

THE SPARK



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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

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

No. 149 2p.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1965

COMMENT :

FORWARD IN UNITY (1)

The Background to Our Fight For Unity

UNTIL the First (Accra) Conference of Independent African States in April 1958, virtually nothing was heard of African Unity, outside the circle of a few visionaries. Africa was divided into watertight "spheres of influence" of the colonial powers of Western Europe.

What some pro-imperialist theoreticians today refer to as "institutions of African Unity" were in fact a few inter-territorial agencies like the West African Currency Board, the West African Frontier Force, the East African Rifles, the East African Airways, etc. These agencies served the colonial administrations in a group of colonies.

They were not "institutions of African unity". On the contrary, they were agencies meant to reduce the overhead costs of colonial administrations, agencies created primarily to make colonialism function more efficiently.

Accordingly, they were essentially a negation of African unity, which is basically anti-colonialist both in spirit and purpose.

Up to 1950, Africa was firmly under the grip of imperialism, notwithstanding the growth of national liberation movements. These movements were restricted in character. Each territory had its own movement and there was little contact between the various movements.

And within each territory, the national liberation movement was confined largely to an intellectual middle stratum.

The few politically independent territories were not in a position to give either ideological guidance or material support to these scattered liberation movements.

CONTROL

This was the case because these so-called independent states were economically controlled from outside Africa. Some were dominated by U.S. business; others lived on U.K. and U.S. grants; Union of South Africa was merely West European rule domiciled in South Africa; and Farouk Egypt was the field of co-operation between British and French investments.

But the decade 1951-1960 saw transformations of far-reaching significance. In 1952, King Farouk and the Pashas of Egypt were overthrown and a new Egypt (now U.A.R.), radically anti-imperialist, was born.

Morocco became independent after prolonged civil strife which included the exile for years of King Hussein V. In 1957, Ghana became independent after eight years of "positive action" under Kwame Nkrumah's leadership.

Events in Egypt and Morocco forced the grant of political independence to Sudan and Tunisia. And Britain, whose troops were in control of a section of North Africa for the greater part of World

War II quickly set up pro-U.K. monarchies to guarantee economic and strategic concessions to Britain and U.S.A.

By 1957 the independent States of Africa fell into three categories. And such categorisation is important to the understanding of subsequent diplomatic manoeuvres connected with African unity.

1 The axis of radical nationalism in independent Africa.

2 Conservative and openly pro-West governments.

These governments were uneasy because of growing radicalism within their borders. And this growth of radicalism drew inspiration from events in neighbouring states.

3 The states of "moderate" nationalism created by imperialism principally as a defensive action against the advance of militant African nationalism and in which political independence accommodates foreign economic control.

PRESSURE

Side by side with the emergence of sovereign African states, the pressure of imperialism on Africa was intensified.

The loss (to colonialism) of the Far East (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya and Indonesia) meant that the European Colonial powers—Britain, France, Holland—had to depend more on African raw materials and markets.

This trend was reinforced by the loss of U.K. and French investments in Latin America during the war when these investments had to be sold to U.S.A. in part payment of the cost of World War II.

The U.S. also entered Africa in a big way partly because her industries, formerly supplied from domestic sources, now had to draw an increasing proportion of their raw materials from abroad; and partly because of the loss of the China markets.

By 1958, U.S. private investments in Africa stood at \$800 million. She had

\$500 million private investments in South Africa; got 3 million tons iron ore a year from Liberia;

held 18.8 million acres oil concessions in Libya; established her two biggest banks—Bank of America and the Chase Manhattan of New York—in Nigeria; took part jointly with French

companies in the exploitation of Sahara oil;

held \$50 million investments in Northern Rhodesian (now Zambia) mining;

stepped up her aid programme from \$4 million in 1952 to \$214.4 million given out mostly in the form of surplus American farm products.

The pressure of West European and U.S. imperialism also had a military foundation. N.A.T.O. straddled Africa with air and naval bases.

These were said to be in preparation for a possible world war although, in fact, they have become military springboards and ordnance depots from which to conduct armed struggle against African nationalism and to equip reactionary African regimes.

POLICY

Furthermore, the war industries of West Europe and U.S.A. drew largely on strategic raw materials of African origin—uranium, columbite, manganese, lithium, oil.

A most significant manifestation of the increased pressure of imperialism on Africa has been the increase in joint actions by the imperialist powers in Africa.

Hitherto, these powers had been torn by rivalries and the desire (especially by U.S.A.) to penetrate the various "spheres of influence" in Africa.

However, since World War II, though these rivalries are by no means dead and forgotten, the imperialist powers have been compelled by the logic of the post-war world to pursue a policy of collective action to all problems facing them.

They largely achieved this in the military spheres with the setting up of N.A.T.O. But efforts have also been exerted in the economic field. The Marshall Plan gave way to the European Economic Community.

CO-EXISTENCE

The "Outer-Seven" existed side by side with the "Inner-Six"—the European Common Market.

The idea of a North Atlantic Trading Organisation linking West Europe with U.S.A. and Canada has been put forward.

Both the continental West European powers on the one hand and Britain, assisted by her English-speaking dominions, on the other hand, have seen the wisdom of joint economic action in Africa.

While continental European

thinking on this matter crystallised in the Development Fund of the European Common Market countries in 1958 with the sum of \$52,125 million to be spent over the 5-year period 1958-1962. British thinking behind gave birth to the Special Commonwealth Programme (SCAAP) in 1960.

And these two systems are tending to come together to form a world imperialist front, with Britain's efforts to join the European Common Market and the U.S. policy of "interdependence between U.S.A. and a united Western Europe".

Another example of joint imperialist action in the underdeveloped countries is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank).

U.S.A. alone has 40 per cent of the investment of this bank which by 1960 had granted loans in Africa of up to \$400 million.

Over two-thirds of the subscribed capital of the International Bank is held by U.S.A., Britain and the European Common Market Countries.

Three main facts have dominated international relations since World War II.

1 The Cold War: The capitalist (Western) bloc has faced the socialist (Eastern) bloc in a grim struggle which involves an arms race and the threat of nuclear war. This phenomenon has had adverse effects on Africa. It gobbles some \$120,000 million a year, according to U.N. estimates. A large part of this amount could be usefully spent on economic development.

It has had first claim on a large army of technicians who would have played a major role in the development of the less-advanced countries. It provides the pretext for the forcible suppression of national liberation movements struggle for political independence. It has perpetuated Africa's economic imbalance

by giving priority to investments in extractive (mining) industries and the production of agricultural raw materials.

2 The Afro-Asian group of States has emerged as a moral force of consequence in international relations. Its principles of alignment, peaceful co-existence and settlement of international dispute by peaceful negotiations were formulated and adopted at the now historic Bandung Conference, and have had a salutary impact on international affairs.

3 The United Nations, though patently weak in some vital regards, has survived and grown in prestige as a world forum where East and West could meet to talk over matters that endanger the peace of the world. What is more, the U.N. began to reveal that it could serve as the channel through which the smaller nations of the world through concerted action, could bring moral pressure to bear on the Great Powers for the good of all mankind.

We can now summarise. By 1957, only eight African States (excluding South Africa) were politically independent, the rest of Africa being under the colonial rule of Western Europe and the economic influence of U.S. finance capital.

Among the imperialist powers, the tendency was to concentrate more on Africa and gradually to substitute "collective action" for rivalry competition among themselves.

In the world at large the cold war between East and West took the better part of man's financial and human resources and threatened his peace and existence.

LIBERATION

However, a new moral force was emerging. It rallied the new nations of Asia and Africa and it exerted its influence on world affairs through the United Nations Organisation.

It was against this background and in order to solve the problems connected with it that the concept of African unity was born. The First (Accra) Conference of Independent African States in 1958 elaborated and proclaimed the aims and strategy of African Unity.

What then, is African unity? African unity is the strategy of Africa's total liberation and complete independence

in the era of deepening crisis of imperialism.

It is the theory and practice of Africa's emancipation.

The concept of African unity sets out the objectives which the new nations must seek to attain if all Africa must be emancipated. It also sets out the various processes by which these objectives could be achieved.

In the era when Africa's basic problem is to free itself from centuries of colonial subjugation, the concept of African Unity is essentially a strategy directed against imperialism in all its forms.

On the ruins of colonial relations has to be built a new economic and social order which will at one and the same time sustain Africa's independence and bring a fuller life within reach of the ordinary citizens of Africa. In addition, all this has to be done in a relatively short space of time compressing into a few decades the progress achieved elsewhere over a century or more.

Africa's vital interests

1. The immediate termination of colonial rule;
2. the building of a new economic and social order serving the interests of the broad masses;
3. the attainment of the above objectives now.

In the spheres of the relation between independent and dependent Africa, the concept of African unity is equally categorical and revolutionary.

The vital principle here is that the immediate termination of colonial rule in Africa is an urgent duty imposed by history on the independent states of Africa and on the whole world.

DUTY

It is a duty to be carried out not only in the interest of the peoples still under colonial rule but also in order to safeguard the security of independent African states and to secure world peace.

This principle reduces to the following propositions:

- (a) colonialism is a threat to world peace;
- (b) colonialism is a threat to the security of independent African states.

On the issue of relations between independent African states, African unity tackles this problem from the premises that imperialism tries to maintain itself even in independent

states through economic and strategic control and cultural influence. Flowing logically from this, independent African states must come together in order to safeguard their sovereignty and territorial integrity and in order, further, to attain complete independence by breaking down the control of imperialism in the spheres of the national economy, national defence and culture.

African unity, therefore, cannot mean the usual intercourse between sovereign states. Such intercourse between states is a normal feature of civilised life and exists even between hostile states.

Some amount of trade, telecommunications contacts etc. do not mean, and cannot constitute, African unity. African unity means something more, it involves the co-ordination of vital spheres of national life. It involves serious political decisions.

Such co-ordination of vital spheres of national life is not just an intellectual exercise for the new states of Africa. It is the offshoot of the compelling logic of modern life. The weakness of the new states of Africa—small size, weak economy, poor defences, deficiency in high-level manpower—makes organic politics unity inevitable.

CO-ORDINATION

For the only alternative to such unity is continued dependence on foreign powers or the exchange of an old master for a new one. Therefore the struggle for real unity among African states is not utopian idealism but a realistic down-to-earth approach to the vital problem of consolidating and enhancing Africa's independence. What is more, it is the only way forward. All other roads lead to sham independence or even to a loss of independence.

The struggle for the unity of African states is built on the principle that in addition to respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity vital aspects of national life must be co-ordinated.

But such political union is not forced at the expense of some nations and to the glorification of others. It is a union in the creation of which every participating state surrenders a bit of its sovereignty. No one state gains at the expense of the other. Rather every state surrenders something to a bigger unit in which everyone is again represented.

This has been the way in which human society itself has evolved. The family lost some rights to the patriarchy to the benefit of the family; the patriarchy lost to the tribe; the tribe to the nation; the nation to the state.

Now the African state is called upon to shed some rights to a union government. And such transfer of powers, like those preceding it, is to the good of the State itself.

OUT DAILY

During the period of the Summit Conference, 'The Spark' is appearing daily.

Circulation enquiries

To: Spark Publications
P.O. Box M. 171
Accra.

Telli's Report: Frank, Hard-Hitting, Realistic

Points way to unity in action

by Our Diplomatic Correspondent

FRANK, hard-hitting and realistic was how delegates to the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity described Secretary-General Diallo Telli's report on the O.A.U.'s work during the period March-September 1965, presented at Thursday's meeting. In courageous fashion he confronted delegates with the pressing political problems which must be resolved here and now.

While recognising that new organisations, particularly those which bear responsibilities as vast as those of the O.A.U., the report is understood to have spotlighted the need for unity in action and the full mobilisation of Africa's resources behind the declared policies of the O.A.U., making it clear that this problem, unless tackled promptly, can give rise to dangers which could weaken the Organisation's impact.

GREAT SERVICE

In the not-too-distant future, he indicated, these flaws will emerge in times of crisis. They can be of assistance only to those imperialist elements in the continent who wish to divide us and prevent us from playing a full positive part in the total liberation of the African continent and the development of a full life for the masses of Africa.

To place these problems in a forceful political way before the Conference is to take hold of the nettle; the Secretary-General's firm approval and his initiative was welcomed by many delegates and will be of great service to the cause of unity.

Some may not like the firm tone—but the time has gone for soothing words and phrases to conceal realities. We are not shorn lambs for whom the winds of political life must be tempered.

The time has now come to give political content to the deliberations of the O.A.U. and to back decisions by united action. M. Telli clearly hopes his report will help achieve this.

The initiative of the Secretary-General will be welcomed by all militant, anti-imperialist states and mass organisations of the African people, as well as by the national liberation movements still fighting for their freedom.

The militant tone of the report will act as a bracing political influence on those who may be tempted to indulge in flabby politics, in the hope that they can get through the next few days comfortably and then go back home to peace and quiet.

GAVE HOPE

The report gave hope and encouragement to all who see the O.A.U. as a vital weapon for freedom and development.

Conference sources suggest that the speed of developments is fairly satisfactory in relation to organisation. Therefore it was possible to lay emphasis on urgent political problems.

The first essential aim of the Organisation of African Unity is to ensure that the united power of the 36 independent African states is mobilised to complete the total liberation of the African Continent.

The report is said to have dealt in most serious terms with the actual position facing the O.A.U. in its relations to the national liberation movements and the functioning of the Committee of Nine.

The Secretary-General is understood to have been critical of the way in which the Committee had conducted itself and is said to have asked for special directives to ensure that the Committee functioned under the general direction of the O.A.U. Secretariat, instead of as a virtually independent body, whose financial arrangements encourage separatism from the general body.

But even more important

than the organisational relations between the O.A.U. Secretariat and the Committee of Nine is the general continent-wide problem of liberation, on which M. Telli is understood to have sounded a sombre note of caution.

In the past year, the situation in the countries occupied by Portugal and by Spain, has deteriorated, with repression becoming increasingly severe and savage.

OPEN VIOLENCE

In South Africa the open violence of the racist Government intensifies. South-West Africa, Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland all need the fullest, most effective support from the O.A.U. to defend them against the threatening encroachments of the South African racist regime.

The report was unable to point to significant progress toward the development of united common fronts between different sections of the liberation movements in the various territories—one of the aims of the Committee of Nine.

The Rhodesia crisis already looming over the Conference was subjected to analysis. It is believed that the Secretary-General bitterly attacked the British Government for its refusal to intervene in Rhodesia—although it does so in other colonies.

The situation calls for pressure on other states and powers. But stringent new measures are also needed within the Organisation to carry out already declared intentions.

Among the criticisms said to have been levelled by the Secretary-General was one aimed at those African states, who themselves have still not enforced sanctions, especially in relation to the banning from their ports and airspace of planes and ships plying to and from South Africa.

This measure is within the power of every independent African state; it is obviously difficult for the O.A.U. to bring pressure on such countries as Japan, the United States and many West European countries who still continue to trade with South Africa, when the African states themselves are not using to the full every means of pressure at their disposal to back up the South African peoples in their struggles for freedom.

CONCERN

The Secretary-General's profound concern regarding developments in those occupied states is prompted not only by the people's sufferings, which are increasing day by day, but also by the fact that the territorial integrity of states as Senegal, Tanzania, Guinea and Congo (Brazzaville) are being endangered by Portugal.

According to delegates the Secretary-General placed heavy responsibility for Portugal's actions and growing aggressiveness on that country's N.A.T.O. allies which give her political, military and economic support.

The principles underlying the need for the total liberation of Africa can be no source of dispute between the African states themselves, though the practical steps to be taken to achieve it may constitute a source of disagreement.

The problem of refugees from African states, who take refuge in other African states, is however a very difficult and delicate problem.

The very future of the O.A.U., bound up as it was with the holding of the Summit Conference at this time and in Accra, was endangered by the tensions which have arisen between fraternal-independent African states regarding this problem.

The problem bristles with difficulties. In countries like Congo (Brazzaville), Tanzania, Burundi and Uganda, there are thousands who have fled from their own countries who are living in terrible conditions, suffering virtual starvation and

placing almost unbearable strains on the host-states which are finding it difficult to support their own nationals.

The problems arising from humanitarian considerations are in themselves acute; when they are complicated by political problems such as the infiltration of political agents in the guise of refugees, the resulting political tensions are sufficient to endanger good relations between the country

war in Vietnam.

M. Telli is believed to have drawn special attention to the resolution on Vietnam, tabled by Ethiopia. He did not disguise his view that the African states must throw their weight behind the Vietnamese people, in an effort to bring about peace in that country, war-torn for the past twenty years.

Regional development, especially in the field of economic co-operation, is making some

people are by-passed by the impact of the O.A.U.

Now is the time to make the call for the extension of the operations of the Pan-African Organisations and for a decision to concentrate attention on them, so that the bonds between the people can be strengthened at all levels.

INFLUENCE

The Secretary-General's report is thought to have underlined the important influence that the African States have had in such international bodies as the International Travel Union, the International Labour Organisation, and in the bodies of the United Nations like the U.N. Commission for Trade and Development.

They have succeeded in driving South Africa out of many such bodies. They have also succeeded in raising by combined protest the acute problems relating to prices for primary products.

If this combination could be carried forward in the popular and professional organisations of the masses of Africa, the strength and influence of the Organisation as a whole grow enormously.

The O.A.U. can only continue to exist by the agreement of the masses, their understanding needs to be harnessed to help to meet the new challenges that face us.

The Secretary-General's report broke important new ground. It was not only a recital of events and achievements but also an attempt to summarise the lessons of the two years of the existence of the Organisation.

The work of the O.A.U. has proliferated at a rapid pace with many meetings both of the Foreign Ministers and of the rapidly increasing number of Commissions.

The demands on the resources of the Organisation are growing continuously.

Organisational problems reflect political situations and can in turn have adverse political effects on the work of any organisation.

CHALLENGE

The challenge of the report lies, not only in the political problems which, according to delegates, were raised very sharply, but also in some searching questions about the relations between the Organisation, as an entity, and the member-states themselves.

An acute contradiction is developing within the Organisation. On the one hand, members look to it for immediate practical results in all kinds of political, economic, social and cultural questions; on the other, they want to be sure that the resources they place at the disposal of the Organisation will be adequately used.

This attitude can only be self-defeating. Without considerably increased resources, which means that member-states must be prepared to give more to the Secretariat, the O.A.U. cannot meet the inevitably growing demands placed on it.

If the Organisation fails to meet these needs, then the danger is that the resources placed at its disposal, are likely to decrease, rather than grow.

One solution, appears to be that of rationalisation. A survey of all the possibilities and demands needs to be made, to try to correlate these with the main aims of the O.A.U.



M. Diallo Telli: "his initiative was welcomed by many delegates and will be of great service to the cause of unity."

giving refuge and the country of origin.

The Secretary-General is apparently alarmed at the danger that these problems represent to the future of the Organisation. He has good reason to be and he was, it seems, anxious to remind states about the agreements signed and ratified and renewed last year and this, which embodied suggestions for conduct in relation to the refugee problem.

It is understood that he hinted that some states are unduly sensitive on this problem and that their sensitivity can produce unnecessary antagonisms which can only be exploited to the benefit of imperialism.

It is to be hoped that a sense of proportion will prevail, and that the Secretary-General's balanced plea for tolerance and calm will clear the atmosphere.

The events of the past few days in the Congo may lead to changes in the agenda and in the tone of the discussions of the Foreign Ministers and the Heads of State too.

A request has been made by President Kasavubu that the Congo should not be discussed.

NOTEWORTHY

It is, however, noteworthy that the Congo situation was referred to the O.A.U. by the Security Council of the United Nations. Without in any way anticipating events in the Congo itself or what may emerge from the present confused situation, it is a sign of the growing importance of the Organisation that after the failure of the U.N. to solve this five-year-old problem, the matter has been passed to the African states.

The report is believed to have covered not only Africa, but some problems affecting Afro-Asian problems, the most urgent of which is the terrible

small strides. The complexity of the problem of unifying the resources of the continent are obvious, but the dangers of regional development, unless they are under the aegis of the Organisation, are also clear.

Already calls are being made for an African Common Market. Some delegates feel that the report should have revealed some of the problems of the existing forms like the East African Services Organisation, and the Central African Customs and Economic Union.

Some point out that the beneficiaries are those who are already economically the strongest, and that they leave untouched some of the basic economic problems facing Africa, the most important among them being, who owns and controls the economic resources of the various states.

FIRM STAND

This question will put serious barriers in the way of economic planning, either continental or regional.

The need for the O.A.U. to take a firm stand on the forms of ownership and the desirability of socialism in our continent as the only possible line of future development gets clearer each time economic questions are discussed.

It is understood that the various Pan-African Organisations were mentioned.

The success of the O.A.U. and its future development will depend on the degree to which the masses of the people understand how it works and to the degree to which in their practical day-to-day experiences teach them that unity benefits them.

It is a matter for regret that more attention is not to be given to the Pan-African Organisations. Some member-states encourage their development and devote considerable resources to them; in some other states, the mass of the

people as the necessary and logical organisation to give expression to these demands and to act as the means of achieving them. But these demands need a qualitatively different form of organisation.

It is the strains of these demands, on the organisation, which has served its vitally important purpose, which the report appears to reflect. The strains imposed on the O.A.U. are now of a new political quality.

The response to these new demands can only be expressed through the conscious, scientific transformation of the O.A.U. into a new type of organisation with a different function.

The O.A.U. is now suffering, in one sense, for its success. Its problems arise from the wonderful, positive achievements which it has to its credit.

MORE COMPLEX

But the way ahead is yet more complex. Only the determined advance to forms of Continental Union Government can now begin to refashion it so that its function is quite clear, and so that the internal contradictions caused by the impossibility of reconciling the many conflicting demands being made on it can be solved.

The report clearly found it necessary to read a brief lecture to some states (not specified) that their national interests are served in a wide variety of ways.

Their national interests are served for example by the role played by the O.A.U. in the preservation of peace, and in the unremitting fight which it leads against imperialism and colonialism still oppressing millions of our brothers.

The growing quantity of problems, the increase in the number of demands, calls not for retrenchment, not for planned retreats, but for bold, qualitatively new solutions. From being an Organisation merely the O.A.U. must begin a bold advance to becoming the Union Government of Africa.

DEMANDS

Once the vital political conviction is present, that Union Government is the only way forward, these complex problems of adjusting activities to limited resources, of harmonising the dual claims of Unity as against narrow national interests, and the conflict between activities of the O.A.U. and other international bodies, will begin to fall into place, and rational solutions can be found.

The demands of history, the demands of the masses for freedom, for prosperity, for a full and happy life, are an ever-mounting pressure on all African states.

The O.A.U. is seen by the

What is Neo-Colonialism?

THE essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy are directed from outside.

The methods and form of this direction can take various shapes. For example, in an extreme case the troops of the imperial power may garrison the territory of the neo-colonial State and control the government of it.

More often, however, neo-colonialist control is exercised through economic or monetary means. The neo-colonial State may be obliged to take the manufactured products of the imperial power to the exclusion of competing products from elsewhere. Control over government policy in the neo-colonial State may be secured by payments towards the cost of running the State, by the provision of civil servants in positions where they can dictate policy, and by monetary control over foreign exchange through the imposition of a banking system controlled by the imperial power.

Where neo-colonialism exists the power exercising control is often the State which formerly ruled the territory

in question, but this is not necessarily so. For example, in the case of South Vietnam, the former imperial power was France, but neo-colonial control of the State has now gone to the United States. It is possible that neo-colonial control may be exercised by a consortium of financial interests which are not specifically identifiable with any particular State. The control of the Congo by great international financial concerns is a case in point.

The result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world.

A State in the grip of neo-colonialism is not master of its own destiny. It is this factor which makes neo-colonialism such a serious threat to world peace.

Neo-colonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress.

KWAME NKRUMAH
Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism



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

FOR FREEDOM

Pan-African Congress, Paris 1919

- (ii) **Capital.**—The investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for social and material benefit of the natives.
- (iii) **The State.**—The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the Government as fast as their development permits, in conformity with the principle that the Government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the Government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government, according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceed, to the higher offices of states; to the end that, in time Africa is ruled by consent of the Africans. Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilised citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and culture, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the notice of the civilised world.

Pan-African Congress, Manchester 1945

TO secure equal opportunities for all colonial and coloured people in Great Britain, this Congress demands that discrimination on account of race, creed or colour be made a criminal offence by law.

That all employments and occupations shall be opened to all qualified Africans, and that to ban such applicants because of race, colour or creed shall be deemed an offence against the law.

DECLARATION TO THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

WE affirm the right of all colonial peoples to control their own destiny. All colonies must be free from foreign imperialist control, whether political or economic.

The people of the colonies must have the right to elect their own Government, without restrictions from foreign powers. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must fight for these ends by all means at their disposal.

The object of imperialist Powers is to exploit by granting the right to colonial peoples to govern themselves that object is defeated. Therefore, the struggle for political power by colonial and subject people is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to, complete social, economic and political emancipation. The fifth Pan-African Congress therefore calls on the workers and farmers of the Colonies to organise effectively. Colonial workers must be in the front of the battle against imperialism. Your weapons—the strike and the boycott—are invincible.

We also call upon the intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities.

By fighting for trade union rights, the right to form co-operatives, freedom of the Press, assembly, demonstration and strike, freedom to print and read the literature which is necessary for the education of the masses, you will be using the only means by which your liberties will be won and maintained. Today there is only one road to effective action—the organisation of the masses. And in the organisation the educated colonials must join. Colonial and subject peoples of the world, Unite!

FOR UNITY

The First Conference of Independent African States April 15th.—22nd, 1958.

CONSIDERING that hitherto non-African forces have arbitrarily divided the African Continent into economic regions, and that the Conference does not recognise this division,

Considering further that Africa could be developed as an economic unity, Noting that the incorporation of dependent African territories in the economic systems of colonial powers is not in the best interests of these peoples, Recommends to the Participating African States:

- (1) The establishment within each Independent African State of an Economic Research Committee to survey the economic conditions and to study the economic and technical problems within the State;
- (2) The establishment of a Joint Economic Research Commission;
 - (a) to co-ordinate information and exchange of views on economic and technical matters of the various Independent African States;
 - (b) to find measures whereby trade among African countries could be developed and encouraged;
 - (c) to make proper and detailed investigation as to the possibilities of co-ordinating the economic planning in each State towards the achievement of an all-African economic co-operation;
 - (d) to find ways and means for common industrial planning within the African States and the possibilities of making available mineral resources and other African products among the African States;
 - (e) to lay down proposals by which Independent African States can receive foreign capital and employ foreign experts, and to encourage co-operation with other countries in such manner as not to affect their independence, sovereignty and unity;

WHEREAS the Imperialist Powers of Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and the Union of South Africa have, between them, deprived various people of Africa of their freedom and liberty,

And whereas the leaders of political parties in Africa gathered in Accra between the 5th day of December, 1958, and 13th day of December, 1958, are irrevocably resolved to wage a final assault upon the denial of freedom, liberty and fundamental human rights to the people of Africa.

Be it resolved that the All-African Peoples' Conference be established with a permanent secretariat in Africa with the following aims and objectives:

- (a) To promote understanding and unity among peoples of Africa.
- (b) To accelerate the liberation of Africa from imperialism and colonialism.
- (c) To mobilise world opinion against the denial of political rights and fundamental human rights to Africans.
- (d) To develop the feeling of one community among the peoples of Africa with the object to the emergence of a United States of Africa.

THE BANDUNG DECLARATION 1955

- 1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
- 2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
- 3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.
- 4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of other countries.
- 5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
- 6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big Powers.
- (b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.
- 7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
- 8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiations, conciliations, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Rhodesia and Aden : Contrast in Technique

By D. J. BRENT

IN the interests of the people of Aden and Britain the Labour Government must be made to change its whole policy on Aden. The British Government has suspended the Constitution and put all power in the hands of the British High Commissioner, Sir Richard Turnbull.

The elected Government has been overthrown. A State of Emergency continues to exist; more troops have been rushed in; martial law reigns; a curfew has been imposed—all this in the name of "commitments," "honouring our pledges," and "countering terrorism."

What a contrast with another British colony: Rhodesia. There, a minority Government representing a tiny section of the population is daily perpetrating acts of violence and terrorism against the people.

The Rhodesian settler regime has openly declared that it is going to commit treason. What happens?

No Constitution suspended; no Government overthrown; no troops sent; no mass arrests of the leaders plotting rebellion; and no prizes offered as to why not—it's all there in brown and white.

BASIC PROBLEM

The issue in Rhodesia is that a handful of settlers wants independence to be handed to it in order to continue domination and exploitation of the African majority.

The basic problem in Aden is that the people there want their independence with no shackles or sheiks attached—it's as simple as that.

On the other hand the Labour Government, with its "east of Suez" policy, consider that it has an "obligation" to safeguard the oil monopolies, profits and interests, British and American, in the Middle East, and that it is committed to "honouring our pledges" to all the reactionary feudal sheiks in the area to keep them in power.

To do all this the Wilson Government still considers that it must retain Aden as a base of operations for its military activities, despite the growing doubts about the value of Aden as a base in the present circumstances.

The Order in Council suspending the Aden Constitution was signed by the Queen on September 27, 1965. The Government of Mr. Abdul Qawee Mackawee was dismissed because, it is said, it refused to "condemn terrorism."

Did the Labour Government really expect it? Of course not! All previous history, and our own is no exception, tells us that the measures adopted by people struggling for freedom and independence depend just as much, if not more on the activities and methods adopted by their oppressors.

The time-honoured term for such people is "terrorist"; the foreign-armed invaders are always the "forces of law and order," the "defenders of freedom."

Mr. Mackawee and his Government have the full support of all political parties, trade unions and the people of the Aden colony. Even the school-children have demonstrated their support—the schools have since been closed, yet once again, by the British High Commissioner.

There has been mounting opposition to Britain ever since the Aden colony was forcibly merged, by the Tories in January 1963, into a Federal State with the hotch-potch of surrounding reactionary and backward sheikdoms.

Mr. Anthony Greenwood, the Labour Government's Colonial Secretary, was no more trusted with his unitary State scheme than his predecessor, Mr. Duncan Sandys, with his plans for constitutional change. Mr. Greenwood tried to call

a London conference—and failed. He tried to send a constitutional committee to Aden—only to have the Sudanese members of it resign and the remaining two banned as undesirable immigrants by Mr. Mackawee.

This was ironic justice, because Britain for years has banned the United Nations sub-committee on Aden from entering the colony.

Mr. Greenwood's next move was a sudden, unannounced flight to Aden, nearly three months ago with suspension of the Constitution as one possible course under discussion.

BROKE DOWN

The crisis was averted for a few weeks, with talk of holding a meeting to discuss merely the convening of a conference in London, with a steering committee to meet in Aden later to prepare for an ultimate constitutional conference.

The talks started on August 3, and four days later had broken down.

Chief Minister Mackawee, the People's Socialist Party and the South Arabian League insisted that the proposals of the United Nations resolution on Aden were the minimum they could accept.

The U.N. General Assembly two years ago called for: withdrawal of Britain's base in Aden;

an end to all repressive operations in the area; freeing of all political prisoners;

general elections with a "U.N. presence" and discussions with the elected Government to fix a date for independence.

The Adenis insisted they would only consider an agenda based on the U.N. resolutions.

But Mr. Greenwood would not agree to this, nor to the lifting of the State of Emergency, which he considered

necessary for the security of the base.

Chief Minister Mackawee declared that the British Government had chosen to fall back on reaction and must decide whether to continue to align itself with the feudal set-up or win the friendship of the people.

Until it adopted a progressive policy they would not meet again, he added.

Mr. Mackawee took the fight back to the United Nations, and Mr. Greenwood took it back to Aden: a battalion of the Coldstream Guards was moved from West Germany for service in Aden.

It needed but a few short weeks, with the stepping-up of activities on both sides, for the previously mooted suspension of the Constitution to be put into effect.

The U.N. Sub-Committee on Aden was quite clear at whose door the blame lay: in mid-September in its report to the U.N. it drew attention to the "critical and explosive" situation in Aden and stated quite categorically that British policy was giving rise to increased tension there.

ELECTIONS

It warned that "the patience of the people of Southern Arabia in the face of continued delay in freeing them from colonial rule will soon run out."

It further urged that elections be held without delay throughout the territory, accompanied by "the abolition of the State of Emergency, the repeal of all laws restricting public freedom, the cessation of all repressive actions and the release of political detainees."

If there was a difference of opinion in Aden between the Organisation for the Liberation of the Occupied South and the National Front for

Liberation as to the best means of securing independence, the suspension of the Constitution ended it.

As Mr. Mackawee said: "This step will only consolidate our position and our struggle for real independence. We will now stand with the people as one front in the face of British colonial policy."

Earlier, O.L.O.S. had cabled a warning to the High Commissioner that unless Britain's policy in Aden was reviewed, wide public resistance would be organised against the repressive measures in the colony.

Calling for a one-day strike, the Aden T.U.C. president said it would now use every effective means to ensure the removal of British colonialists.

The 24-hour strike was a complete success and further such activities are being planned.

The British authorities' reply has been mass arrests, including trade union leaders, and threats to ban strikes.

What of the base itself? Does Britain really need it? The London Times now considers that

"the continued use of Aden as a base must be regarded as suspect because in the light of the security situation, the conditions on which the value of a base depends appear not to be fulfilled."

This is reiterating what Mr. Wilson as Leader of the Opposition has so often said in the past that no base is of use if held without the agreement of the local Government.

Now, well past the eleventh hour, the Labour Government must be made to recognise the need to accept the policy in Aden demanded by the United Nations.

The alternative is time bought for imperialist interests—at the cost of British and Adenis lives.

African Unity can defeat imperialism

THE Imperialists are leaving no stone unturned to frustrate the African Revolution. The Congo, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa are glaring examples of the imperialists' determination to sabotage the aspirations of the African people.

by Kwamena Apponsah

But no amount of force can check the hurricane which is sweeping through Africa like a wild fire. Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey of Africa, once prophesied:

"There is a youth movement coming in Africa that one day will startle the world. This restlessness all over Africa stands for self-discovery, self-realization. It tells of power just breaking through. The great giant has been asleep for long... Africa of twenty years ago is dead; a new Africa is born and it is a challenge to civilization."

Today Africa is translating the high hopes for which renowned freedom fighters like Du Bois, Aggrey, Lumumba, Padmore and others lived and died, into reality.

But we must not deceive ourselves. Africa cannot be truly free while Mongaliso Sobukwe, Joshua Nkomo, Sithole, Walter Sisulu and thousands of African Freedom Fighters are languishing in the cruel jails of Ian Smith and Verwoerd.

Nor must we forget the atrocities to which our brothers are subjected in Angola, Mozambique and so-called "Portuguese" Guinea by fascist Portugal.

Nor can Africa be truly free while neo-colonialism saps our growing economies.

The imperialist countries well know that Africa's

economic emancipation can be realised through collective effort, and that the achievement of African Unity will spell the end of their economic domination of our continent.

They are also afraid that in no distant time Africa will present a mighty force in a world torn with hatred and uneasiness. Hence their determination to subvert our efforts to unite.

Our glorious past must inspire our leaders to steer us safely towards a United Africa, strong and prosperous in which there will be no poverty, squalor, want or disease.

The late Casely Hayford once said:

"The future of Africa demands that the youth of Africa should start life with distinct objective. Of brain power are assured. Of mechanical skill there is no dearth. What is wanted is the directing hand which will point to the right goal. A United Africa arises, chastened and inspired with conviction that union is her strength, her weakness is discord."

The directing hand of which Casely Hayford spoke is the Organisation of African Unity born in Addis Ababa two years ago, and now meeting in Accra.

During the two years of its existence it has been able to find African solutions to many of the problems which face us. Border disputes involving Algeria, Morocco, Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia were amicably settled.

Now the O.A.U. is employing every effort to unite the two freedom parties in

Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) against any threat of unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) by the white minority government.

Those who thought that they could wreck the O.A.U. have miscarried.

Now is the time for Africa to unite. Yesterday it was the United States and Russia. Today Africa must unite now or perish!

Our people are hungry, thirsty and poverty-stricken because of the white man's neglect and plunder of our continent for centuries. The people must be saved now.

We won't exchange a white imperialist for a black imperialist who would not care for our needs but would collaborate with the enemy to exploit us, leaving us to suffer hardship.

Only in unity can Africa win respect in this space age. The United States and its allies would not dare to ignore the views of a United Africa on matters concerning Africa.

Nor could the imperialists attack the Congo, sacrificing human beings for uranium and gold, in a United Africa. A United Africa could build a railway to link Zambia and Tanzania. A United Africa could force apartheid Verwoerd and his henchmen to abandon their racial politics.

With faith in our people, with our rich natural resources and with the aid of modern science and technology, a united Africa could defeat all imperialist manoeuvres to impede our forward march. Forward to Unity and Prosperity! United we stand, divided we fall!

Ghana's Foreign Minister Looks Back — and Forward The Vital Need of Our Epoch

Ghana's fight for African Unity by Alex Quaison-Sackey



MR. ALEX QUAISSON-SACKEY

THE opening of the Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity here in Accra this week necessarily rivets our attention once more upon the imperative need for African unity. The fact that the conference is being held in Ghana also focuses attention upon Ghana's fight for African unity.

It is, of course, impossible to mention Ghana's struggle for African unity, without speaking of Osagyefo, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana.

DEEP ROOTS

From the outset of our national destiny—and, indeed, even before Ghana's birth as a sovereign state—the fight for African unity has been closely associated with Osagyefo's personal fight for the African cause, and with his yearning first for a West African Federation and then for an African Continental Government.

The struggle for African unity has, indeed, deep roots. They may indeed be said to rest upon the eternal verities of continental geography and of the affinities of our ancestry and age-old history.

The current movement in the direction of Pan-Africanism may be traced, so far as

Ghana is concerned, as far back as the 1920's, when individuals of courage and vision, such as Caseley Hayford, of our beloved Ghana, were able to stand out against the fallacious colonial dogmas of the day and to assert Africa's dignity.

Above all in Africa nothing is lost, and when Caseley Hayford and others talked and worked there were those who marked their words—nor were they all European police officers.

Mr. J. Caseley Hayford was, of course, a precursor of much that was to follow. The late George Padmore described him as "a sort of John the Baptist, preparing the way for younger nationalist leaders like Kwame Nkrumah".

Born in 1866, he drew inspiration from the National Congress in India to found the West African National Congress, which was established in March 1920.

Before his death in 1930 he had succeeded in heading a delegation, composed of the leading political personalities from the four British West African colonies, which visited London to present a memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, calling for greater African autonomy, self-government, the abolition of racial discrimination in the civil service, the establishment

of a West African university, and other reforms in keeping with the temper of the times.

Politics has been described as the art of the possible, and if today these demands seem modest, in their own day they did not. Although Caseley Hayford did not carry masses with him (which was his weakness as a politician), he was a true Ghanaian, and a true African patriot, and his name and memory are rightly held in high honour today in Ghana, the land that gave him birth.

In the years that followed his death, events remorselessly followed their course, until history at last saw the emergence of a new national leader, the young Kwame Nkrumah, who led the drive for "Self-Government Now".

In the era of struggle and sacrifice that ensued, the emphasis was laid upon "Independence", and little was heard of "Unity".

Independence and Unity nevertheless remained integrally linked together to form an intrinsic and inseparable whole. At that time only the "Independence" aspect of Osagyefo's policy was visible, since it was, at that time, given priority, while "Unity"—the next step—necessarily had to wait. Tactical action was required and Kwame Nkrumah had a clear strategy.

WAY WAS OPEN

Once Independence was won, however (and it goes without saying that although independent sovereignty was won in 1957, the final process of the political emancipation of Ghana was not consummated until the introduction of the Republican Constitution in 1960) the way was open for the march towards Unity to proceed.

No sooner, indeed, was independence celebrated in 1957 than allusion was made to the forthcoming struggle for African Unity.

In the very moment of triumph Kwame Nkrumah uttered those historic words that have since become emblazoned in the memories of so many Africans: "Ghana's independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa."

After discussions with some of the African leaders who attended the Ghanaian independence celebrations, it was de-

ecided to hold a conference of independent African States to discuss matters of mutual concern.

The idea of such co-operation was fostered by the imaginative and practical brain of Kwame Nkrumah, drawing its roots from the series of Pan-African conferences, held over the years under the aegis of Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, as well as from the Fifth Pan-African Conference held in Manchester in 1945 in which George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah played a leading part as Joint Secretaries. The famous Jomo Kenyatta, now President of Kenya was also there.

ON AFRICAN SOIL

Nor can one discount the influence upon Nkrumah's thinking of such seminal influences as that of "Aggrey of Africa", the great educator at whose feet Nkrumah had once sat, and on whose lips the message of continental salvation for Africa was ever to be found.

As I said in my book, *Africa Unbound*, in only a little more than a month after Ghana's independence, Nkrumah had written to all the heads of governments of the independent states of Africa to reiterate his desire to convene a conference of African states on African soil.

The world press, sensitive to those seismological changes in the world situation that portend great events, showed immediate interest although as with Bandung—there were not lacking those who foretold failure.

However, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah took advantage of his visit to London in mid-1957, to speak with the Ethiopian and Sudanese Ambassadors there about the Conference.

Soon arrangements were put in hand, through the Ghana High Commissioner's Office in London, where I then had the honour to serve as liaison officer to the various African embassies, to make the preliminary arrangements for the Accra Conference of 1958.

The First Conference of Independent African States opened at Accra, as the world well remembers, on April 15 of that year. From the moment that the conference opened, there was no further doubt that Africa would never again be the same.

Although at that moment

hundreds of thousands of square miles of her territory lay under the yoke of colonialism and imperialism, the die was cast.

From that meeting hall went forth firstly to all the countries of the participants, then to the peoples of Africa as a whole, and finally to the peoples of other continents the message that Africa would be free, and that Africa would be united.

Historic tides were set in motion that have not ceased to flow, and that can never cease to flow until they reach their accomplished end—the unity of all Africa's children, in freedom, in dignity, and in brotherhood.

The words of the resolutions that were adopted are, of course, widely known, and, like a pilot's manual, set the course for the other international African conferences that followed—a course that has been ploughed resolutely and faithfully not only by the countries that were "in at the birth", but by all those other gallant countries that were then struggling for freedom.

For freedom is indeed ingrained in the heart of every true Africa. It represents the destiny towards which Africa's peoples steer, down the decades and with untold suffering—a destiny that will surely be realised.

Later in 1958, in December, there was also held in Accra a second conference—the All African Peoples Conference. This conference, which drew together trade unionists, members of political parties, and other people's representatives from all over the continent, was, as its name implies, a non-governmental gathering.

It nevertheless received sympathetic treatment from the host country, as the fact that it was addressed by no less a person than Dr. Kwame Nkrumah testifies.

HIGH HONOUR

Among those who attended were many men like Lumumba, Nkomo, Tom Mboya, Kasavubu and others whose names are today held in high honour in their own countries.

Even before the December 1958 conference could convene, an important event had happened in West Africa that involved Ghana no less than the country directly involved—Guinea.

When in the autumn of 1958 Guinea, under the leadership of Sekou Toure, returned its historic "No" to France's referendum establishing the Fifth French Republic, Guinea was immediately expelled from the French Community.

The Ghana-Guinea partnership that was then formed, however, was one of a number of ways in which the French hope that Guinea would be isolated and brought to her knees was thwarted.

In constituting itself as a republic, Guinea even made provision in its constitution, of which Chapter Eight Article 34 stated explicitly that with a view to the realisation of African unity, the Republic might conclude agreements with other African States including the partial or total abandonment of sovereignty.

The Ghana-Guinea partnership was later developed into the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union, which was a further step forward in the direction of African unity, and has assuredly exerted a seminal effect upon contemporary African political thought.

Indeed, Ghana's own Republican constitution contains a provision that not only provides but also, in effect, helps to promote the cause of African unity.



"The Ghana-Guinea partnership was later developed into the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union, which was a further step forward in the direction of African Unity."

Article Two of our constitution states that:

"In the confident expectation of sovereignty to a union of African states and territories, the people now confer on Parliament the power to provide for the surrender of the whole or any part of the sovereignty of Ghana."

Other inter-African conferences that have followed the 1958 Accra Conference of Independent African States have each constituted a further step along the road—whether they were conferences of Heads of State, or of Foreign Ministers.

By considering different aspects of the road to unity—whether the economic, the communications, the legal, or the cultural aspects—these conferences helped to prepare the way to further progress.

The greatest step forward of all, however, has so far been the 1963 Addis Ababa Conference, of Heads of State and Government, at which the Organisation of African Unity was formed.

This truly historic event, in effect, created for the first time a full-fledged regional organisation, comparable to those established for other regions of the world.

The establishment of the Organisation of African Unity is a vindication of the efforts of student leaders of the 1940s, like Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta, who believed that Africans can unite in a common purpose and for a common goal.

The establishment of the Organisation of African Unity was a partial culmination of the grouping for unity which began with the Accra Conference in 1958.

The Organisation of African Unity is a great milestone in the search for true African Unity and through it Africa should be able to realise a Continental Government with a sense of dedication and mission for the whole of the Continent.

It is most necessary to stress, at this point, in history, the full ramifications of the word "solidarity", that is frequently used in different contexts, but often in vague or general terms.

In effect the word "solidarity" implies unity. It is impossible to talk about one without invoking the other. As Ghana itself progressively developed a continental view, so its own people began to show increasing solidarity. The same

is becoming of other African Countries.

What, in fact, does African unity mean? It evidently is not merely a question of talking about unity, holding conferences, and passing resolutions. African unity means that the peoples of Africa will move forward under a central governmental banner, the various parts operating harmoniously in terms of local conditions, while the centre provides direction for defence, the formulation of foreign policy, and the development of a continental economic and financial policy, while at the same time harmonising the more organisational aspects of modern society—establishing a standardised decimal currency, for example, to mention only one detailed aspect of what has to be done.

Continental unity is the necessity of our epoch. It is a necessity that remains as true for Europe, America and Asia as for our own continent—and as inevitable. In the age of the jet aircraft, which eats up miles as fast as an elephant eats hay, a different kind of society from the limited colonial type social groupings of the past becomes inevitable.

AFRICA MUST UNITE

The configuration of our continent implies a totality that is even more striking than in the case of the other continents.

Ghana may be proud indeed to have played a role in this great movement that has the excitement of actuality, and all the overwhelming urgency of necessity. Together with our sister African States, we may look forward to a future in which we may together share the blessings, the benefits, and the greatness of a continental grouping.

The way has been shown to us by the United States, and the Soviet Union. Now the accomplishment depends upon our efforts. Let none doubt that a united Africa will surely come.

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has spoken of "the African Nation that must be." That it will indeed be is as sure as tomorrow's sunrise. From the promise we now move towards the accomplishment—to a wider union, a greater communion.

Long live Africa! Africa Must Unite!



"The greatest step forward of all, however, has so far been the 1963 Addis Ababa Conference of Heads of State and Government, at which the Organisation of African Unity was formed."

In 'The Spark' Next Week

Ministers of the Ghana Government will report on how the country is working to fulfil the Seven-Year Development Plan