

THE SPARK

(25)

2d.

A WEEKLY OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

FRIDAY, MAY 31, 1963

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper)

EDITORIAL

THE NEW PHASE

THE May 1963 Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of State and Government ushers in a new and higher phase of the African Revolution. It brings to an end the phase in which Africa spoke with discordant voices and thus made room for externally directed manoeuvres which seek to maintain imperialist interests on the African continent. The new phase is marked by the emergence of a single African voice guided by a body of principles crystallised into a single African charter and a few resolutions.

The new voice of Africa which echoes the best tradition of the African Revolution since the historic 1958 Accra Conference of Independent African States is civilised, militant and progressive.

It is civilised because, by subscribing to the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it accepts all the conventions that should guide the actions of the modern state in its relations with other states and with its own citizens.

It is militant because it demands both the immediate liquidation of colonial rule and apartheid throughout Africa and complete independence for the African states that are politically free.

It is progressive because it insists that the raison d'être of African governments is "a better life for peoples of Africa" and it sees freedom, equality, justice and dignity as "the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples."

Thus our newly-won concept of African unity is not a mere sentimental yearning for a nondescript something in the misty future. On the contrary, it is a bold and real programme even now present with us and made up of clearly enunciated principles. In the words of the African Charter itself, it is "a large unity transcending ethnic and national differences."

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WHAT HAPPENED AT ADDIS ABABA

RIGHT from the beginning the Summit of the African Heads of State and Government excited fluent speculation, whatever form it took. The Summit is over. But naturally, many people are anxious to know what actually took place at Addis Ababa. To give a clear perspective, we must mention two sharply divided phases into which the Summit may be put.

The first phase was used in stating, quite frankly, the opinions of the leaders of Africa on the questions of African Unity and total decolonisation of the continent of Africa. One stream of thought ran through all the speeches delivered. It was clear to all that all African leaders stood for Unity and the complete liberation of the continent from the iron-heels of colonialism.

However, there was a sharp division of opinion on how these goals could be

achieved. This point culminated in the opening of the second phase of the Summit. How could these views which appeared to be irreconcilable be brought together into a charter capable of carrying the aspirations of the people of Africa and powerful enough to give a new impetus to the African revolution?

Practically every speaker emphasised that Addis Ababa must find a solution to the multiple problems facing Africa.

At the early stages it looked as if the optimist had lost his bearings. For a brief period the impression was given that the Summit was harping on a discordant note over the question of the admission of Togo. There were several attitudes to the issue. The issue hangs in the balance unresolved.

The leaders were able to gloss-over the problem. It was comforting to believe that the short period of dark clouds gave way to the light of hope.

The colonial question which Prime Minister Ben Bella of Algeria emphasised in his speech came to the forefront on the second day of the Summit. It was patently clear to all the leaders of Africa that the South African government and Portugal, have, with unwavering arrogance, treated world opinion with corrupt contempt. They have ignored decisions of the United Nations as to make of it a humiliating burlesque. South Africa has snubbed verdicts of the International Court of Justice.

A solution must be found but, in finding it, President Nkrumah said we must not forget that "no sporadic act nor pious resolutions can resolve the problem... The supply of arms or other military aids to the colonial oppressors of Africa must be regarded not only as aid in the vanquishment of the freedom fighters battling for their independence, but as an act of aggression against the whole of Africa. How can we meet this aggressor?"

Premier Ben Bella says Algeria is ready with 10,000 volunteers. "Our

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charter will remain a dead letter if our brothers in Angola, Mozambique and other dependent territories do not receive from us the unconditional support to which they are entitled."

Mr. Milton Obote of Uganda readily offered his country as the base for training freedom fighters.

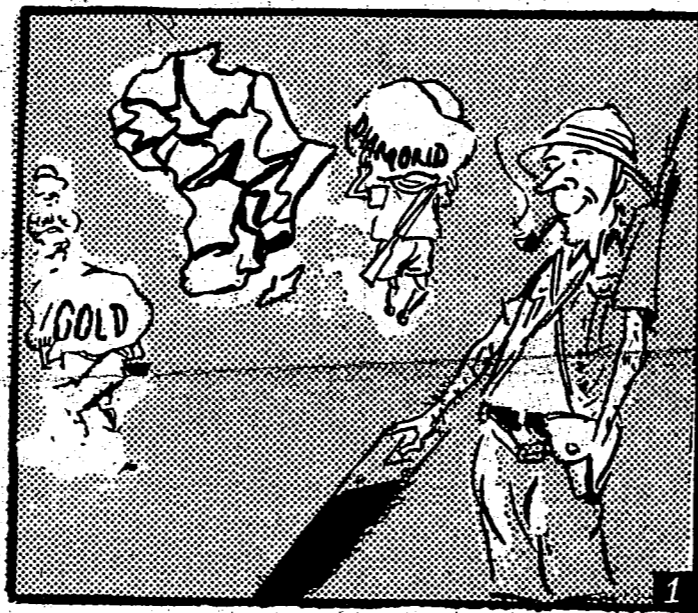
The Summit finally decided that:

"Having considered all aspects of the questions of decolonization:

"Unanimously convinced of the imperious and urgent necessity of co-ordi-



Kwame: "The resolutions are a symbol of our determination to become united and to remain united in an African community with our aspirations and common objectives."



I BELIEVE IN A DIVIDED AFRICA...



...NEVER IN A UNITED AFRICA



OR IN WORLD OPINION



I STRONGLY BELIEVE IN A DIVIDE AFRICA!



Mr. Milton Obote of Uganda: "We offer our country for the new phase of the African revolution."

nating and intensifying their efforts to accelerate the unconditional attainment of national independence by all African territories still under foreign domination;

"Reaffirming that it is the duty of all African Independent States to support dependent people in

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OUR COMMON IDENTITY

by Kwame Nkrumah

Your Imperial Majesty, Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Brothers and Friends,

WE have come to the end of a historic and momentous Conference. The decisions we have taken here have made African Unity a reality and we can see clearly a Union Government of Africa in the horizon.

This is the goal which we set ourselves when we struggled in our separate States for Independence. It is also the compelling force which brought us together in Addis Ababa.

As I have said over and over again, the independence of our separate States is meaningless, unless the whole of Africa becomes free and united.

The resolutions we have made here are a symbol of our determination to become united and to remain united in an African Community with common aspirations and common objectives.

Freedom Fighters in all parts of our continent can now be assured that they are not alone in their struggle. The whole weight and power of a united Africa is behind them.

After centuries of colonial exploitation and domination Africa has been re-born. We have discovered our common identity, a force with which we can re-assert our African personality.

We shall from now on think, plan and work together for the progress and development of our great Continent. In this way, we shall eliminate completely the handicaps, set-backs and humiliation we have suffered under colonialism and imperialism.

We should be happy that at long last by the adoption of this Charter, we have seen the end of the various groupings and regional blocs.

It only remains for me, Your Majesty, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, to convey to the Government and people of Ethiopia espe-

cially to His Imperial Majesty, my sincere expression of gratitude for a happy and memorable stay in Addis Ababa.

To conclude, I would like to read to you a short poem, a tribute to Ethiopia, just composed by a Ghanaian poet.

Ethiopia, Africa's bright gem,
Set high among the verdant hills
That gave birth to the unfailing
Waters of the Nile;
Ethiopia shall rise,
Ethiopia, land of the wise;
Ethiopia, bold cradle of Africa's
ancient rule
And fertile School of our
African culture;
Ethiopia the wise
Shall rise
And remould with us the full figure
Of Africa's hopes
And destiny.

RESOLUTIONS OF ADDIS ABABA SUMMIT CONFERENCE

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 decolonization;

Unanimously convinced of the imperious and urgent necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their efforts to accelerate the unconditional attainment of national independence by all African territories still under foreign domination;

Reaffirming that it is the duty of all African Independent States to support dependent people in Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence;

Noting with deep concern that most of the remaining dependent territories in Africa are dominated by foreign settlers;

Convinced that the colonial powers by their forcible imposition of the settlers to control the governments and administration of those territories are thus establishing colonial bases in the heart of Africa;

COLONIAL POWERS

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

1. Declares that the forcible imposition by the colonial powers of the settlers to control the governments and administration of the dependent territories is a flagrant violation of the inalienable rights of the legitimate inhabitants of the territories concerned;

2. Invites the colonial powers to take the necessary measures for the immediate application of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples by insisting on the fact that their determination to maintain colonies or semi-colonies in Africa constitutes a menace to the peace of the continent;

3. Invites further, the colonial powers, particularly the United Kingdom with regard to Southern Rhodesia, not to transfer the powers and attributes of sovereignty to foreign minority governments imposed on African peoples by the use of force and under cover of racial legislation. A transfer to this kind would amount to a violation of United Nations resolution 1514 independence;

4. Reaffirms its support of African nationalists of Southern Rhodesia and solemnly declares that if power in Southern Rhodesia were to be usurped by a racial white minority government, the State. Members of the Conference would lend their effective moral and practical support to any legitimate measures which the African nationalist leaders may devise for the purpose of recovering such power and restoring it to the African majority. The Conference undertakes henceforth to concert the efforts of its members to take such measures as the situation demands against any State according such recognition;

5. Reaffirms that the territory of South West Africa is an African territory under international mandate and that any attempt by the Republic of South Africa to annex it would be regarded as an act of aggression; Reaffirms also its determination to render all necessary support to the second phase of the South West Africa case before the International Court of Justice. Reaffirms, further, the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence;

6. Intervenes expressly with the great powers so that they cease without exception to lend directly or indirectly any support or assistance to all those colonialist governments which might use such assistance to suppress African national liberation movements, particularly the Portuguese Government which is conducting a real war of genocide in Africa. Informs the allies of colonial powers that they must choose between their friendship for the African peoples and their support of powers that oppress African peoples;

7. Sends a delegation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs to speak on behalf of all African States at the meeting of the Security Council which will be called to examine the report of the United Nations Committee of 26 on the situation in African territories under Portuguese domination;

8. Demands the breaking off of diplomatic and consular relations between all African States and the Governments of Portugal and South Africa so long as they persist in their present attitudes towards decolonization;

9. Asks for an Effective boycott the foreign trade of Portugal and South Africa by:

- prohibiting the import of goods from those two countries;
- closing African ports and airports to their ships and planes;
- forbidding the planes of those two countries to overfly the territories of all African States.

10. Earnestly invites all national liberation movements to co-ordinate their efforts by establishing common action fronts wherever necessary so as to strengthen the effectiveness of their struggle and the rational use of the concerted assistance given them;

CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

11. Establishes a co-ordinating committee consisting of Ethiopia, Algeria, Uganda, U.A.R., Tanganyika, Congo (Leopoldville), Guinea, Senegal, Nigeria with Headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, responsible for harmonising the assistance from African States and for managing the special fund to be set up for that purpose;

12. Establishes a special

fund to be contributed by member states with the deadline (15 July) to supply the necessary practical and financial aid to the various African national liberation movements;

13. Appoints the day of 25 May 1963 as African Liberation Day and organise popular demonstrations on that day to disseminate the recommendations of the Heads of State Conference and to collect sums, over and above the national contributions, for the special fund.

14. Receives, on the territories of independent African States' nationalists from liberation movements in order to give them training in all sectors, and afford young people all the assistance they need for their education and vocational training.

15. Promotes, in each State, the establishment of a body of volunteers in various fields, with a view to providing the various African national liberation movements with the assistance they need in various sectors;

16. Fixes a deadline for the accession of all African territories to independence.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Agenda Item II: Apartheid and Racial Discrimination

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 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 action in this field, and to this end have decided on the following measures:

- Creation of a fund for concerted financial assistance to the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa.
- Effective assistance of every kind to anti-apartheid movements in South Africa to help them carry out their struggle for freedom efficiently.
- The immediate release of Mr Mandela, Sobukwe, and all other political prisoners in South Africa.
- Granting of Scholarships, educational facilities and possibilities of employment in African Government Service to refugees from South Africa.
- Supporting 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.

6. Despatch of a delegation of Foreign Ministers to inform the Security Council of the explosive situation existing in South Africa.

7. Co-ordination of concrete measures of sanction against the Government of South Africa.

8. Appeal to all States, and more particularly to those which have traditional relations and co-operate with Government of South Africa, strictly to apply U.N. resolution 1761 of 6 November 1962 concerning apartheid.

9. Appeal 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.

10. Stress the great responsibility incurred by the colonial authorities of territories neighbouring of South Africa for the pursuit of the policy of apartheid.

11. Condemnation of racial discrimination in all its forms, in Africa and all over the world.

12. Expression of 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. Expression of 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 government on the one hand and the people and Government of the United States of America on the other.

AFRICA AND U.N.

Agenda Item III: Africa, Non-alignment and the United Nations.

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

Believing that the United Nations is an important instrument for the maintenance of peace and security among nations and for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples;

Reiterating its desire to strengthen and support the United Nations;

Noting with regret that Africa as a region is not equitably represented in the principal organs of the United Nations;

Convinced of the need for closer co-operation and

co-ordination among the African States members of the United Nations;

1. Reaffirms its dedication to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, and its acceptance of all obligations contained in the Charter, including financial obligations;

2. Insists that Africa as a geographical region should have equitable representation in the principal organs of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and its Specialised Agencies;

3. Invites African Governments to instruct their representatives in the United Nations to take all possible steps to achieve a more equitable representation of the African region;

4. Further invites African Governments to instruct their representatives in the United Nations, without prejudice to their membership in and collaboration with the African Asian Group, to constitute a more effective African Group to bring about closer co-operation and better co-ordination in matters of common concern.

DISARMAMENT

Agenda Item III: General Disarmament

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 and co-ordinate their efforts and action in these various fields, and to this end have decided on the following measures:

- To declare and accept Africa as a denuclearised zone, the banning of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, the peaceful use of nuclear energy and the banning of the manufacture of nuclear weapons.
- The destruction of existing nuclear weapons;
- The removal of military bases from Africa and disentanglement of African countries from military pacts with foreign powers;
- To appeal to the great powers to:

- reduce conventional weapons;
- put an end to the arms race; and
- sign a general and complete disarmament agreement under strict and effective international control.

- 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;
- To undertake, to bring about by means of negotiation, the end of military occupation in the African continent, the elimination of military bases and nuclear tests which constitute an essential element of African independence and unity.

ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

Agenda Item IV: Areas of Co-operation:

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

Concerned with the active share of the developing countries in world trade and at the persistent deterioration of the terms of trade in these external commercial relationships;

Conscious of the fact that owing to its extreme dependence on the export of primary products, Africa and Madagascar more than any other developing region are adversely affected by persistent deteriorations in export earnings;

Convinced of the necessity for concerted action by the African countries and Madagascar in order to ensure a much more remunerative price from the sale of their primary products;

Mindful of the need to eliminate the barriers to trade between the African states and thereby to strengthen their economies;

Considering that economic development, including the expansion of trade on the basis of fair and remunerative prices, should tend to eliminate the need for external economic aid, and that such external economic aid should be unconditional and should not prejudice the independence of African States;

Considering the imperative necessity for African countries to pool their resources and harmonise their activities in the economic field;

Aware of the necessity for the joint utilisation of river basin resources, the study of the use of Sharan zones, the co-ordination of means of transport and communication systems, and the provision of research facilities, all of which serve to stimulate economic growth and expansion of trade, both regionally and inter-regionally;

Convinced that the acceleration of the rate of economic and social development of the various African countries lies in the industrialisation of these

countries and the diversification of their production;

Considering the serious problems arising from the great shortage of trained and skilled personnel, the lack of qualified staff, scarce capital resources, grossly inadequate infrastructure, limited outlets for industrial products and the far too inadequate participation of Africans in the economic construction of their countries;

Desiring to explore the effects of regional economic groupings of the African economy;

Noting with satisfaction that the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa has decided to convene a Conference of African Ministers of Finance, to be held in Khartoum (Sudan) in July 1963, with a view to setting up an African Development Bank;

RESOLVES TO:

1. Appoint a preparatory economic committee to study, in collaboration with governments and in consultation with the Economic Commission for Africa, *inter alia*, the following questions and submit their findings to Member States;

- the possibility of establishing a free trade area between the various African countries;
- the establishment of a common external tariff to protect the emergent industries and the setting up of a raw material price stabilisation fund;
- the restructuralization of international trade;
- means for developing trade between African countries by the organization of African trade fairs and exhibitions and by the granting of transport and transit facilities;
- the co-ordination of means of transport and the establishment of road, air and maritime companies;
- the establishment of an African Payments and clearing Union;
- a progressive freeing of national currencies from all non-technical external attachments and the establishment of a Pan-African monetary zone;
- ways and means of effecting the harmonization of existing and future national development plans.

II. Invite E.C.A. to request their Executive Secretary to give the Commission of Experts all the necessary support and assistance which it may require in the fulfilment of its assignment;

III. Welcome the forthcoming Conference of African Ministers of Finance and give the respective Ministers of Finance instructions to take the necessary measures for the rapid establishment of the African Development Bank;

IV. The Summit conference of independent African States note with satisfaction the progress achieved by the Economic Commission for Africa in

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African Unity can only be Gained by Political Means

— Kwame Nkrumah

The following is the full text of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's address delivered at the African Summit Conference at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on Friday, May 24.

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, COLLEAGUES, BROTHERS AND FRIENDS,

At the first gathering of African Heads of State, to which I had the honour of playing host, there were representatives of eight independent States only. Today, five years later we meet as the representatives of no less than thirty-two States, the guests of His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie, the First, and the Government and people of Ethiopia. To his Imperial Majesty, I wish to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana my deep appreciation for a most cordial welcome and generous hospitality.

The increase in our number in this short space of time is open testimony to the indomitable and irresistible surge of our peoples for independence. It is also a token of the revolutionary speed of world events in the latter half of this century. In the task which is before us of unifying our continent we must fall in with that pace or be left behind. The task cannot be attacked in the tempo of any other age than our own. To fall behind the unprecedented momentum of actions and events in our time will be to court failure and our own undoing.

A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the foundation of our Union at this conference. It is our responsibility to execute this mandate by creating here and now the formula upon which the requisite superstructure may be erected.

On this continent it has not taken us long to discover that the struggle against colonialism does not end with the attainment of national independence. Independence is only the prelude to a new and more involved struggle for the right to conduct our own economic and social affairs; to construct our society according to our aspirations, unhampered by crushing and humiliating neo-colonialist controls and interference.

From the start we have been threatened with frustration where rapid change is imperative and with instability where sustained effort and ordered rule are indispensable.

No sporadic act nor pious resolution can resolve our present problems. Nothing will be of avail, except the united act of a united Africa. We have already reached the stage where we must unite or sink into that condition which has made Latin-America the unwilling and distressed prey of imperialism after one-and-a-half centuries of political independence.

As a continent we have emerged into independence in a different age, with imperialism grown stronger, more ruthless and experienced, and more dangerous in its international associations. Our economic advancement demands the end of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination in Africa.

But just as we understood that the shaping of our national destinies required of each of us our political independence and bent all our strength to this attainment so we must recognise that our economic independence resides in our African union and requires the same concentration upon the political achievement.

POLITICAL KINGDOM

The unity of our continent, no less than our separate independence will be delayed if, indeed, we do not lose it, by hobnobbing with colonialism. African Unity is, above all, a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round. The United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, were the political decisions of revolutionary peoples before they became mighty realities of social power and material wealth.

How, except by our united efforts, will the richest and still enslaved parts of our continent be freed from colonial occupation and become available to us for the total development of our continent? Every step in the decolonisation of our continent has brought greater resistance in those areas where colonial garrisons are available to colonialism.

This is the great design of the imperialist interests that buttress colonialism and neo-colonialism, and we would be deceiving ourselves in the most cruel way were we to regard their individual actions as separate and unrelated. When Portugal violate Senegal's border, when Verwoerd allocates one-seventh of South Africa's budget to military and police, when France builds as part of her defence policy an interventionist force that can intervene, more especially in French-speaking Africa, when Welensky talks of Southern Rhodesia joining South Africa, when Britain sends arms to South Africa, it is all part of a carefully calculated pattern working towards a single end: the continued enslavement of our still dependent brothers and an onslaught upon the independence of our sovereign African states.

Do we have any other weapon against this design but our unity? Is not our unity essential to guard our own freedom as well as to win freedom for our oppressed brothers, the Freedom Fighters? Is it not unity alone that can weld us into an effective force, capable of creating our own progress and making our valuable contribution to world peace? Which independent African State will claim that its financial structure and banking institutions are fully harnessed to its national development? Which will claim that its material resources and human energies are available for its own national aspirations? Which will disclaim a substantial measure of disappointment and disillusionment in its agricultural and urban development?

In independent Africa we are already re-experiencing the instability and frustration which existed under colonial rule. We are fast learning that political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequence of colonial rule.

The movement of the masses of the people of Africa for freedom from that kind of rule was not only a revolt against the conditions which it imposed.

Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believed that African Governments could cure ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule. If, therefore, now that we are independent we allow the same conditions to

exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilised against us.

The resources are there. It is for us to marshal them in the active service of our people. Unless we do this by our concerted efforts, within the framework of our combined planning, we shall not progress at the tempo demanded by today's events and the mood of our people. The symptoms of our troubles will grow, and the troubles themselves become chronic. It will then be too late even for Pan African Unity to secure for us stability and tranquility in our labours for a continent of social justice and material well-being. Unless we establish African Unity now, we who are sitting here today shall tomorrow be the victims and martyrs of neo-colonialism.

There is evidence on every side that the imperialists have not withdrawn from our affairs. There are times, as in the Congo, when their interference is manifest. But generally it is covered up under the clothing of many agencies, which meddle in our domestic affairs, to foment dissension within our borders and to create an atmosphere of tension and political instability. As long as we do not do away with the root cause of discontent, we lend aid to these neo-colonialist forces, and shall become our own executioners. We cannot ignore the teachings of history.

Our continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and industrial and agricultural primary materials. From the Congo alone, Western firms exported copper, rubber, cotton, and other goods to the value of 2,773 billion dollars in the ten years between 1945 and 1955, and from South Africa, Western gold mining companies have drawn a profit, in the six years between 1947 to 1951, of 814 billion dollars.

AFRICA'S POTENTIALITIES

Our continent certainly exceeds all the others in potential hydro-electric power, which some experts assess as 42 per cent of the world's total. What need is there for us to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for the industrialised areas of the world?



KWAME: "WE SHALL WIN".

It is said, of course, that we have no capital, no industrial skill, no communications and no internal markets, and that we cannot even agree among ourselves how best to utilise our resources.

Yet all the stock exchanges in the world are pre-occupied with Africa's gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum, copper and iron ores. Our capital flows out in streams to irrigate the whole system of Western economy. Fifty-two per cent of the gold in Fort Knox at this moment, where the U.S.A. stores its billion, is believed to have originated from our shores. Africa provides more than 60 per cent of the world's gold. A great deal of the uranium for nuclear power, of iron copper for electronics, of titanium for supersonic projectiles, of iron and steel for heavy industries, of other minerals and raw materials for lighter industries—the basic economic might of the foreign Powers—come from our continent.

Experts have estimated that the Congo basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world.

For centuries Africa has been the milch-cow of the Western world. It was our continent that helped the Western world to build up its accumulated wealth.

It is true that we are now throwing off the yoke of colonialism as fast as we can, but our success in this direction is equally matched by an intense effort on the part of imperialism to continue the exploitation of our resources by creating divisions among us.

When the colonies of the American continent sought to free themselves from imperialism in the 18th century there was no threat of neo-colonialism in the sense in which we know it today. The American States were therefore free to form and fashion the unity which was best suited to their needs and to frame a constitution to

hold their unity together without any form of interference from external sources. We, however, are having to grapple with outside interventions. How much more, then do we need to come together in the African unity that alone can save us from the clutches of neo-colonialism.

We have the resources. It was colonialism in the first place that prevented us from accumulating the effective capital; but we ourselves have failed to make full use of our power in independence to mobilise our resources for the most effective take-off into thoroughgoing economic and social development. We have been too busy nursing our separate states to understand fully the basic need of our union, our separate states to understand fully the basic need of our union, rooted in common purpose, common planning and common endeavours. A union that ignores these fundamental necessities will be but a sham. It is only by uniting our productive capacity and the resultant production that we can amass capital. And once we start, the momentum will increase. With capital controlled by our own banks, momentum will increase. We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works, iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of our continent with communications; we shall astound the world with our hydro-electric power; we shall drain marshes and rid our swamps, clear infested areas, feed the under-nourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease. It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Sahara bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments. We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy.

A decade ago, these would have been visionary words, the fantasies of an idle dreamer. But this is the age in which science has transcended the limits of the material world, and technology has invaded the silences of nature. Time and space have been reduced to unimportant abstractions. Giant machines make roads, clear forests, dig dams, lay out aerodromes; monster trucks and planes distribute goods; huge laboratories manufacture drugs; complicated geological surveys are made; mighty power stations are built; colossal factories erected—all at an incredible speed. The world is no longer moving through bush paths or on camels and donkeys.

We cannot afford to pace our needs, our development, our security, to the gait of camels and donkeys. We cannot afford not to cut down the overgrown bush of outmoded attitudes that obstruct our path to the modern open road of the widest and earliest achievement of economic independence and the raising up of the lives of our people to the highest level.

Even for other continents lacking the resources of Africa, this is the age that sees the end of human want. For us it is a simple matter of grasping with certainty our heritage by using the political might of unity. All we need to do is to develop with our united strength the enormous resources of our continent. A united Africa will provide a stable field of foreign investment, which will be encouraged as long as it does not behave inimically to our African interests. For such investment would add by its enterprises to the development of the national economy, employment and training of our people, and will be welcome to Africa. In dealing with a united Africa, investors will no longer have to weigh with concern the risks of negotiating with governments in one period which may not exist in the very next period. Instead of dealing or negotiating with so many separate states at a time they will be dealing with one united government pursuing a harmonised continental policy.

What is the alternative to this? If we falter at this stage, and let time pass for neo-colonialism to consolidate its position on this continent, what will be the fate of our people who have put their trust in us? What will be the fate of our freedom fighters? What will be the fate of other African territories that are not yet free?

HIGHER STANDARD

Unless we can establish great industrial complexes in Africa which we can only do in a united Africa—we must leave our peasantry to the mercy of foreign cash crop markets, and face the same unrest which overthrew the colonialists. What use to the farmer is education and mechanisation, what use is even capital for development; unless we can ensure for him a fair price and a ready market? What has the peasant, worker and farmer gained from political independence, unless we can ensure for him a fair return for his labour and a higher standard of living?

Unless we can establish great industrial complexes in Africa what have the urban worker, and those peasants on overcrowded land gained from political independence? If they are to remain unemployed or in unskilled occupation, what will avail them the better facilities for education, technical training, energy and ambition which independence enables us to provide?

There is hardly any African State without a frontier problem with its adjacent neighbours. It would be futile for me to enumerate them because they are already so familiar to us all. But let me suggest to Your Excellencies that this fatal relic of colonialism will drive us to war against one another as our unplanned and unco-ordinated industrial development expands, just as it happened in Europe. Unless we succeed in arresting the danger through mutual understanding on fundamental issues and through African Unity, which will render existing boundaries absolute and superfluous we shall have fought in vain for independence. Only African Unity can heal this festering sore of boundary disputes between our various states.

Your Excellencies, the remedy for these ills is ready to our hand. It stares us in the face at every customs barrier, it shouts to us from every African heart. By creating a true political union of all the independent states of Africa, we can tackle hopefully every emergency, every enemy, and every complexity. This is not because we are a race of supermen, but because we have emerged in the age of science and technology in which poverty, ignorance and disease are no longer the

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African Unity can only be Gained by Political Means

— Kwame Nkrumah

The following is the full text of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's address delivered at the African Summit Conference at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on Friday, May 24.

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, COLLEAGUES, BROTHERS AND FRIENDS,

At the first gathering of African Heads of State, to which I had the honour of playing host, there were representatives of eight independent States only. Today, five years later we meet as the representatives of no less than thirty-two States, the guests of His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie, the First, and the Government and people of Ethiopia. To his Imperial Majesty, I wish to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana my deep appreciation for a most cordial welcome and generous hospitality.

The increase in our number in this short space of time is open testimony to the indomitable and irresistible surge of our peoples for independence. It is also a token of the revolutionary speed of world events in the latter half of this century. In the task which is before us of unifying our continent we must fall in with that pace or be left behind. The task cannot be attacked in the tempo of any other age than our own. To fall behind the unprecedented momentum of actions and events in our time will be to court failure and our own undoing.

A whole continent has imposed a mandate upon us to lay the foundation of our Union at this conference. It is our responsibility to execute this mandate by creating here and now the formula upon which the requisite superstructure may be erected.

On this continent it has not taken us long to discover that the struggle against colonialism does not end with the attainment of national independence. Independence is only the prelude to a new and more involved struggle for the right to conduct our own economic and social affairs; to construct our society according to our aspirations, unhampered by crushing and humiliating neo-colonialist controls and interference.

From the start we have been threatened with frustration where rapid change is imperative and with instability where sustained effort and ordered rule are indispensable.

No sporadic act nor pious resolution can resolve our present problems. Nothing will be of avail, except the united act of a united Africa. We have already reached the stage where we must unite or sink into that condition which has made Latin America the unwilling and distressed prey of imperialism after one-and-a-half centuries of political independence.

As a continent we have emerged into independence in a different age, with imperialism grown stronger, more ruthless and experienced, and more dangerous in its international associations. Our economic advancement demands the end of colonialist and neo-colonialist domination in Africa.

But just as we understood that the shaping of our national destinies required of each of us our political independence and bent all our strength to this attainment so we must recognise that our economic independence resides in our African union and requires the same concentration upon the political achievement.

POLITICAL KINGDOM

The unity of our continent, no less than our separate independence will be delayed if, indeed, we do not lose it, by hobnobbing with colonialism. African Unity is, above all, a political kingdom which can only be gained by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, not the other way round. The United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, were the political decisions of revolutionary peoples before they became mighty realities of social power and material wealth.

How, except by our united efforts, will the richest and still enslaved parts of our continent be freed from colonial occupation and become available to us for the total development of our continent? Every step in the decolonisation of our continent has brought greater resistance in those areas where colonial garrisons are available to colonialism.

This is the great design of the imperialist interests that buttress colonialism and neo-colonialism, and we would be deceiving ourselves in the most cruel way were we to regard their individual actions as separate and unrelated. When Portugal violates Senegal's border, when Verwoerd allocates one-seventh of South Africa's budget to military and police, when France builds as part of her defence policy an interventionist force that can intervene, more especially in French-speaking Africa, when Welensky talks of Southern Rhodesia joining South Africa, when Britain sends arms to South Africa, it is all part of a carefully calculated pattern working towards a single end: the continued enslavement of our still dependent brothers and an onslaught upon the independence of our sovereign African states.

Do we have any other weapon against this design but our unity? Is not our unity essential to guard our own freedom as well as to win freedom for our oppressed brothers, the Freedom Fighters? Is it not unity alone that can weld us into an effective force, capable of creating our own progress and making our valuable contribution to world peace? Which independent African State will claim that its financial structure and banking institutions are fully harnessed to its national development? Which will claim that its material resources and human energies are available for its own national aspirations? Which will disclaim a substantial measure of disappointment and disillusionment in its agricultural and urban development?

In independent Africa we are already re-experiencing the instability and frustration which existed under colonial rule. We are fast learning that political independence is not enough to rid us of the consequence of colonial rule.

The movement of the masses of the people of Africa for freedom from that kind of rule was not only a revolt against the conditions which it imposed.

Our people supported us in our fight for independence because they believed that African Governments could cure ills of the past in a way which could never be accomplished under colonial rule. If, therefore, now that we are independent we allow the same conditions to

exist that existed in colonial days, all the resentment which overthrew colonialism will be mobilised against us.

The resources are there. It is for us to marshal them in the active service of our people. Unless we do this by our concerted efforts, within the framework of our combined planning, we shall not progress at the tempo demanded by today's events and the mood of our people. The symptoms of our troubles will grow, and the troubles themselves become chronic. It will then be too late even for Pan African Unity to secure for us stability and tranquility in our labours for a continent of social justice and material well-being. Unless we establish African Unity now, we who are sitting here today shall tomorrow be the victims and martyrs of neo-colonialism.

There is evidence on every side that the imperialists have not withdrawn from our affairs. There are times, as in the Congo, when their interference is manifest. But generally it is covered up under the cloak of many agencies, which meddle in our domestic affairs, to foment dissension within our borders and to create an atmosphere of tension and political instability. As long as we do not do away with the root cause of discontent, we lend aid to these neo-colonialist forces, and shall become our own executioners. We cannot ignore the teachings of history.

Our continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and industrial and agricultural primary materials. From the Congo alone, Western firms exported copper, rubber, cotton, and other goods to the value of 2,773 billion dollars in the ten years between 1945 and 1955, and from South Africa, Western gold mining companies have drawn a profit, in the six years between 1947 to 1951, of 814 billion dollars.

AFRICA'S POTENTIALITIES

Our continent certainly exceeds all the others in potential hydro-electric power, which some experts assess as 42 per cent of the world's total. What need is there for us to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for the industrialised areas of the world?



KWAME: "WE SHALL WIN".

It is said, of course, that we have no capital, no industrial skill, no communications and no internal markets, and that we cannot even agree among ourselves how best to utilise our resources.

Yet all the stock exchanges in the world are pre-occupied with Africa's gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum, copper and iron ores. Our capital flows out in streams to irrigate the whole system of Western economy. Fifty-two per cent of the gold in Fort Knox at this moment, where the U.S.A. stores its billion, is believed to have originated from our shores. Africa provides more than 60 per cent of the world's gold. A great deal of the uranium for nuclear power, of the world's copper for electronics, of titanium for supersonic projectiles, of iron and steel for heavy industries, of other minerals and raw materials for lighter industries—the basic economic might of the foreign Powers—come from our continent.

Experts have estimated that the Congo basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly half the population of the whole world.

For centuries Africa has been the milch-cow of the Western world. It was our continent that helped the Western world to build up its accumulated wealth.

It is true that we are now throwing off the yoke of colonialism as fast as we can, but our success in this direction is equally matched by an intense effort on the part of imperialism to continue the exploitation of our resources by creating divisions among us.

When the colonies of the American continent sought to free themselves from imperialism in the 18th century there was no threat of neo-colonialism in the sense in which we know it today. The American States were therefore free to form and fashion the unity which was best suited to their needs and to frame a constitution to

hold their unity together without any form of interference from external sources. We, however, are having to grapple with outside interventions. How much more, then do we need to come together in the African unity that alone can save us from the clutches of neo-colonialism.

We have the resources. It was colonialism in the first place that prevented us from accumulating the effective capital; but we ourselves have failed to make full use of our power in independence to mobilise our resources for the most effective take-off into thorough-going economic and social development. We have been too-busy nursing our separate states to understand fully the basic need of our union, our separate states to understand fully the basic need of our union, rooted in common purpose, common planning and common endeavour. A union that ignores these fundamental necessities will be but a sham. It is only by uniting our productive capacity, and the resultant production that we can amass capital. And once we start, the momentum will increase. With capital controlled by our own banks, harnessed to our own true industrial and agricultural development we shall make our advance. We shall accumulate machinery and establish steel works; iron foundries and factories; we shall link the various states of our continent with communications; we shall astound the world with our hydro-electric power; we shall drain marshes and swamps, clear infested areas, feed the under-nourished, and rid our people of parasites and disease. It is within the possibility of science and technology to make even the Sahara bloom into a vast field with verdant vegetation for agricultural and industrial developments. We shall harness the radio, television, giant printing presses to lift our people from the dark recesses of illiteracy.

A decade ago, these would have been visionary words, the fantasies of an idle dreamer. But this is the age in which science has transcended the limits of the material world, and technology has invaded the silences of nature. Time and space have been reduced to unimportant abstractions. Giant machines make roads, clear forests, dig dams, lay out aerodromes; monster trucks and planes distribute goods; huge laboratories manufacture drugs; complicated geological surveys are made; mighty power stations are built; colossal factories erected—all at an incredible speed. The world is no longer moving through bush paths or on camels and donkeys.

We cannot afford to pace our needs, our development, our security, to the gait of camels and donkeys. We cannot afford not to cut down the overgrown bush of outmoded attitudes that obstruct our path to the modern open road of the widest and earliest achievement of economic independence and the raising up of the lives of our people to the highest level.

Even for other continents lacking the resources of Africa, this is the age that sees the end of human want. For us it is a simple matter of grasping with certainty our heritage by using the political might of unity. All we need to do is to develop with our united strength the enormous resources of our continent. A united Africa will provide a stable field of foreign investment, which will be encouraged as long as it does not behave inimically to our African interests. For such investment would add by its enterprises to the development of the national economy, employment and training of our people, and will be welcome to Africa. In dealing with a united Africa, investors will no longer have to weigh with concern the risks of negotiating with governments in one period which may not exist in the very next period. Instead of dealing or negotiating with so many separate states at a time they will be dealing with one united government pursuing a harmonised continental policy.

What is the alternative to this? If we falter at this stage, and let time pass for neo-colonialism to consolidate its position on this continent, what will be the fate of our people who have put their trust in us? What will be the fate of our freedom fighters? What will be the fate of other African territories that are not yet free?

HIGHER STANDARD

Unless we can establish great industrial complexes in Africa, which we can only do in a united Africa—we must leave our peasantry to the mercy of foreign cash crop markets, and face the same unrest which overthrew the colonialists. What use to the farmer is education and mechanisation, what use is even capital for development; unless we can ensure for him a fair price and a ready market? What has the peasant, worker and farmer gained from political independence, unless we can ensure for him a fair return for his labour and a higher standard of living?

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Your Excellencies, the remedy for these ills is ready to our hand. It stares us in the face at every customs barrier, it shouts to us from every African heart. By creating a true political union of all the independent states of Africa, we can tackle hopefully every emergency, every enemy, and every complexity. This is not because we are a race of supermen, but because we have emerged in the age of science and technology in which poverty, ignorance and disease are no longer the

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AFRICA'S PROBLEMS MUST BE APPROACHED WITH COMMON PURPOSE

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masters, but the retreating foes of mankind. We have emerged in the age of socialised planning, when production and distribution are not governed by chaos, greed and self-interest, but by social needs. Together with the rest of mankind, we have awakened from Utopian dreams to pursue practical blueprints for progress and social justice.

Above all, we have emerged at a time when a continental land mass like Africa with its population approaching three hundred million are necessary to the economic capitalism and profitability of modern productive methods and techniques. Not one of us working singly and individually can successfully attain the fullest development. Certainly, in the circumstances, it will not be possible to give adequate assistance to sister states trying, against the most difficult conditions, to improve their economic and social structures. Only a united Africa functioning under a Union Government can forcefully mobilise the material and moral resources of our separate countries and apply them efficiently and energetically to bring a rapid change in the conditions of our people.

STABILITY AND SECURITY OF AFRICA

If we do not approach the problems in Africa with a common front and a common purpose, we shall be haggling and wrangling among ourselves until we are colonised again and become the tools of a far greater colonialism than we suffered hitherto.

Unite we must. Without necessarily sacrificing our sovereignties, big or small, we can here and now forge a political union based on Defence, Foreign Affairs and Diplomacy, and a Common Citizenship, an African Currency, an African Monetary Zone and an African Central Bank. We must unite in order to achieve the full liberation of our continent. We need a Common Defence System with an African High Command to ensure the stability and security of Africa.

We have been charged with this sacred task by our own people, and we cannot betray their trust by failing them. We will be mocking the hopes of our people if we show the slightest hesitation or delay in tackling realistically this question of African Unity.

The supply of arms or other military aid to the colonial oppressors in Africa must be regarded not only as aid in the vanquishment of the freedom fighters battling for their African independence, but as an act of aggression against the whole of Africa. How can we meet this aggression except by the full weight of our united strength?

Many of us have made non-alignment an article of faith on this continent. We have no wish and no intention of drawn into the cold war. But with the present weakness and insecurity of our States in the context of world politics, the search for bases and spheres of influence brings the cold war into Africa with its danger of nuclear warfare. Africa should be declared nuclear-free zone and freed from cold war exigencies. But we cannot make this demand mandatory unless we support it from a position of strength to be found only in our unity.

Instead, many Independent African States are involved by military pacts with the former colonial powers. The stability and security which such devices seek to establish are illusory, for the metropolitan Powers seize the opportunity to support their neo-colonialist controls by direct military involvement. We have seen how the neo-colonialists use direct military involvement. We have seen how the neo-colonialists use their bases to entrench themselves and even to attack neighbouring independent states. Such bases are centres of tension and potential danger spots of military conflicts. They threaten the security not only of the country in which they are situated but of neighbouring countries as well. How can we hope to make Africa a nuclear-free zone and independent of cold war pressure with such military involvement on our continent? Only by counter-balancing a common defence force with a common defence policy based upon our common desire for an Africa untrammelled by foreign dictation or military and nuclear presence. This will require an all-embracing African High Command, especially if the military pacts with the imperialists are to be renounced. It is the only way we can break these direct links between the colonialism of the past and the neo-colonialism which disrupts us today.

We do not want nor do we visualise an African High Command in the terms of the power politics that now rule a great part of the world, but as an essential and indispensable instrument for ensuring stability and security in Africa.

We need a unified economic planning for Africa. Until the economic power of Africa is in our hands, the masses can have no real concern and no real interest for safeguarding our security, for ensuring the stability of our regimes, and for bending their strength to the fulfilment of our ends. With our united resources, energies and talents we have the means, as soon as we show the will, to transform the economic structures of our individual states from poverty to that of wealth, from inequality to the satisfaction of popular needs. Only on a continental basis shall we be able to plan the proper utilisation of all our resources for the full development of our continent.

How else will we retain our own capital for our development? How else will we establish an internal market for our own industries? By belonging to different economic zones, how will we break down the currency and trading barriers between African States, and how will the economically stronger amongst us be able to assist the weaker and less developed States?

UNITED POLICY AT CONTINENTAL LEVEL

It is important to remember that independent financing and independent development cannot take place without an independent currency. A currency system that is backed by the resources of a foreign state is *ipso facto* subject to the trade and financial arrangements of the foreign country.

Because we have so many customs and currency barriers as a result of being subject to the different currency systems of foreign powers, this has served to widen the gap between us in Africa. How, for example can related communities and families trade with, and support one another successfully, if they find themselves divided by national boundaries and currency restrictions? The only alternative open to them in these circumstances is to use smuggled currency and enrich national and international racketeers and crooks who prey upon our financial and economic difficulties.

No independent African State today by itself has a chance to follow an independent course of economic development, and many of us who have tried to do this have been almost ruined or have had to return to the fold of the former colonial rulers. This position will

not change unless we have a united policy working at the continental level. The first step towards our cohesive economy would be a unified monetary zone, with, initially, and agreed common parity for our currencies. To facilitate this arrangement, Ghana would change to a decimal system. When we find that the arrangement of a fixed common parity is working successfully, there would seem to be no reason for not instituting one common currency and a single bank of issue. With a common currency on one common bank of issue we should be able to stand erect on our own feet because such an arrangement would be fully backed by the combined national products of the states composing the union. After all, the purchasing power of money depends on productivity and the productive exploitation of the natural, human and physical resources of the nation.

While we are assuring our stability by a common defence system, and our economy is being orientated beyond foreign control by a common currency, monetary zone and central bank of issue, we can investigate the resources of our continent. We can begin to ascertain whether in reality we are the richest, and not, as we have been taught to believe, the poorest among the continents. We can determine whether we possess the largest potential in hydro-electric power, and whether we can harness it and other sources of energy to our own industries. We can proceed to plan our industrialisation on a continental scale, and to build up a common market for nearly three hundred million people.

Common continental planning for the industrial and agricultural development of Africa is a vital necessity.

So many blessings must flow from our unity; so many disasters must follow on our continued disunity, that our failure to unite today will not be attributed by posterity only to faulty reasoning and lack of courage, but to our capitulation before the forces of imperialism.

The hour of history which has brought us to this assembly is a revolutionary hour. It is the hour of decision. For the first time, the economic imperialism which menaces us is itself challenged by the irresistible will of our people.

The masses of the people of Africa are crying for unity. The people of Africa call for the breaking down of the boundaries that keep them apart. They demand an end to the border disputes between sister African states—disputes that arise out of the artificial barriers raised by colonialism. It was colonialism's purpose that divided us. It was colonialism's purpose that left us with our border irredentism, that rejected our ethnic and cultural fusion.

Our people call for unity so that they may not lose their patrimony in the perpetual service of neo-colonialism. In their fervent push for unity, they understand that only its realisation will give full meaning to their freedom and our African independence.

It is this popular determination that must move us on to a Union of Independent African States. In delay lies danger to our well-being, to our very existence as free states. It has been suggested that our approach to unity should be gradual, that it should go piece meal. This point of view conceives of Africa as a static entity with "frozen" problems which can be eliminated one by one and when all have been cleared then we can come together and say: "Now all is well. Let us now unite." This view takes no account of the impact of external pressures. Nor does it take cognisance of the danger that delay can deepen our isolations and exclusiveness; that it can enlarge our differences and set us drifting further and further apart into the net of neo-colonialism, so that our union will become nothing but a fading hope, and the great design of Africa's full redemption will be lost, perhaps, forever.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

The view is also expressed that our difficulties can be resolved simply by a greater collaboration through co-operative association in our inter-territorial relationships. This way of looking at our problems denies a proper conception of their inter-relationship and mutuality. It denies faith in a future for African advancement in African independence. It betrays a sense of solution only in continued reliance upon external sources through bilateral agreements for economic and other forms of aid.

The fact is that although we have been co-operating and associating with one another in various fields of common endeavour even before colonial times this has not given us the continental identity and the political and economic force which would help us to deal effectively with the complicated problems confronting us in Africa today. As far as foreign aid is concerned, a United Africa would be in a more favourable position to attract assistance from foreign sources. We shall have the world to choose from.

What are we looking for in Africa? Are we looking for Charters, conceived in the light of the United Nations example? A type of United Nations Organisation whose decisions are framed on the basis of resolutions that in our experience have sometimes been ignored by member States? Where groupings are formed and pressures develop in accordance with the interests of the groups concerned? Or is it intended that Africa should be turned into a loose organisation of States on the model of the Organisation of American States, in which the weaker States within it can be at the mercy of the stronger or more powerful ones politically or economically and all at the mercy of some powerful outside nation or group of nations? Is this the kind of association we want for ourselves in the United Africa we all speak of with such feeling and emotion?

Your Excellencies, permit me to ask: Is this the kind of framework we desire for our United Africa? An arrangement which in future could permit Ghana or Nigeria or the Sudan, or Liberia, or Egypt or Ethiopia for example, to use pressure, which either superior economic or political influence gives, to dictate the flow and direction of trade from, say, Burundi or Togo or Nyasaland to Mozambique?

We all want a united Africa united not only in our concept of what unity connotes, but united in our common desire to move forward together in dealing with all the problems that can best be solved only on a continental basis.

When the first Congress of the United States met many years ago at Philadelphia one of the delegates sounded the first chord of unity by declaring that they had met in "a state of nature." In other words, they were not in Philadelphia as Virginians, or Pennsylvanians but simply as Americans. This reference to themselves as Americans was in those days a new and strange experience. May I dare to assert equally on this occasion, Your Excellencies, that we meet here today not as Ghanaians, Guineans, Egyptians, Algerians, Moroccans, Malians, Liberians, Congolese or Nigerians but as Africans. Africans united in our resolve to remain here until we have agreed on the basic principles of a new compact of unity among ourselves which guarantees

for us and our future a new arrangement of continental government.

If we succeed in establishing a new set of principles as the basis of a new charter or statute for the establishment of a continental unity of Africa and the creation of social and political progress for our people, then, in my view, this conference should mark the end of our various groupings and regional blocs. But if we fail and let this grand and historic opportunity slip by then we shall give way to greater dissension and division among us for which the people of Africa will never forgive us. And the popular and progressive forces and movements within Africa will condemn us. I am sure therefore that we shall not fail them.

FOUNDATION OF UNITY

I have spoken at some length, Your Excellencies, because it is necessary for us all to explain not only to one another present here but also to our people who have entrusted to us the fate and destiny of Africa. We must therefore not leave this place until we have set up effective machinery for achieving African Unity. To this end, I now propose for your consideration the following:—

As a first step, Your Excellencies, a declaration of principles uniting us and binding us together and to which we must all faithfully and loyally adhere, and laying the foundations of unity should be set down. And there should also be a formal declaration that all the Independent African States here and now agree to the establishment of a Union of African States.

As a second and urgent step for the realisation of the unification of Africa, an All-Africa Committee of Foreign Ministers be set up now, and that before we rise from this conference a date should be fixed for them to meet.

This Committee should establish on behalf of the Heads of our Governments, a permanent body of officials and experts to work out a machinery for the Union Government of Africa. This body of officials and experts should be made up of two of the best brains from each independent African State. The various Charter of the existing groupings and other relevant documents could also be submitted to the officials and experts. A Praesidium consisting of the Heads of Government of the Independent African States should be called upon to meet to adopt a Constitution and other recommendations which will launch the Union Government of Africa.

We must also decide on a location where this body of officials and experts will work as the new Headquarters or Capital of our Union Government. Some central place in Africa might be the fairest suggestion, either at Bangui in the Central African Republic or Leopoldville in the Congo. My Colleagues may have other proposals. The Committee of Foreign Ministers, officials and experts should be empowered to establish:

- (1) a Commission to frame a constitution for a Union Government of African States;
- (2) a Commission to work out a continent-wide plan for a unified or common economic and industrial programme for Africa; this plan should include proposals for setting up:
 - (a) a Common Market for Africa;
 - (b) An African Currency;
 - (c) African Monetary Zone;
 - (d) An African Central Bank, and
 - (e) a Continental Communications system.
- (3) a Commission to draw up details for a common Foreign Policy and Diplomacy.
- (4) a Commission to produce plans for a Common System of Defence.
- (5) a Commission to make proposals for a Common African Citizenship.

These Commissions will report to the Committee of Foreign Ministers who should in turn submit within six months of this conference their recommendations to the Praesidium. The Praesidium meeting in conference at the Union Headquarters will consider and approve the recommendations of the Committee of Foreign Ministers.

In order to provide funds immediately for the work of the permanent officials and experts of the Headquarters of the Union, I suggest that a special Committee be set up now to work out a budget for this.

AFRICA MUST UNITE

Your Excellencies, with these steps, I submit, we shall be irrevocably committed to the road which will bring us to a Union Government of Africa. Only a United Africa with central political direction can successfully give effective material and moral support to our freedom fighters, in Southern Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Basutoland, Portuguese Guinea, etc., and of course South Africa. All Africa must be liberated now. It is therefore imperative for us here and now to establish a liberation Bureau for African Freedom Fighters. The main object of this bureau, to which all our Governments should subscribe, should be to accelerate the emancipation of the rest of Africa still under colonial and racist domination and oppression. It should be our joint responsibility to finance and support this bureau. On their successful attainment of independence these territories will automatically join our Union of African States, and thus strengthen the fabric of Mother Africa. We shall leave here, having laid the foundation for our unity.

Your Excellencies, nothing could be more fitting than that the unification of Africa should be born on the soil of the State which stood for centuries as the symbol of African independence.

Let us return to our people of Africa not with empty hands and with high-sounding resolutions but the firm hope and assurance that at long last African Unity has become a reality. We shall thus begin the triumphant march to the kingdom of the African Personality, and to a continent of prosperity, and progress of equality and justice and of work and happiness. This shall be our victory—victory within a continental government of a Union of African States. This victory will give our voice greater force in world affairs and enable us to throw our weight more forcibly on the side of peace. The world needs Peace in which the greatest advantage can be taken of the benefits of science and technology. Many of the world's present ills are to be found in the insecurity and fear engendered by the threat of nuclear war. Especially do the new nations need peace in order to make their way into a life of economic and social well-being amid an atmosphere of security and stability that will promote moral, cultural and spiritual fulfilment.

If we in Africa can achieve the example of a continent knit together in common policy and common purpose, we shall have made the finest possible contribution to that peace for which all men and women thirst today, and which will lift once and forever the deepening shadow of global destruction from mankind.

AFRICA MUST UNITE

The Charter of African Unity

The following is the full text of the All-African Charter agreed upon by African Heads of State in closed session of the African Summit Conference at Addis Ababa on Saturday, May 25, 1963:

WE, the Heads of African State and Government assembled in the city of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, convinced that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny, conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples.

Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in all spheres of human endeavour.

Inspired by a common determination to strengthen understanding and co-operation among our states in response to the aspiration of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences.

Convinced that in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our states, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms.

Dedicated to the general progress of Africa, persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the principles of which we reaffirm our adherence, provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive co-operation among states.

Desirous that all African States should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of their peoples can be assured.

Resolved to reinforce the links between our states by establishing and strengthening common institutions.

Have agreed to the present charter.

ARTICLE ONE

The high contracting parties do, by the present charter, establish an organisation to be known as the Organisation of African Unity.

ARTICLE TWO

The Organisation shall include the continental African state, Madagascar and all the islands surrounding Africa.

The organisation shall have the following purposes:

- To promote the unity and solidarity of the African States.
 - To co-ordinate and intensify their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa.
 - To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence.
 - Eradicate all forms of colonialism from the continent of Africa and
 - To promote international co-operation, having due regard to the charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- (2) To these ends, the member states shall co-ordinate and harmonise their

general policies, especially in the following fields:

- Political and diplomatic co-operation.
- Economic co-operation, including transport and communications.
- Educational and cultural co-operation.
- Health, sanitation, and nutritional co-operation.
- Scientific and technical co-operation and
- Co-operation for defence and security.

ARTICLE THREE

The member states, in pursuit of the purposes stated in article two, solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles:

- The sovereign equality of all Member States.
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of states.
- Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each member and for its inalienable right to independent existence.
- Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, or arbitration.
- Unreserved condemnation in all its forms of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring states or any other states.
- Absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent.
- Affirmation of policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

ARTICLE FOUR

Each independent sovereign African State shall be entitled to become a member of the Organisation.

ARTICLE FIVE

All member states shall enjoy equal rights and have equal duties.

ARTICLE SIX

The member states pledge themselves to observe scrupulously the principles enumerated in Article Three of the present charter.

ARTICLE SEVEN

The organisation shall accomplish its purposes through the following principal institutions:

- The Assembly of Heads of State and Government
- The Council of Ministers.
- The General Secretariat.
- The Commission of mediation, conciliation and arbitration.

ARTICLE EIGHT

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government shall be the supreme organ of the organisation. It shall, subject to the provisions of this charter, discuss matters of common concern to Africa with member states with a view to co-ordinating and harmonising the general policy of the organisation.

It may, in addition, review the structure, functions and acts of all the organs and any specialised agencies may be created in accordance with the present Charter.

ARTICLE NINE

The Assembly shall be composed of the Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives and it shall meet at least once a year. At the request of any member states and approval by the majority of the member states, the assembly shall meet in extraordinary session.

ARTICLE TEN

- Each member state shall have one vote.
- All resolutions shall be

determined by a two-thirds majority of members of the Organisation present and voting.

3. Questions of procedure shall require a simple majority. Whether or not a question is one of procedure shall be determined by a simple majority of all member states of the Organisation.

4. Two-thirds of the total membership of the organisation shall form a quorum at any meeting of the Assembly.

ARTICLE ELEVEN

The Assembly shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

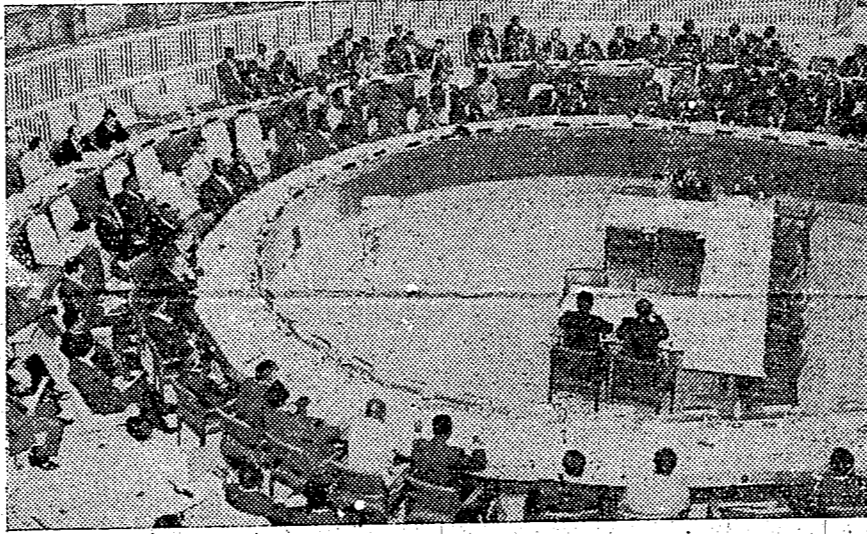
ARTICLE TWELVE

The Council of Ministers shall consist of Foreign Ministers or such other Ministers as are designated by the Governments of Member States.

The Council of Ministers shall meet at least twice a year. When requested by any member state and approved by two-thirds of all member states, it shall meet in extraordinary session.

ARTICLE THIRTEEN

The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall be entrusted with the responsibilities of preparing conferences of the Assembly.



Inside the 'Africa Hall' where the Historic Addis Ababa Summit Conference took place.

It shall take cognisance of any matter referred to it by the Assembly. It shall be entrusted with the implementation of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State. It shall co-ordinate inter-African co-operation in accordance with the instructions the Assembly and in conformity with Article (Two) of the present charter.

ARTICLE FOURTEEN

- Each member state shall have one vote.
- All resolutions shall be determined by a simple majority of the Council of Ministers.
- Two-thirds of the total membership of the Council shall form a quorum for any meeting of the Council.

ARTICLE FIFTEEN

The Council shall have the power to determine its own rule of procedure.

ARTICLE SIXTEEN

There shall be an administrative secretary-general of the organisation, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers.

The administrative secretary-general shall direct the affairs of the secretariat.

ARTICLE SEVENTEEN

There shall be one or more Assistant Secretaries-General of the organisation, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Governments.

ARTICLE EIGHTEEN

The functions and conditions of service of the Secretary-General, of the Assistant Secretaries-General and other

employees of the Secretariat shall be governed by the provisions of this charter and the regulations approved by the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government.

- In the performance of their duties the Administrative Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any Government or from any other authority external to the Organisation. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organisation.
- Each member of the organisation undertakes to respect the exclusive character of the responsibilities of the Administrative Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

ARTICLE NINETEEN

Member States pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means and, to this end, decide to establish a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. The composition of which and the condition of service shall be defined by separate protocol to be approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

ARTICLE TWENTY

The Assembly shall establish such specialised commissions as it may deem necessary, including the following:

- Economic and social commission.
- Educational and cultural commission.
- Health, sanitation and nutrition commission.
- Defence commission.
- Scientific, technical and research commission.

ARTICLE TWENTY-ONE

Each specialised commission referred to in Article Twenty shall be composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or plenipotentiaries designated by the governments of the member state.

ARTICLE TWENTY-TWO

The functions of the specialised commissions shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the present charter and of the regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

ARTICLE TWENTY-THREE

The budget of the organisation prepared by the Administrative Secretary-General shall be approved by the Council of Ministers.

The budget shall be provided by contributions from member states in accordance with the scale of assessment of the United Nations, provided, however, that no member state shall be assessed an amount exceeding twenty per cent of the yearly regular budget of the organisation. The member states agree to pay their respective contributions regularly.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FOUR

This charter shall be open for signature to all independent Sovereign African States and shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The original instrument, done in English and French, if possible in African languages, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia, which shall transmit certified copies thereof to all independent Sovereign African States.

Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia, which shall notify all signatories of each deposit.

ARTICLE TWENTY-FIVE

This charter shall enter into force immediately upon receipt by the Government of Ethiopia of the instruments of ratification from two-thirds of the signatory states.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SIX

This charter shall, after due ratification, be registered with the secretariat of the United Nations through the Government of Ethiopia, in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

ARTICLE TWENTY-SEVEN

Any question which may arise concerning the interpretation of this charter shall be decided by a vote of two-thirds of the assembly of heads of state, and Government, present and voting.

ARTICLE TWENTY-EIGHT

1. Any independent Sovereign African State may at any time notify the Administrative Secretary-General of its intention to adhere or accede to this charter.

2. The Administrative Secretary-General shall, on receipt of such notification, communicate a copy of it to all the member states. Admission shall be decided by a simple majority of the member states.

The decision of each member state shall be transmitted to the Administrative Secretary-General, who shall, upon

receipt of the required number of votes, communicate the decision to the state concerned.

ARTICLE TWENTY-NINE

The working languages of the organisation and all its institutions shall be, if possible African languages, English and French.

ARTICLE THIRTY

The Administrative Secretary-General may accept on behalf of the organisation gifts, requests and other donations made to the organisation, provided that this is approved by the Council of Ministers.

ARTICLE THIRTY-ONE

The Council of Ministers shall decide on the privileges and immunities to be accorded to the personnel of the secretariat in the respective territories of the member states.

ARTICLE THIRTY-TWO

Any state which desires to renounce its membership shall forward a written notification to the Administrative Secretary-General. At the end of one year from the date of such notification, if not withdrawn the Charter shall cease to apply with respect to the renouncing state, which shall thereby cease to belong to the Organisation. It shall thereby cease to belong to the organisation.

ARTICLE THIRTY-THREE

This charter may be amended or revised if any member state makes a written request to the Administrative Secretary-General to that effect provided, however, that the proposed amendment is not submitted to the assembly for consideration until all the member states have been duly notified of it and a period of one year has elapsed.

Such an amendment shall not be effective unless approved by at least two-thirds of all the member states.

In faith whereof, we the Heads of African State and Government, have signed this Charter, down in the city of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, this 25 date of May, 1963.

THE RESOLUTIONS

Continued from Page 2

establishing the Dakar Institute of Economic Development and Planning and affirm their profound interest in that Institute and their intention of giving it appropriate financial and support.

V. Welcome forthcoming World Conference on Trade and Development which is to examine international trade problems in relation to the economic development of emerging countries.

VI. Urge all States concerned to conduct negotiations, in concert, with a view to obtaining from the consumer countries real price stabilization and guaranteed outlets on the world market so that the developing countries may derive considerably greater revenue from international trade.

AREAS OF CO-OPERATION: The Future of the C.C.T.A.

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

Considering that at the last C.C.T.A. session in Dar-es-Salaam in January to February, 1963, the final

adoption of the new C.C.T.A. convention was deferred until the Heads of African States had had an opportunity to consider and direct on the role of the C.C.T.A. within the overall context of Pan-African Co-operation.

And in view of the fact that Article 23 of this new convention lays down as follows:—

"Pending the signature and the ratification of this convention as provided in Article 16, the Parties having initialled this convention agree to apply it provisionally as if it had entered into force as from the date of initialling, subject to any decision which may be taken by the Heads of African States at the Conference at Addis Ababa or at any subsequent conference on the role of the C.C.T.A. within the overall context of Pan-African Co-operation."

To consider its role in order to bring it eventually within the scope of the organization of African States which will have, as one of its arms, an organ for technical, scientific and cultural co-operation.

Editorial

While accepting all the conventions of modern civilised life as embodied in the Charter of the U.N.O. and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the concept of African unity upholds the following principles:—

- 1. non-alignment with regard to all blocs;
2. denunciation of neo-colonialism and colonialism in all its forms;
3. non-involvement of Africa in military plans, schemes and pacts with non-African powers;
4. an all-Africa positive struggle for the immediate termination of colonialism and apartheid;
5. co-ordination of State policies in the fields of politics and diplomacy, economy, culture, health, science and technology, defence and security;
6. enhanced representation for Africa at the U.N.;
7. the upliftment and advancement of the people is the responsible of every African state.

The drawing up of such a Charter is a great and monumental achievement. For even though a continental union government still belongs to the future, the Charter provides a firm foundation for a purposeful struggle for its early realisation.

The victory gained at the African Summit has stunned many people, more especially the imperialists and their agents who thought they were well placed to win the day at Addis Ababa. Some analysts attribute the victory to the good conscience of the delegates, to brilliant oratory, to diplomatic finesse, etc. We do not deny that these factors existed in some measure. But we are of the considered view that Addis Ababa was a victory for the African Revolution because the spokesmen of radical African nationalism took a clear and unchallengeable stand and their stand was known to, and generally accepted by, the African peoples throughout the continent. By the time the Heads of State and Government met at Addis Ababa, the African masses had largely taken the side of African Unity directed against imperialism and towards a new and progressive Africa free of all controls from outside Africa.

It is by recognising this fact that we can correctly assess our tasks in the next phase of the African Revolution.

AFRICAN DIARY

TUESDAY 14th MAY: GUINEA: In Paris, the Guinean mission headed by Mr. Saigoulaye Diallo has talks with the Gaullist Foreign Minister, Couve de Murville. Mr. Saigoulaye Diallo discloses that the Guinean government is officially inviting de Gaulle to a state visit in Guinea. TOGO: Somali recognises the Grunitzky government. CONGO (Leopoldville): It is announced that Mobutu is to make a visit to U.S.A. SOUTHERN RHODESIA: The UNO Committee is requesting the Southern Rhodesia question to be put on the agenda of the next UNO session, since U.K. doesn't appear ready to take any action. ETHIOPIA: Many African Foreign Ministers arrive for the Foreign Ministers conference (or Pre-summit talks). ALGERIA: It is learnt that Algerian-West German economic negotiations are in progress at Bonn. More private enterprises are seized. A Bordj-Bon-Arredj, unemployed demonstrate and clash with army elements. MOROCCO: It is confirmed that King Hassan II will not attend the Addis Ababa conference. WEDNESDAY 15th MAY: TOGO: The new Cabinet, with Mr. Grunitzky as President and Defence Minister, Mr. Meatchi as Vice-President and Economy Minister, Mr. Ape de Amah as Foreign Minister is presented to the National Assembly. NIGERIA: Chief Enahoro, in London, makes a last attempt in order to be granted political asylum. Dr Azikiwe states that his political task is now over. CAMEROON: Mr. Ahidjo is in Israel. CONGO (Leopoldville): According to the UNO General Secretary, the UNO forces are to stay in Congo up to the end of 1963. Tshombe is not allowed to come to Leopoldville. CHAD: A Special Court is created, to try some political leaders arrested a few weeks ago. ETHIOPIA: Opening of Pre-Summit Talks. Hot discussion about Togo; no decision reached. The Ethiopian agenda draft provides for the setting up of an "Organisation of African States" (O.A.S.)... President Tubman arrives. ALGERIA: President Ben Bella in an address to the nation announces a thorough and democratic reorganisation of workers management committees. A new decree provides for the seizing of any private estate or enterprise, "if its needed for the maintenance of public order." THURSDAY 16th MAY: GUINEA: French-Guinean talks are progressing satisfactorily, states in Paris Mr. Saigoulaye Diallo. GHANA: The West German government is to grant a £1,700,000 loan to Ghana. DAHOMEY: President Mega, on his way to Addis Ababa arrives in Paris. NIGERIA: Chief Enahoro is deported from England during the night, and jailed in Nigeria. SOUTH AFRICA: Welensky arrives in Capetown to strengthen ties with Verwoerd. NORTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Kenneth Kaunda arrives in London, he is to go to U.S.A. a few days later. ETHIOPIA: At pre-summit talks, the Tunisian delegates have raised the question of French atomic tests in Sahara. TUNISIA: A former Partisan,

Hassen Ayadi, sentenced to death on the 9th May is executed. ALGERIA: Dr Fidel Castro will be in Algier for an official visit at the end of May. AFRICAN STUDENTS: In Prag, 9 "hooligans" are arrested for having assaulted African students. FRIDAY 17th MAY: GHANA: A co-operation agreement has been concluded with USSR for the construction of a gold refinery in Ghana. TOGO: President Grunitzky states that if former Olympio's Interior Minister, Mully is allowed to speak at Addis Ababa, Togo will not attend the Conference. NIGERIA: The Federal authorities forbid the Chief Enahoro Counselors, Mr. Dingle Foot and Gratiaen, to enter Nigeria. REPUBLIC OF CENTRAL AFRICA: In Bangui, the 4 Heads of States of Equatorial Africa meet for 2 days. MALAGASY REPUBLIC: The Gaullist government grants a new £3.2 millions loan to the Malagasy Government. NORTHERN RHODESIA: Mr. Kenneth Kaunda has talks in London with British Minister Butler. ETHIOPIA: President Houphouet Boigny arrives in Addis Ababa. UNO General Secretary will not be able to attend the Conference. The Congolese nationalist party P.S.A. sends a message, asking the Conference to act for the release of Congolese nationalist leader, Gizanga. The Pre-summit conference constitutes 2 committees for setting up the agenda for the Heads of States conference. ALGERIA: Colonel Boumediene is appointed as 1st Vice-President. EGYPT: President Nasser is back in Cairo. Coming from Belgrade. MOROCCO: General Elections. SATURDAY 18th MAY: GUINEA: In Dakar, President Sekou Toure has stated that no difference exists between France and Guinea. TOGO: President Grunitzky announces that he is ready to fly to Addis Ababa (although no decision has yet been reached at Pre-summit talks). CONGO (Leopoldville): Mobutu is in Brussels and is due to be in U.S.A. on Monday; he is seeking military aid. Meanwhile, it is learnt that Israel is to train Congolese paratroopers. In Jadotville, the mines have been closed by the Belgian Union Miniere, following small incidents. KENYA: General Elections. The polling is to last a week. ALGERIA: President Ben Bella leaves for Cairo. MOROCCO: Results of the General Elections show that 5 Ministers have not been elected and that many opponents have been elected. SUNDAY 19th MAY: NIGERIA: The Nigerian Youth Congress wants Dr. Azikiwe to come back to active politics. ETHIOPIA: A memorandum of President Nkrumah on African continental political unity is released. CONGO: (Leopoldville): At last, UNO forces have occupied Dilolo, at the Angolan-Congolese border, where the Tshombe mercenaries have been staying since January 1. MONDAY 20th MAY: GHANA: President Nkrumah leaves for Addis Ababa. NIGERIA: The Union of Cocoa Producers meets in Lagos.

Where do we go from here? The people of Africa must demand the immediate ratification of the African Charter by the National Assembly in every independent African state. Togo and Morocco must be invited to sign the Charter. The people in every African State must conduct a resolute struggle for the faithful implementation of the Charter and of the resolutions of Addis Ababa. This is a task which we the peoples of Africa alone can undertake. Every African State must have a mass movement dedicated to the acceptance and imple-

mentation of the African Charter. And these national movements should be co-ordinated into a continental movement demanding that all African governments are guided by the letter and spirit of the Addis Ababa decisions. The condition of success for the African Revolution from now on is that the masses of Africa are welded into a mighty continental movement with a continental strategy against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations. Long live the African Charter! Long live the African Revolution!

WHAT HAPPENED AT ADDIS ABABA

Continued from Page 1

Africa in their struggle for freedom and independence;

"Noting with deep concern that most of the remaining dependent territories in Africa are dominated by foreign settlers; "Convinced that the colonial powers by their forcible imposition of the settlers to control the governments and administration of those territories are thus establishing colonial bases in the heart of Africa;

"Have agreed unanimously to concert and co-ordinate their efforts and action in this field, and to this end have decided: "Appoint the day of 25

a common determination to strengthen understanding and co-operation among our states in response to the aspirations our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences;" The Leaders announced their determination to safe-guard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of African states, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms.

At exactly 1.26 a.m. of May 26, 1963 the thirty heads of independent states of Africa announced that they were a party to a high



Mr Ben Bella of Algeria: "I am ready with 10,000 volunteers for the last showdown... we must learn to die a little."

May 1963 as African Liberation Day and organise popular demonstrations on that day to disseminate the recommendations of the Heads of State Conference and to collect sums, over and above the national contributions, for the special fund.

"To receive on the territories of independent African States nationalists from liberation movements in order to give them training in all sectors, and afford young people all the assistance they need for their education and vocational training.

"To promote in each State, establishment of a body of volunteers in various fields, with a view to providing the various African National liberation movements with the assistance they need in various sectors."

The conference finally fixed a deadline for the accession of all African territories to independence.

Just after midnight of May 25, 1963, the Heads of States finally announced to the world that "Africa has decided to control her own destiny." "Inspired by

contract which bound them in the "Organisation of African Unity." The Summit formally ushered in a new phase of the African revolution. For once all the dissident voices of Africa were submerged in one voice—the voices of the new Africa.

What happened at Addis Ababa is the dream and the aim which all the pioneers of Pan-Africanism have struggled to make real. It is the "gleam" which they have tirelessly followed, which inspired them to go to Manchester to speak to a mere handful, has given them eloquence and burning fire to talk, and the certainty which enabled them to endure all insults and make even persecution easier to bear, which has steeled them to speak to break down barrier after barrier and build up one continent—Africa.

It was a dream yesterday but today this dream has been translated into a living reality and Africa will in truth be free and united.

To the imperialists a warning is resounding: The horizons of Africa are heavy with huge billow clouds of on coming prodigious hurricanes.

The Editor, The Spark Newspaper, Bureau of African Affairs, ACCRA.

Embassy of the Republic of the Sudan, P.O. Box M.27, ACCRA, 24th May, 1963.

Dear Sir,

I beg to refer to your today's issue to the article "Power interests behind the trends at Addis Ababa" and I hope you will be good enough to publish my comments in your next issue.

On reading that article one cannot help wondering why such unfounded allegations, are allowed to occupy a considerable part of the SPARK while the leaders of Africa are convening to reconcile, cement relations among their countries and seek solidarity and unity to safeguard Africa against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. What strikes me as being wrong is that the writer put some of the leaders as representing Anglo-American imperialism, French imperialism or being floating. By so doing the writer branded these leaders and consequently their countries at a time when all the African peoples are trying to settle their differences so as to enable this historic conference to materialise.

The writer labled the Government of the Republic of the Sudan as a dictatorship which "keeps the masses under an iron heel" I would like to state that this judgment is unrealistic because the people in the Sudan enjoy all the rights which people usually do enjoy under a democratic Government. Moreover, the Government of the Republic of the Sudan under the leadership of President Ibrahim Abboud since it came to power has been doing its best to study methods and put into practice democratic institutions which are compatible to the Sudanese traditions and civilisation and in line with our environment and way of life. The results of the recent elections in the Sudan to the Provincial Councils and other institutions demonstrated the satisfaction of the people and their full support to the Government.

The writer asserted that the Sudanese Stand demanding the immediate termination of colonialism, firm measures against apartheid and the liquidation of foreign military bases is not genuine and he gave a fantastic explanation. Once more I would like to say that this judgment is untrue and unfounded and I take this opportunity to, confirm that the Government and the people of the Republic of the Sudan consider it as their sacred duty to stand with the freedom fighters and help them to redeem their freedom. We have given and we are still giving our full support and all the possible help we can afford to our brothers in Africa who are still under foreign yoke. Therefore, it goes without saying that the Sudan's stand is genuine and it expresses not only the wish of the Government but also that of the Sudanese public at large.

With best regards.

Yours faithfully, (Hassan el Misbah) Charge d'Affaires SUDAN EMBASSY

TIGER IMPERIALISM

THE good people of Rewa are worried. For six tigers belonging to the local Maharajah may be turned loose—and then God help everyone! The Maharajah was proud of them because, unlike most of the representatives of their family, these tigers have snow-white hair. Some time ago the Indian government decided to purchase these rare beasts for the zoo in Delhi. The Maharajah agreed to sell.

But the news reached the United States and the Maharajah was offered a fabulous price for his pets. After that he presented the Indian government with an ultimatum; pay 300,000 rupees or I sell the tigers abroad, and if permission is not granted I shall turn them loose.

All this may sound like an anecdote, but it has failed to amuse the Indians. In fact, the fate of the six tigers has even been discussed in parliament.

Quite a few works of art found their way to the United States. Indian newspapers have recently reported with indignation of the attempts made by rich American tourists to obtain illicitly some ancient sculptures from the state museums at Mathura and Gwalior. The "Times of India" (April 21) writes with alarm that many precious paintings and bronzes are being smuggled out of the country.

And now there is a danger of these unique white tigers following other Indian rarities abroad. —(Culled from "New Times").