"As I see it, our greatest danger stems from disunity and the inability to see that the realisation of our hopes and aspirations, the realisation of our objective of total African independence, and of our future progress and prosperity, is inextricably bound up with the necessity to nnify our policy and actions in connection with the continuing struggle for independence and the greater task of economic and social reconstruction beyond it.

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We need nnity within the ranks of the independent states, unity within the ranks of the freedom fighters still struggling to achieve independence; and nnity be ween the already independent states and freedom fighters. "

-DR. KWAME NKRUMAH §

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RÉAD **GTHE**

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Revolutionary

JOURNAL

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Voice of Africa

Vol. 3 No. 2, 3 & 4

A MAGAZINE OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

Feb. - April, 1963

OUR OPINION

THE ROAD TO ADDIS ABABA

IN May 1963, leaders of all independent Africa will meet in Addis Ababa. The main theme of the conference is freedom and unity of Africa.

Like the biblical grain of mustard which grew up as the greatest among herbs and became a tree, so that the birds of the air came and lodged in the branches thereof, the great seed of African unity which touched the soil of Africa in Accra in 1958, is growing as the years go by.

From Rabat to Tananarive, Accra to Cairo the house-hold word is Freedom and Unity NOW.

The position of Africa in 1963 whether it is part of some preconvinced plan or test, or simply the culmination of events in preparation for the trying age in which we live, time has answered that despite efforts of the colonialists to stay the forward march, Africa is forging ahead to total liberation. But our salvation today depends to a large extent on one Africa presenting an anti-imperialist front.

The brave advocate of African Unity, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah stresses that "three alternatives open to African States : firstly, to unite and save our continent ; secondly, to disunite and disintegrate, or thirdly to sell out we must unite and save our continent."

He declares that a united Africa should seek three objectives :

* An over-all economic planning on a united continental bases;

* The creation of a joint military Command for common defence, and

* A common foreign policy to give political direction.

"Voice of Africa" recommends these three objectives to all African leaders for study and scrutiny.

The fate of Africa hangs over the necks of our leaders who are going to Addis. Ababa. We hope and it is our prayer, that their deliberations will yield fruitful result. The masses of Africa are watching and waiting.

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> Editor-in-Chief: KOFI BATSA

AFRICA! CALL THE CLARION OUR CHORUS

Our star shall rise, our freedom come As surely as tomorrow's sun; For Africa is ours by right. Sweet Africa, the pride of youth; The clarion calls, we rise for thee : The greeneyed greed for thy dear wealth Shall no more cross the seas for thee...

THE orations are delivered, the bands play, the guns boom, and the flag of a new African State is raised. "Independence! Indepen-dence!" and unity! The word travels fast across the land to the farthest, smallest village. And there too the tomtoms take up the cry. 'Independence and Unity !"

And all over the world people who believe in democracy and human brotherhood rejoice with the Africans. For each new addition to the number of states in which the people 'are their own political masters is a victory for democracy, a defeat for the tyranny of colonialism. It means the widening and strengthening of human brotherhood, another advance toward a world of people working together and living together in peace.

Yes, we have cause to rejoice when, we, Africans, after long years of suffering and struggle against foreign masters, take over control of our own governments. But let no one tell you that this accomplishment means the end of the bitter struggle for freedom. No, it is only the beginning.

Political freedom in itself will not give the people of a country more schools and more hospitals, enough food and increased wages, better homes and towns in which to rear their families, and all the other

things which colonialism has prevented them from having. But if properly used in the interest of the masses of the inhabitants of a country, political freedom can be the means of developing a better life for them, a life of dignity, happiness and progress.

Political freedom can release the energies of a people as a hawk is set free to fly where it will in the sky. But in these times it is often quite otherwise with the new African states, and they have frequently no more freedom of choice or liberty of action than a chicken enclosed in a barnyard.

The departing colonial master may leave his military forces and bases in the "independent" country to guard his interests as a watchdog keeps the chickens from straying outside the barnyard. (Remember Bizerta). Or there may be continuing financial grants and loans from the colonial master with which the subserviency of the "independent" African Government is bought.

Whatever the consequences for the country, the top officials of the new government are thus assured of expensive cars and homes, and all the other superior advantages that can government that is willing to they have won. The Government

accept such military or financial arrangements will find it necessary to suppress the protests of workers, students, and others. It will call them "trouble-makers", charge them with "sedition", and jail them, just as the colonial officials did. And in some cases, as in the ex-French Cameroons, for example, the colonialists" military forces will be openly employed to crush popular resistance and maintain the authority of the puppet regime.

The barnyard chickens among the new African states can be fairly easily identified by looking at their stand on certain issues of vital concern to the peoples of Africa. When there was the question of who should represent the Republic of the Congo in the United Nations. did they support Patrice Lumumba, the elected Premier and champion of true freedom for this country, or did they join with the United States and European imperialist powers in voting for Kasavubu? Did they support the proposal for a United Nations—supervised vote in wartorn Algeria to insure a fair status. or did they yield to de Gaulle's in-sistence that Algeria is exclusively France's affair? Have they spoken out against the holding of an atomic tests in the Sahara? Are they for the actual achievement of a strong, functioning pan-African unity or do they want to do no more than talk about this as a remote, very remote possibility?

If the driver of a car wants to go in one direction, the passengers who choose to go in another direction will never get to their destination unless they either change the drivers mind or get another driver. Of course, the driver may say he is going where the passengers want to go, but it is their responsibility to be alert and watchful that they are not being fooled !

The victories of political independence that have been won by the having their salaries on time, their African nationalist revolution are not the result of the negotiations of a few leaders. They are the product their colonial predecessors enjoyed. of the upsurge of the African mass-It is fairly obvious that an Afri- es. The people must guard what direction that the masses want to go.

"Independence and Unity"! These are big words, noble words. After the speeches and band-play-ing after all the celebrations are over, the poor farmer goes back to his daily labour of scratching the earth for a little food. What does independence mean for him? His hard existence will not be changed in the slightest unless along with political freedom comes economic and social freedom; liberation from all the forms of exploitation by which the colonialist amassed wealth for themselves at the same time that they kept subject peoples in poverty and backwardness.

It is for this other freedom that the African farmer waits. Political freedom also is not enough, indeed, it cannot endure unless based on the solid foundation of economic independence. In Africa today the central task of the national struggle in each politically independent countion to the finish. to achieve real and complete independence by combating and eliminating all forms of colonial domination-economic and social, as well as cultural."

WHAT IS ECONOMIC COLONIALIST?

OUR winning the economic independence for Africa will not be achieved without perseverance and conscious struggle. The granting of political independence to various countries does not mean that the imperialist and American corporate interests that have gained control over Africa's great resources, exploiting them for their own profit will voluntarily withdraw, handing over their holdings to our African governments.

On the contrary, in the face of the compelling force of African nationalism, the imperialist powers, with some well-known exceptions, have deemed it advisable to make a strategic and tactical retreat-that is, to grant political concessions is the

that leads the nation must go in the try is to carry forward the revolu- better means to protect their economic stakes.

> As the colonialists granted a certain measure of authority to African chiefs in order to use them as agents of indirect rule so they now scheme to maintain their domination with the co-operation of African governments which can be trusted to guard foreign interest.

We have all seen what has happened in the cases of countries whose leaders were determined that political freedom should mean something more than just leaving the prison cell to walk about in the prison yard. One recalls the attempted invasion of Egypt in 1956 by the joint military forces of Britain, France and Israel following the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. One recalls the efforts to leave Guineal crippled, helpless and isolated for having dared to choose independence in preference to remaining in the French "community". One re-members the shameful betrayal and murder of Patrice Lumumba. And



All African Peoples' Conference which was held in Accra, Ghana 28 2.23 on 15th December, 1958. in in the second second

one thinks of Algeria.

There will probably be still more desperate last-ditch counter-revolutionary outrages, like that today in Angola, aimed at stemming the tide of African nationalism. Never theless the fact remains that in the present period imperialism is forced to abandon the practice of direct and open political domination over other peoples and territories.

But this does not mean that it has changed its character and become virtuous. Its objective remain

exactly the same today as during the time of the mad scramble for African colonies in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Today, as then, the imperialist powers require, first, sources of raw materials, the prices of which they control and manipulate to their advantages; secondly, outlets for capital investments where super-profits can be secured far in excess of what can be earned in the metropolitan countries: and, thirdly, captive markets for their own manufactured goods.



Mr. Nyerere, President of Republic of Tanganyika calls on President Nkrumah of Ghana. Both ardent fighters against imperialism in Africa.

people and lands of Asia. Africa. Central and South America, and the Caribbean were forced to become political dependencies and economic appendages of a few wealthy, industrially developed European countries together with the United States. Thus came the division of the world into a few Have-nations; growing richer and richer at the expense of a multitude of Have-Not-nations. In -1917 Lenin wrote, "Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world by a handful of "advanc-ed countries."

To satisfy these requirements the

Since 1917 the rise and spread of socialism has brought some important changes, liberating several hundred millions of people from domination by the Have-nations. But throughout the length and breadth of Africa such domination yet remains strongly entrenched, despite the political victories won and notwithstanding some positive steps taken by a few countries toward gaining control of their economic destiny.

CAN THE UNITED STATES HELP AFRICA ?

SOME Africans ask, "Isn't the USA different from the European imperialist powers? Didn't the Americans, like us, win their freedom from colonialism? Aren't they more to be trusted since they have had no colonies in Africa like those of the European powers? Can't we count on the United States, the richest country in the world, to help us with our many needs?

· Let us consider these questions, looking at the United States not sentimentally, not on the basis of speeches and declarations of intentions, but on the basis of the facts of history.

It is true that the United States was born out of revolt against British colonial tyranny. The United States of 1766, however, bears no resemblance to the United States of

today. Then it was a nation of farmers, artisans, shop-keepers-yes, and slave masters. By the end of the ninetcenth century it had become a nation dominated by big business and banks, by the big railroad and industrial monopolies, and had itself embarked on the road of colonial domination of other countries.

At its birth the United States consisted only of thirteen territories along the Atlantic Coast. It was extended southward by the addition of a third of Mexico's territory in a war of conquest against the southern neighbour in the 1840's. It was extended westward by means of long wars and campaigns of exter-mination—the term "genocide" was not used then—against the native American Indians.

Puerto Rico, Cuba, Guam, and the Philippines became part of empire of the U.S.A. following a war with Spain. In central America Panama was taken away from Colombia and a United States-controlled canal was built through the territory under military coercion.

The United States had its Algeria, too, some sixty years ago. Against the people of the Philippines, seeking independence, the United States government for three and a half years waged a war of "pacification" costing \$600 million. The war entailed the wanton destruction of countries homes and farms and cost the lives of 6,000 American soldiers and 220,000 men, women and children of the Philippines. The country was granted "Independence" by the United States in 1946, but it still remained an economic ward, political "satellite" and important mi-litary outpost of the U.S.A.

World War II brought profound changes in the world. Several of the underdeveloped countries of Eastern Europe immediately embraced socialisms, and a few years later the widening world of proletarian democracy, led by the Soviet Union, was joined by the most popular to establish the right of United States country in the world, China. At the same time, the United States emerg-

ed from the war as the big boss of the capitalist world. Japan and Germany were at least temporarily knocked out of competition, and Britain and France were greatly weakened by the war and by the ensuing rise of the peoples of Asia and Africa demanding their freedom from colonialism.

To bloster up Europe's shaky financial condition after the war, the United States launched the Marshall Plan, proposing that Britain and France might get needed American dollars by speeding up the African production of various strategic materials desired by the United States. Africa, in other words, was called upon to take up the white man's burden.

Washington officials proposed "an aggressive plan of exploration, development, and expansion of productive facilities "in Europe's colonies, with United States interests being granted" suitable protection for the right of access "to these raw material sources". These United States interests thus began their postwar economic penetration of Africa.

The strategic materials dug from African soil and brought to the United States in exchange for Marshall Plan dollars to Europe went into the production of planes, bombs, tanks, and guns that have been used by the allies of the United States in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to kill African freedom fighters such as those in Algeria and Angola.

Besides military conquest and outright political annexation, other methods have been used for building the financial empire of United States imperialism. The Monroe Doctrine in effect declared the countries of the American continent to be the exclusive preserve of the industrial monopolies and financial trusts of the United States. Another instrument of aggressive diplomacy, the "Open Door" policy, has been used interests to penetrate Middle Eastern, Asian, and African countries

within European spheres of colonial exploitation.

A third instrument of Yankee empire-building, often used in conjunction with other two, has become known as "dollar-diplomacy". His pockets bulging with fat bank-rolls, Uncle Sam has bought, bribed and bossed his way into control over the economy and governmental policies of many nominally independent countries including trade union organizations. The nations of Central and South America have been among the foremost victims of this kind of economic colonialism. It is now thought that African nations can be added to the list with the spreading around of enough dollars and the liberal distribution of free Cadillac automobiles to top African officials.

Cuba is-or was-a classic example of economic colonialism. Though the United States gave the Cubans the right to form their own government soon after Spain had been evicted, the country remained in fact an American colony. By 1959 investments of United States corporations there amounted to a billion dollars. They took possession of three million acres of the best Cuban land for their plantations, paying the seasonally employed workers starvation wages. They took over control of the Cubans' electricity and telephone services, railroads, shipping, finances, and markets.

The Cubans finally decided that they had had enough. It was the plantation workers who were the main strength of the revolution led by Fidel Castro which brought about the overthrow of the corrupt agent of United States imperialism, Batista, and returned the land and its resources to the Cuban people.

In the recent period "dollar diplomacy" has become an influence throughout the capitalist world. Not only in the present of former colonies of England, France, Holland and other European powers, but in these industrially developed countries themselves and other such as Western Germany and Japan, there has come a considerably increase in

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American Investments.

There is increasing friction between the lesser imperialist powers and the United States as a result of its dominant power in what remains of the capitalist world. The ruling classes of the lesser powers, for their own self-preservation, must rémain in the good graces of the big boss. But the ordinary people of these countries are voicing more and more protests against their greatly inferior wages and living standards as compared with those of workers in the United States, against the presence and against the dangerous and costly cold war policies which the United States imposes upon them.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND AFRICA

that no American political dependencies have been established in Africa mean that the United States government and that country's business and financial interests will play a constructive and helpful role in relation to African economic development? Will their aims be any different from what they have been in Cuba or elsewhere, any different from the aims of British, French, Belgian or Portuguese imperialism?

As we have seen, monopoly capital in the United States was expanding its control in the vast American conitnent at the time when the European powers were engaging in, colonial expansion in Asia and Africa. The United States at that time had no need to join in the European conquest of Africa.

Nevertheless, the United States government participated in and approved the gentlemen's agreement reached at the Berlin Conference; 1885, for the partition of Africa among the European powers. And following World War I it again participated in and approved the further agreement for the redivision of defeated Germany's African colonies among Britain, France, Belgium, and the Union of South Africa in the form of League of Nations "mandates" to be held as an "international trust".

In the town of Doula in that part of the German Cameroons that

went to France, the Africans use to sing this hymn :

This is what our life is like here below. Why bewail our lot? The Germans have gone. The French have come in their place. They in turn will go. If the English or the Americans come in their place, it will be just the same, until the day when we have our freedom. Meanwhile, take my corpse, put it in the sepulchre; freedom is on the way, and in spite of all sing, Alleluia !"

Since the very beginning of the foreign extraction of gold. diamonds, copper and other mineral resources from such areas as South Africa, Rhodesia and the Congo, United States capital (that is, big investments of such financial giants WHAT of Africa? Does the fact as Morgan and Rockfeller) has been involved along with European capi-

tal in reaping profits from the exploitation of African mine workers. And everyone konws of the role of the Firestone Rubber Company, now joined by other United States corporation, in Liberia.

The dislocation of European commerce with Africa during World War II gave United States monopoly interests to move into Africa in a big way. Following the war the United States government began providing money for various basic services such as railroads or port facilities in order to prepare the way for the expansion of the operations of big industrial corporations such as Standard Oil, U.S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Newmont Mining, Reynolds Metal, Olin Mathieson and others in many sections of the continents.



President Nasser of U.A.R. and President Nkrumah of Ghana-leading Personalities of African Unity.

of America and Chase Manhattan Bank competing with Barclay's. In Ghana the realization of the longawaited hydro-electric industrial scheme on the Volta River depends at present on a combination of financing by the United States government and construction and operation of the bauxite processing plant by a group of American aluminium giants-Henry J. Kaiser, the Aluminium Corporation of America, and others- whose investment interests already extend from Latin America to India and Australia.

The African operations of United States oil and mining corporations often take the form of holding a controlling interest Oil and the French Oil Company (Companie Francaise des Petroles) jointly prospecting for oil in the Sahara. One important reason for the formation of such international syndicates is indicated by La Vie Francaise (Jan. 10, 1958), as follows: "The en-trance of Standard Oil into the Sahara involves-over and above the company's financial and technical role-the essential function of consolidating the French presence in the Sahara, and consequently in Algeria, since it thus became associated with the defence of our positions."

In the same way the operations of scores of United States corporations in the Union of South Africa, where both government and private investments of American origin are at a higher level than in any other African country, help to prop up the police state, white supremacy government of South Africa at the very time when Africans are calling for a world wide economic boycott against it. The United States representative in the United Nations stands up and says his government supports justice and democracy for the oppressed South Africans, but the fact contradict him.

Though United States investments in Africa as a whole are not of the size of Britain's or France's, stripping Lumumba of his power, the significant point is that the arresting him, and finally murderformer show a rising rate of increasing while the latter are diminishing. the "imperial" eyes of the United

In Nigeria we now find the Bank Foreign investments in general pay much higher dividends than investments in the metropolitan country, but those in Africa yield especially high returns.

> According to official figures, profits on United States private investments in Africa have ranged as high as 21 to 25 per cent annually since 1951.

But the profits of some investment operations far exceed those figures. The Newmont Mining Co. and American Metal Co., for example, own South African mines which have paid dividends of over 450 per cent.

In times past, before the relation of colonialist and anti-colonialist forces in the world had become what they are today, the United States and other imperialist powers openly used armed force to safeguard their investments in weaker countries. Today they resort to intrigue and subversion.

The democratic government of Arbenz in Guatemala was overthrown in 1954 by a band of mercenaries and traitors armed and financed by the United States in order to protect the United Fruit Co.'s properties there (covering 234,000 acres of land) which had been expropriated by the Arbenz government. Another aim was to secure concessions in the country for American oil companies.

For similar reasons precisely the same tactics were employed against Fidel Castro's Cuban government in 1961. This time, however the plot resulted in a humiliating defeat and fiasco for the United States.

And in Africa the same necessity arose for ousting the popularly supported government of Patrice Lumumba because it threatened the security of valuable Congo investments. This time the work of the traitors and mercenaries acting in the interest of the imperialists in ing him, was all carried out under

Nations forces- the very forces for which Lumumba had appealed to repel Belgian aggression.

It was the United States that pressured the United Nations into recognition of the Kasavubu-Mobutu faction, that provided the money to pay Mobutu's mercenaries, that condoned the arrest of Lumumba, that brought about the ousting from the Congo of the accredited representatives of governments friendly to Lumumba and providing his government with requested assistance, and that sought to justify the continued Belgian presence in the Congo.

Can we forget the lesson of this most sordid and recent page in recent African history?

THE WOO OF AFRICAN LEADERS

VET despite what has happened in Cuba and in the Congo, the new administration of USA is sparing no efforts to try to convince Africans and particularly those at the helm of the newly established governments, that the United States has now changed its policy toward them and has become all-virtuous and completely unselfish in its solicitude for their welfare and progress.

African presidents, governments, ministers, businessmen, journalists, teachers, trade union leaders and others have been travelling to America as guests of the United States government in a continuous stream. The more important are received by President Kennedy himself-with the Voice of America promptly heralding the news to Asian and African listeners. All visitors received the most courteous attention from the African section of the State Department and are taken on extensive tours around the country.

That is all very nice. But one wonders what imagine of the United States these African guests carry back home with them. One wonders whether it is a true image of the whole of American life.

How many of these guests have had the opportunity to see how Negroes live in the slums of Harlem

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tain sections of Washington itself? How many of them, when they visited the country's great industrial plants, inquired about the proportion of Negro men employed in skilled jobs, or the number of Negro women in the plant's office? Did they provide for Negro children in states like Alabama and they compare the schools, provided for white children with those in Mississippi? Did they have the chance to see or hear anything of the struggle being waged by Negroes in the southern part of the United States for the right to live in dignity and equality? If the government of the United States is proposing to deal fairly with Africans, is it not appropriate and necessary for African leaders to know something about how that government deals with its own 18 million Americans of African descent?

The Voice of America tells you that the rights of all Americans, Negroes included, are protected by the Constitution of the United States. The Voice of America does not tell you, but the whole world nevertheless know, that black Americans have been and continue to be insulted; beaten, jailed, and killed for trying to enjoy rights, as citizens, which they won a hundred years ago when victory for the North in the American Civil War brought their liberation from chattel slavery-and for trying to enjoy rights which have been reaffirmed by the United States Supreme Court in recent years.

Last May (1961) a group of Negro and white youth undertook a trip on buses through the South to test whether they could travel thus without submitting to any racial discrimination. The federal law of the United States says they have this right. But the law in Southern States like Alabama and Mississippi says no. Arriving in Montgomery, Alabama, the bus on which they were riding was set on fire and destroyed by fire bombs, and the youth were attacked and brutally beaten by a mob of cursing white men while police stood by watching.

What was the USA President's reaction ? He appealed to the free- race or colour.

or Chicago's south-side, or in cer- dom riders, 267 of whom were arrested during the first two months of the campaign, to desist from further "provocation". Thus in his eyes, as in the eyes of the southern upholders of white supremacy, it is not racist violence which is to be condemned as a provocation, but rather any action which challenges and exposes the American code of racial discrimination and exploitation. What worries Edward R. Murrow, director of the United States Information Agency, is that "The picture of a burning bus in Alabama ... will be front-paged from Manila to Rabat".

> That is not all. The humiliations experienced daily by the descendants of Africans in the United States are also practised against diplomats and other guests of the American government service in restaurants and hotels just like darkskinned Americans-even in such cities as Washington and New York. This is something else for the director of the United States Information Agency to worry about. Speaking of the African diplomats and their families he said recently :_____

"It is bad enough that they read headlines of bus burnings and beatings. It is even worse that they find it near impossible to live in the capital of our nation. Landlords will not rent to them; schools refuse their children; stores will not let them try on clothes; beaches bar their families."

Urgent conferences of high 'administration officials in Washington have been held to discuss how to prevent distinguished dark-skinned foreign visitors from being treated it is obvious that this practice is not winning any African or Asian friends for the United States.

But what to do?. Have the foreign guests to wear signs; "Please, don't discriminate. I am a Nigerian, not an American Negro?" Or provide each one with a 24-hour police escort? There can be no real remedy short of Federal enforcement of the same privileges and rights for all people in the United States regardless of

Africa has already too much of the poison of white supremacy to get rid of in various areas of European settlement. Therefore, before. inquiring about financial and other assistance from the United States, it behoves African officials visiting Washington to ask, first of all, "When are you going to practise the democracy that you preach?"

Along with the African voyagers to America there has been a steady flow of United States emissaries to Africa. Just prior to the American election in 1960 came Mr. Averell Harriman on a three week tour of several West African countries and the Congo as the special representative of Mr. Kennedy. And during the first six months after the election the new president's envoys included a three-man committee of the United States Senate that visited 16 African countries in the space of five weeks; Edward M. Kennedy, the President's younger brother, who made a three weeks "fact finding" tour; Mr. Mennen Williams, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa; and Sargent Shriver, the President's brother-in-law and Director of the United States Peace Corps.

A big fanfare of publicity was given to these excursion, and particularly the last two listed. Mr. Williams found the going a bit difficult. In our Kenya he pushed indignant whites out of the way to have himself photographed with Tom Mboya, and others and asserted his belief in 'Africa for the Africans."

Then, when he was attacked by the white settlers and their friends in London, he quickly changed his as black Americans are treated. For tune, complimenting the British for their good colonial record and explaining that by "Africans" he meant whites and Asians in Africa, too ! Later, arriving in the Congo, Mr. Williams declared that the United States fully backed Kasavubu, thus suggesting that what he really believes in is "Africa for pro-American Africans". Not "Africa for the Africans".

> . We must add to the list of United States emissaries the numerous economic survey teams, trade missions,

and investment experts who have made extended visits and detailed studies in many of the African countries, with special concentration recently on Nigeria. We must also add a considerable number of individual representatives of American Big Business, such as the fast talking L. Edgar Detwiler, who has been shopping around for grandiose investment projects in a number of African countries including the Congo, Guinea and Liberia.

THE U.S. PEACE CORPS

SOON after taking office, President Kennedy seized upon the Peace Corps plan as the best means of dramatizing what he called the new and progressive approach of his administration to the problems of Africa and other "undeveloped lands". He and other Americans regard the plan as the best means of winning over the hearts and minds of the peoples of these lands. However, the representatives at the Third All-African Peoples' Conference in Cairo, among others, have in a request for a hundred Ameridescribed it as a neo-colonialist can teachers just as you would order scheme to win over Asian and a hundred American made tractors African markets.

One is reminded of President Truman's "bold new programme" known as Point Four, of twelve year ago. That, too, was proclaimed, with the same loud beating of drums, to be likewise a big, generous and noble effort toward aiding the development of poorer countries. It turned out to be a small and inconsequential instrument, duplicating the existing U.S. technical assistance programme, for supporting American economic penetration in a few countries abroad.

. The concretes from the Peace Corps scheme and the actual results of Shriver's tour to sell it to African and other governments are still unknown at the time of this writing. But it may be worthwhile, nevertheless, to review some of the questions that have been asked about the plan by educators, sociologists and others in the United States itself.

First of all, is it just another Cold. War propaganda weapon 2 Will the benefits received. Peace Corps applicants be screened ... The most important question, to determine the suitability of their however, is whether the Peace Corps

political and social views, and will they be schooled and sent out to extol the "American way of life" and the "Free World?" if so, they had better stay at home, Africans will react with bitter resentment against a mass invasion of such missionaries.

Second, what will be the training and qulifications of the Peace Corps workers? If they are to do no more than join with Africans in digging wells, building schools and similar work, as the "Cross-Roads Africa" groups have done, they will be hindering rather than helping African development, however generous and sincere their intentions may be. For Africa has a surplus of unskilled and semi-skilled labour; it is not only pointless but self-defeating for African governments to bring in foreigners to do things which Africans can and should do for themselves.

Of course, all African countries need more teachers. But do you put or bull-dozers?. Surely the proper education of African youth is too precious and important to be left to any and all applicants for teaching posts. Illiteracy must be wiped out, yes; but not African pride and self-confidence along with it. An African who cannot read and write but knows how to stand up for his rights is to be preferred to a literate one who has been schooled to believe that he and his people are inherently inferior to others.

Another question is whether the Peace Corps workers will in fact, as it has been said, require no more than the ordinary living condition of. the environment to which they come. If they are at an educational institution with dormitory facilities, that is possible. But otherwise it seems quite impractical if special housing, transportation and other services must be provided, the cost and diversion of personnel and attention from other work may cancel out the value of any concrete

Plan can be accepted at its face value when it is weighed in the scales against the facts of life in Cuba, Algeria and the Congo. Considering the source, can the offer of help really be what it pretends to be? It is just not in the nature of an imperialist power to help a weak country become economically strong, and more than it is in the nature of a lion to sing sweetly like a bird.

There appeared recently a letter in a Negro newspaper in the United States, the Afro-America, stating :

"A second Peace Corps is needed right here at home. Why couldn't there be an opportunity Corps which would do for coloured Americans the things the Peace Corps plans to do for Africans and Asians?

"Why must the U.S. Government give emergency status to a project for aiding foreigners and leave the fate of native Americans to chance?"

WHAT KIND OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AID?

THE subject of the Peace Corps leads to the general question of United States economic assistance, its character and aims.

Liberia and Tunisia have been among the African recipients of large-scale financial and economic support from the American government. One may assume, then, that when these countries find fault with the manner in which their benefactor has helped them, they are not motivated by any anti-American prejudice.

The Liberian Age, a government organ, has remarked editorially that The Soviet Union does not dictate, how money is to be spent by recipient nations and is offering easy terms, and is not linking programmes with military commitments as in America."

President Bourguiba of Tunisia, in April 1961, shortly before state visit to Washington, spoke in the following terms (as reported in the U.S. newspaper. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, April 28, 1961 : "The procedure followed by the United States Government, the controls it insists upon for its aid, and the conditions under which

it furnishes this aid ... interfere with our action and risk putting brakes on the creative spirit of the people."

The Tunisian President went on to censure the American stress on the "profitability" of projects to be financed instead of their social value, and the high interest rates on United permit the Tunisian economy to gather enough momentum to get encourage us sufficiently to fly with

faction of the requirements of American imperialism.

That means the extraction at cheap cost of the mineral and other resources needed for United States industries. It means the winning of new markets and profits for manufactured goods from the United States loans. The conditions of States or from consumer good indus-American aid, he said, would not tries established by American capital abroad. And it means the control of sources of strategic war materials, the creation of additional military off the ground. "We are condemn-the creation of additional military bases and alliances, and the harnessing of the economically dependent



Brother meets brother. President Hubert Maga of Dahomey calls on Osagyefo the President at Flag taff House, Accra, to discuss some problems affecting their two countries.

our own wings".

It is hardly necessary to add anything to this description of United States "aid" to under or undeveloped countries. The various forms or such assistance are directed not towards giving them what they require for their own rapid internal development, but rather toward opening them up and laying the basis for the entrance of American private investments and the satis-

countries with the yoke of the American Government's own foreign policy.

For evidence of this we need only observe what United States imperialism has done in the countries of Latin America. According to United Nations statistics, for each dollar invested in these countries by United States interests from 1946 to 1954, a profit of \$3.17 was realized. In

1955 direct United States investments of \$141 million brought a profit of \$678 million, or nearly five times the sum invested.

The progressive sections of the Latin American peoples applaud and support Cuba's liberation from this kind of exploitation and from continued bowing to United States dictation, and are demanding the same freedom for themselves.

Meanwhile, African leaders-and the African masses-must decide whether their countries are to become the great new frontier of capitalist cum-imperialist expansion. For, let there be no illusions on this matter that is what the ruling class of the United States is planning. Their espousal of anti-colonialism at this time only masks their schemes to establish themselves in the place of the ousted European overlords of Africa.

It is not necessary for African nations to accept aid with chains of a new slavery to it in order to survive. Aid or no aid, African countries must forge ahead on their own, as other countries-capitalist or socialist-have done.

Recovering rapidly from the terrible havoc wrought by the fascist during the last war, socialists countries (after one short decade of socialist construction), have been able to make valuable contributions to the economic advancement of some various non-socialist countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The pursued robber points to someone else and shouts "Thief" in order to escape his pursuers. It is an old trick in internatioal diplomacy as well. Those who have been robbing the Africans now warn us to beware of the socialist countries' assistance because it will mean, they say, their enslavement to a new and worse colonialism so-called "Soviet imperialism."

Come what may, we shall resist and fight new type of domination of Africa (if any at all) just in the same way as had resisted or fought the

old type of domination and exploitation.

The socialist countries have not asked that a state be either prosocialist or neutralist as a condition for granting it assistance. Such countries as Libya and Morocco (both of which United States military bases have been established) and Liberia, have been offered the same terms of help as other countries.

Turning to what socialist aid does do for needy countries perhaps the most important point is that it can and does assist them in developing their resources and establishing basic tool-making industries so that they can transform their backward economics and enlarge production in such a way as to end their dependence on the mere export of raw material resources.

A clear example was the prompt, unconditional socialist assistance that saved Cuba's independence when the United States sought to strangle it. In Africa it has come to the rescue of Egypt, Guinea and Mali when the imperialist powers threatened them with economic ruin. It would also have saved the Republic of the Congo if the government of Patrice Lumumba had not been undermined.

In all such cases imperialist circles, immediately raise the cry of "Communist Subversion" This is their way of showing their anger and resentment at having their own it is especially necessary for the Afriimperialist subversion thwarted. They refuse to resign themselves to rence. There is no contradiction the fact that peoples everywhere. are on the march and destined to free themselves, today or tomorrow, from both political and economic big powers domination.

In considering the new pledges of support voiced by the Kennedy administration in the United States, the question posed for Africans to answer is simple and clear. Will they accept the kind of economic assistance that will prevent the African revolution from proceeding with its logical development from political in continuing enslavement to capitalist imperialism and exploitation ?

AFRICAN LEADERS AND AFRICA'S ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

AT the present time the more clear-sighted and progressive African leaders rightly warn of the great danger to emergent African states from neo-colonialism the prolongation of foreign domination by various means after the formal grant of political independence. But usually they fail to point out, however, that in major threat of neocolonialist domination comes from all the foremost imperialist powers of today plus their allies. Rightly they express themselves as standing for a policy of "positive neutralism", non-alignment, or non-participation in power blocs.

Such a policy is in all current respects valid and progressive for the present period of African transition from colonialism to independence. It affirms that Africa is no longer to be regarded as a mere backyard of Europe, that Africans have a distinct identity of their own, and intend to think and speak for themselves. And in asserting their desire for friendly relations with all peoples, they avoid involvement in military alliances and place themselves on the side of peaceful coexistence and world peace.

Yet it remains necessary for African leaders to distinguish between their enemies and their friends, and can masses to understand the diffehere with the positive features of non-alignment. Friendship with all peoples is one thing; the attitude toward governments, and their economic system which seek the continuation of either open or disguised colonialism, and toward those which support complete African liberation, is something else.

Further, an expressed preference for one economic and social system does not entail the establishment of political or military ties with it. Such an expressed preference does not in the least contradict the desire and determination of Africans to

stand on their own feet and make their own decisions in their own interests. On the contrary, it is an affirmation of this determination. We must be let to think and act freely.

As between imperialism and all the anti-imperialist forces, African leaders cannot remain neutral. They cannot continue to suspend judge-ment, keeping a foot in both camps.

It is naturally right and neces-sary for countries just emerging into statehood and desperately trying to get on their feet to rely first on the capacity of their peoples to work for the betterment of their respective countries and then seek what is best and look for help for their development wherever they can find it. It is also understandable that they should strive for as many sources of supply and as many export markets as possible. Socialists and many industrialists and manufacturers in capitalist countrics likewise desire the maximum of trade with all countries and the removal of the present Cold War barriers to such universal exchange of goods.

Yes, African countries should seek help wherever they can get it-provided they are sure it is the kind of help they really need-provided the terms are equally just and reasonable, and provided no strings are attached to restrict their independence.

It is quite true that Africans as well as peoples of all lands have travelled different paths of history. No one can deny that African peoples have developed a social and economic way of life with distinctive features, and that various aspects of their culture are unique and their own. No one would want to destroy the African heritage that has contributed so greatly to world culture. No true supporter of Africa's liberation would want Africans. to give up their own individually and become like someone else.

As a result of the influence of European imperialism and colonialization, Africa today is, generally speaking, emerging from semi-feudalism to capitalism-at varying rapidity in different areas. Under

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capitalism the land and what it produces, the mines, the factories are owned by individual private companies who hire workers to Tabour for them. Each owner' is concerned only with how much profit he can make, and accordingly pays as little as he can to his workers. There can be no planned development of the economy in such a system because production is motivated by individual profit and not public needs.

THE IMMEDIATE TASK : ENDING IMPERIALIST DOMINATION

BEFORE the African people can build the kind of society they want, they must first find solid ground on which to build. Nothing worthwhile or durable can be constructed on the shifting quick-sands of colonial dependency. Therefore, the attention and efforts of all Africans at this time must be devoted to the big job of ridding their countries and the whole African continent of all forms of imperialist domination.

There are three stages in the accomplishment of this task; first, the complete abolition of political colonalism and white supremacy rule; second, the consolidation of political independence and the development of strong national, democratic governments and third, rebuilding, of the economy so that the African states can stand up on their own feet, free of domination by the big foreign banks and trusts.

The three parts of the anti-imperialist struggle are obviously inter-related. The strengthening of the already independent African states will help speed the liberation of those countries still under non-African rule. At the same time, as was demonstrated once again by the French aggression at Bizerta, the imperialist powers will trample on the sovereignty of weaker states to satisfy their own aims, and no African country's independence or territorial integrity can be secure as long as any part of Africa remains under foreign political domination. That is why the liberation of the remaining subject territories must be an all-African responsibility.

Again the success of the independent nations' efforts to break the chains of foreign exploitation will

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depend upon how solidly united the people are and how well they understand what they must achieve. The job of reconstructing the economy along modern efficient lines will be successfully accomplished only if the governments and their policies in these states truly represent the democratically expressed will of all the people

One commonly used instrument of both political and economic domination by the imperialist powers is that of harnessing colonial or nominally independent countries with military bases, installations and personnel, as well as military alliances or agreements. Egypt could not be free of British domination until the last British 'soldier had left the Suez Canal. Tunisia cannot be truly free until the last French soldier has left Bizerta.

United States bases in Morocco and Libya "trespass on the sovereignty of those states. So-called 'military assistance' given by the United States to such countries as the Union of South Africa and Liberia is nothing more than the provision of weapons to be used against the peoples of those countries and to protect the investments of American Corporations exploiting them.

Everywhere the demand is raised for the big power to paek up their strategic baggage and leave African soil. University students of Nigeria have demonstrated against undisclosed military commitments made to Britain at the time of the granting of the country's independence. There have been protests in our Kenya against the British bases there, especially since they may be used for rocket launching. And in Zanzibar the people have protested vigorously against the setting up there of a United States rockettracking stations.

The war strategy of the NATO alliance, dominated by the United States, involves the use of the Western powers for their own purpose, of Africa's major harbours, airports, communications system, strategic materials and wherever possible—its manpower This Western

military alliance, however, is more than a potential threat, more than a loaded gun pointed at Africa. It is a present menace. Guns, bombs and military equipment supplied by the United States to its NATO allies have been used again and again to kill African patriots and suppress their struggles for freedom. Behind the French in Algeria and behind the Portuguese in Angola stand the United States and NATO. The friends of NATO ARE the enemies of African independence.

Indignation and shame have been felt by many Africans and their friends in many lands when they have seen how the representatives of some African member states of the United Nations—notably the French speaking states belonging to what is called the Brazzaville group—have bowed to the wishes and interests of the NATO powers in their votes on various issues.

These African "representatives" refused to support the proposals for Algerian self-determination advanced by the Provisional Government of Algeria. They voted for handing over the Congo Republic's seat in the United Nations to Kasavubu instead of to Lumumba. They refused to sign the call for the special meeting of the General Assembly demanded by Tunisia on the question of French aggression of Bizerta. The government of an African state that acts in this way is obviouly still no more than a colonial ward.

The role of those who pose as spokesmen for African nations while doing service for their colonial masters will become more and more hazardous with each new crisis in the anti-imperialist revolution. The more such spokesmen are exposed and discredited in the United Nations and other international gatherings, the lower will sink their prestige at home. They will at length find it impossible to further serve foreign interests by curbing popular anti-imperialist demands within their countries. The people will end by taking as their leaders men whose hearts belong to Africa and not to Paris, London, Washington, etc.

BREAKING OUT OF THE BONDAGE OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

HOWEVER generous and promising imperialist declarations about. aiding African advancement may have become in the recent period, the imperialist way of pumping profits and raw materials out of Africa has remained unchanged. The powerful mining syndicates, joined now by the big oil interests. continue their race to drain Africa of its mineral wealth. And the foreign banking and commercial trusts, after independence as before. continue to grip with their wide-ranging tentacles the economic lifeblood of almost all African countries.

Demands are increasing from labour and native enterprises for putting an end to this condition, and here and there some concrete steps in this direction have been taken. Most notable, perhaps, are the bold steps taken by government of the Republic of Guinea during the three years since it attained political independence. There, the country's dependence upon overseas, control of the franc was broken by the establishment of an independent currency. Banking operations were brought under state control and the export of Guinea currency banned.

State agencies were established to replace the Big French commercial enterprises in handling foreign trade transactions, and state stores took over the sale of consumer commodities, operating side by side with privately owned stores. Not only the electric and water services but all activities, relating to the mining and sale of precious minerals such as diamonds and gold have been taken out of private hands and brought under direct state supervision.

But Guinea is an exceptional case. In general it may be said that the bondage of imperialist exploitation still hangs over the whole of Africa —over the two-thirds of its 230 million people now ruled by African governments as well as over the one-third still politically enslaved by non-Africans.

African economic emancipation does not and need not mean the breaking of trader-relations with the metropolitan state that acted as colonial overlord or with other economically developed countries. It does mean re-establishing those trade relations on a* new basis as quickly as possible-on the basis of more equal terms of trade. The politically independent African states face the necessity of uprooting the old colonial pattern of trade whereby they are called upon to concentrate virtually all efforts on the supply of raw materials for world markets while remaining helplessly dependent upon foreign sources for manufactured goods and even basic food requirements. This is the central focus of the African anti-imperialist struggle on the economic level.

Europe and the United States may offer Africa investment capital, loans, "common market" arrangements, and Peace Corps volunteers, but they still insist on maintaining the unequal terms of trade. President Kennedy talks about a new approach to the problems of underdeveloped countries. He asserts that the United States must again take its place in "the vanguard of liberty", and that Americans will reclaim their rightful estate at the head of the world-wide revolution."

"The trouble with this picture", comments the London Observer, "is that it is quite unrecognizable to anyone outside the United States. To the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the United States is not a revolutionary power but... the greatest and most powerful fulfilment of Western imperialisin."

But it is doubtful whether our understanding of this is equal to Asian and Latin American awareness. And it is this fact which makes Africa at the present time more vulnerable than other areas to the propaganda and "dollar-diplomacy" of the United States. We have first-hand knowledge of European imperialism. Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal have been and still are our major direct adversaries in our right for political in-

dependence. And it is the powerful trusts of European monopoly capital, for the most part, which have robbed and continue to exploit African workers and peasants.

Nevertheless, it is necessary for us to be on guard, especially now that our pre-occupation with European imperialism does not make us blind to the real and present danger of American expansionist aims in Africa. Let us not be tricked by the fact that the wolf comes disguised like a sheep.

The old European colonialists have still other imperialist competitors besides the United States who are demanding a share of the African pie. Among them are West Germany and Israel. Krupp's of Essen is undertaking iron ore and manganese extraction in Angola; West German mining and plantation concessions are to be found in Liberia, Togo, Tanganyika and elsewhere; and West German manufactures are gaining ground rapidly* in Africa's import trade. Israel industrial corporation have in the past few years launched a wide variety of enterprises in numerous West African countries. United States capital is to a considerable extent associated either directly or indirectly in the African operations of both the West German and Israel corporations. They, too, require more vigilant African attention than they have yet had.

SOME ECONOMIC TASKS

THE newly liberated African and Asian countries must catch up with the industrially advanced countries of the world in a hurry. They cannot wait a hundred years or fifty years. The peoples' needs are pressing and urgent, and the great gulf separating the Have and Have-not nations grows constantly wider and wider. There can therefore be no long time lag between the Africans achievement of political independence and the advance to a higher econmic and social plane of existence. The demand for more positive action in that direction is quickly developing a strong momentum in the new African states.

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What are the immediate pespectives? One hears a great deal about attracting more foreign investment capital to speed up economic deve-lopment. Capital is surely needed, But what are the priorities for using it? That's the question. There's a world of differences between what foreign capitalists and what the African people regard as priorities. Capital investments or loans which merely serve to increase the production and export of raw material resources, or which go into profitmaking industrial projects producing things like Pepsi-Cola or Cola Cola which we could well do without only add to foreign economic domination.

One also hears a great deal about government development plans. Again the question of priorities arises. Are the plans primarily designed to satisfy the countries' own needs, or to interest and attract foreign investment to come take out more of what the land provides for the satisfaction of the industrial needs of other countries? A genuine plan of national economic development, it was stated in the declaration of the Third All-African People's Conference held in Cairo, March 1961, would entail the "democrati-zation of the political and social structures and would aim at "a rational and equitable repartition of the country's resources in the interest of the masses".

Since the overwhelming majority of Africans, up to 90 or 95 per cent in some countries, live and work on the land, the needs of our people must have the first and major attention in plans for economic and social advancement anywhere in Africa.

Everywhere we see a steady influx of our people from the country-side into Africa's large towns. They come with hope that soon turns to despair. There are not enough houses or enough jobs for them. As a result, there is increasing congestion and petty crime. There is unemployment and the wasted manpower of able-bodied youths wandering the streets selling such things as cigarettes and wrist watches. How can this be stopped ? Only by chan- the achievement of nation-wide

ging these conditions up-country which cause the people there to come down to the towns.

The first step must be to clear the ground of some encumbrances such as the restrictive economic and social controls still exercised by the remnants of feudal and tribal authority, and traditional land-tenure system which stand in the way of agricultural development. The big plantation concessions under foreign ownership, of course, have no place either in a country striving towards planned production to meet domestic needs.

After the ground is cleared comes the task of organizing and developing a modern and efficient collectives or co-operatives instead of the thousands of little plots of land where each barely produces enough for his own needs. The collectives can be the door to a radically different kind of life in the countryside, providing social amenities and satisfactions comparable to those in the towns.

Yes, this is an immense task. It cannot be completed - in a year or two but must be carried forward step by step, making certain that each step is a real and permanent advance. It involves not merely those engaged in agricultural labour, but all sections of the population. It is a national task.

A modernized and diversified agricultural base is required as the foundation of a planned national industrial development aimed primarily at building up and serving the internal market-that is to say, satisfying African needs in manufactured goods and such things as building construction, instead of other peoples' requirements of raw materials. The new method of agricultural production and expansion of industrial production must go forward simultaneously in order to keep the national economy in balance.

One important requirement for advancement in both spheres of production is the harnessing of Africa's immense water-power resources and

electrification.

Naturally, the way of executing these tasks will vary according to the different economic conditions and levels of development in the various African states. This is of course something for the people of each state to decide for themselves, after all the advice of the experts has been heard and studied. But upper-most in the national consciousness of peoples everywhere in Africa must be the common determination to go forward out of ecomic bondage.

NATIONAL UNITY IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

T has often been said by African leaders that the national effort required for achievment of political independence is far easier and simpler than that required for making this lead to full independence. This is certainly true. In the fight against political overlordship, against colonialism in its crudest most naked form, all sections of the nation are united. Everyone no matter what his social station may be, recognizes that he has a personal stake in ending such overlordship. Carrying forward the anti-imperialist struggle in the fight against foreign economic domination requires a still higher level of national unity and a deeper common consciousness of what that victory will mean.

The peoples of our independent African states must be on guard against allowing differences over secondary or minor issues to undermine their united stand on the one all-important problem facing them. The imperialists are doing and will continue to do all they can to incite and foment tribal, regional enmity, and discord, for they know full well, that the power of national unity means the extinction of their domination. It is also necessary to be on guard against the lures and tribes of imperialists agents such as Moral Rearmament and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and against the tactic of the monopoly interest of recruiting elements from the upper strata of Afri-

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AFRICA:

THE WORLD'S RICHEST CONTINENT

By A Correspondent

TN 1834 Hugh Murray, one of England's best informed geographers 1 of that period, declared, in effect, that Africa when judged by the capacity to meet human needs, was nature's least favoured and the world's poorest continent.

As was true of most of his contemporaries, Hugh Murray assumed that Asia was not only the largest, richest and most fertile of all the great land masses of the earth, but shared with the temperate-zoned portions of Europe and North America most of the other climatic and natural conditions which are most conducive to human development and human progress.

advanced, were based in the main

upon geographical and climatic spe-

culations and little else, for it is

true that in 1834 the geographers

of the Western World knew very

little about the vast inland, areas

In the course of the next hun-

dred years however all of the

major regions of both continents

were thoroughly and effectively

explored by geographers and other

naturalists from many Western

On the strength of the evidence

which these explorations brought

to light, many of the notions

which had been advanced by

Hugh Murray and his contempo-

raries underwent a profound chan-

ge. By 1905 Meredith Townsend,

a distinguished English publicist

of the period, was able to assert,

on the basis of the relevant evi-

dence then available, that "Africa

is probably more fertile and al-

most certainly richer than Asia";

and in 1908 Sir Harry Hamilton

Johnson, after devoting more than

a quarter of a century to first-

hand studies of all aspects of the

African environment, went even

further than his learned contem-

porary, by declaring, to the sur-

prise of many of his countrymen,

that Africa was "the richest con-

tinent in the world."

of either Africa or Asia,

Wonderful tracts of Land

lands.

Most of these views, when first Of even greater surprise to most of his European and American

contemporaries were Sir Harry's

observations to the effect that the

climate of most of equatorial Afri-

ca, owing to its great altitude, "is

generally agreeable and much more

equable" than that of tropical

There were indeed in the high-

land areas of tropical Africa, so

Sir Harry pointed out, "many wonderful tracts of land" where

the natural scenery and the

genialness of the climate through-

out the year are quite as appeal-

ing and delightful as are the

scenery and the climate of the

balmiest and most beautiful parts

of Europe during late spring and

During the years that have pas-sed since these then decidedly

unorthodox appraisals of "Africa

Tenebrosa" were first expressed,

comparative studies of the climate,

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Asia.

early summer.



continents have been carried out with the view of assessing the earth's capacity to meet mankind's present and future needs.

In the light of the evidence supplied by these studies it would appear that Africa-as Meredith Townsend and Sir Harry Johnston, in part at least, discerned — has been blessed with more of the major gifts of nature that are of primary use to man than has any of the other great land masses of the earth. In short, it would appear that Africa-"Darkest Africa"-is not only the world's richest but nature's most favoured continent.

It is hardly necessary to say that to the public at large and even to some specialists, this is a decidedly unorthodox point of view. The purpose of this article is to review some of the major types of evidence upon which this uncom- N mon appraisal is based.

Of nature's many gifts to man none are more indispensable than are land, water, sunlight or solar cnergy and air. No one of these, without the other three, is however of much, if any, use to man or to most of the other types of living things; but land, water, sunlight and air in adequate amounts and in effective combinations is nature's greatest gift to mankind.

Of these four gifts air is the most abundant and, under natural conditions, is free in unlimited amounts to living things everywhere on the globe; but nature has distributed her other three major gifts throughout the earth in råther uneven manner.

If it be agreed, as some have contended, that "the most essential of the world's resources is land," it follows that Nature was never less impartial than when she parceled out the land which constitutes the several continents.

According to reliable estimates the entire face of the globe totals approximately 197 million square miles, of which 139 million square miles or 71 per cent is made up of the waters forming the world's great lakes, salt-water seas and mighty oceans. The remaining 29

the physical environment, and the per cent represents the combined natural resources of the several surfaces of the earth which is estimated collectively at about 58 million square miles.

Although geographers may differ about details, it is generally agreed that most of the earth's land surfaces are apportioned among the several continents in areas measuring approximately the amounts indicated in the following table.

÷ :	TABLE 1
TH	RELATIVE SIZES
	OFTHE
LAND	AREAS (INCLUDING
THE FRE	SH WATER SURFACES)
SEV	ERAL CONTINENTS
	Land areas Approximate
Continent	including percent of
•	fresh water Earth's
· · ·	surfaces total land
1	in square miles areas
SIA	17,000,000 29.0
FRICA	11,600,000 19.0
NORTH A	ME- 10.0 9300 000 18.0
R	ICA 9,300,000 18.0
SOUTH A	ME- 6 800 000 11.7
RIQ	A 0,000,000
ANTARCT	ICA 0,000,000
EUROPE	3,400,000 6.7
AUSTRAL	IA 2,900,000 5.0
TOTAL	57,000,000 . 99.7
· ·	and the second

As indicated in the preceding table, Asia is the world's largest continent; it is indeed nearly as large as the other habitable Old World continents - Africa, Europe and Australia - combined, and it is even larger than the New World's two Americas put together.

So far as land area alone is concerned, it is therefore quite true that Asia is, as it has been called, the "queen of the continents," but, as we shall presently see, Asia despite its great size actually possesses less land that is capable of meeting basic human needs than does either Africa or South America. Africa, as the table reveals, though smaller than Asia by approximately 5,400,000 square miles, is the second largest of the continents; it is in fact, except for Asia, much larger-in some instance, very much larger than any of the other great land masses of the earth. Stated statistically Africa exceeds:

CUNTINENT SQUARE MILES

North America	by	2,300,000
South America	by	4,800,000
Antarctica	by.	5,600,000
Europe	by	8,200,000
Australia	by	8,700,000

It is clear from the statistics presented in the two preceding tables that Africa goes a long way toward. being as large as North Ameriaa and Australia put together and is more than one and a half times the size of South America.

To make yet another comparison Africa is, according to these statistics, nearly twice the size of Antarctica; something over three times as large as Europe; almost exactly four times the size of Australia; and more than one and a half times as large as. Europe and Australia combined.

While the advantages enjoyed in land area by Asia over Africa and the other continents, and by Africa over the Americas, Antarctica, Europe and Australia, are very substantial when measured in terms of square miles - it must be emphasised that these advantages, when considered in terms of human needs, are not nearly so significant as they may at first appear.

For as has been previously implied, land alone — that is to say, land without sunlight and water in adequate amounts and in effective combination - is of very limited, if any practical use to man so far as lebensraum or living space is concerned. Indeed, if either of the two primary gifts of nature—air may. be omitted from consideration -- is absent or present in inadequate amounts, the usefulness of land to man and other living things is very substantially reduced.

For example, any land-area, without adequate and dependable supplies of water, even though sunlight is abundant, is a hot desert in , which the struggle for existence is a harsh and endless battle from birth to grave. By the same taken, any land without sunlight in effective qualities, no matter how plentiful water may be, is a cold desert where most forms of life, if . at all present, find it exceedingly difficult to survive.

That is to say what geographers call the "carrying capacity" of such

with living space is concerned, varies from "low" to "very low", and under certain circumstances continents. such regions as human habitants are altogether useless, no matter how large their areas may be.

Where the rainfall varies from reasonably adequate to abundant and is combined with sunlight in effective amounts throughout much of the year such lands are classified as being of "medium" or "high" carrying capacity.

Another factor which must be taken into account when assessing the value and availability of human living space in the several continents is the comparative ratios between the mountainous and non-mountainous lands in each. As a general rule mountainous and hilly lands, primarily because of transportation difficulties which they present and their greater susceptibility to erosion, are rather much less desirable as human habitants on a large scale than are more or less level plains and plateaux.

Unless the pressure of population is very great their human inhabitants tend to be few and far between; and their carrying capacity, in terms of food production, tends to be low and often very low.

In assessing the usefulness of the several continents on the tases of adequacy and inadequacy of water supplies; the presence and absence of adequate and effective sunlight or solar energy and the ratio between level and unlevel lands, it is true that none of the continents is blessed with optimum conditions in these respects in all of its parts.

But careful comparative studies have revealed that the limit ng environment-1 factors here u der consideration are more serious in some continents than in others. How the continents comrare in these respects may be conveniently epitomi ed in the following chart.

If the statistics presented in the preceding chart are approximately in accord with the geographical facts, it would appear that Africa, despite its mountainous lands and the vast areas which are critically deficient in rainfall, and therefore regions of low-or less-carrying

regions, so far as providing man capacity, contains nonetheless more land of medium and high carrying capacity than does any of the other This arises from the fact that

while there are more arid and semiarid regions in Africa than anywhere else, the continent has nevertheless, and paradoxically enough, more land where rainfall and sunlight are available in effective combination than is to be found in any of the other great land masses, of the earth.

Here it may also be pointed out that according to a recently published study of the matter, Africa's natural facilities - lakes, swamps, rivers, etc. - for storing and distributing its "fresh" or inland waters derived from rainfall, totals 1,789,000 square miles or 34 percent of all of the earth's facilities of this type.

Asia is next with 1.153,000 square miles or 22 percent of the earth's total. South America follows with 889,000 square miles or 15 percent of the total, while North America's 13 percent equals 670,000 square miles. Then comes Europe with 631,000 square miles or 12 percent of the total; while Oceana, including Australia, has a total area of such facilities which amount to 134,000 square miles or about 2 per-

cent of the total.

In view of the fact that fresh water, along with land and sunlight, is an indispensable need of man, it follows that Africa's lead in the facilities mentioned represents one of nature's greatest gifts to the continent.

Here, too, it must be pointed out that the handicaps arising from the presence of mountainous lands in Africa are much less than in any other continent except Australia; and here it is appropriate to add that in another recent study it is estimated that only 4 percent of the continent should be classified as hills and mountains while the remainder. is made up of more or less level plateaux and plains.

Asia, when considered on the 'asis of its natural limitations, is not only plagued, as the chart reveals by almost as much arid and semi-arid land as Africa, but has the added

handicaps of having vast regions which are critically deficient in sunlight, as well as huge areas which are of little use because of the mountainous and inhospitable character of the terrain.

And, although Asia is one and a half times as large as Africa its natural storage facilities for inland fresh water are substantially less, as we have seen, than are those of its sister continent. For these several reasons, Africa, on the basis of the natural factors being considered here, exceeds mighty Asia astonishingly enough, in lands of medium and high carrying capacity by over two and a half million square miles.

Because of similar climatic or environmental deficiencies as well as their comparatively smaller size. Europe, Australia and the Americas also lag far behind Africa in the gross amounts of lands of medium or high carrying capacity. Antarctica is omitted from consideration here for the simple reason that because. of the exceedingly limited effectiveness of the sunlight shed on that continent it has, through its own resources alone, almost no carrying capacity whatsoever.

It may be said therefore that in terms of their basic climatic and environmental capacities to meet primary human needs Antarctica is of little importance in these respects, while Africa is mankind's most useful and nature's most favoured continent.

Turning to other recent and related re-evaluations of the human environment sensu lato, it may be remarked that nothing has done more to upset long established popular notions about the nature of the African habitant than a large body of recently acquired facts relating to the comfort and heatlh of human beings in tropical lands and to the growth and development of plants in all types of climates.

Perhaps the most arresting of the investigations which have supplied this body of facts are those which are tending to show that Africa, particularly tropical Africa, possesses a greater amount of land where the climate per se is more conducive

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ort then does any other continent. VALUE OF SUNLIGHT

Ever since the earlier epochs of recorded history the health-inducing properties and the therapeutic value of sunlight-more abundant and effective over a larger area in Africa than in any other continent have been widely recognized and utilized in all parts of the inhabited world.

The peoples of ancient Kush, Old Ethiopia and early Egypt were well acquainted with, and niade extensive use of the life-giving powers of the sun; and the Greeks and Romans of Classical times maintained numerous solaria for the prevention, as well as the cure of disease.

Herodotus writes that "the Egyptians from their earliest childhood have their heads shaved and so by the action of the sun their skulls become thick and hard...... so hard and strong that you can scarcely break them in by striking them with a heavy stone."

The sacred books of the Hindus, dating back several thousand years, credited sunlight with the capacity of restoring vigor to the muscles, and energy to the mind, of even those who had already reached old age ... In the Middle Ages Avicenna (fl. c. 1,000 A.D.), the celebrated Arab physician, strongly urged exposure to sunlight as a defence against iliness and a safeguard to health.

Investigations by modern medical science have confirmed and amplified the essential truth of these and many other ancient observations concerning the value of sunlight in strengthening the weak and in keeping the strong well.

In summing up the major findings of modern science relative to this and related branches of medicine, one recent student of the matter points out that "we are now rediscovering the matchless balm of sunshine as applicable to the treatment of all forms of ills and ailments, because it improves the vitality of the body as a whole and builds up resistance to disease.........." Among other of its specific physiological effects, sunlight, when in contact remarks are in keeping with the with the human body, increases, so

o human health and human com- it has been found, "the calcium, phosphorus, and iron content of tite blood, and stimulates the metabolic processes." Abundant sunlight, it has also been determined, "is the greatest destroyer of germ life that preys upon man "

On the other hand modern observations and investigations have revealed, and logically enough, that an absence of, or a prolonged reduction in the quantity and quality of sunlight tends not only to favour à tremendous increase in the number and potency of destructive germ life, but produces also many other environeffect of undermining man's health and general well-being.

It has been repeatedly pointed out, for example, that in those parts of the temperate zone where it is prevailingly cold, cloudy and damp during the winter months - the period of "sunlight starvation" -- illness is more common and mortality rates are higher than in the brighter and warmer months of late spring, summer and carly fall.

It is not to be inferred, of course, from the preceding obserhigher and that illness is more plentiful and widely distributed in lands which must annually "wrestle with the grim realities of winter". than they are in those tropical climes where in the words of Marston Bates -- "winter never comes."

In other words, it does not necessarily follow that the winterless tropics are freer from disease than are countries which must face the debilitating effects of the winter's cold every year. For as Dr. L.E. Napier has fever, dysentery, smallpox, cholera, pointed out, there are "few re- and even leprosy, were the caucugnized diseases which do not ses of frequent cpidemics, and tropics than elsewhere." Since both of these observers arc eminent authorities on such matters. it cannot be doubted than their actual facts.

Life potential in Tropics

But each of these distinguished specialists qualified his observation in a manner that requires a thorough revision of traditional notions about health hazards and health potentials in the tropics, including of course tropical Africa.

Although Bates makes the point that there are more different kinds of diseases in the tropics than elsewhere, he hastens to add that this does not necessarily mean a greater amount of sickness in such regions, but reflects rather the "general profusion of tropical namental conditions which have the ture" in the tropics. Just as the tropics have "more kinds of flowers, more kinds of trees and more kinds of birds" than do the cooler and colder regions, so also do the tropics have more kinds of parasites which are, in turn, capable of causing more kinds-but not necessarily a greater amount-of disease.

"A forest," he remarks, "composed of one kind of tree may be just as dense as a forest composed of dozens of kinds of trees"; and in the same manner 'a plague of one kind of disease, vations that mortality rates are like tuberculosis, may cause as much sickness and misery" in a northern country as "many different di-cases" in a tropical land. And both Bates and Napier, like many other writers on the distribution of mankind's physical ills. remind us that many discases, which are nowadays associated in the main with tropical climates, were in former times very common in the cooler and colder climes.

Not too many generations ago such diseases as malaria, yellow occur in the tropics" and Mart- were in some cases endemic, ston Bates goes even further by in such countries as England, saying that "inere are more di-, France and Germany; and some fferent kinds of disease in the of these diseases reached as far north as Denmark and Sweden and as far west as the United States. At d it will not be forgotten that the bubonic plague is estimated to have carried off from one-half to two-thirds of the population of

Europe in the Middle Ages.

It also must not be forgotten that it was not until the rise and development of modern medicine -which took place primarily within the context of Western civilization and in the main during the last one hundred years - that any real progress was made in curtailing these now often erroneously designated "tropical di seases" in Western lands.

When it is remembered that during the time that modern medicine was coming into being most tropical countries, including Africa, were either dominated by or under the direct control of outsiders who took little if any genuine interest in the material well-being of the inhabitants . of these regions, it is not surprising that so little use was made of the knowledge and skills which could also have eliminated, or brought under control, these socalled tropical diseases in tropical lands.

Under current political arrangements developments are daily taking place, which make it reasonably certain that in less than a generation most tropical countries will be quite as free of the misnamed tropical diseases just mentioned as are most northern and western lands.

To be sure the control or elimination of malaria, yellow fever, dysentery and the like, which are still needlessly widespread in the prevailingly warm-climate countries. will not transform Africa or other tropical and subtropical regions into a kind of Hygeian paradise; for there will still remain a goodly number of more or less tropical diseases which will have to be reckoned with.

Heading the list are such scourges as trypanosomiasis or sleeping sickness, bilharziasis, the hookworm diseases, sickle-cell anemia and certain other diseases of helminthic or parasitic origin. But as inimical as are these and certain other diseases which are more or less peculiar to, or manifest themselves, at any rate, with greater frequency and virulence in Africa and elsewhere in the tropics and

sub-tropics, it is well to bear in mind certain -significant contrasts between these diseases from the point of view of health potentials and those that are more or less confined to, or distinctive of, temperate-zoned lands.

For as Napier has pointed out with considerable acumen, nearly all of the prevailingly tropical diseases are of "an infective nature" and are "eminently preventable"; whereas "the bulk of the diseases that one encounters in temperate climates are degenerative or chronic inflammatory diseases, and are, so it is inferred, much more difficult to eliminate, prevent or control.

Included in the list are such ailments as the diseases of the heart, essential hypertension (highblood pressure), cancer, pulmonary disturbances, diabetes milletus and certain psychoses and dementias (mental breakdowns) of pathogenic origin-all of which, though present in varying degrees in tropical Africa and similiar climates, are, in almost all instances, far less common than in the climatically unbalanced countries of the temperate zones.

In this connection, it may also be mentioned that Africa contains more land than is to be found. in any other continent, which has been endowed by nature with climatic and geographical conditions which are pontentially capable of producing in practically unlimited amounts nearly all of the types of food which are essential to the elimination and prevention of human malnutrition-now known to be one of the chief predisposing conditions out of which many human illnesses arise.

In the light of these various observations it would appear that although Africa and the other but smaller tropical areas of the world cannot now be described as optimum environments for the prevention of disease and the preservation of health, they possess nevertheless greater potentials in these respects, thanks to certain unrivaled natural advantages, than do the temperate climes on which Nature has bestowed some of her

most precious gifts with a parsinmonious hand.

Hardly less revolutionary in character, so far as traditional notions about the misnamed "dark continent" are concerned, are the recent investigations which are tending to demonstrate that there is more land in Africa-including tropical Africa-where the climate, as it is expressed in temperature and humidity, is more conducive to human comfort-and to human health-than in any of the other continents.

Most of the evidence pointing to this conclusion has been accumulated by recent investigations in the laboratories of certain climatologists, physiologists and engineers, engaged in planning and producing air-conditioning equipment, chiefly in England and in the United States.

The findings of these scientists have been rather numerous and complex and in some areas there is a certain amount of disagreement. and for these reasons the results cannot be adequately summarized here. But practically all investigators are agreed that for the great majority of mankind, including most of the inhabitants of the cooler and colder and climates, human comfort and human health are best maintained, under most conditions, in temperatures ranging between 66 degrees and 82 degrees Fahrenheit.

For man appears, it is now generally agreed, to have originated in the tropics; and from a physiological point of view so far as temperature is concerned, he is still a tropical animal. Even the Eskimo in his seal skin suit and in his whale-oil heated igloo lives most of the time, so far as the greater part of his body is concerned, in temperatures that are essentially tropical in character and which are produced in the main by himself.

It has been discovered that the majority of people in the temperate climates are most comfortable during the winter months when the temperature under the clothing

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IN view of the profound upheavals now taking place on the African continent and the magnetic attraction the concept of African unity has for the people of Africa, it becomes urgent to provide concise and accurate history of the concept of African unity. It will be useful to trace its history from the earliest times, to know the persons connected with it and to understand the basic ideals that go to make up the concept of African unity.

Such a study of the genesis, architects and content of African unity will serve at least one uscful purpose. It will help us to understand what African unity really means and, consequently, to recognise the real advocates of that unity as distinct from those who mercly pay lipservice to the idea.

I-THE BEGINNINGS

The idea of African rebirth and rennaissance in the late 19th century seems to have originated with the negroes of the \overline{W} estern hemisphere. Thes.e men and women whom the vicissitudes of history had carried to America and the West Indies came into touch with Western civilization to an extent that Mother Africa at first could not attain.

They came in touch with the radical (then revolutionary) spirit created by the Industrial Revolution and America's struggle for freedom, for expansion and for greatness. Finding little room for themselves in the new robust society of the Americas, the negroes of the new world naturally thought of returning to their own homes in Africa and helping to inake Africa great.

The result was an intellectual trend which preached Africanism. Several Afro-American scholars studied the idea and propounded stimulating theses on it. But probably the best known and most distinguished of these is William Du Bois who is fondly referred to as the Father of Pan-Africanism.

Nor was this movement aimed at an African rennaissance confined to intellectual circles.

Attempts were made to return to Africa by some of our brethren in the West Indies and America. But the best known effort was

What is of the greatest historical importance has been the contact African students in the Americas have had with that Africanist movement. These students, especially from West Africa, went to the United States of America in search of learning. They studied the revolutionary history of America. They imbibed the practical and radical spirit of. that continent.

that of Marcus Garvey.

Above all, they got in touch with this movement of African rennaissance which had profund effect on their later lives. Numbered among those who had this experience are Aggrey, Azikiwe, Mbonu Ojike, etc. But the most outstanding of them - from the point of view of later impact on African Affairs - is Kwame Nkrumah.

The collapse of the Marcus Garvey experiment meant the demise of the movement in the Americas of a return to Africa. But Pan-Africanism survived as an intellectual ferment. What is more, theideals of Pan-Africanism were transmitted from America to: the large community of Africans (made up of students, seamen. workers, etc.) in Britain through African students, returning from American universities and African seamen who in the course of this "globe-trotting" had acquired revolutionary ideas about the status and world role of the African.

Soon the Pan-African Congress, a Britain-based organisation fighting for a restitution of the rights of the African was born. The experiences of the war years

unity.

THE EVOLUTION (AFRICAN UNITY bų

A. K. Barden

Today the slow can unity is heard everywhere. Practically all politi-cal leaders in such of African unity. But it is becoming clearer with every passing diffican unity means something different to various African leaders are, the enemies of African unity now find it convenient to parade as the apostles (even as the authors) of African ulled from "Awakening Africa")



The 1st Conference Independent African States in Accra on April 1958.

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(1939-1945) gave a great impetus to this organisation. Soon after its formation, the Pan-African Congress became the principal rallying point for revolutionary minded Africans imbued with the ideas of African emancipation, be they students, seamen, businessmen, artists, etc.

Meetings of the Congress were held wherever Africans were to be found in Britain. Public meetings were addressed by the leaders of the Congress in Cardiff. Newport, Londnn, Glasgow and of course, in Manchester which was the headquarters of the organisation.

The Pan-African Congress concentrated its activities on the liberation of all Africa, on the ending of colonial rule throughout the world and the emancipation of colonial and subject peoples wherever they might be found. The movement was not confined to any particular country. It regarded all oppressed colonial peoples as one and saw in this united action their only guarantee of victory over the forces of imperialism and colonialism.

In 1945-October 15th-21stthe Pan-African movement held its Fifth Congress in Manchester. This was a most significant congress. It approved and adopted a resolution of far-reaching significance written by KWAME NKRUMAH. This resolution was both a declaration of intention and a call to action. It revealed the broad horizon, the universality of the movement. It stated the objectives clearly and simply; it defined the enemy; and it indicated the line of march without equivocation. This resolution is so significant that it is reproduced in full hereunder:

"We believe in the rights of all peoples to govern themselves. 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 peoples of the colonies must have the right to elect their own government, a government without restrictions from a foreign power. We say to the peoples of the colonies that they must strive for these ends by all means at their disposal.

"The object of imperialist powers is to exploit. By granting the right to the colonial peoples to govern themselves, they are defeating that objective. There, the struggle for. political powers by colonial and subject peoples is the first step towards, and the necessary prerequisite to complete social, economic and political emancipation.

"The Fifth Pan-African Congress calls on the intellectuals and professional classes of the colonies to awaken to their responsibilities. The long, long night is over. 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. Colonial and Subject Peoples of the .World - Unite!"

This resolution is significant in many ways. It defines the enemy as imperialism and makes it clear that, because of its very nature, imperialism cannot "grant" independence to colonial peoples. The struggle against imperialism must be totally positive and conducted by all oppressed peoples. The objective is political power which will then be used to achieve complete social, economic and political emancipation.

The freedom is from political control (colonialism) as well as from economic and social control (neo-colonialism). The basic strategy of the struggle is the organisation of the masses, more especially the workers and farmers. The role of intellectuals lies in fighting for those conditions (free press speech, assembly, trade union rights, etc.) which enable the struggle for the masses to enlarge, deepen and gain momentum. At last the movement for the

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Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah—one of the greatest advocates of Africa's Freedom and Unity.

liberation of the oppressed people of Africa and the entire world has found a concrete foundation. It has abandoned utopia schemes of a "return to Africa." It has ceased to be a purely intellectual ferment. It has given a programme of action with objectives, strategy and tactics directed to the liberation of all colonial peoples in their homeland. And this major and historic transformation was the hardwork of the Pan-African Congress under the instrumentality of KWAME NKRUMAH.

The 1945 Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, was a milestone in the struggle to liberate Mother Africa. Little did the participants know that profound history was being made. For the growth of African freedom and

unity in the past seventeen years has owed much to the spirit of that Congress and the guiding hands of the man who wrote the historic resolution - KWAME NKRUMÁH.

II - ACCRA CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES

The decade after the Second World War was a period of intensified political activity by the national liberation movements in Africa. The inauguration of the United Nations Organisation with its Declaration of Human Rights had brought new hope to oppressed peoples everywhere. The same. effect had been produced by the winning of independence in Burma.

India, Pakistan and a large part of South-East Asia.

However, there was a domestic factor of great importance in this upsurge of the national liberation movement in Africa. Some of the devoted architects of Africa's redemption had arrived back home and had begun an active organisation of the struggle for freedom. Within a few years of the end of the second world war at least four very significant books had been published by African leaders in English-speaking Africa. The significance of these books lay in this: that for the first time ever they gave the African struggle for freedom a programme and a strategy. These book are:

1 Towards Colonial Freedom by Kwame Nkrumah 2 The Path to Freedom

by Obafemi Awolowo 3 Political Blueprint for

Nigeria by Nnamdi Azikiwe Facing Mount Kenya

by Jomo Kenyatta Kwame, Nkrumah returned to



The black spots on the map show countries which are yet to be free from colonialism.

NOTE: Although on the map South Africa is excluded from the dependent states, as long as a white minority continues to rule and suppress the majority of the indigenous people of that country. Africens ell over the continent shell regerd it es e dependent stete. co-ordination between them.

Ghana (then Gold Coast) in 1947.

Jomo Kenyatta returned to Kenya.

Each primed himself in organising

and leading his people in a massive

struggle against colonialism and

Similar efforts were being orga-

The same upsurge was evident

nised in practically all other

in the French-speaking African

colonies under the guidance of the

Ressablement Populaine Africaine.

struggle for colonial freedom had

fragmented and got confined to

individual countries. There was no

planning and directing centre for

all Africa except perhaps in the

case of the French colonies where

the R.D.A. exercised authority

that extended into practically all

the French colonies, especially in

pointed out that even in the case

of the R. D. A. disintegration set

in and the effective centres of the

liberation struggle were set up in

For a period it looked as if the

British Colonies in Africa.

imperialism.

During this period (1945-58) the African revolution exhibited one major deficiency. It had no African strategy. While each territory was fighting its own battle and taking little more that academie interest in happenings in other African countries, the imperialist powers - Britain, France, Portugal, Spain - were maintaining effective co-ordination and liaison among themselves. At a time when colonialism had begun to. assume a 'collective' character. the national liberation movements were still unco-ordinated. This was due partly to the low level of understanding of the cause of the struggle against colonialism by certain African leaders. But above it, this was due to the cramping circumstances imposed by colonia-West Africa. However, it must be list rule and the general obstruction of all contacts between leaders of the various national liberation movements by the colonialist governments of this period.

It is significant that the free states of Africa at this time could not give the much-needed unified guidance to the struggle for African freedom and unity. These countries were Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt. While Ethiopia could be said to be recovering from the ravages of Italian fascist rule, and Egypt was still a semi-colony of Britian until the Nequib-Nassar revolution and the battle of Sucz brought the UAR. into its own.

Liberia has no excuse whatsoever to give, except perhaps the fact that its cconomic relationship with U.S. finance capital made it impossible for her to spear-head a struggle directed against finance capital throughout Africa. And this is , significant discovery - that nations which are totally free from imperialist ties cannot constitute an effective force in the anti-colonialist struggle. (This point will be further claborated later.)

The break-through came in 1957. Ghana achieved independence under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. It is a tribute to Nkrumah's resourcefulness and the potency of his formula for conducting the strugg corganisation of the masses led by the workers and peasants, directed towards absolute independence from

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the control of any foreign government and enjoying the solidarity of working men of all countries --- that he achieved in ten years what other African leaders still have not achieved even after a quarter of a century struggle!

The independence of Ghana in 1957 meant that the African mountain, at last, had secured a firm base on African soil. This fact was underlined and emphasised by Kwame Nkrumah himself when at midnight 5th-6th March, 1957 while making, his speech to free Ghana, he said that Ghana's independence is not secure as long as one square inch of African soil is still under foreign rule. Events since Ghana's attainment of independence have given added significance to this fact.

Exactly one year after Ghana's independence and on the initiative of Kwame Nkrumah, the first ever conference of Independent African States took place in Accra (April 15-22, 1958). All the independent states in Africa at that time-eight in all, attended. These are Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, United Arab Republic, Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia and Ghana. No greater tribute would be paid Kwame Nkrumah on his foresight and initiative than in the words of the two oldest independent states of Ethiopia and Liberia at the opening session of the Conference of Independent African States. In a message read by Prince Sahle Salassie, Emperor Haile Selassie said :---

"This Conference marks the first occasion on which the independent nations of Africa have gathered together to discuss questions which are common to all of them and to Africa, and is thus the first step into a new and promising era for this great continent". President "I pay special tribute to the vision and foresight of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, for having proposed this conference, the first of its kind in the history of Africa, for the purpose of providing a forum for the full and unfettered exchange of interest to individual African States or to all peoples of Africa

whether independent or not". The conference of Independent African States (1958) pursued certain clear-cut objectives. In the words of the Chairman and convener, Kwame Nkrumah, at the opening session (April 15, 1958):

"We are here to know ourselves and to exchange views on matters of common interest; to explore ways and means of consolidating and safe-guarding our hard-won independence; to strengthen the economic and cultural ties between our countries; to find workable arrangements for helping our brothers still languishing under colonial rule; to examine the central problem which dominates the world today, namely, the problem of how to secure peace. And; finally to send out an appeal to the Great Powers of the world to do whatever they can to save the world from destruction and humanity from annihilation." These objectives were so well received by every delegation to the conference that Dr. Sadok Mokadden, Foreign Minister of Tunisia and head of the Tunisiandelegation said ----

"Before closing, I wish particularly to bring support of my delegation to the ideas so coherently developed by President Nkrumah-ideas which review in brilliant and precise terms both the spirit of our conference and the points stated on the agenda. In thanking him, in the name of my delegation for valuable contribution which he has made to the work of this conference, I wish to say to him how. well he has succeeded in being the authentic expression of the new African conscience.".

The Conference of Independent African States (1958) was a tremendous success. Unanimously, it adopted a Declaration and thirteen Resolutions which together define a new positive approach to African and world problems. Little. wonder that this conference and especially its stupendous success. and un-expected unanimity carried so much fame in imperialist circles. In their effort to meet views on any matters which are of the challenge of the Accra Conference, the imperialist powers forms. This was a fitting reply reacted in three main ways.

1. Diplomatic action directed towards:

(a) creating dissensions between independent African States:

- (b) encouraging the creation of blocs of African states so that Africa may speak with, many and conflicting voices (to her undoing) instead of with the one compelling voice as achieved at the Accra Conference . of Independent African States.
- (c) consolidating the southern extremity of Africa on the hasis of an entente between Verwoerd's South Africa, Welensky's Central African Federation and Tshombe's Katanga, as the whiteman's bastion against the tide of "negro irredentism."

2. Action in the colonial territories aimed at: 1.1.1

- (a) rushed grant of pseudo-political independence to African colonies (especially in West Africa) in a way to preserve and safeguard the economic and military interests of imperialism: This is accompanied by a claim against the progressive forces in these countries (i.e. Cameroons, Nigeria, etc.)
- (b) resort to divisionist and tribalist politics in order to delay independence as in Kenya and Uganda and to negate independence as in the Congo:----
- (c) recourse to brutal police action in-suppressing the struggle for freedom as in Augola and the Rhodesias.

3. Subversive activities against those governments considered to be the uncompromising fighters for total African liberation by financing counter-revolutionary forces and planning assassination of the leaders. Examples are U.A.R., Ghana, Congo, Ruanda Urundi.

The Accra Conference of In-. dependent African States was bravelland honest enough to grasp the nettle". It put forward an all-African approach to the problem of fighting colonialism in all its to imperialist strategy which has

become increasingly "collective" in character in Africa.

The continental struggle for Africa's total liberation is on. But in order to understand the twists and turns in the stand of some African countries it is useful to pay a little more attention to the aggreements reached at the Acera Conference of Independent African States.

The declaration brings out and emphasises several points of vital importance. Firstly, the Independent African States reaffirm "unswerving loyalty" to the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principles of the Bandung Conference Secondly, they resolved to maintain "unity of purpose and action in international affairs" which will be directed to the projection of the African Personality made distinctive by the following attributes:

(a) non-commitment in any action that might be "to the detriment to our interest and freedom";

(b) recognition of the right of the African peoples to independence and self-determination and readiness to take appropriate step to hasten the realisation of this right.

(c) Affirmation of the right of African peoples to independence and resolve to "make every possible effort to help the Algerian people towards the attainment of independence".

(d) determination to "uproot" forever the evil of racial discrimation."

(e) pressure on the great Powers "to discontinue nuclear weapons and to reduce continental wepons".

Thirdly, they desire an increse in the standard of living of their peoples and resolve to achieve this through: (a) co-ordination of economic and

industrial planning

(b) measures to increase to trade among our countries (c) encouragement of the invest-

ment of foreign capital and skills "provided this does not

compromise the independence participating States" sovereignty and territorial integrity of our states".

Fourthly, they desire a continental renaissance in African culture through "exchange of teachers, professors, students, exhibitions, education, cultural and scientific material", joint youth festivals, sporting events and re-orientation of school curricula and syllabus.

Fifthly, and in order to give effect to agreements reached by them, the independent African, states decided that their permanent representatives at the United Nations should constitute the 'permanent machinery" for coordinating action by African states.

The Conference of Independent African States had blazed an entirely new path in world affairs. It had come out clearly for a policy of non-alignment with either of the world power blocs, for securing world peace, for a high degree of integrated action by African states and for a positive approach to the problem of freeing all Africa from foreign rule. The Conference was so mindful of its role in Africa that it described itself as "the vanguard of the complete emancipation of Africa" and declared April 15th each year as Africa Freedom Day.

Barely six weeks after the Accra Conference, Kwame Nkrumah as the Prime Minister of Ghana, toured all the countries that took part in the conference This lasted from 29th May to till 5th July, 1958. Official communiques issued at the end of talks in each of the seven capitals summarised the discussions and agreements. Every one of these official communiques cofirmed the adherence of each state to the Declaration and Resolutions. of the Accra Conference.

In addition, the Ghana-Tunisian Joint Communique issued on June 11, 1958 at Tunis called for carrying out the decisions of the Accra Conference "through a permanent Secretariat composed of the representatives of the different

The foundations of united and concerted action by independent African states had been laid. The stage was set for unified approach to African freedom and unity. **TIL-FROM SANNIOUELLIE TO** ADDIS ABABA

The intense activities of independent States from April to July, 1958, bore rich fruits. The eight independent African states had agreed to exchange diplomatic missions at ambassadorial level; to co-ordinate their foreign politics and actions at the United Nations on the basis of positive non-alignment and projection of the African Personality; to dovetail economic and cultural activities; and to work for complete liberation of all dependent African countries.

The period 1959 to 1960 saw the emergence of numerous independent African states. By mid-1960 the number had grown from eight to fifteen and many now had a fixed date-line for gaining their independence. During this period several inter-African meetings and conferences took place, the most significant of which being the Sanniquellie Summit, the Conakry meetings, the Monrovia meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Conference of Independent Afican States and the Second Session of the Conference of Independent. African States in Addis Ababa.

The inter-African activities in this period constitute the putting into effect (and to the test) of the spirit and decisions of the Accra Conference (1958). On the basis of the Declaration and Resolutions of the Accra Conference, action was directed towards two objectives;

(a) The consolidation of co-ope-. ration among independent African States in the strugglc for a political union of Africa:

(b) practical efforts for attainment of the freedom of dependent African countries. On 1st May; 1959, President Gou Toure of Guinea and Prime Minister Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, in their Conakry Declaration, made it clear that they had "solemnly tives of all peoples. But these agreed to seal the Ghana-Guinea Union in practice." The Conakry Declaration, laid down the practical basis for the achievement of a unoin between Ghana and Guinea and set out the basic principles for a wider African Community owing no allegiance to any foreign power.

From July 15-19, 1959, President Sekou Toure and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had joined President Tubman of Liberia in Sanniquellie. They discussed ways and means of helping the liberation struggles in the Cameroons. Algeria, South West Africa. They condemned racial discrimination and nuclear tests in the Sahara; they re-affirmed their determination to co-operate in all international matters and at the United Nations.

In addition to all this which was a practical application of the spirit and decisions of the Accra Conference (1958), the three leaders broke new ground by adopting a Joint Declaration on how to bring an African union into being. They "resolved to assist, foster and speed up the total liberation of African non-independent territories whose peoples are struggling for national independence and self-determination, racial equality and human dignity." They were "determined to bring about unity, co-operation, harmony, coherence and mutual understanding among ourselves "and were "convinced that joint action is necessary to attain our common purpose." They also "agreed on the neccssity for immediate action."

It is significant to note that whereas the three leaders agreed on the principle of unity, their concept of unity in practice differed. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and President Sekou Toure stood for close political union while President Tubman favoured a loose form of co-operation between African States. At the opening session at Sanniquellie (July 15th: 1959) President Tubman said,

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"Freedom, unity and co-operation should be the noble objecwill never be assured if we fail to create the right conditions which all Africans, despite their varying customs, traditions and culture, can wholeheartedly support. Thus, in our determined search for African unity, let us endeavour to cvolve that formula which will be sufficiently flexible for each nation to maintain its national sovereignty and peculiar identity.'

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in reply appealed for the unity of "our forces in the closest bond of political unity" even though admtiting "that we cannot acquire overnight a perfect union".

He went on:

"However, whatever we may say or do here, there are two inescapable historic tasks from which we cannot shirk: Namely. (a) to support and sustain the efforts of our brothers in dependent territories, so that they may attain as specdily as possible their freedom from alien domination and (b) to examine ways and means of undoing the wrongs inflicted upon Africa by eradicating the artificial divisions and boundaries which are responsible for the balkanisation of our continent.

"Gentleman, these are the two main tasks which history has imposed upon us and they can only be realised in terms of Independence and Unity

..... Gentlemon, throughout my whole active political career I have always placed so much emphasis upon national independence as a pre-requisite to international unity. To achieve one without the other, that is to say, to attain our national freedom without binding ourselves together in some form of closer international unity will not only jeopardies our individual sovereignties but expose our small countries to external pressures and make us the political football of others. Apart from that, our very economic and social development can only be

sustained and acccleratd in terms of our closest political union".

At the conclusion of their talks, the three political leaders adopted a 10-point Declaration of principles giving the outlines "The Community of Independent African States". They agreed to submit this Declaration of Principles to a "Special Conference in 1960 of all independent states of Africa, as well as nonindependent states which have fixed dates on which they will achieve independence". The Special Conference will then "discuss and work out a Charter which will achieve their ultimate goal of unity between independent African States".

The envisaged union is clearly political; for its objectives are freedom, independence, unity of the African peoples, the struggle for freeing of dependent African countries. It envisages co-ordinated diplomatic and economic action and scientific research. It will have a fiag and an anthem. But its component states will be free to conduct their domestic affairs as best as they can.

From 4th to 8th, August 1959, the Foreign Ministers of the Independent African States who met, in Accra in April, 1958 met at Monrovia, Liberia. They largely reaffirmed the decision of the Accra Conference (1958) in relation to the problems of South West Africa, Nyasaland, French Cameroons; called for freeing of all colonies; condemned nuclear tests in the Sahara.

Over Algeria they broke new ground. They granted audience to a Delegation of the Algerian Provisional Government and resolved to call on "all peoples and Governments the world over, to support and recognise the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic", and to render it 'material aid" leaving it to each Government "to decide the character and extent of such help"

The next milestone on the long hard road to African Unity was Addis Ababa (June 1960) where dependent African States 'was held. All independent African States (with the exception of the Republic of Togo) attended. These were Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia. U.A.R., Libya Cameroun, Guinea. Countries with fixed dates for independence also attended as full members of the conference.

These were Nigeria, Mali, Somalia, Malagasy and Sierra Leone. The Provisional Government of Algeria attended as a full member. Observers came from 'ten African countries — Angola, Kenya, South Africa, S.W. Africa, Tanganyika, Uganda, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia; Ruanda Urundi, Camerouns (British). The All African Peoples Conference was also represented. In all some 250 delegates and observers from 21 African countries attended.

In general, the Second Conference of independent African States confirmed the decision of the Accra Conference (1958). It adopted a total of 16 resolutions which further cleared the way to co-operation among African States and promised assistance to dependent countries in their struggle for freedom.

However, a closer study of the stand-points of the various delegations vis-a-vis the decisions of the Accra Conference (1958) and Sanniquellie Declaration the (1958) reveals some discordant notes which have proved highly significant. It will be shown how some delegations later went back on unanimous decisions taken at Addis Ababa.

Firstly, some discordant note was struck on the concepts of African unity. While the principle of a common foreign policy was still accepted at Addis Ababa, different concepts of African unity had emerged, even in embryonic form. Ghana submitted the Declaration of Principles agreed among Ghana, Guinea and Liberia at Sanniquellie and meant to be the basis for a charter of the Union of African States. She requested the conference to set up "a Committee of experts with

the second Conference of the In- specific terms of reference to work out the details of the union of African States".

> Liberia, a party to this Declaration of Principles, introduced the confusing concept of "a programme of West African Regional Co-operation" which was at variance with the "All-African Union " concept at Sanniquellie. Again, instead of priming conference for immediate action on the declaration of principles, Liberia asked for "the calling of a conference at a time and place to be agreed upon at the earliest possible time to develop the Charter of this Organisation".

The Ethiopian point of view was contained in Emperor Haile Selassie's opening address to the Addis Ababa Conference on June 14, 1960. He was completely silent on the idea of a political union of African States. Rather, he concentrated on economic co-operation between states; thus putting out the view that all that was called for was "intra-African. co-operation" in the economic sphere. The Emperor said:

"The strongest foundation of our independence is the development of our economic resources. It is heartening to note that all our peoples are devoted to this central idea and that the lcaders of our continent-fulfilling the wish of their peoples -are directing their energies to this accomplishment......

"This idea can be made to come to fruition more rapidly by closer collaboration among ourselves. Therefore, we must make bold dccisions for intra-African cooperation. We must link our needs; we must connect and associate our airlines and indeed think of merging our international services. We would in fact, propose the establishment, through subscription of share participation, of an African Development Bank for promoting the expansion of our trades, commerce, communications and international services we must exchange agricultural and

The Nigerian delegation unequivocally took its stand against political union of African States. After broadly accepting the idea of Pan-Africanism, the head of the Nigerian Delegation, Maintama Sule, said:

But we must not be sentimental; we must be realistic. It is for this reason that we would like to point out that at this moment the idea of forming a Union of African States is premature. On the other hand we do not dispute the sincerity and indeed the good intentions of those people that advocate it. But we feel that such a move is too radical-perhaps too ambitious-to be of any lasting benefit . . .

"President Tubman's idea of the association of States is therefore more acceptable".

The whole concept of political union of African States was thrown into the melting pot and the tactics of temporising triumphed when the Second Conference of Independent African States "requested" the President of the Conference (Ato Yilma Deressa, Foreign Minister of Ethiopia) "to address a communication to the Heads of (African) States to intiate consultations throuth diplomatic channels with a view to promoting African Unity" and "decide to inscribe this item on the agenda of the next regular session of the Conference of Independent African States".

The feet-draggers ---Ethiopia, Liberia, Nigeria- over African Unity had won. While at Addis Ababa they still said the concept was "premature", their total rejection of the idea was dramatised at the Monrovia Conference in 1961.

Secondly, Addis Ababa was the beginning of a challenge to the concept of a common foreign policy for independent African States. Again, the onslaught was led by Nigeria. The Accra Conference in its Resolution No.1, has laid down the concept of a common foreign policy for African States. The Addis Ababa Conference merely "reaffirmed Resolution

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Independent African States held at Accra'.

conference that the Nigerian delegation rejected the idea of a common foreign policy of positive neutrality. The leader of the Nigerian delegation, Maintama Sule, said:

"The idea of neutrality in international affairs should be ruled out since no one country can stand alone without having anything to do with another country. This, however, does not mean joining any Power Bloc. On the other hand it merely means that a country should make some agreements or treaties with any other country if it is in its national interest so to do.

"As I was saying each country should formulate its own foreign policy based on the circumstances prevalent within the country. We in Nigeria, for example, feel that Nigeria has her acknowledged friends and should frankly accept the duties as well as the benefits of friendship

"It is for this reason that we feel that over and above her membership of the Commonwealth, Nigeria must maintain the closest relationship with the United Kingdom''.

Thirdly, Liberia went back on the decision of the Accra Conference over boundary disputes. These disputes, exist between Ghana and Ivory Coast; Ghana and Togoland; Ethiopia and Somalia; Mauritania and Morocco, etc. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah believes that disputes provide a pretext for the imperialist powers to interfere in African politics and cause division among African States. He put forward the views that these problems could be permanently solved within the context of African political union.

The Accra Conference, in its Resolution No. V. declared "the determination of all participating Governments to resort to direct negotiations to settle. differences among themselves and if necessary to conciliation or

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No. 1 of the First Conference of mediation by other African independent States".

These boundary problems had But it was not lost on the become unjust. It was raised at the Sanniquellie Summit of the leaders of Ghana, Guinea, and Liberia. And at Addis Ababa the head of the Somali delegation, Mohammed Yussuf Aden, said:

"We find ourselves facing today's problem of boundaries all over the continent; these will endanger most our African Unity for which we are here assembled today. These problems should be treated urgently by the interested states in a friendly and co-operative manner in the African spirit and justice". Mohammed Aden's views were certainly in line with the decisions of the Accra Conference.

Liberia even though a participatant of the Accra Conference, struck a new and discordant note. Mr. J. Rudolph Grimes, head of the Liberian delegation at Addis Ababa said:

"It is quite true that the existing- boundaries in Africa were made without ethnic, tribal or economic consideration by the colonial powers..... The Liberian Government suggests that the African States agree to the principle of generally accepting the present boundaries after the various countries become independent as the boundaries between their respective states."

The abandonment of negotiations between African States and the acceptance of the Liberian formula means in concrete terms the settlement of existing disputes in favour of Mauritania. Togoland, Ethiopia and against Morocco, Gliana and Somalia. Far from uniting African countries the Liberian formula permanently estranged them. The Addis Ababa Conference took no decision on this issue but Liberia had succeeded in gaining allies (Ethiopia, Togo and later Mauritania) in pursuit of her own African policy.

Forthly, there was noticeable feet-dragging over Algeria which later became very significant in inter-African relations. Whereas

all along the trend pursued by independent African States was to stand solidly behind Algeria against France, the Addis Ababa Conference revealed a desire on the part of some African States to act as a third part in the attempt to reconcile France and Algeria.

At Sanniquellie on July 19, 1959 the leaders of Ghana, Guinea and Liberia, decided that "we will consider the recognition of the Provisional Government of Algeria at the forthcoming Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Independent States to be held in Liberia in August, 1959". At the Foreign Ministers meeting, August 4th-8th, 1959, the hope was expressed "that all peoples and Governments, the world over, will support and recognise the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic". It recommends to the Governments of the Independent African States "to render material aid to Algeria, leaving it to each Government to decide the character and extent of such help".

The Addis Ababa Conference, while urging France and Algeria to enter into negotiation for the end of hostilities in Algeria, was silent over the recognition of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. It is the continuation of this trend that resulted in Algeria being refused participation in the Lagos Conference (Jan. 1962) of the Monrovia Powers.

Broadly speaking the Second Addis Ababa Conference of Independent African States confirmed and enlarged upon the spirit and decisions of the First Accra Conference of Independent, African States (1958) and the Monrovia Foreign Ministers Conference of Independent African States (1959). But it brought to the surface certain trends which are basically at variance with the resolutions of the Conference of Independent African States.

These trends are: (1) African Unity means closer

inter-African co-operation especially in the economic field but not a political union of African States:

(2) that a common foreign policy for African States should yield ground to the idea of each state formulating its own separate and distinct foreign policy; (3) that disputes arising from

artificial political boundaries should be settled on the basis of the existing boundaries remainng unchanged;

(4) that support for Algeria should take the form of diplomatic pressure on France. to negotiate with Algeria and not supporting Algeria against - France through a recognition of Provitional Government of the Algerian Repulblic.

These trends were put out and defended principally by Liberia, Ethiopia and Nigeria.

It is these trends, backed up by intense diplomatic pressure by imperialist powers and the deliberately fanned hysteria ... that Ghana plans to foist its leadership on the entire African continent, that crystallised to give birth to the Monrovia bloc of African States. Independent Africa had spoken with one voice up to the Addis Ababa Conference.

At Addis Ababa the stage was set for the second and discordant voice in Africa.

Imperialism and colonialism no longer had to contend with one United Africa. A second African voice was in the making and imperialism could try to protect its interests behind this clash of the two Africas.

IV-FROM ADDIS ABABA TO CASABLANCA

After the Second (Addis Ababa) Conference of Independent African States, the struggle for African Freedom ane Unity travelled two very different roads. One led to Casablanca and the other to Monrovia. But we must first consider events in Africa between mid-1960 and 1960, and the reaction of Independent African states to these events in order to see and understand

ed at Casablanca and Monrovia. Apart from the formal accession of Nigeria to independence, these events desire notice:-

(i) The Congo

(ii) Emergence of the Brazzaville Group of African States (iii) Angola.

The Congo attained independence on 30th June, 1960. Immediately after, that young Republic was plunged into major upheavals through the machinations of the forces of imperialism and colonialism. Anxious to safeguard its economic interests in the Congo International Imperialism plotted against the Congo.

This method was undermining the legal Government of Patrice Lumumba and the secession of Katanga under Moise Thombe. The United Nations was invited to the Congo by the Lumumba Government. But soon the forces of imperialism began to work through the United Nations itself. The legal Lumumba Government was hamstrung and eventually overthrown. The elected Parliament was suspended. Subsequently, Lumumba himself was brutally murdered.

The performances of the United Nations in the Congo shook the faith of African States in the efficiency of that organisation as an effective instrument of peace and justice.

For our purpose the significant thing is the reaction of Independent African States to events in the Congo. While All African in passing and merely passed a States were ready to condemn the United Nations actions in the Congo, only Ghana, Guinea, U.A.R., Morocco, Mali were prepared to take concrete steps to check United Nations unfair treatment of the legal central Government of the Congo. Guinea and U.A.R. withdrew their troops of the second half of 1960 was under United Nations Command in the Congo. But Ghana, Nigeria and Ethiopia continued to leave their troops there.

Nations. the United

more clearly the forces represent Guinea, Mali, U.A.R., Morocco spearheaded the fight in support of the Lumumba Govern ment while the other African States meekly supported the stand of U.S.A. and Britain. The events in the Congo have thrown into bold relief the bitter truth that there were now two Africas -one violently anti-imperialist whilst the other was prepared to collaborate with imperialisin.

> Morocco, Libya, Ghana, Mali, U.A.R., and the Provisional Government of Algeria met at Casablanca with Ceylon in the first week of January, 1961 to discuss the Congo. These states roundly condemned United Nations action in the Congo, reaffirmed their recognition of the elected Parliament and legal Government of the Congo set up on 30th June 1960, and urged the United Nations to disarm Mobutu's armed gangs, release from prison and detention all members of the Congo Parliament, reconvene the Congo Parliament, .remove all Belgian and other mercenaries from the Congo, return to the legitimate Congo Government all civil and military airports and radio-stations unlawfully withheld from that Government by the United Nations, prevent Belgians' from Ruanda-Urundi asbase for military operations against the Congo. If these are not met, the states decided to withdraw their troops from the Congo.

The other African states that met in Monrovia in May, 1961'(five months later) discussed Congo resolution condemning the use of assassinations as a political weapon.

The nature and character of the two Africas were becoming clearer for all to see.

the attainment of "arranged" independence for the French territories in Africa. It was obvious that French colonialism Eventually in the debates at was under pressure by the drive Ghana for freedom sweeping the

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continent of Africa The examples of Guinea in 1958 and Senegal early in 1960 had made a great impact on the remaining French territories.

French colonialism calculated that the best way to save itself was to grant nominal independence to her African territories. Under this system, the French colonies became free to man and handle their politics but left vital sectors of state life in French hands. These sectors are the civil service, defence," the national economy. As regards foreign affairs, these French territories will have diplomatic relations with other countries and at the United Nations but the contents of their policies are coordinated from Paris. In short, these former French colonies are only partially independent. They constitute classic examples of neo-colonialism in practice.

It is clear that France was so happy with the new formula that she virtually granted independence to these territories literarily overnight. Cameroun and Togoland, former Trust Territories under French administration, got their freedom on January 1960 and April 17, 1960. Then the rush began as follows:-June 20, 1960, — Senegal and Mali June 26, 1960, — Malagasy 1, 1960, - Dahomey August August 3, 1960, - Niger August 5, 1960, - Upper Volta August 7, 1960, - Ivory Coast August 11, 1960, - Chad August 13, 1960, - Chad August 13, 1960, - Chad Republic August 15, 1960, - Congo (Brazzaville)

August 17, 1960. - Gabon November 28, 1960, - Mauritania With the exception of Mali which joined the Ghana-Guinea Union and Togoland, these states were quickly hemped together as the "Brazzaville Group", with President Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast and President Leonold Senghor of Senegal as its leaders. The next step was to "associate members" of the European Common Market. This was obviously the work of French colonialism. It clearly portrays the new/tactics of imperialism in Africa - to grant nominal independence while re-

of national life.

The third significant event in the second half of 1960 was the outbreak of fighting in Angola. Up to then, the Portuguese oases of colonies remained comparative calm in Africa untouched by the waves of nationalism sweeping across the continent. The siginficance of Angolan and Mozambique struggles lay in the reaction of independent African States to it. While Ghana and the states associated with her took a positive attitude to the Angolan struggle (diplomatic action at the United Nations and material assistance to nationalist fighters of Angola, etc.), the states which have now come to be known as the Monrovia powers were content with passing resolutions condemning Portuguese atrocities in their African colonies.

Here again, the contracting lines of action towards the African revolution are clear. One line is to pass pious resolutions; the other is to give concrete assistance to the national liberation struggle.

In the midst of these profound events, the Casablanca Conference. took place from January 3rd to 7th, 1961. The Conference was convened by King Mohammed V of Morocco and countries that took part are Morocco, U.A.R., Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Provisional Government of the Algerian Repulblic and Libya. Six resolutions were taken on Algeria, Mauritania, Nuclear Tests, Palestine, Apartheid and Racial. Discrimination, and Ruanda Urundi.

These were all militant in spirit and radical in content. They constitute a stand of positive struggle against colonialism and imperialism. For instance, as regards Algeria, the Casablanca Conference not only condemned France link the Brazzaville group as but called for increased political diplomatic and material aid for Algeria, for the recognition of the Provisional Government of Algeria and the exchange of diplomatic missions with it. But undoubtedly, the greatest achievement of the Casablanca

taining control of vital sectors Conference is the "African Charter". This clearly defines the stand of the seven states that took part in the Conference. The Charter upholds the following seven principles:-

i. freedom and unity of all Africa;

- ii. identity of views and unity of action in international affairs; iii. safeguard of indepen-
- dence, 'sovereignty and territorial integrity; iv. world press through a policy of non-alignment; v. determination to rid Africa of colonialism and neo-colonialism by giving aid and assistance to territories still under
- foreign domination; development of Africa's vi. natural resources for the benefit of their peoples and to ensure an equitable distribution of that wealth among all nationals;
- vii effective co-operation among African states in the economic, social and cultural domains.

The charter then sets up four institutions for giving effect to its objectives. These are:-

- 1. The African political Committee to co-ordinate and unify general policy of various African states;
- 2. The African Economic Committee to handle economic
- co-operation: 3. The African Cultural . Committee for preservation and development of African cultural and civilisation;
- 4. A Joint African High Command to ensure common defence of Africa in case of aggression against any part of this continent and safeguard the independence of African States.

The Charter upholds the principles of the United Nations and of the Bandung Conference. It set up a Liaison Office for effective co-operation a mong different organisations set up under the Charter.

The Casablanca Charter recaptures the spirit of the Accra

Gonference of Independent African States and carried if further. It rids itself of the feet-dragging that became apparent at the Addis Ababa Conference of Independent African States. It is a dynamic reaffirmation of the original and authentic voice of Africa first heard at Accra Conference (1958). It is a solid platform from which to evolve a continental strategy against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Soon after the Casablanca Conference, from 27th-29th April, 1961 the Heads of States of Ghana, Guinea, and Mali met in Accra to finalise their series of talks and exchanges leading to a firm union of these African States. The stages that led up to this first "Union of African States" are:-

i. November 23rd 1958, Accra talks that gave birth to Ghana-Guinea-Union

ii. 1st May, 1959, Declaration of Conakry laid down the practical basis for an African Union; iii. November, 1960 Bamako talks between Ghana and Mali regarding the acbievement of African Unity; iv. 5th December 1960 talks at Signiri between Guinea and Mali which called for union between the two states and friendly ties with Ghana; v. 24th December, 1960 Cona

kry talks between the Heads of States of Ghana; Guinea and Mali which gave the mandate for a Special Committee to formulate concrete proposals for a union of the three, states;

vi. 19th-18th January, 1961 meetings of the Special Committee which arrived at conclutions on which the union is based.

The activities of the union cover Domestic, Foreign, Defence, Economic and Cultural policies. The aims of the union are to strenghten and develop friendly ties between member states, to pool their resources in order to consolidate their independence and safeguard their territorial ,inte-

grity, to work jointly for complete liquidation of colonialism and neocolonialism, and to harmonise domestic and foreign policies of member states. The union is governed by a union of Conferences on which all member states are equally represented. The union is opened to any other African State willing to join.

V - FROM ADDIS ABABA TO MONROVIA

The radical African spirit of the Accra Conference (1958) - uncompromising in its attitude towards colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination, out to project the African personality througn a common foreign policy of positive non-alignment, and determined to find its complete function in the unity of Africa which was somewhat challenged at the Addis Ababa Conference (1960), was re-enacted and pushed further at Casablanca (Jan. 1961).

Simultaneously, the other trend in African Affairs - collaboration with colonialism and neo-colonialism, rejected of a positive approach to total African freedom, rejection of a common foreign policy for all Africa and desire to seek intra-African co-operation which excluded political unity - which came to the surface for the first time at Addis Ababa (1960) had grown and crystallised into recognisable system at Monrovia (May, 1961). Twenty-one independent Afri-

can States, principally the twelve French-speaking Brazzaville states together with Nigeria, Liberia Sierra-Leone, etc. met at Monrovia from 8th - 12th May, 1961. The five sponsoring states are Liberia, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Togoland and Cameroun. This fact is significant, for all that had happened was that the French-speaking semidependent states led by Ivory Coast had rallied to the side of Nigeria and Liberia, the two nations which at Addis Ababa, tried to water down the decisions of the Accra Conference (1958).

The approach of this group of states to African and world problems had to be "moderate"

and largely pro-West. For some two-thirds of the States assembled at Monrovia were the French speaking African States which, as we pointed out earlier, are still spheres of influence for French colonialism and imperialism in that vital aspects of their national life including the Civil Service, defence and foreign relations were largely guided from Paris.

The "moderate" character of the Monrovia group is reflected both in what they agreed to and what they could not agree on. While they agreed loosely on need for co-operation among African States, they "regarded as totally unrealistic" the concept of African political unity. There was no mention of a common foreign policy., Instead they set out five principles to govern relations between African states.

These are;

- 1. Absolute equality and sovereignty of African States:
- 2. Each African state has right to exist and no state should
- try to annex an other; 3. Voluntary union of one state with another;
- 4. Non-interference in affairs of sister states;
- 5. No dissident elements from one state should be harbo. ured by another state.

Taken together these principles reflect a state of mind which is both defensive and reddled with fear. The bold vision of African greatness through continental union is completely forgotten.

The Conference was unable to. condemn France over Algeria or over Sahara atom tests. Both the recognition of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic and rendering material help to the Algerian people in their struggle againt French colonialism were cast overboard, The Conference generally supported U.N. action in the Congo and passed resolutions against Portuguese activities in Angola and against Apartheid

Everyone of their resolutions dealing with the African struggle for freedom lacked teeth. This was to be expected, for at the Conference were gathered gieria's choice would be either those African. States which were still very closely tied to the Western Powers - France, Britain and U.S.A.

Several technicai committees were set up at Monrovia charged with the study of the problems of economic, cultural and scientific co-operation. The reports of these committees were to be considered at the resumed Conference in Lagos.

The Lagos Conference took place in January, 1962. It confirmed the principles set out at Monrovia, approved the recommendations of the technical committees for economic, cultural, scientific co-operation. It agreed on setting up a permanent organisation to serve as liaison office for the Monrovia Group of states.

Even within the sphere of the limited co-operation envisaged. the Monrovia Group is unstable. It rejects political union and plumbs rather for economic, technical and cultural co-operation. But even within these spheres the 12 states of the Brazzaville Group have already set up unified air and telecommunications services and have established co-operation as regards trade, currency and payments. The non-Brazzaville states in the Monrovia Group - Liberia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Togoland, Ethiopia, - have only two alternatives open to them.

They can join the arrangements alredy reached by the Brazzaville Group thus converting the Monrovia into an enlarged Brazžaville Group. Alternatively, they can have their own joint economic and technical services ndependent of the Brazzaville Group in which case the Monrovia Group will then exclude the Brazzaville Group. In either case, the Monrovia Group, as presently constituted will cease to exist.

In such an eventuality Nigeria and Liberia and Ethiopia would have been isolated diplomatically politically and economically. Nigoing with Libersa into U.S. economic economic orbit or becoming more attached to the U.K. economic orbit or seeking a rapprochement with the Casablanca states.

VI. - CONCLUSION

The Accra Conference of Afris can States (1958) set up the first. all African platform directed against imperialism and towards African unity and rennaissance. At Addis Ababa (1960) two trends the radical anti-colonialist and the collaboration with colonialsmi - emerged. The radical trend crystallised into the "Casablanca Group" of state hy January, 1961. By January 1962 at the Lagos Conference, the second trend crystallised into the "Monrovia Group" of states.

The first Casablanca platform is the logical development of the spirit and decisions of the First Accra Conference of Independent African States, The Second Monrovia platform is largely the handwork of imperialism in its desperate attempt to defend its position against the onslaught prepared (and launched) on it by the First Accra Conference of Independent African States Imperialism had succeded in in creating for its use a front of Independent African Stattes.

But through this polarisation of the independent African states the African revolution has been carried to a new and higher stage. Today the Casablanca Bloc rallies behind it all national liberation movements in the colonial territories as well as all the radical (socialist) progressive forces within the states of the Monrovia Group in a mighty continental struggle against the forces of colonialism and neo-colonialism working through the independent African states of the Monrovia Group and helped by the conservative (counter-revolutionary) forces within the independent states of the Casablanca Group.

How is the African revolution to be pushed forward? Along what lines will it unfold? Broadly, the African revolution will will move forward along four clearly discernible but closely interwoven lines.

Firstly, the remaining colonial territories will achieve freedom through the development of thier national liberation movements backed by moral, material and diplomatic support of independent African states.

Secondly, the independent states of the Monrovia Group will combat neo-colonialism and move towards complete independence in the political as well as the economie, administrative, and military spheres. In this fight. the main driving force shall be the radical, popular movements within these states.

Thirdly, the independent states of the Casablanca Group will further consolidate their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity by destroying the socio-economic base of couter-revolution within their nation and the total reconstruction of their national economy and na-. tional economy and national life in the general direction of socialism. The main driving force here are the workers and farmers.

Fourthly, all independent African states shall move towards continental co-operation and union on a basis more Casablanca that Monrovia in character. For while the Casablanca formula represents total emancipation for Africa, the Monrovia formula represents cotinued influence and control over Africa by non-African powers. The rapprochement between the Casablanca and Monrovia states should be achieved. But it must be achieved on the basis of the total liquidation of colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination. To achieve it on any other basis means the defeat of the African revolution.

The World's Richest Continent

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or beneath the bed clothes ranges between the middle sixties and the lower eighties Fahrenheit.

Comparative studies of temperatures in all parts of the world have shown that in no continent are temperatures ranging between 66 and 82 degrees Fahrenheit more consistently maintained than in much of the African tropics and sub-tropics. Particularly is this true of the highland areas of tropical Africa, where because of the great altitude the mean monthly and mean annual temperature ranges between the middle sixties and the middle seventies Fahrenheit from season to season and year to year.

And here, too, it should be mentioned that in the arable areas, which constitute the greater part of these highland regions, the annual rainfall ranges from about 23 inches at Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia to 62 inches at Yaounde in the Cameroons. What is equally important is the fact that most of the rain falls during the growing sea-son in "spring" and "summer" months when the plants can make the maximum use of it.

The only notable exceptions to to this general rule is in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia and in the Union of South Africa where most of the rain comes, as in much of Southern Europe and the highlands [of Western Asia, in the winter months when the plants can use it the least. Generally speaking it requires a minimum of 20 inches of rain each year to ensure proper] growth of most cultivated crops and the greater part of the tropical African highands have, as has been noted a good deal more-than this.

The tropical and sub-tropical quate to plentiful rainfall and generosity toward the continent.

abundant sunshine total altogether betweeen 2 million and 3 million square miles and they have been aptly called the "lands of eternal spring," for there plants grow, flowers bloom and birds sing throughout the year.

Because of the intensity of the actinic rays of sunlight at high altitudes, it is true that certain human types, who have lost most of their pigment since their ancestors left the tropics many thousands of years ago, often find it difficult to accommodate themselves, for physiological reasons, to the genia climate of these salubrious lands.

For those inhabitants of these and other regions who have how ever retained sufficient pigment to screen out or tone down and regulate the chemical effects of the abundant and powerful actinic rays there are no larger and more potentially ideal amounts of living space to be found elsewhere on the face of the earth.

A few glances at the following chart will provide some specific evidence of the manner in which nature has blessed these well-watered and strongly sun-kissed lands which will be the ultimate heritage of those who are physically and physiologically equipped to claim and maintain these potentially unrivalled preserves of earthly paradise as their own.

Although the temperature range of the low-land areas of Africa's six and a half million square miles of arable land does average about 10 degrees Fahrenheit higher than what European and American investigators regard as the ideal for human comfort, most of the inhabitants of long-standing in these regions seem on the whole to be comfortable enough. Be that as it may, these regions share in all African highlands with their ade- other respects nature's exceptional

In none of the other great land masses of the earth are storms of the catastrophically destructive type, such as hurricanes and typhoons, less frequent; and devastating earthquakes-very much fewer than in any other continent-very seldom occur. In addition to these natural advantages and nature's other special gifts that have been already taken into account, attention may also be called to the fact that specialists have found that Africa has more land which is climatically suited to the production of more of the many types of plants, including trees that are useful to man than has any other continent.

Because of its wide variety of climatic conditions and types of soil, it has been said of Africa with a good deal of truth, that almost any plant that will grow can be grown somewhere in the continent. Among Africa's chief advantages in these respects are the vast regions blessed annually with 20 or more inches of rainfall; the continent's wide distribution of abundant and effective sunlight throughout the year; the practically endless growing season; and the almost total absence everywhere of the blighting effects of winter's cold:

AFRICA'S WEALTH IN CROPS

Spelling out a bit more fully the implications of some of the observations, it may be remarked that recent investigations by botanists and agriculturists and workers in related fields have revealed that the great majority of plants cease to grow, or grow very slowly-even when the ground temperatures drop below 40 degrees or exceed 98.6 degrees Fahrenheit.

It has been further shown that warm season crops, such as sugarcane, cotton, coffee, cocoa, rubber, rice and palm oil plants, grow best in temperatures ranging from 64.8 degrees to 98.6 degrees. Fahrenheit; while even cool season crops, such as wheat, oats, barley, and rye, grow best in temperatures ranging from 60 degrees .to 87.8 degrees Fahrenheit.

In no part of the world, as has already been indicated, is the

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known as the optimum growth temperatures—for both warm and maintained over so large an area than in the great African continent.

With assured temperatures favourable_to so many crops it is not surprising that Africa is now and long has been the world's chief producer of such warm season crops as cocoa, palm oil, cloves, cola nuts, gum arabic, kapok, sisal, pyrethrum, whitewoods and certain mahoganies, and is capable of rapidly becoming one of the world's major areas for the primary production of cotton, rubber, bananas, sugar cane, pineapples, peanuts and citrus fruits.

It needs hardly be remarked that with two or three exceptions, none of these crops can be commercially produced in any country lying beyond the sub-tropical limits of the temperate zone; and for this reason must be imported, if they are to be had, from Africa or some other tropical or sub-tropical clime.

With respect to the minerals that are of most use and value to man, Nature has also bestowed many of such products on the African continent with a generous hand-it would indeed appear that in no other continent has nature been even half as kind.

For it is true that recent mineralogical surveys would seem to indicate that Africa has the world largest known reserves of diamonds, gold. cobalt, columbite, vanadium, vermiculite, tantalum, beryllium, and phosphate rock; and although the evidence is, as of now, somewhat less certain, it would appear that the same is probably true for uranium, copper, manganese, high-grade bauxite, the platinum metals, asbestos and highgrade iron ore. Recent discoveries in Uganda, the Katanga and elsewhere tend to indicate that tin and lithiumthe lightest of metals-should be added to the latter list.

AFRICA - 42 PER CENT OF WORLD'S POTENTIAL HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER

· Of considerable significance in this same connection is the fact that recent surveys have revealed that

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of producing vast quantities of hydroelectric power by which many cool season crops more consistently of Africa's minerals can be most effectively processed.

> For it is true that although Africawhen the desert and semi-desert regions are excluded — constitutes only about 4 per cent of the earth's land surface, it possesses nevertheless; according to latest estimates, about 42 per cent of the world's potential hydroelectric power. This is nearly twice as much as Asia's potential and substantially more than that of North America, Europe, Australia and South America combined.

Here it may be noted in passing that in 1948 what was them known as French Equatorial Africa and the French Cameroons combined were estimated to have more potential hydroelectric power than Canada, Mexico and the United States put together; while that of the Belgian Congo, with Burundi and Rwanda added, exceeded the combined total for China, U. S. S. R., in Asia, India and Pakistan.

According to the same estimates Ethiopia's potential was approximately the same as that of France and the same was true of Liberia; while the horsepower potential of Nigeria; and the British Cameroons exceeds that of France, Germany and Great Britain combined.

By exploiting effectively these vast reserves of potential hydroelectric power, which are located almost without exception in close proximity to vast mineral and forest reserves, it will be possible to develop in tropical Africa a whole series of electrometallurgical and electro-chemical industries which could specialize in the processing of aluminium, manganese, ferro-silicon, phosphorus, silicon carbide, magnesium, woodpulp and a host of other mineral and vegetable products which could serve well not only Africa's needs. but the needs of the world at large.

It was, no doubt, just such facts as have been here passed in hurried review that the late Carveth Wellsa distinguished English publicist ---- in order to ensure preferential had in mind when he summed up

temperature - range - technically tropical Africa is potentially capable some years ago his estimate of the wealth would play in the world of the future.

> Writing in this connection, he observes that "with her vast resources, both developed and undeveloped, there is every reason to expect Africa to become an industrial continent able not only to build great industries almost entirely upon her own resources, but to become as well the greatest exporter of raw materials in the world".

It is hardly necessary to remark that Carveth Wells has not been alone in recognizing the significance of 'nature's exceptional generosity to the African continent, nor has such recognition been without farreaching influence on the national policy of many countries.

Nowhere have such developments been more pronounced than in those great industrial nations in the temperate zone where climatic limitations and niggardliness of nature made it possible for them to procure within their own boundaries certain of the more important vegetable and mineral products upon which their national economies have been largely built, and which are indispensable to the maintenance of their traditional ways of life.

Particularly is this true of the industrial nations of Western Europe. In all of these countries such basic and strategic minerals as gold, copper, cobalt, columbium, chromite, tin and industrial diamonds are either very scarce or entirely absent. And the same is true of such vegetable products as coffee, cocoa, cane sugar, rubber, cotton, sisal, gum arabic and most of the vegetable oils upon which the food supplies and certain industrial activities of most of these nations so largely depend.

Once it was realised that all of these products - vegetable and mineral alike — were either already abundantly present in Africa or could be produced there in almost limitless amounts, the industrial nations of Western Europe access to these products, lost no

deemed necessary to bring and keep tropical Africa within the orbit of effective European control.

With a frankness that was rather uncommon in most bearers. of "the whiteman's burden" in backward countries," Lord Lugard --one of Britain's ablest empire builders — did not consider it amiss to acknowledge publicly that-Europe's alleged "civilizing mission" in Africa was motivated more by economic need than by humanitarian zeal.

It was, Lord Lugard declared, the realization of the fact that "the tropics produce in abundance types of raw materials, and food. stuffs which cannot be grown in temperate zone ... and which are the essential to civilization. . . which led the nations of Europe to compete for the African tropics.'

Some slight measure of the extent to which Western peoples were benefiting until quite recently from the exploitation of Africa's vast resources may be gleaned from the fact that, during the ten-year period between 1945 and 1955, foreign firms in what was then the Belgian Congo exported from

time in taking such steps as were that country alone literally hundreds of natural products, chief among which were:

Evaluation Exports \$904.640,000 Copper 720,200,000 Rubber 315,180,000 Cotton Palm Oil 260,600,000 241.160.000 Coffee 197.040.000 Tin 127,860,000 Diamonds 6,780,000 Ivorv

Total \$2,773,460,000

During the six-year period between 1946 and 1951, the profits (not gross income) and dividends derived by Western peoples who were in control of gold production were as follows:

Year	Profits	Dividen
1946	\$131,640,000	\$67,030,0
1947	107,150,000	57,425,0
1948	118,950,000	67,095,0
1949	169,745,000	86,970,0
1950	154,602,000	74,097,0
1951	132,471,000	68,361,0
TT it	might he ren	norked th

Here it might be remarked that the wages of African wo kers in countries controlled by Europeans averaged between 1945 and 1955, according to country and occupation, between \$50 and

THE CLARION CALLS

Countinued from page 14

to find allies among the African intelligentsia for the protection and

The grant to Africans of some places on the boards of directors of foreign corporations, or of managerial positions in the branches or departments of such enterprises as Barclay's Bank or UAC, in not to be interpreted as any advance toward African economic independence. It is rather a move in the opposite direction. The real interest of the emerging National bourgeoi-

can society for positions of prestige sie in African countries is not in - a full account of their business intein their African coloration to the mere participation as junior partimperialist apparatus of economic ners in the operations of the impeexploitation and at the same time rialist exploiters, but rather in the displacement of this enemy so that African-controlled enterprises servperservation of imperialist interests. ing African interests can develop and thrive.

> Still another danger to unity in the anti-imperialist struggle - arises from the tendency towards the development of a bureaucracy of government functionaries occupying a privileged positions above and apart from the African masses in the newly independent states.

President Nkrumah merits the thanks not only of Ghanaians but house. One man one car".

\$200 a year.

There are still a number of writers in the metropolitan countries of the rapidly disintegrating colonial empires who persist - wittingly or unwittingly and for one reason or another - in contending, after the manner of Hugh Murray in 1834, that Africa is a poor and drought-ridden continent with a doubtful future.

It is true that until a few years ago the African - rather than Africa — was poor and had a doubtful future; but he has taken and is taking steps which are changing the circumstances which made him poor in what Carveth Wells and Sir Harry Johnston in the Union of South Africa acknowledged to be the "richest continent in the world". And too, despite what others may say the Africans at large are beginning to learn, as their leaders long have known, that Africa, regardless of its limitations - for it does have some ! - is not only Nature's most favoured but mankind's most promising continent.

This is most important, for it is what the Africans themselves think about their continent which will matter most for all humanity in the future.

of all Africans for the praiseworthy courage and forthrightness of his public and direct assault on this problem in Ghana last April. Leaders of the Convention People's Party, whether holding government office or not, were directed to give rests and assets, and the cars, houses, and land owned by them. A tribunal was appointed to examine the reports. Government ministers were to have no dealings with any business interests, and to dispose of any investment holdings.

Nkrumah warned against ostentatious living as being inconsistent with the Party's aims of "building a socialist pattern of society". Ghanaians cheered when, paraphrasing the political slogan of the nationalists of Kenva and Rhodesia, he declared that the limit on the property acquisitions of government and party officials should be "One man, one

There are other independent similar stern measures toward stopping the growth of a privileged governmental hierarchy are equally if not more urgently needed. Govern-ment in the public interest and not for personal gain must be the watchword everywhere. Official corruption always keeps company with imperialist intrigue and national discord.

The achievement of complete decolonization, the final liquidation of imperialist domination, requires consistent, unremitting, uncompro-mising struggle of all the people of a nation. There must be effective participation of those sections of the African population which, above all, require total victory over imperialist enslavement, the labouring masses of workers and peasants. Wherever this part of the nation is relegated to a passive and subordinate role in determining and implementing national policy, there is likely to be compromise and indecision instead of a firm and resolute stand against the imperialist enemy.

The trade unions and farmers organizations must make their contributions to the solutions of national tasks. Only when there is an active participation of the working masses in this way can there be certainty that the interests and needs of all sections of the population are being served by government. Only then can there be a genuine functioning unity of all forces in the nation toward achieving total decolonization and full independence, economic as well as political.

NATIONAL UNITY AND SOLIDARITY

NO African nation today can be an island by itself. Its independence, partial or complete, risks being swept away until the last country in Africa is liberated from colonialism and foreign domination. Solidarity is the sword for achieving this

African states besides Ghana where defending it. Who will forge and wield the sword, and who will hold high the shield ? First and foremost, those who have the greatest stake in winning and preserving their freedom, Africa's toiling millions.

Divided by territorial boundaries created solely for the colonialists' own convenience, but sharing a common historical experience, common needs, common aspirations, the African masses instinctively know that unity means strength and progress. But they are being betrayed by certain of their government leaders some of whom are more the sons of France than they are of Africa, and others of whom take their orders from Washington, etc. Themselves unable to make any important decision for their own countries without the prior approval of their masters, these "spokes-men" talk of guarding the "sovereignty" of the newly independent states. Such a view is naturally applauded in neo-colonialist circles. It fits in neatly with plans for the Balkanization of Africa, for fostering division rivalries and suspicions in the continent, thus keeping it weak and captive.

The defeat of these plans depends upon the subordination of the individual sovereignties of the various states to a higher collective sovereignty of all Africa so that there can be a united front of resistance to the common enemy of all imperialism.

Are the traitors of the Congo accountable only to the people of the Congo? Or are they not rather the traitors of all Africa ? And are not the martyrs of Algeria, or Angola, or South Africa also the martyrs of all Africa? The individual country in Africa has obligations toward all the other countries of the continent, and all have collective obligations toward each one.

The African child knows that his growing up in the tribe means giv- Africa in history :

CHORUS :

Our star doth rise, our freedom comes

As surely as the sun that shines;

Let us all speak for our Africa !

And Africa is ours at last.

... The silent drums must echo now . The drums doth beat, O... unite

total liberation and the shield for ing up some part of his freedom for the interests of the whole group. The clans and tribes in turn must yield on their authority so that the arising nations may function properly as a unit. And now history demands the further step forward All-African Unity.

Economic and social advancement demands it. This is not only the internal problem of each country. All must work together in developing and sharing new transport, communications, and hydro-electric power systems, as well as new cooperative arrangements for their own utilization of the continent's resources and the efficient marketing of what is produced beyond their own needs. This must be Africa's answer to the European Common Market and other Eurafrica schemes designed to perpetuate the old colonial economic relationship.

When the heads of state hold their councils, let them come bearing the mandate of the youth, the women, the peasants, and the workers of their country. And let them also be accountable to the people of their countries for making the decisions collectively agreed upon meaningfully by action to implement them.

It has been truly said that the future of Africa belongs to no one man, however great his name. nor to any one group of men, but to the African peoples, who will be the makers of their own history.

Today the future of our Africa is in the balance. The peoples in those states which have gained political independence have it in their power to make it a future of accomplishment and greatness, they must close their ranks, stand united, and maintain the battle for the final victory over imperialism.

Now is the time of decision. And as we decide, let us listen to and understand the meaning of the "chorus" of the current and future

WHY AFRICA FREEDOM DAY?

A speech by Mr. A. K. Barden, Director of Bureau of African Affairs, Accra. Ghana on the 5th Anniversary of Africa Freedom Day, 15th April 1963.

I is Africa Freedom Day. Activities will be organised throughont Africa and among African communities elsewhere in the world to mark this day. And the people of Ghana, who have always been in the front ranks of the African Army of liberation, will be expected to pause a while and ponder on the meaning, the significance and the conditions of freedom for Africa.

The decision to celebrate the 15th of April every year as Africa Freedom Day was taken at the First Conference of Independent States which took place here in Accra from April 15th to April 22nd, 1958. It is embodied in Resolution No. 2 on the "Future of the Dependent Territories in Africa". All the independent African States at the time, with the exception of the apartheid regime of South Africa, took part in the Conference. These were Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, United Arab Republic, Morocco and Ghana. And despite their differing social and economic orientations.

TODAY the 15th of April their decisions were unanimous and have provided a dynamic force whose effects have been felt in all the corners of the world.

Principles of Significance

This historic conference saw freedom as rebirth of the entire African continent. Accordingly, it laid down, in this regard, a few principles of far-reaching significance. The key principles are:-

(i) The existence of colonialism in any shape or form is a threat to the security and independence of African States; (ii) Colonialism is a threat

to world peace; (iii) It is the duty of the United Nations and of all independent African States to fight for the freedom of all African territories still under colonial rule.

Accordingly, the 1958 First Conference of Independent that the independent African mic blocs to which some

States should give all possible assistance to the dependent peoples in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence

Since these epoch-making decisions were taken in April 1958, the face of Africa has undergone a profound transformation. By 1960, that is, only two years after the conference, the number of independent African States had risen from eight to thirty-two. This was due largely to the impact of the Accra decisions and to the setting up of the All-African Peoples' Conference in December 1958, on which platform freedom fighters from all over Africa were brought together, and assisted in the struggle against colonialism.

The Enemy

The common enemy-imperialism and colonialism-has continued to fight for the preservation of its privileges. It has used various methods ---some open and direct. others covert and outflanking. It has granted conditional independence to several countries and thus retained its control over these countries' economy, defence and hence foreign policy. In the colonial territories, it has fanned the flames of sectionalism, used arms against defenceless populations and generally subjected freedom fighters to torture, victimasation, imprisonment and even death. It has organised and financed the assassination of militant African nationalists. It has Africa States recommended created discriminatory econo-

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Arise, aware, sleep no more !

The star is seen, the arm of truth

Doth ring alarm for the race,

African States are tied hand and foot. It has spared no effort in its drive to obstruct. and defeat any moves towards African Unity. To this end it has unleashed a campaign of character assassination and makes unscrupulous appeal to national sentiment.

Despite all this, the African The Principal Themes revolution grinds on inexorably. Huge gaps have been blasted in the defence system of colonialism in Kenya and the Central African Federation which soon will be no more. The enemy has suffered severe losses in Zanzibar, Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea. The mounting pressure of the nationalists in South Africa is now temporarily contained through a resort to increased State expenditure on arms and the armed forces.

Rededication

Today, Africa Freedom Day is an occasion for rededication, an occasion for renewed resolve on the part of Africa's heroic soldiers not. to lay down their arms until the last square inch of African soil is free of colonial rule. We must show even greater patriotism, loyalty and devotion than hitherto. We must know that victimisation is the necessary concomitant of our struggle to be free. We must increase the tempo of our onward march by getting rid of those failings that retard our pro-gress. And the deadliest among these are tribalism and the cult of personality.

Today, the battle for Afri- any quarter on this contica's freedom is being fought nent or any breathin g on two planes. In the depen- space is certainly not wanted dent territories, the fight is for self-government. In the of the 5th anniversary of independent States the fight is for complete independence all resolve to fight for conand, more particularly, for economic freedom.

These two distinct but related struggles will constitute the principal themes at the forthcoming Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of State and Heads of Government. At Addis Ababa, we all hope to create a single united platform for Africa out of the three existing ones -Casablanca, Monrovia and Malagasy groups. We demand this continental unity because the tasks that lie ahead can only be solved through such unity. We demand such continental approach to the problems of economic reconstruction and economic freedom. We need a continental approach to the problem of liberating those parts of Africa still under colonial rule. We need a continental approach to the complicated and vexed problem of apartheid. And such a continental approach can only be pursued by a monolithic organisation of continental dimensions divorced of myopic nationalism.

Africa needs only that unity will make Africa totally independent of the control -open or concealed-of imperialism. Unity that gives imperialism or colonialism

by Africa. On the occasion African Freedom Day, let us tinental African Unity which is thoroughly and militantly anti-imperialism.

Down with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism!

Long live a free and United Africa!



WESTERN INFLUENCE

CONGO IN

WHATEVER the West-ern Camp may say and however much Mr. U Thant may try to justify U.N. action in the Congo, it is abundantly clear that the World Organisation has; to put it in the Osagyefo's own words, shown vacilation and lack of resolution.

We demand, here again, that Tshombe must be hanged.

The following full text of a letter sent by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana to U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations in reply to U Thant's floodlights a clean confusion in U.N. Secretariat.

"Dear Secretary-General,

I thank you for your reply to my recent message to you. I note that you say you have read the very letter with deep concern, but you are sure that I

is in the United Nations Secretariat.

For example you say in your letter to me: "moreover the Central (lovernment at the time Mr. Tshombe was permitted to return to Elisabethville and to his responsibilities, had not and has not yet taken any action against Mr. Tshombe."

In fact as long as the 8th and 9th September 1961, the two chambers of the Congolese Parliament authorised his arrest. You say "There is no warrant for his arrest". In fact a warrant was issued by the then appropriate officer Adrien de Loof of the Parquet General at Leopoldville on charges against him; there is no legal process concerning him." In fact Tshombe was charged with sedition, murder, arbitrary arrests serious allegations in my and bodily torture under article 43, 44, 67, 180, 189, 192, and 193, of the Congolese penal code. United there is any misinforma- out their promise. This tion or misunderstanding it failure is responsible for active steps to see that the

the subsequent delay in settling the Katanga problem for the unfortunate loss of life which has since occurred and the great expense . occasioned in the protracted operations which have since been necessary.

The history of this sorry affair is another example of the vacillation and lack of resolution in the Secretariat's handling of the Congo situation about which I complained to you in my message of the 11th Ja-nuary, Paragraph 4 of the Security Council's resolution of 21st February 1961 is as follows:

"The Security Council decides that an immediate and impartial investigation be held in order to ascertain the circumstances of the death of Mr. Lumumba and his colleaques and that the perpetrators of these crimes be punished."

In accordance with the Security council decision. an impartial investigation was held by an Internation-9th September 1961. You al Commission of Jurists say "There are no formal acting under the authority of the United Nations. This commission named Tshombe, Munongo and Kibwe as being directly concerned in the assassination of Mr. Lumumba and his colleagues.

The resolution of the Sewere it not for either Nations authorities in the curity Council thus imposes misunderstanding on my Congo agreed to execute an obligation on all member part. I am afraid that if warrant but failed to carry states including the Repu-

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perpetrators of these murders are brought to trial which proposes fundamental and if convicted, punished. I trust that you will bring this point forcefully to the attention of the Government of the Congo.

amnesty or pardon. An which prevented the bringing to trial and the punishment of those responsible. for Mr. Lumumba's murder would be a clear violation of a resolution of the Security Council. I feel I must add that it is not for the Secretariat to pick and choose and decide which resolution of the Security Conncil it will enforce and which it will ignore.-

If it is your view that the Security council resolution of 21st February is now no longer appropriate, then it seems to me your clear duty is to invite the Security Council to rescind it. Short of a rcversal by the Security Council of their previous decision I_{\downarrow} do not consider that the Secretariat has any excuse for refraining from taking all possible active steps to see that the resolution is implemented.

You further say in your letter to me: We are not however in Katanga or elsewhere in the Congo intervening in internal political affairs and we have no intention of so doing, for that would be entirely bevond our mandate." I am in complete agreement with your views on this point and therefore I regret that your name should have man of the provincial adbeen associated with the so-

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called "U"Thant Plan' constitutional changes for the Republic of Congo.

I consider that there is extreme danger in the United Nations attempting to put forward what the Secretariat, and those whose advice it accepts, consider to be a suitable constitution for Congo. This in my opinion, is entirely a matter for the Congolese people and Government.

They should be given the itmost liberty to choose whatever form of constitution seems best to them. To use the United Nations for the purpose of forcing a federal constitution upon the Congo is, I should have thought, far beyond any mandate or resolution of any United Nations Organ.

letter to me that the United Nations Secretariat have never at any time dealt with Mr. Tshombe in his capacity as the so-called president of the illegal sta- protected in office as prote of Katanga but have always dealt with him as the legitimate President of the province of Katanga, infact the way in which he is even today being treated is entirely different from the way in which the United Nations authorities deal with the other provincial administrations in the Congo.

Despite the fact that Tshombe was elected Chairministration of Katanga

there are three valid reasons why the United Nations should have no further dealings with him in that or in any other capacity.

The first reason is that Tshombe and his Provincial Government stand in the judgement of a United Nations Organ, under the gravest suspicion of having murdered the Prime Minister of the Congo, Patrice Lumumba, at whose invitation the United Nations came to the Congo.

The Second reason is that this Provincial Chairman and his Council have three times levied war against United Nations forces, as well as engaging in continual hostilities against the forces of the Central Government and loval Congolese citizens throughout Katanga.

The third reason is that While you say in your Tshombe and his Provincial Council have a record of consistently repudiating, whenever convenient, all agreements entered into by: them, so that if they are vincial authorities they will certainly in their own time, whatever they say now, renew their secessionist activities. ·---

For all these reasons the only correct policy with regard to Tshombe and his accomplices is to detain them, pending their being brought to trial before the appropriate judicial authorities in accordance with the resolution of 21st February.

> Yours Sincerely, KWAME NKRUMAH.