH

by K. O. THOMPSON

(Minister of Mineral Resources)

ONE of the most important natural resources of a country is its mineral wealth, and nature has favoured Ghana with a fair share of her bounty in this regard.

The successful exploitation of the mineral wealth of Ghana is vital to the economy of Ghana in general, as the products of the mining industry form the second commodity in order of importance in the table of exports that earn precious foreign exchange for the country.

SOCIALIST ECONOMY

It is for this reason that the Government has established a Ministry and State Corporations.

Under our development plans our mineral resources must make a substantial contribution towards creating a modern socialist economy capable of sustaining and generating the rising standard of living that has been achieved under the able leadership of Osagyefo.

The Party's programme for Work and Happiness is a realistic and realisable one, and my Ministry and its Corporations are deter-

mined to play our part efficiently.

We are not unmindful of the leading role Ghana is playing in the fight for a continental Union of Africa. When the time comes for our efforts to be co-ordinated and utilised in the supreme interest of Africa, we shall be ready.

TWO BODIES

The Organisation set up by the Government for the realisation of our socialist goals in this productive sector is, at the Ministerial level, the Ministry of Mines and Mineral Resources which is responsible for policy formulation and direction, and the overall supervision of the executive organs that implement policies in the field.

There are two important bodies at the departmental level, namely, the Geological Survey and Mining Departments which are responsible respectively for geological investigations (mapping and surveying), prospecting and overall supervision regarding safety and economics of mining operations.

There are also the two Corporations, the State

Gold Mining and the State Diamond Mining Corporations, charged respectively with the responsibility for actual 'winning' of gold and diamonds.

In addition to the State operations, there are mines in the private sector of our economy under this Ministry.

Prospecting for new ore bodies is in progress. On the evidence so far available, prospects are bright both at Tarkwa and Ariston—Pre-stea.

Intensive drilling programmes have been launched and a new shaft is being sunk at Tarkwa to exploit a new ore body

was 3 million carats valued at C12 Million (£5 Million).

The methods of diamond production differ among the operators in the field, the three main classes of operators being the State Diamond Mining Corporation, a private European Company (C.A.S.T.) and individual winners.



THIS IS WHAT
GHANA IS
DOING... (6)

Ashanti Goldfields, Obuasi (gold); Consolidated African Selection Trust, Akwatia (diamonds); African Manganese Company, Nsuta (manganese); British Aluminium Co. Ltd., Awaso (bauxite).

For the present our mining activities are limited to the exploitation of economic minerals such as gold, diamonds, manganese and bauxite. But intensive investigations and exploration are proceeding for the full exploitation of our industrial potentials.

ASPIRATIONS

Already exciting finds such as iron ore, limestone, lithium, beryl, kaolin and feldspar have been made.

To ensure continued employment for our workers and in consonance with our aspiration to build a socialist state, the Government of Ghana, after considerable negotiations, took over the following mines when their owners indicated their intention to flood them:

A amalgamated Banket Areas, Tarkwa; Ariston Gold Mines, Pre-stea; Ghana Main Reef, Bon-daye; Bibiani Mines, Bibiani; Bremang Gold Dredging Co., Dunkwa; Takrowase Diamond Mine.

In addition, the State Diamond Corporation operates diamond fields at Tarkwa, Pramkese and Akim Oda.

The State Mines together provide employment for a total of some 12,000 workers, 150 of whom are expatriate professionals and technicians.

The total production of these mines for the year 1964/65 is estimated at about 850,000 ounces, valued at about C24,000,000 (£10 million),

which gives promise of a high-grade ore and the possibility of extending the life of this mine well beyond the next 15 years.

This programme of work—intensive and extensive prospecting for new ore bodies—will be carried out at the other mines as well as at some "old prospects" as more staff and requisite equipment become available, in order to improve the yield and or extend the life of our existing and known mines.

Meanwhile, the basic work of surveying and mapping goes on apace to discover new minerals and deposits.

Diamonds, the precious mineral well-known as the hardest naturally occurring substance, has been mined in this country for nearly half a century.

NEW FIND

They occur in beds of gravel or sand up to 3 feet thick lying near or in rivers and streams.

The main deposits are in the Brim River area in the Eastern Region, about 65 miles north-west of Accra.

Towns in the area, such as Akim Oda, Akwatia, Takrowase and Pramkese, have become famous because of the intensive mining operations carried on in the area.

There are also important potential deposits in the Central and Western Regions, notably at Assin Akonfudi and Tarkwa, while a most recent find at New Edubiase in Ashanti is promising.

Mostly the diamonds being mined in Ghana are of the industrial type. About 70 per cent of the diamonds obtained are of the industrial grade.

Average annual production over the past five years

Another method is to dredge up rich diamond bearing gravel or sand beds in a river, wash and 'concentrate' on the spot and then transport to the final separation and grading plant.

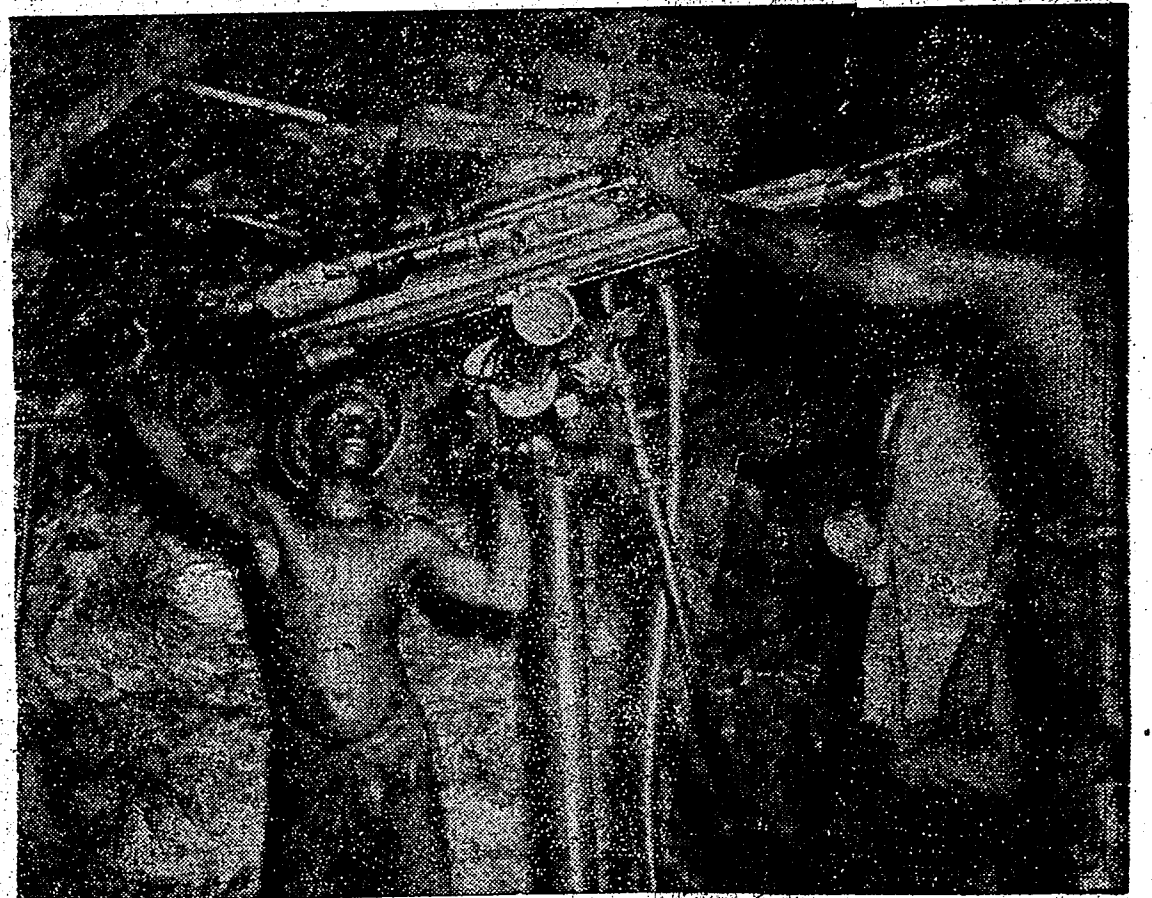
The modest output of bauxite at Awaso will be completely eclipsed when the ore at Kibi (and later at Yenahin) which is actively being prospected (under test for yield) comes into full exploitation.

CONTRACT

The largest undertaking yet in this field by the State Corporation, will come into being in the near future when the Birim River Project is launched, for which a contract worth C19.2 million was signed in May this year. There are high hopes for this investment.

In conclusion, it is appropriate to sound a note of warning. Despite the phenomenal advance made in modern times by science and technology, there still remains an element of chance in mining.

Mining centres can grow overnight, become rich and die overnight, depending upon fortuitous formation of a promising ore body



'It is our determination to employ the most up-to-date methods in winning the mineral resources of Ghana so that our mines may continue for long to make their valuable contribution to the economy of Ghana and the well-being of our people.'

The individual winners who normally work under contract to the large concerns, use the hand-washing method, by digging up by hand gem bearing gravel or sand and 'panning' the material with water.

OPERATIONS

Obviously this is an unsatisfactory method of winning such a precious mineral.

In the bigger operations of the large concerns, modern machinery is used.

One method is to bulldoze rich diamond-bearing gravel and transport it by road or rail to processing plant where the diamonds are separated.

At present manganese and bauxite are mined by European concessionaires. The operations are at Nsuta for manganese and Awaso for bauxite. Production figures are of the following order:

MANGANESE: 500,000 tons worth C9.6 Million (£4 Million)

BAUXITE: 280,000 tons worth C1.6 Million (£650,000)

The Nsuta ore is the largest and richest single deposit of manganese in the country. There are of course several minor scattered deposits of low-grade ore, mainly in the Western Region.

and upon the rate of extraction of the mineral deposit found.

Since mineral resources cannot be created again or regenerated by man, unless science and technology find substitutes, wise mining methods and careful use will be needed.

METHODS

It is our determination therefore to employ the most up-to-date methods in winning the mineral resources of Ghana so that our mines may continue for long to make their valuable contribution to the economy of Ghana and to the well-being of our people.

Thoughts on the Background to Pan-Africanism (2)

THE First World War, as we saw in the first article was fought for a re-division of the world by the Imperialists. In fact it resulted in the actual shrinking of the world available to Imperialist exploitation.

The General Crisis of Capitalism, marked by the actual outbreak of war on a world scale was deepened by the successful establishment of the Soviet Union. In one-sixth of the world's surface a new social order was about to be constructed.

The weaker imperialist states were temporarily disabled and German controlled territories in Africa were re-distributed among the victors.

In Europe, the capitalist classes as terrified by the implications of the Russian revolution, as their forebears had been by the French Revolution, began to bury their differences and re-combine to try and smash the Soviet Union and the revolutionary forces of other European states like Finland, Hungary and Germany.

The armies of the Western powers conquerors and conquered of the war, invaded the new Soviet Union and carried on military actions within her territories.

The picture for the next two decades was to be one in which monopoly capitalism, now operating in only five-sixth of the world, organised all its power to suppress the working people of the metropolitan countries, to smash the new socialist state and to suppress the growing movement for national liberation in India and Africa and Asia.

In the three weakest capitalist states, Japan, Italy and Germany the capitalists could continue to rule only by the resort to the most open terroristic forms of government.

Backed by the powerful German trusts, like Farben, Siemens Thyssens, Krupps, the Nazi Party trampled its way to power over the bodies of Communists, Socialists, Liberals, Trade Unionists and Jews.

Developments in these three countries were to affect the fate of Asia and Africa. The fascist states seeking once more for areas to dominate, did not challenge the stronger imperialisms but turned first against the weaker countries.

Africa was to be an early victim with Italy's attack on Ethiopia, in which the new techniques of modern warfare were tried out by the Italian air force.

The Japanese launched their aggressions in Manchuria and a terrible prolonged war ensued which was to end only in 1949 with the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic.

Germany was to make her bid for new colonies, in the heart of Europe itself. Its demands were satisfied by the British, French and United States Governments in the hope of encouraging Hitler to look to the Soviet Union for further conquests.

Even in the more powerful Imperialist states, there came the onset of mass unemployment on a scale never before experienced. Millions of people in the richest countries of the world were faced with the hunger and starvation and deprivation which had been characteristic of the colonial world for generations.

It was as an answer to the popular discontent and rising socialist consciousness that monopoly capitalism resorted to fascist methods where it could.

It used the poison of racialism as a useful diversion to persuade the people that their wrongs were caused by those of different religions or colour of skin and not by the laws of capitalism.

In spite of the heroic struggles of anti-Fascists in Europe of the Ethiopian peoples against Italian barbarism, of the Chinese against the Japanese military machine, the general picture was one of the advance of the forces of reaction.

In India nevertheless the mass movement for national independence took on gigantic proportions, while in

Africa there was a less spectacular but steady advance of the movement, growing in consciousness and developing organisationally.

The balkanisation of the African continent hindered the growth of the movement for liberation, with the presence of various imperialist forces in the Continent upon which pressure had to be placed.

The variety of forms of rule integration into France, or indirect rule by the British imposed complications on the liberation forces which were not paralleled elsewhere.

In this situation it was impossible for the national liberation movements to succeed immediately. In spite of that, activity continued in every field of the anti-Imperialist struggle.

Those who understood the real nature of imperialism who knew that its internal contradictions must operate to weaken it, who knew that Lenin's analysis of "moribund capitalism" was correct, continued the fight everywhere against exploitation, oppression, racialism and war, confident of their victory.

As an important aspect of this fight three Pan-African Congresses were held between 1921 and 1939.

In 1921, delegates met in London and Brussels. There were forty-one delegates from Africa, thirty-five from the United States, twenty-four were Africans representing their fellows in Europe, seven were from the West Indies.

With such a composition it is to be expected that emphasis would be placed on the links between the African and the Afro-American, with demands for racial equality and social rights as a dominant theme.

The next Conference in 1923, meeting in London and Lisbon, was smaller, but represented in important advance in the demands now being developed.

Here we see emerged three vital strands which were to develop within the ideology of Pan-Africanism

and which have come to be known as the dominant ideas.

These are the demand for political rights, at that stage formulated as a demand for participation in government, a demand for the welfare of the African peoples coupled with an attack on the private profit motive which was now being seen as the dynamic force behind colonialism, and the third demand which reveals that the Pan-African forces saw their destiny linked with that of the rest of the world, was for world disarmament and against war, but with the right of Africans to bear arms in their own defence.

The 4th Congress was held in 1927 in New York after being banned by the French from Tunisia.

We see in these early congresses the slow but steady growth of the ideology of Pan-Africanism.

There emerges the belief in the common destiny of the African peoples, the demand for the ending of foreign rule, the assertion the validity of African culture and the contribution that the African personality can make to world civilisation and the recognition that after liberation there will remain the task of reconstructing African society with an implicit condemnation of the capitalist system.

Growing contacts were developing between the leaders of African people, many of whom were intellectuals studying in the Universities of Western Europe and the United States.

Although some had been selected by the imperialist rulers for further training and education in the hope that they could be assimilated into the colonial system, they were true anti-imperialists and reflected the real aspirations of their people for freedom.

With the development of mining and other extractive industries, with industrialisation even on a very small scale in some parts of the continent, there was developing another new, though still very small force, a working class, which was to take its place, in the national liberation struggles, making its own distinctive and powerful contributions.

Just as the First World War went wrong for the imperialists, so their calculations which lay behind the second proved to be illusory.

Nazi Germany did not at first turn East against the Soviet Union, but turned West occupying western Europe. When she did turn East she signed her death warrant.

Millions of people moved into action to defeat Fascism and were able to impose their democratic demands on their reluctant governments.

Thousands of Africans were drafted into the armed forces, still denied the democratic rights for which the western capitalist governments claimed they were fighting.

Churchill acclaimed his determination not to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, but the forces of history were too powerful even for him.

The socialist world emerged from the Second World War with new strength, and fully consolidated, with the basis laid for its development in six other states and, as was to happen, in one half of Germany itself.

Towards the end of the

by a Spark Correspondent

the World Trade Union Federation was held in London in February 1945. Attending it were delegates from practically all the colonial countries, among them delegates from Africa.

In March of the same year the preliminary Pan-African Congress was held with some of these delegates present, at which the agenda for the 5th Pan-African Congress held in October was drawn up.

This congress was a decisive stage in the growth of Pan-Africanism. Profoundly influenced by socialist thought, operating in an infinitely more favourable situation, with a shift in the balance of world forces operating against imperialism, the Congress expressed the solidarity of Africa with others fighting for independence in other continents.

A second profound development was its call for the active unity of all sections of the people in the struggle for freedom. The paragraph

V of the declaration expressed this new consciousness and the new power of the liberation movement of Africa, which was to surge forward irresistibly to the winning of independence by many new states in the course of the next two decades.

We also call upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the Press assembly demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained.

"Today there is only one road to effective action—the organisation of the masses. And in that organisation the educated colonials must join. Colonial and subject peoples of the world, Unite!"



Extracts from documents which have become landmarks in Africa's fight for Peace, Freedom and Unity

FOR FREEDOM

The Summit Conference of Independent African States, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 22 May to 25 May 1963;

Having considered all aspects of the questions of apartheid and racial discrimination;

Unanimously convinced of the imperious and urgent necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their efforts to put an end to the South African Government's criminal policy of apartheid and wipe out racial discrimination in all its forms.

Have agreed unanimously to concert and co-ordinate their efforts and actions in this field, and to this end have decided on the following measures:

- (a) To grant Scholarships, educational facilities and possibilities of employment in African government services to refugees from south Africa;
- (b) To support the recommendations presented to the Security Council and the General Assembly by the Special Committee of the United Nations on the Apartheid policies of the South African Government;
- (c) To despatch a delegation of Foreign Ministers to inform the Security Council of the explosive situation existing in South Africa: (The Conference has decided the members of the Delegation to be: Liberia, Tunisia, Madagascar and Sierra Leone);
- (d) To co-ordinate concerted measures of sanction against the Government of South Africa;

1. Appeals to all States, and more particularly to those which have traditional relations and co-operate with the Government of South Africa, to apply strictly U.N. resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962 concerning apartheid;

2. Appeals to all Governments who still have diplomatic, consular and economic relations with the Government of South Africa to break off those relations and to cease any other form of encouragement for the policy of apartheid;

3. Stresses the great responsibility incurred by the colonial authorities administering territories neighbouring South Africa in the pursuit of the policy of apartheid;

4. Condemns racial discrimination in all its forms in Africa and all over the world;

5. Expresses the deep concern aroused in all African peoples and governments by the measures of racial discrimination taken against communities of African origin living outside the continent and particularly in the United States of America: Expresses appreciation for the efforts of the Federal Government of the United States of America to put an end to these intolerable mal-practices which are likely seriously to deteriorate relations between the African peoples and governments on the one hand and the people and government of the United States of America on the other.

FOR PEACE

The Summit Conference of Independent African States meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 22 May to 25 May 1963;

Having considered all aspects of the questions of general disarmament;

Unanimously convinced of the imperious and urgent necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their efforts to contribute to the achievement of a realistic disarmament programme through the signing, by all states concerned, of a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control;

Have agreed unanimously to concert co-ordinate their efforts and actions in this field, and to this end have decided on the following measures:

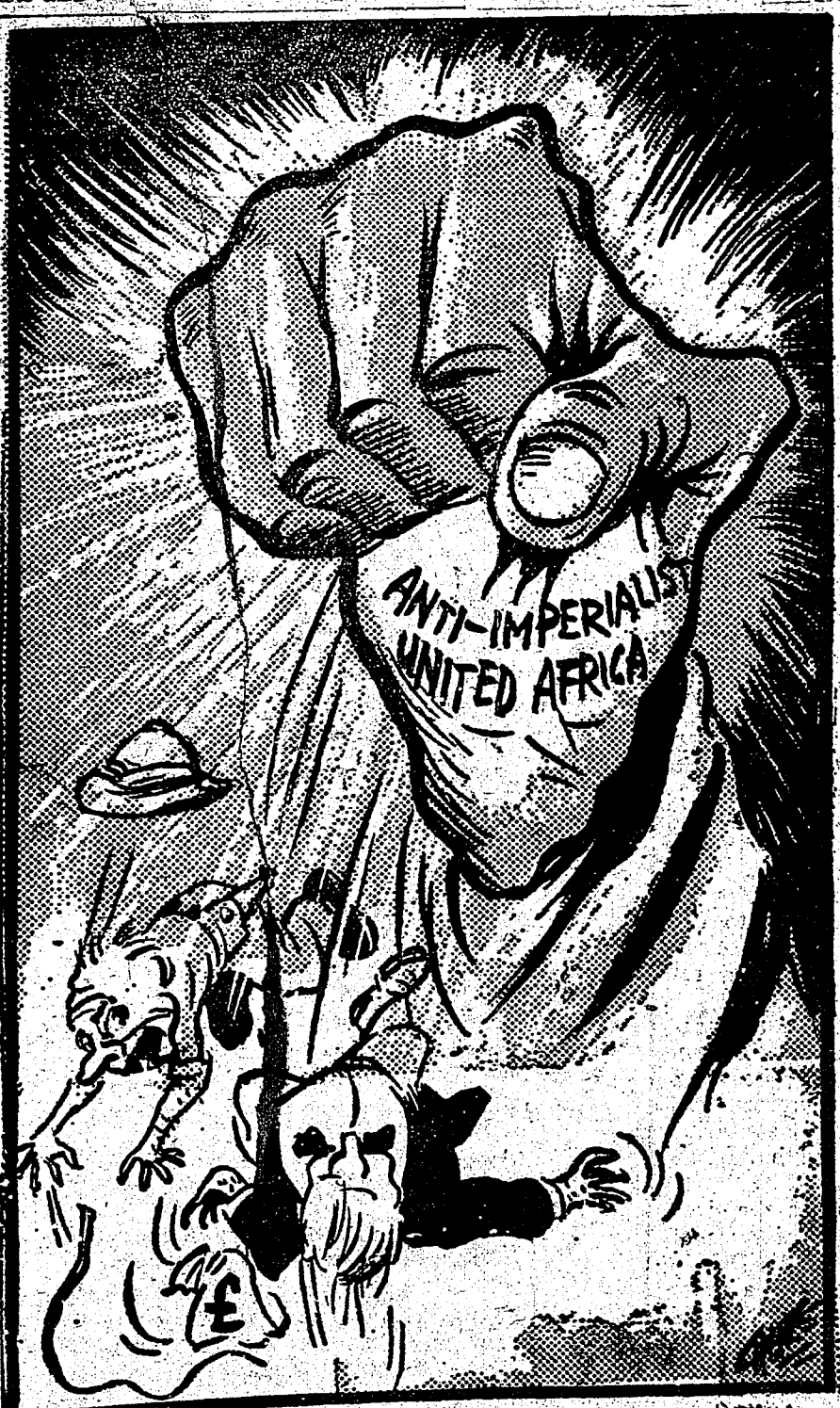
1. To affirm and respect the principle of declaring Africa a Denuclearised Zone; to oppose all nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, as well as the manufacture of nuclear weapons; and to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy;

2. The destruction of existing nuclear weapons;

3. To undertake to bring about, by means negotiation, the end of military occupation of the African continent and the elimination of military bases and nuclear tests, which elimination constitutes a basic element of African independence and Unity;

4. To appeal to the great powers to: (a) reduce conventional weapons; (b) put an end to the arms race; and (c) sign a general and complete disarmament agreement under strict and effective international control;

5. To appeal to the Great Powers, in particular to the soviet Union and the United States of America, to use their best endeavours to secure the objectives stated above.



UNITY PUNCH!

Spain, too, still has Colonies in Africa

SPAIN is a country with a long history of colonialism. For centuries the Spaniards, together with Britain, were the two largest colonial and imperialist countries of the world. At one time during the XVII Century Spanish colonies extended over most of the Americas. It also had footholds in Asia and parts of Africa. Even half of Europe was under Spanish control.

Up to the middle of the XIX century, Spain did not have colonies in Africa except the Canary Islands and the two towns of Melilla and Ceuta on the north coast of Morocco.

Its hold over Fernando Po was nominal, and this can be explained by the fact that Spain, like Portugal, was a very small country and therefore unable to maintain its rule over a mighty empire.

However, after the successful independence wars of the Spanish colonies in Latin America which went on up to the end of the XIX century, Spain found itself with a defeated but proud army, cast in the traditional feudal and imperialist role of an army used to dominate other peoples, and therefore not happy with a passive role.

This army, together with the feudal aristocracy and the big landowners, decided on two lines of action: to rule Spain itself—an objective achieved by means of continuous military revolts against the established civil powers—and to try to extend their power over the remaining parts of the old Spanish colonial empire.

DECLARED WAR

On the pretext of ending piracy, Spain declared war against the Sultan of Morocco in 1856. The Spaniards were beaten.

But in 1904 and 1912 France and Spain signed treaties by which a joint Franco-Spanish protectorate was established over Morocco.

Fighting went on till 1926. Thousands of Spanish soldiers died, hundreds of Moroccan villages were burnt and thousands of Moroccans cruelly murdered. As a result, Spain, with France's help, was established as a colonial power in Morocco.

The Canaries, used for centuries as a victualling station for the ships on the Latin American route, had with the end of the Spanish rule in Latin America, lost their vital importance.

The islanders had hitherto lived in relative freedom, but the necessity for Spain to replace the lost wealth of Latin America made the Spanish capitalists look out for new means of exploitation.

The most ruthless exploitation of the islands was initiated by the Spaniards. Peasants were compelled to work for very low wages and soon enormous fortunes were built on the sales of the wealth of the Canaries. Today, Canaries products are sold throughout the whole world, and bring about £250 million to Spain.

The end of the 1939-45 war found Portugal and Spain as African colonial powers together with Britain, France and Belgium. Italy, another imperialist power in Africa, had, owing to its defeat in the war, lost its colonies.

During the first part of the war, because the Franco regime owed its very existence to the active help of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, Spain was pro-fascist.

The infamous "Blue Division" fought on the Eastern Front, and massacred thousands of Soviet prisoners of war and civilians.

The Spanish colonies in

North and West Africa, including the Canaries, were used by German U-boats against the allies and as spy centres.

After the victory of the Allies in North Africa the situation changed. In 1942 the allied landing in Algeria brought home to Franco that he could not continue his pro-fascist stand.

Despite his famous declaration offering a million Spanish soldiers to Hitler if the Soviet Army approached Berlin, Spanish foreign policy began to undergo a gradual change.

By the end of the war Franco was sure of British and American protection and although in 1945 his regime was refused entry in the United Nations, in a few years he was receiving huge amounts of American help in exchange for military bases in Spain and the Canaries.

'A BASTION'

Today, thanks to British and American help, his regime is accepted by all the Western countries and Spain is a blood-stained but "honourable" member of the United Nations. Only the opposition of Belgium and Norway has prevented it from becoming a member of N.A.T.O.

Spain was welcomed as "a bastion against Communism" and the thousands of Canarian workers murdered in 1936-1945 by the Franco police and the police state repression in Spain itself were forgotten.

Franco was absolved and never brought to trial as a war criminal. Spain became an Anglo-Saxon satellite, and Spanish foreign policy began to be dictated from Washington.

This explains the apparent difference between Portuguese and Spanish colonial policies. Portugal refuses to give independence to the colonies and sends soldiers; while Spain promises independence for the future and sends soldiers.

Both murder thousands of nationalists, but Spain under the guidance of Washington prepares the ground for the continuous neo-colonialist domination of her colonies in Africa.

What has been Spanish colonial policy in North Africa? A policy of brutality and murder since Spanish colonialism was established in Morocco by a bloody war against the Moroccan people where thousands and thousands of men, women and children were murdered by Spanish soldiers during the sixty years of the war of conquest, using the most terrible methods of repression.

In the Canaries Islam the pattern is repeated. All efforts of the people in the islands to wrest independence from their colonial masters has been met by savage brutality. All through the centuries the Canarian people has been oppressed by Spain.

ARMY, POLICE

Since the XV century Spain has had the control of the islands and has flooded the country with Civil Servants, Army and Police. There are not many instances in five centuries of a Canarian having occupied a high post in the civil service or in the military or civil administration of the Islands.

The Canaries were considered as a good place to send impoverished sons of the Spanish aristocracy to become rich quick, and then go back to Spain.

The Islands are probably that part of Africa with the oldest continuous European occupation. At times the wish for independence has

in the form of secession movements—that is to say, the people asked for self-government within a federated Spain.

Today, the people of the Canaries Islands see much more clearly. They realise that their destiny is an African destiny and therefore they should seek independence within a united Africa.

This is something the Spanish Government is not prepared to allow, as Spain has always considered the Canaries as a very strong source of revenue.

Canarian exports provide Spain with at least a sixth of the total Spanish hard currency revenue and this should be considered in the light of the fact that the population of the Canaries is only one million as against Spain's 32 millions.

Spain in 1953 signed a military treaty with the United States by which among other things it was agreed to establish military bases in Spain. One of these American military bases equipped with atomic weapons has been recently established on one of the Canaries Islands.

The Spanish Government is using the Canaries Islands as bases for Portuguese and South African military and civil aircraft.

According to official figures for 1964, 2,172 aircrafts landed in Las Palmas. Of these 483 were South African, 164 Portuguese and 101 Belgian or West German planes.

If we consider that this number only covers a civil airfield and there are several other military and civil airfields in the Islands, we must realise what a staggering amount of aircraft were en route to South Africa or the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

BOYCOTT

What about the undisclosed amount of military aircraft? The figure must be considered considering the treaties between Portugal and Spain and its good relations with South Africa.

It is clear that the boycott against Portugal and South Africa is worthless since they are able to bypass Africa by using the Spanish installations in the Canaries. Apart from this, the Canaries are now also used as U.S. staging points.

The people in the Islands have been protesting since 1956 by every means at their disposal against the imperialist bases.

But the number of foreign troops in the Canaries is now bigger than ever; so too, is the number of ships calling at the islands on their way towards Angola and Mozambique.

During the last year alone, several hundreds of patriots have been arrested and charged with "communist" activities.

The desire for independence among the Canarian people is today stronger than ever. This is not only because Africa as a whole is becoming independent but because the Canarians as a people have reached now the point of national maturity.

The Canarian people cannot be any longer a part of colonial Spain, or a colony of any other country. The Canaries must be free and independent.

This is a fact that must be understood by all true Africans and all efforts should be done to help the people of the Canaries to join the rest of the African peoples in their struggle for an African future.

by DR. TAVIRA

Another Spanish colony in Africa is Rio de Ore. This is a very large bit of the Sahara Desert on the west coast of Africa, practically uninhabited with a Berber nomadic population of no more than 40,000.

The area is claimed by Morocco and Mauritania, and Spain has used these opposing claims very skillfully, creating divisions amongst these two sister nations, and at the same time preparing the ground for continuing Spanish domination.

The territory is offered either to Morocco or Mauritania according to the political climate of the moment. Nobody bothers to consult the people living in the area. This is an example of the clever way in which Spanish foreign policy is conducted in Africa.

The unfriendly relations existing between Mauritania and Morocco in great degree spring from Franco's dangling of a piece of the Sahara Desert before the eyes of these two sister countries.

HIGH SUMS

But there is already plenty of proof that Spain does not intend to give this land to Mauritania or Morocco, or to allow the people in the area to be independent.

Huge sums are being invested in the country by Spain, and the town of El Aieun is being built to provide accommodation for about 30,000 Spanish settlers to join those already living in the towns of Villa Cisneros and Cape Bojador, with a Spanish settler majority.

At the moment the economy of the area is poor—only a few trading posts and fisheries. But mineral deposits are now being exploited, especially iron ore, and American companies have been given concessions to look out for petrol and other minerals. According to Spanish sources, Spain expects the area to be self-sufficient by 1972.

And now we come to the last Spanish colony in Africa, known by the name of Equatorial Guinea formed by the Island of Fernando Po and the mainland of Rio Muni, and inhabited by about 250,000 people.

Although Spain has had trading posts in Fernando Po for a very long time, Spanish occupation of Rio Muni and Fernando Po was effective only in the XIX century.

In this area Spanish foreign policy follows a many-sided pattern. On one side Franco appears to agree to demands for independence. A puppet neo-colonialist junta has been established with a so-called "Autonomous Government" of Equatorial Guinea.

The title is misleading. Equatorial Guinea, according to Spain, remains a Spanish Province in Africa. To think that independence is coming is a serious mistake.

The people now in this "Government" have been carefully selected by Spain to ensure that should pressure on Spain become heavy, a neo-colonialist Government controlled by Spain remains in power.

Meanwhile Spain simultaneously follows other lines of policy. Genuine nationalists are persecuted and

driven underground, arrested and murdered, or sent to the death island of Annobon.

A new party has been set up by Spain, a true copy of the Spanish fascist party Falange, which is now the official party. The nationalist party I.P.G.E. has been declared illegal.

At the same time, secret approaches have been made to neighbouring countries, offering them Equatorial Guinea.

But Spain has not intention whatsoever of giving anything to anybody, because Spain intends to keep the territory under its domination, either by direct colonialism or by the imposition of a puppet neo-colonialist government directed from

Madrid.

The people of Equatorial Guinea are well aware of this situation and despite the fact that the country is filled with Spanish troops and police, despite the murder of patriots and the arrests and banning of political parties, a very strong nationalist movement is being developed under the leadership of Jesus Mba Ovono, the leader of I.P.G.E.

Terror and pressures of all kinds are used against nationalists and their families. Recently thirty Equatorial scholarship students in Madrid were told that their scholarships had been terminated because of their opposition to the puppet government established by Madrid.

As we have seen, Spanish colonial policy is not openly opposed to independence. They do not use the open

Portuguese methods, their methods are more subtle—but the results are the same: the colonies remain colonies.

Spanish soldiers are not yet fighting in the field, but the Spanish police has several hundreds of African patriots in prison in Spain.

What should Africa do in relation with Spain? To help the people in the Spanish colonies to gain independence one of the first steps should be to declare a boycott on Spain in all international organisations, in the same way as has been done with Portugal and South Africa, and all African countries should break diplomatic and trade relations with Spain.

With these steps Spain would be compelled to come on the open and show its true colours. Africa must be free, and Africa must include the Spanish colonies.

LIBERATION v. COLD WAR

THE Cold War launched at Fulton by Winston Churchill in 1947 has dominated the foreign policies of the Western Capitalist Powers ever since.

Britain has taken on a colossal financial burden in order to fulfil her commitments to America's anti-communist policies.

Her balance of payments deficit from which the International Monetary Fund recently had to rescue her could be eliminated almost immediately if she cut her arms bill.

The Cold War and its military and economic consequences may seem to be very far away from Africa but the reality is that Cold War policies are linked with the imperialists' attempts to hold back the national liberation of the continent.

There is no doubt that if Fascist Spain and Portugal were not given the military and economic support of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, they would be unable to hang on to their colonies.

BASES

Why does N.A.T.O. want to support Spain and Portugal? The immediate reason is that the Western Powers wish to retain strategic positions and bases which can be used as a threat to the socialist world.

The policy of the Cold War and its strategic demands, leads to the strengthening of the most vicious imperialist powers who use the arms provided for them by the West for the direct suppression of the peoples of the Portuguese and Spanish colonial systems.

The fight for liberation brings all those who struggle for freedom into immediate, direct conflict with the anti-Socialist forces of the Cold War.

Britain was forced by the boycott movements to declare that she would not sell arms to the Verwoerd regime in South Africa.

In spite of this declaration by Harold Wilson, the demands of the Cold War still reign supreme and Britain is still supplying arms to the South African racists.

The specious reason given for this is the existence of Simonstown base. Britain wants to control a base which will give her rapid access to the India Ocean and the Atlantic in case of a third world war—a war which she and the Western

Powers have always envisaged will be against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

Rather than sacrifice this base, she will sacrifice the population of South Africa, supplying their enemies with the means to suppress them yet more brutally and efficiently.

Britain's support for the Cold War has placed her in a position where she can be blackmailed by the Verwoerd regime. If she refuses to continue to supply arms, then the South African Government will deprive her of the use of the Simonstown base.

The sixteen Buccaneer aircraft which Britain has sold to the South African Government have now been delivered and are at present undergoing acceptance trials in Scotland. Does anyone really believe that they are for use only in a third global conflict?

Britain is still continuing to supply 4.5 inch ammunition to the South African navy which uses two British-

built frigates.

This according to the British Navy Department is "within the limits of normal peacetime practice requirements. It is being done under the obligations of the Simonstown agreement."

Has the Navy Department heard that there is no normal peacetime situation in South Africa, but that there is in effect a terrible war being waged on the African peoples by the racists who use the arms supplied to them from the Western countries?

If Britain were to pull out of the Cold War which leads her to be subservient to the United States, which leads her to bankruptcy, which leads her into isolation from all decent freedom loving forces, then she could close her base at Simonstown, she could be indifferent to the blackmailing demands of the South African Government and to carry out honestly the promise that Harold Wilson made to stop the sale of arms to South Africa immediately.



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