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AFRICAN

ISM

A SHORT POLITICAL GUIDE

REVISED EDITION

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PAN-AFRICANISM

A SHORT POLITICAL GUIDE

REVISED EDITION



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PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION

I concluded the first edition of this book with the following observation: 'Nowhere in this book have I made any claims about Pan-Africanism. I have tried to describe it as objectively as I can. I have no views of my own about whether it will succeed or fail in the end. I am more concerned at this stage to understand it, to be "with it" (in the modern phrase), than to pass judgments on it. That it is a dynamic movement nobody can deny. That it is evolving new ideas and methods with great rapidity is plain. But who can say with any degree of confidence where it will lead?'

Although much has happened since that edition appeared, I have no reason to revise that open-ended conclusion. Pan-Africanism has maintained its dynamism and its flexibility. Its fortunes have fluctuated with a rapidity that has made keeping pace with them difficult, let alone attempting to make durable evaluations of them. As one concerned primarily with contemporary history I do not regard it useful at this stage to attempt a serious evaluation of the episodes I record. This is not the same as saying that I have adopted an uncritical attitude in the way I have recorded the growth of Pan-Africanist ideas and movements. However, I have tried to avoid taking sides between the rival leaders and the contesting ideas and viewpoints within the Pan-African movement.

'Fission and Fusion'—Chapter VIII of this new edition—is a record of developments between 1962 and 1964. I have found it more convenient to adopt this method than to revise each section. The only important exception is Chapter V—'Africa's Divided Workers'—which my wife has made more comprehensive.

Finally, to avoid an unhandy expansion of the book I have omitted a number of appendices: 'The Idea of an African Personality' (extracts from an address by Dr. Edward W. Blyden), Chief Awolowo's 'Statement on African Affairs', and Dr. Azikiwe's address, 'The Future of Pan-Africanism'. Students interested in these documents will be able to refer to them in library copies of the first edition. In their place I have introduced four new appendices: the

Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, the OAU Protocol on Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, the principal resolutions of the first summit meeting of African Heads of State at Addis Ababa, 1963, and those of the first Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU, Cairo, 1964.

COLIN LEGUM

London.
November, 1964

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This book is dedicated to the work of the Africa Bureau.

In an abbreviated form it was delivered as the Africa Bureau's 1961 Annual Address. I am grateful to the Chairman, Lord Hemingford, and to the Executive for agreeing that the Address should be published in this expanded form.

The book is in two parts; the first might be more readable, but the second is more useful. In the first part I have tried to trace briefly the origins and growth of Pan-Africanism, and its subsequent impact on Africa after its transplantation in 1958.

In the second part I have provided a documentary guide to Pan-Africanism, the absence of which I personally have felt to be a great handicap in the past. This is only a start; much more work requires to be done by our academic colleagues who have so far largely neglected this field of study.

Although I must accept sole responsibility for the views expressed in this book, I am nevertheless greatly indebted to Dr. George Shepperson of Edinburgh University, and Professor St. Clair Drake of Roosevelt University, Chicago, for having read and criticised this work at various stages; to Mr. Harold R. Isaacs of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose studies on Negro literature have been particularly valuable to me in a field in which he has done so much work and of which I know comparatively little. Finally I must mention my wife who has worked almost as hard as I have in revising the manuscript and who wrote the chapter on 'Africa's Divided Workers'.

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION	5
PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION	6
CHAPTER I THE ROOTS OF PAN-AFRICANISM	13
CHAPTER II GROWTH IN THE DIASPORA, 1900-1958	24
CHAPTER III BACK TO AFRICA, 1958-1962	38
CHAPTER IV AFRICAN REGROUPINGS	65
CHAPTER V AFRICA'S DIVIDED WORKERS	81
CHAPTER VI CULTURE AND POLITICS: THE RIFT IN THE LYRE OF BLACK ORPHEUS	93
CHAPTER VII MODERN POLITICAL IDEAS	112
CHAPTER VIII FISSION AND FUSION, 1962-1964	131
APPENDICES	151
REFERENCES	309
INDEX	317

A map by W. H. Bromage indicating some of the groupings mentioned in the text will be found on pages 70-71.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT

AAPC	All-African Peoples' Conference
AAPO	All-African Peoples' Organisation
AATUF	All-African Trade Union Federation
AEF	Afrique Equatoriale Française
AFRO	African Regional Organisation
AOF	Afrique Occidentale Française
ATUC	African Trade Union Confederation
CGTA	Confédération Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique
FLN	National Liberation Front (Algeria)
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ICTUF	International Federation of Christian Trade Unions
ILO	International Labour Organisation
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OAC	Organisation for African Community
OAMCE	Afro-Malagasy Organisation of Economic Co-operation
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAFMECA	Pan-African Movement for East and Central Africa
PAFMECSA	Pan-African Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa
RDA	Rassemblement Democratique Africain
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organisation
UAR	United Arab Republic
UAS	Union of African States
UGTAN	Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UPA	Union of the Peoples of Angola
UPC	Union of the Peoples of the Cameroons
UPS	Union Progressiste Senegalaise
USSR	<i>see</i> Soviet Union
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions

APPENDICES

	<i>Page</i>
1. The Pan-African Congress, <i>Paris, 1919</i>	151
2. The Pan-African Congress, <i>Manchester, 1945</i>	153
3. The Bandung Declaration, <i>1955</i>	156
4. The First Conference of Independent African States, <i>Accra, 1958</i>	157
5. The Second Conference of Independent African States, <i>Addis Ababa, 1960</i>	167
6. Declaration of the Ghana-Guinea Union, <i>1959</i>	178
7. The Sanniquellie Declaration, <i>1959</i>	180
8. Statement on the Sanniquellie Declaration by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, <i>1961</i>	182
9. The Monrovia Conference of Foreign Ministers of Independent African States, <i>1959</i>	183
10. Extracts from the Statement by the Ghana Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Hon. Ako Adjei, at the Second Conference of Independent African States, <i>1960</i>	188
11. Extracts from the Statement of the Leader of the Nigerian Delegation, the Hon. Y. M. Sule, at the Second Conference of Independent African States, <i>1960</i>	190
12. Declaration by Ghana-Guinea-Mali, <i>1960</i>	193
13. The Brazzaville Declaration, <i>1960</i>	194
14. Charter for "The Union of African States", <i>1961</i>	201
15. The Casablanca Conference, <i>1961</i>	205
16. The Protocol of the African Charter, <i>1961</i>	211
17. The Monrovia Conference, <i>1961</i>	216

APPENDICES

	<i>Page</i>
18. African Conference on the Rule of Law, <i>Lagos, 1961</i>	220
19. First Conference of Negro Writers and Artists, <i>Paris, 1956</i>	230
20. Second Conference of Negro Writers and Artists, <i>Rome, 1959</i>	232
21. The All-African Trade Union Federation, <i>1961</i>	239
22. The All-African Peoples Conference, <i>1958-61</i>	241
23. Charter of the Organisation of African Unity	281
24. Protocol of the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration	288
25. Resolutions of the Summit Conference of Independent African States, <i>Addis Ababa, May 1963</i>	294
26. Resolutions of the First Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity, <i>Cairo, 1964</i>	303

PAN-AFRICANISM

A short political guide

CHAPTER I

THE ROOTS OF PAN-AFRICANISM

Among the persistent misconceptions of our times is that 'one never knows what goes on in the African's mind'. It is an attitude that unfortunately tells us more about Europeans—especially about those who have lived most of their lives in Africa—than it does about Africans. Europeans have become conditioned to thinking about Africa in European terms; and, of course, in terms of European interests. This is as true of Europeans in the West as of those in the East; a point neatly illustrated at a recent conference in Cairo by Mr. Tom Mboya.

'We find,' he said, 'that both Westerners and Russians look at Africans through the same pair of glasses: the one lens is marked pro-West; the other pro-Communist. It is not surprising that, looking at Africans in this way, most foreigners fail to understand the one great reality about our continent—that Africans are neither pro-West nor pro-Russian; they are pro-African.'

It is a remarkably simple point—once it is grasped. But until then we will continue to read and, no doubt, people who write top-level secret documents, will continue to write, about 'pro-Communist Gizenga'; 'pro-Western Kasavubu', 'anti-British Nasser', 'pro-British Nigeria'; and all the other variations on this theme—the 'moderate' African leaders (meaning those who are for 'us'), or the 'extremists' (those who are against 'us').

There is, of course, nothing new or remarkable about such an egocentric approach, but as applied to contemporary Africa it helps to explain why leaders 'typed' in cold war terms appear to behave inconsistently. What is 'pro-Moscow' Colonel Nasser doing attacking the Russians? Why has 'anti-Western' Sékou Touré asked the Americans to provide dollars for Guinea's new hydro-electric project? Only when we are able to accept that African leaders, for the first time in their history, feel free to shop and trade for imports and exports, as well as for loans and ideas, in any zone of Europe or in any part of the world will we be able to avoid the mistake of attributing ulterior motives to them; and thus avoid acting stupidly for fear that they are going over to the 'wrong side'.

This casting aside by Africans of subservience to foreign masters in all forms, and their confident assertion that African interests are paramount, are expressions—perhaps even the fullest expression—of Pan-Africanism. But although it is possible to talk about the way Pan-Africanism *expresses* itself, it is not so easy to give a concise definition of this relatively new recruit to the world's political vocabulary. Pan-Africanism has come to be used by both its protagonists and its antagonists as if it were a declaration of political principles. It is not.

In its practical expression it can be translated into sets of guiding principles: but these could, and often do, vary greatly—as much, perhaps, as the four Socialist Internationals have varied in proclaiming their understanding of socialism; which does not, of course, invalidate socialist ideas any more than the development of different schools of African thinking invalidates Pan-Africanism.

Emotions of the Black World

It is essentially a *movement of ideas and emotions*; at times it achieves a synthesis; at times it remains at the level of thesis and antithesis. In one sense Pan-Africanism can be likened to socialism; in another sense it can be likened to World Federation, Atlantic Union or Federal Europe; each allows for great scope of interpretation in its practical application. And yet, in its deepest sense, Pan-Africanism is different from all these movements in that it is exclusive. Its closest parallel perhaps is Zionism. In 1919 Dr. duBois wrote '... The African movement means to us what the Zionist movement must mean to the Jews, the centralisation of race effort and the recognition of a racial fount.'¹

Pan-Africanism began not in the 'homeland' but in the diaspora. Zionism had its origins in Central and Eastern Europe; Pan-Africanism had its in the New World. It developed through what Dr. Shepperson described as 'a complicated Atlantic triangle of influences'² between the New World, Europe and Africa. In its early phase—the middle of the nineteenth century up to the turn of the twentieth century—the inhabitants of Africa imbibed these new ideas from their studies mainly in the United States and later in Britain. This seeding process will be described later.

At this point I am not concerned with trying to present either an historical or a comprehensive summary of the numerous political, religious and cultural forces which, in their various ways, were the precursors of the Pan-African movement; my concern is to discover the emotional reactions and drives that produced the nascent

ideas of Pan-Africanism. Thus I have felt free to jump from one century to the other and from one continent to another in quoting writers, poets and preachers to illustrate the underlying unity of emotions and ideas in the black world.

The emotional impetus for its concepts flowed from the experiences of a widely-dispersed people—those of African stock—who felt themselves either physically through dispossession or slavery, or socially, economically, politically and *mentally* through colonialism, to have lost their homeland; with this loss came enslavement, persecution, inferiority, discrimination and dependency. It involved a loss of independence, freedom and dignity. *Dignity*: that majestic magical word in the vocabulary of Pan-Africanists; to regain dignity is the mainspring of all their actions.

Alien and Exile

The intellectual superstructure of Pan-Africanism has meaning only if one constantly reminds oneself that at its roots lie these deep feelings of dispossession, oppression, persecution and rejection. This complex of emotions—‘the alien and exile’ theme³—is one of the primary strands in the growth of Pan-Africanist ideas.

It is typified by Claude McKay’s *Outcast*:*

*For the dim regions whence my fathers came
My spirit, bondaged by the body, longs.
Words felt, but never heard, my lips would frame;
My soul would sing forgotten jungle songs.
I would go back to darkness and to peace.
But the great western world holds me in fee,
And I may never hope for full release
While to its alien gods I bend my knee.
Something in me is lost, forever lost,
Some vital thing has gone out of my heart,
And I must walk the way of life a ghost
Among the sons of earth, a thing apart.
For I was born, far from my native clime,
Under the white man’s menace, out of time.*

Ambivalence Towards the West

Claude McKay’s deservedly famous sonnet is rich in other emotions which reflected and forecast political ideas. There is the ambivalent struggle with ‘the great western world’ from whose fee there is no hope of ever obtaining full release. Africa calls, but

* *Selected Poems of Claude McKay* (Twayne Publishers, New York, 1959-61).

there is no going back; having bent the knee to 'alien gods' he is an inner exile, forever lost—'a ghost', 'a thing apart'. This spirit of ambivalence proclaims the inability of Negroes to disengage themselves from the West, even for those who feel their rootlessness within its society. Here is one of the powerful, romantic internal conflicts which explains the appeal of Garvey's 'Back to Africa' movement. It is a potent emotion, but an impotent political force.

We find the same chord, 'long impotent in me', in Countee Cullen's work;⁴ and much more strongly in Langston Hughes'. Unlike most Negro writers, Hughes has made a pilgrimage to Africa. On his return he wrote :

*We cry among the skyscrapers
As our ancestors
Cried among the palms in Africa
Because we are alone,
It is night,
And we're afraid.*

Black Solidarity

In the poetry of Langston Hughes⁵ we find the strong chords of a third persistent theme—the wish to create a common *identity* between all those of Negro stock,⁶ to establish a greater sense of solidarity and security; to achieve a sense of *oneness*,* a political belonging between the isolated, uprooted communities of the diaspora first with each other and then with Africa.

*We are related—you and I.
You from the West Indies,
I from Kentucky.
We are related—you and I.
You from Africa,
I from these States.
We are brothers—you and I.*

Langston Hughes, himself of mixed descent, is so light of colour

* Later it transpired that this emotional longing for an integral unity between the Negro of the New World and the African is not always practicable; an apparently unbridgeable gulf has grown up between the 'uprooted African' and the continental African. But the emotional impulse towards identification and the attempt to bridge the dualism of being Negro and American and being Negro and African survives powerfully. This is a separate aspect which is discussed in a later chapter.

that he was regarded in Africa as 'a white man'.* But he is deeply colour-conscious.

*I am a Negro:
Black as the night is black,
Black like the depths of my Africa.*

It is when he writes of his *sense* of colour, of blackness, that he expresses what is undoubtedly the dominant theme in Pan-Africanism: the race-consciousness born of colour. This is a theme that runs powerfully in its story of growth.

Feelings of Inferiority

*'Suffer, poor Negro,
Negro, black like grief. . . .'*

In these two lines by the Senegal poet, David Diop, we find all there is to know about the equation between black and grief, suffering and submissiveness. The Jews had, for centuries, kept alive their belief and confidence in themselves by fostering the religious myth of the *Chosen People*; even so, many Jews came to accept the judgment of inferiority passed on them by Gentiles. Negroes, especially those living in the diaspora, had no such biblical myth to sustain them: the extent to which they themselves came to accept the verdict of whites is clearly shown in the extremely valuable studies made by Dr. Harold R. Isaacs⁷ and others⁸ about the way Negro children see themselves, as in this example:

'In the fourth grade, those pictures of the races of man . . . with a handsome guy to represent the whites, an Indian and then a black, kinky-haired specimen—that was me, a savage, a cannibal, he was just the tail end of the human race . . . he was at the bottom. . . . That picture in the book was the picture of where and what I came from. . . .'[†]

Rejection of Inferiority: Pride of Colour

Acceptance of black inferiority in submission to oppression was by no means the only response to a society in which all values were

* Langston Hughes, writing in *The Big Sea* (New York, 1945) says: 'There was one thing that hurt me a lot when I talked with the people. The Africans looked at me and would not believe I was a Negro. You see, unfortunately, I am not black.'

† A significant historical parallel is provided by an Address delivered by Dr. Edward W. Blyden in 1881 in Liberia. (Extracts from this Address were reprinted as Appendix 23 in the first edition of this book.) For a brief biographical note see footnote on p. 20.

European values; least of all in the Caribbean territories. There was both physical and cultural resistance.* The dominant picture, however, was one of adaptation; this took various forms—sometimes it was half-hearted, negative and resentful; slowly it became more creative.

Always there were poets who reflected the bitterness of the black man as the bottom-dog in a white world. But instead of despising their own blackness they extolled it; a natural enough reaction to the idea that all that was black was evil, terrifying and primitive. Negroes were encouraged to wear their black skins with pride instead of with shame; this theme finds common expression in both the New World and in Africa, and it goes back at least to the middle of the nineteenth century.

We find it in the defiant poetry of the Togo writer Dr. R. A. Armatooe,⁹ who lived for a long time in Europe :

*Our God is black
Black of eternal blackness
With large voluptuous lips
Matted hair and brown liquid eyes . . .
For in his image are we made.
Our God is black.*

or when he writes in *Negro Heaven* :

*And angels black as Indian ink
And dark saints blacker still did sing.*

We find it in the poetry of the American writers :¹⁰

*Black
As the gentle night,
Black as the kind and quiet night,
Black as the deep and productive earth.
Body
Out of Africa,
Strong and black . . .
Kind
As the black night
My song
From the dark lips
Of Africa . . .
Beautiful*

* According to Shepperson and Price, 'a conservative estimate of the number of slave risings in the United States would set the figure at over two hundred and forty' (*Independent African*, page 106).

As the black night . . .
Black
Out of Africa,
Me and my song.

Later in the time-scale, we find it in the poetry of Leopold Senghor, now President of Senegal :

Woman nude, woman black
Clad in your colour which is life . . .
Your beauty strikes me to the heart
As lightning strikes the eagle.¹¹

This challenging theme reached its apogee in the works of Aimé Césaire, widely acknowledged to be one of the great contemporary writers of French poetry, a revolutionary, and the unchallenged political leader of Martinique. It was he who introduced the concept of *negritude*, which is discussed presently.

My negritude is not a rock, its deafness
hurled against the clamour of the day
My negritude is not a film of dead water on
the dead eye of the earth
My negritude is neither a tower nor a
cathedral.
It plunges into the burning flesh of the earth
It plunges into the burning flesh of the sky
It pierces the opaque prostration
by its upright patience.¹²

The Sense of a Lost Past

With this acceptance of blackness came a demand to rediscover the lost past of the Negro race—another strand in Pan-Africanism lucidly expressed by the Guyana poet, Leon Dalmas :¹³

Give me back my black dolls to play
the simple game of my instincts . . .
to recover my courage
my boldness
to feel myself myself
a new self from the one I was yesterday
yesterday
Without complications
yesterday
when the hour of uprooting came.

African Personality

In this poem by Dalmas we find the nascent idea of an African personality: *to feel myself myself . . . a new self from the one I was yesterday . . . when the hour of uprooting came.*

'I am a Negro and all Negro. I am black all over, and proud of my beautiful black skin . . .' proclaimed the American negro, John Edward Bruce, in response to Majola Agbebi, a Yoruba Baptist, in 1902 when he inaugurated what was probably the first independent Native African Church in West Africa. It was to Agbebi that the distinguished West Indian, Edward Blyden, first applied the term of 'African Personality', which he explained by saying that 'Africa is struggling for a separate personality'.¹⁴ Agbebi's inaugural address made such a profound impression on John Edward Bruce (1856-1924), a New York journalist and co-founder of the Negro Society for Historical Research, that he led a deputation of New York Negroes to have 11th October observed as 'Majola Agbebi Day' to 'immortalise him an African Personality'. Bruce was much influenced by Blyden's ideas of an emerging distinctive African personality.

Fears that uncritical absorption of Western ideas would in time destroy the distinctive personality of African's was voiced by Edward Blyden's kinsman, Dr Edward W. Blyden,* in his presidential address at the opening of the Liberian College in 1881.

There is little of the latter day sophisticated intellectualisation and political ideology about the African personality in Dr. Blyden's seminal speech which is reproduced as Appendix 23. Its importance lies in the stress he laid on the desirability of controlling the process of acculturation between the West and Africa. For our immediate purpose it is sufficient to quote briefly from Dr. Blyden's address:

'The African must advance by methods of his own. He must possess a power distinct from that of the European. It has been proved that he knows how to take advantage of European culture and that he can be benefited by it. Their proof was perhaps necessary, but it is not sufficient. We must show that we are able to go alone, to carve out our own way.

* Dr. Blyden was born in the West Indies in 1832, the son of two slaves from Togoland. He returned to Liberia as a youngster where he was educated. He became, in turn, teacher, professor, president of the Liberian University, Secretary of State and the Liberian Ambassador to the United Kingdom. He was drawn towards Islam and ended his life as an adviser to the British Government on Islamic education in Sierra Leone where he died in 1912.

We must not be satisfied that, in this nation, European influence shapes our polity, makes our laws, rules in our tribunals and impregnates our social atmosphere . . .

‘It will be our aim to increase the amount of purely disciplinary agencies, and to reduce to its minimum the amount of those distracting influences to which I have referred as hindering the proper growth of the race. The true principle of mental culture is perhaps this: *to preserve an accurate balance between the studies which carry the mind out of itself, and those which recall it home again* [Author’s italics] . . . In looking over the whole world I see no place where this sort of culture for the Negro can be better secured than in Africa; where he may, with less interruption from surrounding influences, find out his place and his work, develop his peculiar gifts and powers; and for the training of Negro youth upon the basis of their own idiosyncracies, with a sense of race individuality, self-respect, and liberty.’

On another occasion Dr. Blyden said :

‘All our traditions are connected with a foreign race. We have no poetry or philosophy but that of our taskmasters. The songs that live in our ears and are often on our lips are the songs which we heard sung by those who shouted while we groaned and lamented. They sang of their history, which was the history of our degradation. They recited their triumphs, which was the history of our humiliation. To our great misfortune, we learned their prejudices and their passions, and thought we had their aspirations and their power. Now, if we are to make an independent nation—a strong nation—we must listen to the songs of our unsophisticated brethren as they sing of their history, as they tell of their traditions, of the wonderful and mysterious events of their tribal or national life, of the achievements of what we call their superstitions; we must lend a ready ear to the ditties of the Kroomen who pull our boats, of the Pesseh and Golah men, who till our farms; we must read the compositions, rude as we may think them, of the Mandingoes and the Veys.’

The development of the concept of the ‘African personality’, of *negritude*, and of the other ideas that sprang from the emotional and intellectual reaction of black peoples to their imprisoning world belongs to a later chapter. In this opening chapter I have been concerned mainly with trying to discover the roots of the forces that produced Pan-Africanism. Their common denominator is a revolt by people of colour against what Aimé Césaire has called ‘the influence of the colonial, semi-colonial or para-colonial situation’.¹⁶ The situation existed in the New World and Europe, no less

than in Africa; hence the 'Atlantic triangle of influences' that nurtured Pan-Africanism.

'Africa for the Africans'

Pan-Africanism's slogan is 'Africa for the Africans'. Although Pan-Africanism itself grows out of a sense of racial exclusiveness its slogan has never been so. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it was almost certainly coined in America; later it gained wide currency as the slogan of Garvey's 'Back to Africa' movement. But its political life began long before then, not in America but in Nyasaland and South Africa. The person who first gave it life and meaning was Joseph Booth who was born in Derby in 1851, emigrated to New Zealand where he became a successful farmer, and came to work in Nyasaland in 1892 as a Baptist missionary. He befriended John Chilembwe and became the political mentor and benefactor of Nyasaland's first nationalist leader. Chilembwe made the slogan his own.¹⁷

Between 1895 and 1896 Booth wrote a book called *Africa for the African*¹⁸ in which he argued not only for African emancipation, but also for Negro colonisation in Africa and against Europe's scramble for Africa. One of his concerns was 'bridging the gulf between the European and the native'. He wrote: 'Whether we look at the Government, mining capitalists or the planter class the spirit is the same. . . . Even missionaries, many of them need teaching that the African is inferior in opportunity only.'

On January 14, 1897, at Blantyre, the African Christian Union was formed by Booth, Chilembwe and others 'to unite together in the name of Jesus Christ such persons as desire to see full justice done to the African race and are resolved to work towards and pray for the day when African people shall become an African Christian Nation'. Its final aim was 'to pursue steadily and unswervingly the policy "Africa for the African" and look for and hasten by prayer and united effort the forming of a United Christian Nation'.¹⁹

There was at first support for the Christian Union in Natal. South Africa's first African qualified doctor, Navuma Tembula, as well as Solomon Kumalo and others, were enthusiastically in favour of Booth's idea to raise a fund to enable Africans to be trained to manage their own affairs; and 'to mould and guide the labour of Africa's millions into channels that shall develop the God-given wealth of Africa for the uplifting and commonwealth of the people, rather than for the aggrandisement of a few already rich Euro-

peans'. Africans, with the help of Europeans, were to be encouraged to 'demand by Christian and lawful methods' equal privileges with Europeans. The emphasis was on 'the African to unite and work for his own redemption, political, economic and spiritual'.²⁰ But when put to the test of African confidence the scheme failed. 'Booth had brought a hundred and twenty educated Africans together (in Natal in 1896), and after a twenty-six-and-a-half hour session they rejected his scheme, but on the simple grounds that no white man was fit to be trusted, not even Booth himself. Bishop Colenso, the last honest white man, was dead. No trust or reliance at all could be placed in any representative of the 'blood-stained white men who had slain scores of thousands of Zulus and their Matabele relations.'²¹ Fortunately this bitterness was a phase in the history of the Zulu who, at that moment, were standing at the graveside of their nation as they had known it up to then. Booth saw his 'Africa for the African' movement in terms of racial co-operation 'to stem this tide of prejudice against the white race, pointing out the hopelessness of the African race ever being united and capable of making the best of their noble heritage by their own unaided efforts'.

In a later chapter we will see how this concept of 'Africa for the Africans' works out in its modern setting.

CHAPTER II

GROWTH IN THE DIASPORA, 1900-1958

By no means the first but perhaps the most important link between the 'literary' and political streams of Pan-Africanism was Dr. William E. Burghardt duBois. For almost half a century he dominated the Pan-African movement. But it outgrew him. He himself deviated from the mainstream of Pan-Africanism by identifying himself in cold war politics on the side of the Communists. In his autobiography²² Dr. duBois wrote:

'As I face Africa I ask myself: what is it between us that constitutes a tie that I can feel better than I can explain? Africa is of course my fatherland. Yet neither my father nor father's father ever saw Africa or knew its meaning or cared overmuch for it. . . . But the physical bond is least and the badge of colour relatively unimportant save as a badge; the real essence of this kinship is its social heritage of slavery; the discrimination and insult; and this heritage binds together not simply the children of Africa, but extends through yellow Asia and into the South Seas. It is this unity that draws me to Africa.'

So far as the New World is concerned this quotation goes to the heart of the Negro's interest in, and attraction to, Pan-Africanism.

First Pan-African Congress, London, 1900

DuBois was introduced to Pan-Africanism in London in 1900 at the first conference ever held to propagate its ideas. Its sponsor was a Trinidad barrister, H. Sylvester Williams, who, so far as is known, was the first person to talk about Pan-Africanism—although in 1897 duBois had said that 'if the Negro were to be a factor in the world's history it would be through a Pan-Negro movement'.²³ Williams' chief collaborator was Bishop Alexander Walters of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, who provides an important link between this independent religious movement and Pan-Africanism.

At the conclusion of the first conference a Memorial was addressed to Queen Victoria. It is comfortless to recall that at that time they were protesting against the treatment of Africans in South Africa and Rhodesia. By way of reply, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain wrote: 'Her Majesty's Government will not overlook the interests and welfare of the native races.'

It was at that conference that duBois spoke his famous prophetic lines: '*The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.*'

The Rivals — duBois and Garvey

Although there are many important figures in the early stages of the growth of Pan-African ideas who should claim our attention, the two dominating political figures in the first quarter of this century were Dr. William E. Burghardt duBois²⁴ and Mr. Marcus Aurelius Garvey.²⁵ In his *Autobiography* Dr. Nkrumah says he was influenced more by Garvey's ideas than by anything in the United States.

DuBois and Garvey were great rivals.²⁶ DuBois, a Negro of mixed blood—'tiresomely proud of his own Dutch and French ancestors, and especially of the suggestion of Huguenot nobility';²⁷ Garvey, a black Jamaican.

DuBois, a vain, prickly, egocentric intellectual, deliberately avoiding mass appeals; Garvey, a rodomontade rabble-rouser, who, at the height of his career, could with some justification, claim the support of millions of Negroes, and command vast sums of their money.

Garvey mocked duBois for his light colour, and refused to co-operate with light-skinned Negroes whom he denounced as 'hybrids'. DuBois dismissed Garvey as a 'little, fat, black man; ugly but with intelligent eyes and a big head'. Although the ideas that divided them are no longer deeply relevant, both men are prototypes of African political leaders; and their attitudes are deeply revealing.

DuBois had co-operated with American liberals in founding the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples, and for more than twenty years had edited their publication *Crisis* (a valuable source of Pan-African ideas). Three years after attending the London conference, in 1903, he broke with the then hero of Negroes and of white Americans, Booker T. Washington, whose leadership was based on counsels of moderation, patience,

education and hard work which he offered as the recipe for Negro advancement. Against these ideas duBois preached the need for an open and vigorous struggle to win equality of rights. All his life his thinking was dominated by his colour. On his ninety-first birthday he said over Peking Radio: 'In my own country for nearly half a century I have been nothing but a nigger.'²⁸ Observable facts don't justify this statement; but it reflects a deep unhealable wound which, in his latter years, brought him to admire Russian and Chinese communist ideas.

Garvey, on the other hand, wore his colour proudly, even gaily: some would say recklessly. 'I believe,' he wrote, 'in a pure black race just as how all self-respecting whites believe in a pure white race, as far as that can be.' His Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) preached 'Back to Africa' to the Negro masses of the New World.* DuBois fiercely resisted this idea; against it he set his dual objective—regeneration of black peoples in the lands of their adoption, and in association with a freed, independent African Continent. In 1920 Garvey founded his Negro Empire in New York, and summoned a large international convention which he called the first Black Parliament. He proclaimed himself 'Provisional President of a Racial Empire in Africa'. He co-operated with the Ku Klux Klan, who shared his ideas of expatriating all the Negroes. Later when Mussolini came to power, Garvey remonstrated: 'I was the first of the Fascists.' But the money he collected for the Black Star Line,† organised to transport the Negroes 'home', got into a frightful mess. After serving a long prison sentence, Garvey died almost unnoticed in London in 1940 without ever having set foot in Africa.

Seeding of Ideas

One of the results of this bitter and prolonged controversy was a cross-fertilisation of ideas between the West Indies and the United States; these ideas were subsequently carried to Europe and back

* Garvey's 'Back to Africa' movement was by no means the first of its kind, nor the last. As far back as 1788 free Negroes had discussed the possibilities of an exodus to Africa. In 1815 the black captain, Paul Cuffee, took a batch of Negroes to Sierra Leone. In 1816 there was formed the American Colonization Society. In 1877 the Liberian Exodus Joint Stock Company was formed in South Carolina, a ship bought, and a single batch of migrants taken to Liberia. In the West Indies Dr. Albert Thorne formed his African Colonial Enterprise in 1897. And as late as 1961 a West Indian delegation toured Africa to explore possibilities of resettlement.

† Ghana's state shipping service subsequently adopted this name.

to Africa both through Pan-African conferences and through African students. For example, among the twenty or so South African students in America soon after the turn of the century were P. K. Isaka Seme (one of the founders of the first African National Congress in 1912);²⁹ Sol. T. Plaatje,³⁰ Prof. J. L. Dube and Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu,³¹ and later Dr. A. B. Xuma,³² all of whom were associated with the growth of African nationalism in South Africa.³³ Still later came the East and West Africans: Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe,³⁴ Dr. Hastings K. Banda, Mr. Peter Mbiyu Koinange and Dr. Nkrumah. Two contemporaries who were later to play an important part were the Jamaican, the late George Padmore, and Mr. Otto Makonnen.

The United States provided a stimulating training school for these foreign black students; not only did they get formal education, but they were constantly rubbing up against racial discrimination which made them more receptive to the ideas of the Negro intellectuals and the independent religious movements.³⁵

A particularly significant example of cross-fertilisation of ideas between the United States and Africa is the episode of the Nyasaland Rising of 1915 which was led by Mr. John Chilembwe.* He had been a student in America from 1897 to 1900. Chilembwe's story has been brilliantly told in *Independent African* by Shepperson and Price,³⁶ a rich source book of the early beginnings of Pan-Africanism.

A Commission of Inquiry which reported on the Nyasaland Rising linked it to the American Negro by indicating that one of its causes was 'the political notions imbibed by Chilembwe during his education in the United States in a Negro Baptist seminary', and by claiming that the movement had been affected by a 'class of American Negro publications imported by Chilembwe, the tendency of which was to inflame racial feelings'.³⁷

The role of the independent Negro churches—especially the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church†—cannot be overlooked in any account of the rise of Pan-Africanism. 'For all of them, Negro, Baptist, Methodists and independent "Messianic" groups, the reasons for setting up separate religious organisations were the same: resentment at discrimination in white churches; a direction into a 'neutral' field of energies that lacked appropriate political channels; a desire for corporate ownership; and, through independence, however limited, an advancement of status. If these tendencies

* For earlier reference see p. 22.

† For earlier reference to the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church see p. 24.

could be expressed in the period after Emancipation in other than religious fields—and many “advanced” Negroes were sceptical of the churches—nevertheless religious separatism continued to be an important part of American Negro reaction to white discrimination.³⁸

They increasingly entered the African missionary field in the spirit of the Rev. Charles S. Morris, who went to organise the African Baptists of South Africa and who told the 1900 Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York :

‘I believe that God is going to put into the hearts of these black boys and girls in the schools of the South to go with the message to South Africa and West Africa, and vindicate American slavery as far as it can be vindicated by taking across the ocean the stream of life.’

But it was not only in their religious life that the separatist churches showed signs of independent thinking and action. ‘In Jamaica their connection with the frequent revolts and disturbances there in the first seventy years of the nineteenth century is clear. In the Denmark Vesey conspiracy of 1822 in South Carolina, the African Methodist Episcopal Church played no small part. Its most able leaders were from the local church of this denomination. . . . Furthermore, in each of the three great risings of nineteenth-century America, in 1800, 1822, and 1831, scriptural support, especially from the Old Testament, was used by the leaders to justify their revolts. They called on the examples of the Jews to escape from bondage, and on eschatological texts to give a kind of divine aura or sanction to their movements.’³⁹

Second Pan-African Congress, Paris, 1919

The second Pan-African Congress, the first under duBois’ leadership, was held contemporaneously with the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919. DuBois arrived determined ‘to have Africa in some way voice its complaints to the world. . . .’ His efforts succeeded largely through the intervention of Senegal’s delegate M. Blaise-Diagne, at that time the foremost colonial spokesman from the French territories, and a close friend of Clemenceau. (Later Blaise-Diagne was much criticised by African nationalists as a French ‘stooge’.) ‘Don’t advertise the Congress,’ Clemenceau told Blaise-Diagne, ‘but go ahead’. There were fifty-seven representatives at that conference; ‘Negroes in the trim uniform of American Army officers . . . coloured men in frock coats or business suits,

polished French Negroes who hold public offices, Senegalese who sit in the French Chamber of Deputies. . . .'⁴⁰

The congress adopted a lengthy resolution which nowhere spoke of the Africans' right to independence.* It proclaimed the need for international laws to protect the natives; for land to be held in trust; for the prevention of exploitation by foreign capital; for the abolition of slavery and capital punishment; for the right of education, and, finally, it insisted that 'the natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the Government as fast as their development permits . . .'

Third Pan-African Congress, London and Brussels, 1921

Nor had these reformist ideas of Pan-Africanism moved much further by the time the Third Congress came to be held in London and Brussels in 1921 when the principal political demand—made on behalf of 'the Negro race through their thinking intelligentsia'—was for 'local self-government for backward groups, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grew to complete self-government under the limitation of a self-governed world'.

Two sentences from the address of duBois to the Third Congress help to establish another of the emerging themes of Pan-Africanism :

'The beginning of wisdom in inter-racial contact is the establishment of political institutions among suppressed peoples. The habit of democracy must be made to encircle the world.' The emphasis is on inter-racialism and democracy. That, let us recall, was in 1921.

Fourth Pan-African Congress, London and Lisbon, 1923

There were two separate sessions of the Fourth Congress which took place in 1923 in London and Lisbon. The London session was attended by H. G. Wells, Harold Laski and Lord Olivier, and it received a message of encouragement from Ramsay MacDonald. Reiterating earlier resolutions, the most important political demand was still only for Africans to have 'a voice in their own Governments'.

From the Manifesto I choose one paragraph :

'In fine, we ask in all the world, *that black folk be treated as men*. We can see no other road to peace and progress. What more paradoxical figure today confronts the world than the official head of a great South African State [a reference to

* For text of resolutions passed see Appendix 1.

J. C. Smuts] striving blindly to build peace and goodwill in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of Black Africans.'

Fifth Pan-African Congress, New York, 1927

The last in the series of Congresses directly led by Dr. duBois was held in New York in 1927. It is important at this point to note the attitude of communists towards the growth of Pan-African ideas. George Padmore described their 'opportunism' in trying to discredit both Garvey's and duBois' movements (the UNIA and the NAACP) and the Pan-African Congress which they regarded as '*petit-bourgeois* black Nationalism . . . blocking the dissemination of Communist influence among the Negroes. The attitude of most white Communists towards Negro organisations has been one of contempt. If they cannot control them, they seek their destruction by infiltration.'⁴¹

Pan-Africanism in Britain

The second world war marks the dividing line between the old and the new Pan-African movements. After 1936—by which time George Padmore, C. L. R. James⁴² and other West Indian and American intellectuals had broken in disgust with the Communist International⁴³—Britain became the main centre for the promotion of Pan-African ideas.

In 1944, thirteen active welfare, students' and political organisations came together to form the Pan-African Federation under the leadership of the International African Service Bureau, formed in 1937 as the successor to the International African Friends of Abyssinia. Among its leaders were the late George Padmore, C. L. R. James, Wallace Johnson, the Sierra Leone trade union leader, and Jomo Kenyatta.⁴⁴ The *gestalt* of Pan-Africanism at that moment in its growth has been well described by the late George Padmore:⁴⁵

'The years immediately before the outbreak of the second world war coincided with what is known in left-wing political circles as the "Anti-Fascist Popular Front Period". This period was one of the most stimulating and constructive in the history of Pan-Africanism. It was then that Congress had to meet the ideological challenge from the *Communist opportunists* on the one hand and the racist doctrines of the Fascists on the other, and to defend the programme of Pan-Africanism—namely, the fundamental right of black men to be free and independent and not be humbugged by those who preached acceptance of the *status quo* in the interest of power politics. It was also

at this period that many of the Negro intellectuals who were later to emerge as prominent personalities in the colonial nationalist movements began to make a detailed and systematic study of European political theories and systems (Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Fascism), and to evaluate these doctrines objectively—accepting what might be useful to the cause of Pan-Africanism and rejecting the harmful. In this way the younger leaders of the Congress were able to build upon the pioneering work of Dr. duBois and formulate a programme of dynamic nationalism, which combined African traditional forms of organisation with Western political party methods.'

Sixth Pan-African Congress, Manchester, 1945

The Pan-African Federation, with the blessing of duBois, convened the Sixth Pan-African Congress* in Manchester in October, 1945. The movement had greatly changed through the war years, as the Congress itself shows. Dr. duBois is there: greying, ascetic-looking, at seventy-three very much the Grand Old Man. There are now very few Negroes from the United States. The West Indian contingent is still strong, led by George Padmore, C. L. R. James and Dr. Peter Milliard. But for the first time it is a Congress of Africa's young leaders: they are largely a collection of unknowns, soon to win fame, notoriety and power in their own countries. From the Gold Coast, Kwame Nkrumah; J. Annan, now Ghana's Secretary of Defence E. A. Ayikumi, until recently director of Ghana's large state industrial operations; Edwin J. duPlan, a key figure in the Bureau of African Affairs in Accra; the late Dr. Kurankyi Taylor and Joe Appiah, both of whom later became bitter opponents of Dr. Nkrumah; and Dr. J. C. de Graft Johnson, the historian. From Nigeria, Chief H. O. Davies, Q.C., now chairman of Nigeria's state-sponsored newspapers; Magnus Williams, representing Dr. Azikiwe, who had contributed greatly to the growth of the movement but who could not himself be present. There is a Baptist teacher, Chief S. L. Akintola, now Premier of Nigeria's Western Region. There is Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta; Sierra Leone's redoubtable trade union leader, Wallace Johnson; Togo's poet, Dr. Raphael Armattoe. There is Otto Makonnen who is now director of the African Affairs Centre in Accra. And from South Africa, Peter Abrahams, the South African novelist and poet who, like Padmore and James, had come to turn his back on the

* Padmore calls this the Fifth because he ignores the 1900 conference; dating the Congresses from their start with duBois' first in Paris in 1919. But I can see no good reason for this arbitrary decision.

communists; and Marko Hlubi, representing the African National Congress.

The Manchester Congress offers many clues to the developing ideas of Pan-Africanism.* For the first time we find the forthright challenge: 'We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far, and no further, than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.'

Also we find the new spirit awakened by Pan-Africanism—a farewell to patience and to the acceptance of suffering: 'We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people. We continue willingly to sacrifice and strive. But we are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance a false aristocracy and a discarded imperialism.'

There is the central dilemma of the problem of using violence to back up their challenge—'We are determined to be free.' On the one hand, a threat: '... If the Western world is still determined to rule Mankind by force, then Africans, *as a last resort*, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.' But pending the 'last resort' Congress opted for *Positive Action*† based on Gandhi's teachings.

There are other signposts in the growth of Pan-African ideas: 'One man, one vote', recognised in a resolution demanding universal franchise. Socialism is not mentioned, but there is an assertion that 'economic democracy is the only real democracy'; and condemnation of 'the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone'. Also, there is an acknowledgment of the nascent Bandung spirit: 'Congress expressed the hope that before long the peoples of Asia and Africa would have broken their centuries-old chains of colonialism. Then, as free nations, they would stand united to consolidate and safeguard their liberties and independence from the restoration of Western imperialism, as well as the dangers of Communism.'

West African National Secretariat

In our search for clues to the evolving concepts of Pan-Africanism, we must not overlook the West African National Secretariat organised by Dr. Nkrumah at the Manchester Congress. At its own conference in August, 1946, it pledged itself to promote the concept

* For a text of resolutions passed see Appendix 2.

† *Positive Action* became the slogan of the Convention People's Party in its successful struggle for Ghana's independence.

of a *West African Federation* as an indispensable lever for the ultimate achievement of a *United States of Africa*. The following year Dr. Azikiwe⁴⁶ formally endorsed this resolution: it confirmed an idea which, earlier, he had himself put forward.

Emotions into Ideas

We have now almost reached the point where Pan-Africanism was to be finally transplanted *organisationally* to Africa's own soil, and when it ceased to be largely the brainchild of Negro intellectuals and African students in the diaspora. But before we follow the new trail we might conveniently halt for a moment to consider some of the main ideas that have so far emerged from this brief account of the development of Pan-Africanism.

We should begin by distinguishing between the *feelings* that underlie Pan-Africanism, and the political *attitudes* that these feelings have given rise to. *Deep at its quivering, sensitive centre, Pan-Africanism rests on colour-consciousness.* Recognition of the unique historical position of black peoples as the universal bottom-dog led to a revolt against passive submission to this situation. The emotions associated with blackness were intellectualised; and so Pan-Africanism became a vehicle for the struggle of black people to regain their pride, their strength and their independence. But although black skins were made into a shield for the battle, Pan-Africanism became a *race-conscious* movement, not a *racialist* one. I would postulate this as one of its most significant characteristics. The distinction is a valid one, and indeed a vital one. It is a pity that it is not more widely recognised. What is the distinction?

Race-Consciousness and Racism

Race-consciousness is the assertion by a people with recognisable ethnical similarities of their own uniqueness; a belief in their own special qualities, distinctions and rights. It is a positive statement in defence of one's race; but it does not seek to elevate that race above other races. When *race-consciousness* elevates itself above other races, discriminates and attacks other races, it becomes *racism*. What we are dealing with is the difference between positive and negative attitudes; between defensive attitudes and persecuting attitudes. One can be *for* one's own race, without being ill-disposed to another. Antisemitism is a form of *racism*—an expression against Jews; whereas Zionism is *race-consciousness*—a statement in favour of the rights and needs of Jews.

There is, of course, always the danger that race-consciousness will turn into racialism; the balance is often very fine. Equally great is the danger of its becoming chauvinistic.* The chronicles and literature of Pan-Africanism are full of examples of both racialism and chauvinism: nevertheless the mainstream of ideas is remarkably unpolluted by either.

To see Pan-Africanism, or its modern agent African nationalism, as simply another version of racialism—to equate it, for example, with white nationalism (the cardinal error committed by the Capricorn Society in Central Africa)—is to misunderstand its purpose and functions, which is to regenerate black peoples and to inspire them with a belief and a confidence in themselves *as peoples*.

A notable example, among many, that black nationalism is not to be equated automatically with racialism is that provided by South Africa, where for forty-nine years the African National Congress has actively worked with South Africans of other races; even the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, sharply race-conscious as they are, and while believing in the separate organisation of each race for the liberation of South Africa, nevertheless oppose (at least in their philosophy) ideas of racialism.

Attitudes to Whites

We cannot leave this question without considering some of its other aspects. Since Pan-Africanism asserts the rights of *blacks* against the claims of *white supremacy* it postulates a clash. Why, then, has Pan-Africanism not developed into anti-whiteism? It seems to me there are two reasons. Firstly, blacks are characteristically less racialistic than Teutonic-speaking peoples. As Prof. Toynbee has pointed out: 'race-feeling is an exceptional failing'.⁴⁷ Secondly, because blacks are in a hopelessly ambivalent love-hatred relationship with whites. Their rejection of the white men and all his works is never wholehearted; criticism of Europe or America is seldom undiluted. If we look closer at this *ambivalence* (as we will when I come to deal with *negritude*) we will find it to be an outstanding characteristic of Pan-Africanist feelings.

There is, as one might expect, a feeling of deep racial bitterness in Pan-Africanism. And, indeed, why not? These feelings of bitterness, however, are often matched by a remarkable quality of for-

* Dr. Azikiwe wrote in *The Future of Pan-Africanism* (Note 34): 'It would be useless to define "Pan-Africanism" exclusively in racial or linguistic terms, since the obvious solution would be parochial. And chauvinism, by whatever name it is identified, has always been a disintegrating factor in human society at all known times of human history.'

giveness once the dignity of independence and equality has been respected. This is shown by the change of attitudes of nationalist leadership in newly-independent states. But there are also nearly everywhere in Africa, the United States, the Caribbean territories and in Europe individuals whose race-consciousness has soured into racialism. They are generally to be found among middle-aged or elderly intellectuals—people who found more satisfaction in being the victims of persecution in the emancipation struggle than in the creative tasks of the post-liberation situation—and among very young and militant nationalist leaders who themselves played little or no part in the independence struggle, and who are already dissatisfied with the Old Guard now in power. These pockets of racialism—not important in their numbers, and nowhere outside of the New World constituting an organised group—are nevertheless a significant reminder of the bitterness of old feelings as well as of the possibility of racial feeling being whipped up in times of great tension; as for example when Patrice Lumumba was murdered, and at the time of the Hola disaster that befell Mau Mau detainees in Kenya. When nationalists feel that their independence is being threatened or that the 'Western (i.e. white) world' is 'ganging up' against them, the smouldering fires of *blackism* flare up as strongly as ever. One has only to read the speeches⁴⁸ in the Nigerian Parliament when it was debating the threat of the first French nuclear tests in the Sahara to be reminded of the strength of this feeling. Here is one typical statement made by Mr. R. A. Fani-Kayode, the Member for Ife :

'This is the opportunity we have been looking for to show that black men all over Africa must stand or fall together. I have said it often and often in this House that *blackism* is the answer to our problems.'

And another Nigerian example—the land of misleadingly labelled 'moderates'—to show that independence does not *automatically* end old memories. On his return from the United Nations where he was the much-lauded representative of his country, the Hon. Jaja Wachuku said at a Press conference that African people would be deceiving themselves 'to think that European and Asian countries accept the black man as their equal'.⁴⁹

Feelings of Vengeance

Pan-African teaching does not, however, inculcate the desire for vengeance against yesterday's oppressors. This is perhaps one of the most remarkable of modern Africa's phenomena; especially if

one recalls the feelings of anger and bitterness that have been welling up inside the continent for centuries.

*The white man killed my father
My father was proud
The white man seduced my mother
My mother was beautiful
The white man burnt my brother
beneath the noonday sun
My brother was strong.
His hands red with black blood
The white man turned to me
And in the Conqueror's voice said
'Hey, boy! a chair, a napkin, a drink.'⁵⁰*

What has happened to the natural desires for vengeance found in all people, as shown, for example, in Europe after the defeat of the Nazis? Is it that the vengeance is still to come in those parts of the continent where white oppression has been most vicious?

There has, so far, been remarkably little vengeance. No anti-white violence in any of the independent African states (other than the Congo), and only a few exceptional situations in the various independence struggles. Some French *colons* were murdered in Morocco; Algeria is untypical because it is primarily a colonial war, not a race war. Angola has, so far, been the worst. It is probable that 1,400 white Portuguese were killed and wounded in the single week of the start of the rebellion there in 1961, while upward of 20,000 Africans were killed or wounded. The extent of the atrocities in the Congo after the revolt of the *Force Publique* were greatly exaggerated at the time. Out of a total of 80,000 Belgians in the Congo fewer than one per cent complained of any kind of ill-treatment; many of these complaints have subsequently turned out to have been either inventions, due to panic, or at least overdrawn.⁵¹ The total European and Asian civilian casualties in the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya were fifty-eight killed and sixty-two wounded—a tiny fraction of Mau Mau's black victims which came to almost 3,000. There has been one major case of white casualties in Central Africa when Mrs. Buxton was burnt to death. Apart from three incidents in South Africa there have been no race killings by Africans in South Africa there have been no race killings by Africans of whites. There have been other isolated instances, in the Cameroun Republic and elsewhere.

The vengeance sought by the intellectuals of Pan-Africanism is not physical. There is an element of desire to enjoy 'Black power' over the whites as shown in Paul Robeson's thinking:⁵²

'I think a good deal in terms of the power of the black people in the world. That's why Africa means so much to me. As an American Negro, I'm as proud of Africa as one of those West Coast Chinese is proud of China. Now that doesn't mean I'm going back to Africa, but spiritually I've been a part of Africa for a long time. *Yes, this black power moves me.* Look at Jamaica. In a few years the white minority will be there on the sufferance of black men. If they're nice decent fellows they can stay. Yes, I look at Senator Eastland and say, "So you think you are powerful here. If only I could get you across the border." Although I may stay here the rest of my life, *spiritually I'll always be part* of that world where the black man can say to these crackers, "Get the hell out of here by morning." If I could get a passport, I'd just like to go to Ghana or Jamaica just to sit there for a few days and observe this black power.'

The *instinct* for vengeance exists, but Jean-Paul Sartre is wrong, I think, when he describes it as a *desire*.⁵³ The evidence he quotes—Aimé Césaire's work—proves the opposite. Listen to Césaire :

*... preserve me, heart, from all hatred
do not turn me into a man of hate whom I shall hate
for in order to emerge into this unique race,
you know my world-wide love,
know it is not hatred against other races
that turns me into the cultivator of this one race
for what I want
arises from infinite hunger
from infinite thirst
finally to demand them to be free
freely in their secluded soul
to create the ripening fruit.*⁵⁴

But no discussion of the characteristics of black attitudes and thinking is adequate except in the framework of the Pan-Africanists' ambivalence towards the West: these attitudes will be more fully considered when we come to consider the concepts of *negritude* and 'the African personality'.

CHAPTER III

BACK TO AFRICA, 1958-1962

The Pan-African political movement came home in 1958; but its cultural wing remained in Europe and the New World. At the time of its transplantation Pan-Africanism possessed a programme of ideas and action which can be summed up in nine points.*

1. 'Africa for the Africans': complete independence of the whole of Africa. Total rejection of colonialism in all its forms, including white domination.

2. United States of Africa: the ideal of a wholly unified continent through a series of inter-linking regional federations within which there would be a limitation on national sovereignty.

3. African renaissance of morale and culture: a quest for the 'African personality'; a determination to recast African society into its own forms, drawing from its own past what is valuable and desirable, and marrying it to modern ideas. Modernism is heavily accentuated.

4. African nationalism to replace the tribalism of the past: a concept of African loyalty wider than 'the nation' to transcend tribal and territorial affiliations.

5. African regeneration of economic enterprise to replace colonial economic methods: belief in a non-exploiting socialist or *communalistic* type of socialism; International Communism is rejected outright.

6. Belief in democracy as the most desirable method of government based on the principle of 'one man one vote'.

7. Rejection of violence as a method of struggle, unless peaceful methods of struggle—*Positive Action*—are met with military repression.

8. Solidarity of black peoples everywhere, and a fraternal alliance of coloured peoples based on a mutual history of struggle against white domination and colonialism.

* Padmore, in *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, offers a useful comparison for this summary.

9. Positive neutrality (as it was then called): non-involvement as partisans in power politics, but 'neutral in nothing that affects African interests'.*

The Afro-Arab-Asian Front

Two important events intervened between the last Pan-African Congress (1945) and the first Conference of Independent African States (1958). The first was Egypt's February 23 Revolution (1952) which marks the breakthrough of modern Arab nationalism; the second was the Bandung Conference (1955) which was symptomatic of Asia's arrival on the world scene.

The Pan-Africans played no real part in the Bandung Conference. Ethiopia was the only non-Arab independent African state represented; the then Gold Coast sent observers. Nevertheless, the Bandung Declaration† quickly became absorbed into Pan-African thinking.⁵⁵

Col. Nasser's ideas about Egypt's and the Arabs' role in Africa are described in his important brief work on *The Philosophy of the Revolution*.⁵⁶ He sees The Revolution linked to three circles—the Arab circle, the African continent circle, and the circle of 'our brethren-in-Islam'. Of the African circle he writes :

'... We cannot under any condition, even if we wanted to, stand aloof from the terrible and terrifying battle now raging in the heart of that continent between five million whites and two hundred million Africans. We cannot stand aloof for one important and obvious reason—we ourselves are in Africa. Surely the people of Africa will continue to look to us—we who are the guardians of the continent's northern gate, we who constitute the connecting link between the continent and the outer world. We certainly cannot, under any condition, relinquish our responsibility to help to our utmost in spreading the light of knowledge and civilisation up (*sic*) to the very depth of the virgin jungles of the continent.'

Col. Nasser thus clearly saw Egypt playing a leadership role in the continent; a view that he still strongly holds. Cairo became a home for African exiles; Radio Cairo developed special programmes to encourage the liberation struggle; and the city put itself forward as a political capital for African independence movements. Islamic teaching was used to expand the 'African circle' but it is much less of a political factor than is often thought. It has been more of a factor in, say Somalia, than in Nigeria.

* Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's phrase.

† See Appendix 3.

Cairo's political links were mainly organised through the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement whose first conference was held in Cairo in the closing days of 1957. This conference deviated strongly from the tradition of the Pan-African movement and from the canons of the Bandung Declaration by inviting to full participation—both in the conference itself and in the movement's subsequent work—one of the two sides involved in the cold war. Seeking to justify the participation of the Russians* and the Chinese, an official Egyptian statement listed four factors.⁵⁷ First, that the effectiveness of the policy of positive neutrality had become more evident. Second, that the socialist bloc had given proof of great superiority in the strategic and scientific fields, thus doubling the chances for peace and freedom in the world. Third, that the struggle between the powers of imperialism and the people of Asia and Africa had crystallised. And fourth, that the fortunes of colonialism had suffered a sharp decline.

But the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement never became either a successful movement or a happy one, despite some excellent Egyptians on its staff. Few African countries have contributed to the working of the organisation notwithstanding promises to do so. The Egyptians themselves have been concerned, from the start, to isolate the influence of the Russians and the Chinese whose participation (tenuous as it has been) has been a source of weakness and embarrassment to them. Egyptian agreement to this heterodox partnership must be explained, not by the rather naïve reasons already quoted, but by the sense of obligation felt at the time for Russia's agreement to build the Aswan dam. Significantly, Col. Nasser did not himself open the first conference. His spokesman was Anwar el-Sadat whose keynote address made a mockery of the structure of the movement :

'We in Egypt believe in neutralism and non-alignment. This principle has been adopted by many of our friends in Asia and Africa. We believe that by adopting this attitude we ward off the shadow of war, narrow the area facing conflicting blocs and establish a wide area of peace which will impose its existence gradually on the whole world. The neutralism in which we believe means that *we should keep aloof from international blocs* and at the same time make efforts to bring about a rapprochement between those blocs.' [Author's italics.]

How does one explain the relationship between Pan-Africanism—with its *black consciousness*—and the Arabs and Asians? The

* The Russians were not regarded as being 'Asians' qualifying for Bandung membership.

answer, I think, is that although blacks identified themselves emotionally with their skins, they were always intellectually willing and able to identify themselves with peoples of other colours who were in the same boat as themselves—victims of white superiority, of colonialism, of imperialism, and of discrimination. Black regeneration was one aspect of the struggle for emancipation; the wider struggle against colonialism and injustice demanded wider alliances. That is why, in his famous statement, Dr. duBois spoke of 'the problem of the Twentieth Century' as 'the problem of the colour-line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa. . . .' He explored this question fully in his prolific writings.* In the earlier stages of Pan-Africanism, Duse Mohammed Ali, editor of the anti-imperialist *African Times and Orient Review*, identified himself with the struggles of Marcus Garvey and other Pan-Africanists. He was an Egyptian nationalist of Sudanese descent and an ardent supporter of Zaghoul Pasha, the Wafd leader.⁵⁸

The practical expression of the colour struggle also led quite naturally to the Sixth Pan-African Congress (1945) expressing the hope 'that before long the people of Asia and Africa would have broken their centuries-old chains of colonialism. Then, as free nations, they would stand united to consolidate and safeguard their liberties and independence from the restoration of Western imperialism, as well as the danger of Communism.'⁵⁹

However much, therefore, blacks feel as *blacks*, their colour-consciousness has found political expression in associations with peoples of other colours and, indeed, also with Europeans who have been willing to identify themselves with their struggle for emancipation. 'Anti-imperialism knows no colour,' Mr. Kofi Baako, Ghana's Minister of Defence, has said in discussing Nkrumahism. In its wider political context, therefore, Pan-Africanism has not remained racially exclusive, even if the emotional feelings associated with blackness have not necessarily altered in quality.

First Conference of Independent African States, Accra, 1958

The formal launching of the pan-African movement was auspicious. Except for South Africa, all eight independent States met in Accra in April, 1958.⁶⁰ Only two—Ghana and Liberia—belonged to Black Africa; five were predominantly Arab and Muslim—Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Sudan and Morocco; the eighth, Ethiopia, was making its official debut in the wider stream of African

* For an earlier reference to this subject by duBois see p. 24.

politics; the Emperor could no longer afford to maintain his policy of isolation in an Africa that was discovering itself.

The Accra conference immediately proved the validity of one of the concepts of Pan-Africanism: a bond of colour did exist between former colonial peoples. It proved that neither Islam nor the Sahara constituted an insuperable barrier.* In fact, at the first conference and since, it has emerged that some black African States have much more in common, politically, with some Arab States, than either have with their own immediate neighbours. The only divisive factor between the Arab and non-Arab African states has been the question of Israel: but even on this point the Islamic black States have refused, in their practical affairs to be drawn into the Arabs' war against Israel.

The Accra conference† committed the Independent African States to direct involvement in securing the emancipation of the continent: they declared war on colonialism and on South Africa and gave full support to the FLN struggle in Algeria. Henceforth, the colonial struggle was to obtain direct support and encouragement from within Africa. In foreign affairs there was the beginning, too, of a new policy of non-alignment as between 'the two antagonistic blocs' in the world; and a determination to establish 'an African Personality' in world affairs by working for 'a fundamental unity' between African States on foreign questions. This unity was to be based on the Bandung Declaration, the Charter of the UN, and on loyalty to UN decisions. The resolution on racialism not only condemned its practice by others but recommended to African States that they themselves 'should take vigorous measures to eradicate, where they arise, vestiges of racial discrimination in their own countries'. All the members agreed to observe each other's political and territorial integrity, and to settle their differences, if any, by conciliation and mediation within the African community.

The All African Peoples Organisation (Accra, 1958; Tunis, 1960; Cairo, 1961)

There was no mention at the first Accra conference of the United States of Africa, nor of regional federations. It is when we come to the first All African Peoples Conference‡ a non-governmental conference of political parties, which was held in Accra in

* This view is not apparently accepted by Nigeria's Chief Awolowo. See p. 58.

† For a text of its resolutions see Appendix 4.

‡ For the constitution and standing orders of the AAPO see Appendix 22, A, B and C.

December, 1958 that we find a resolution in support of the ultimate objective of a Commonwealth of free African States.* It is worth noting in passing that this concept has never been endorsed by any of the several conferences of Independent African States (Accra, 1958; Addis Ababa, 1960; Brazzaville, 1961; Casablanca, 1961; Monrovia, 1961). But it usually found a place in the resolutions passed by conferences of non-governmental organisations such as the AAPO.

The first AAPO conference⁶¹ illustrated three other elements in Pan-Africanism. The question of violence was raised, mainly on the insistence of the FLN. After serious debate the conference rejected violence as a means of struggle: it recognised that national independence could be gained by peaceful means 'in territories where democratic means are available'; but it pledged support equally to those who 'in order to meet the violent means by which they are subjected and exploited, are obliged to retaliate'.†

The second element relates to inter-racial co-operation. White delegates from South Africa were fully accredited as delegates; these included the Rev. Michael Scott representing Chief Hosea of the Hereros, Mr. Patrick Duncan of the South African Liberal Party, and Mrs. Louise Hooper as a representative of the South African National Congress. This practice was also followed at the second AAPO conference in Tunis in 1960;‡ but at its third conference in Cairo in 1961§ neither Indians nor whites managed to get full accreditation. This, it was said, was due to local organisational factors and was not attributable to a change of policy. Accreditation is in the hands of both a Steering Committee and an Accreditation Committee; which did not work very well at the Cairo meeting.

In his welcoming address to the first AAPO conference Dr. Nkrumah declared:

'... We are not racialists or chauvinists. We welcome into our midst peoples of all other races, other nations, other communities, who desire to live among us in peace and equality. But they must

* For a full text of the resolutions passed see Appendix 22 D.

† Ghana sponsored a conference on Positive Action and Security in Accra in April, 1960 to discuss methods of non-violent resistance. The Rev. Michael Scott and other *Satyagraha* exponents were prominently identified with this conference. In opening it Dr. Nkrumah said: 'By our concerted non-violent positive action, we can help to ensure that this march forward is a swift and peaceful one...'

‡ For a text of the resolutions passed at the Tunis conference see Appendix 22 E.

§ For a text of the resolutions passed at the Cairo conference see Appendix 22 F.

respect us and our rights, our right as the majority to rule. That, as our Western friends have taught us to understand it, is the essence of democracy.'

At this conference, the question of the Pan-Africanist slogan 'Africa for the Africans' was raised. The Accra conference chairman, Mr. Tom Mboya, announced from the platform, 'Once the principle of "one man, one vote" is established, we will not practice racism in reverse'. Dr. Nkrumah went further: 'When I speak of Africa for the Africans this should be interpreted in the light of my emphatic declaration that I do not believe in racialism and colonialism. The concept—"Africa for the Africans"—does not mean that other races are excluded from it. No. It only means that Africans, who naturally are in the majority in Africa, shall and must govern themselves in their own countries.'⁶²

Mr. Julius Nyerere and other leaders have since spoken along the same lines.

Dr. Azikiwe has said:⁶³ '... it should be obvious that unless we accept a broad definition of terms there can be no worthy future for Africanism. That being the case I would like to speak of the peoples of Africa in general terms to include all the races inhabiting that continent and embracing all the linguistic and cultural groups who are domiciled therein.'

A third element peeped out briefly at the Accra conference. 'The independence of Ghana,' Dr. Nkrumah said, 'will be meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa.' At one time many believed this was not to be taken seriously; but it has recently become quite clear that Ghana's President is in earnest when he says he will commit all the resources and energies of Ghana towards achieving Africa's independence and unity. We will return to this point.

Among the little-known delegates who made their bow at this conference were Mr. Patrice Lumumba and Mr. Joseph Gilmore, better known as Roberto Holden. Mr. Lumumba returned from the Accra meeting to address a mass meeting in Leopoldville which was followed by an outbreak of serious rioting in the city that helped precipitate the decision to give the Belgian Congo its independence. Mr. Holden, the leader of the Union of the Peoples of Angola (UPA), launched his violent liberation campaign just two years later after having 'done the rounds' of the African capitals to obtain moral and financial support for his movement. Another delegate who did not accept the non-violent philosophy of the conference was Dr. Felix Moumie, the colourful and loquacious leader of the *Union of the Peoples of the Camerouns* (UPC) who,

until he was poisoned in Zürich in 1960, was one of the most active of Africa's itinerant politicians, travelling tirelessly from one African capital to the other and putting in frequent appearances in Moscow and Peking as well. He symbolised the left-wing revolutionary young African leader for whom national independence means more than an exchange of black government for white administration. Leaders who share these feelings are often driven towards alignment with the communists.

The Conakry Declaration

The next important event to be noted is the Conakry Declaration of May 1, 1959,* when Guinea and Ghana 'solemnly agreed to seal the Ghana-Guinea Union in practice'. But the Conakry Declaration went further: it envisaged the Ghana-Guinea Union as the beginning of a *Union* of Independent African States. The use of the term *Union* as opposed to regional federation or association, alarmed Liberia's President Tubman.

The Sanniquellie Declaration

Dr. Tubman took the initiative in calling a meeting with M. Sékou Touré and Dr. Nkrumah at Sanniquellie, a small Liberian village, where they produced the Sanniquellie Declaration of July 19, 1959.† It formulates six principles for the achievement of *The Community of Independent African States*: no longer any mention of *Union*. The crucial point is the third principle:

Each state and federation, which is a member of the Community, shall maintain its own national identity and constitutional structure. The Community is being formed with a view to achieving unity among independent African States. It is not designed to prejudice the present or future international policies, relations and obligations of the States involved.

The Sanniquellie Declaration marks a new phase in the argument between Pan-Africanists about the best way of developing African unity.

Second Conference of Independent African States, Addis Ababa, 1960

This division came into the open when the Sanniquellie Declaration was raised at the Second Conference of Independent African

* For text see Appendix 6.

† For text see Appendix 7.

States in Addis Ababa in 1960.* Its membership, meanwhile, had increased from eight at the first meeting to fifteen: Algeria Provisional Government,† Cameroun, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Liberia, Morocco, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic. (Togo and Congo Leopoldville failed to attend.)

Ghana's Foreign Minister, Mr. Ako Adjei, was at great pains to spell out in detail the ideas which Dr. Nkrumah had been advocating with increasing urgency in the latter part of 1959 and early 1960. Commending the Sanniquellie Declaration for adoption he said:‡

'It is clear from this declaration of principles that the Union of African States which the three leaders discussed and agreed upon is intended to be a political Union. Such a political Union in their view, will provide the framework within which any plans for economic, social and cultural co-operation can, in fact, operate to the best advantage of all. To us in Ghana the concept of African Unity is an article of faith. It is a cardinal objective in our policy. We sincerely believe that the Independent African States can, and may some day, form a real political Union—the Union of African States . . . It does not matter whether you start with an Association of African States or whether with economic or cultural co-operation . . . we must start from somewhere, but certainly the Union can be achieved in the end.§

Apart from Guinea this view received little support; the main opposition to it came from the leader of the Nigerian delegation, Mr. Yussuf Maitima Sule. His speech|| is important for several reasons: firstly because of its disagreement with the Ghana approach; secondly, because of its unveiled attack on Dr. Nkrumah—something new to African assemblies; and thirdly because it demonstrates that Nigeria is no stranger to Pan-Africanist ideas:

'Pan-Africanism,' said Mr. Sule, 'is the only solution to our problems in Africa. . . . No one in Africa doubts the need to promote Pan-Africanism. . . . 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

* For text of resolutions passed see Appendix 5.

† The admission of the Algerians as full members marks the growing success of their effective pressure at Pan-African conferences for unqualified support for their struggle.

‡ Mr. Adjei's speech is given in greater detail in Appendix 10.

§ For those who wish to refer to the original documents it is important to note that the speech of Ghana's Foreign Minister as circulated was altered in some important respects at the time of its delivery.

|| It is given in greater detail in Appendix 11.

of African States is premature. On the other hand, we do not dispute the sincerity and indeed the good intentions of those people who advocate it. But we feel such a move is too radical—perhaps too ambitious—to be of lasting benefit. Gradual development of ideas and thoughts is more lasting... it is essential to remember that whatever ideas we may have about Pan-Africanism it will not materialise, or at least it will not materialise as quickly as we would like it to if we start building from the top downwards. We must first prepare the minds of the different African countries—we must start from the known to the unknown. At the moment we in Nigeria cannot afford to form union by government with any African States by surrendering our sovereignty . . . President Tubman's idea of the association of states is therefore more acceptable for it is as yet premature to form a Union of States under one sovereignty.'

He then went on to make his much-publicised warning that 'if anybody makes the mistake of feeling that he is a Messiah who has got a mission to lead Africa the whole purpose of Pan-Africanism will, I fear, be defeated'.

In this exchange between Mr. Ako Adjei and Mr. Sule we have the crystallised views of two sides contesting the right way towards unity: Nigeria played the rôle of the Fabian, arguing from the standpoint of the federalist seeking to build from the bottom upwards; Ghana, the revolutionary unafraid to impel change from the top—a spirit in consonance with ideas of centralist democracy and unitarianism.

These attitudes have become two poles in the Pan-Africanist world; they divide the unitarians from the federalists (this was the tragic argument between Lumumba and Kasavubu in the Congo); the revolutionaries from the reformists, in economic as well as in social questions; and the promoters of a 'political union' from those who favour a slower, functional approach.

The Conference of Independent African States did not endorse the Sanniquellie Declaration. In the end they merely requested the President of the conference to address Heads of African States to initiate consultations through diplomatic channels with a view to promoting African unity, and to consider the item at their next meeting in 1962.

Quarrels and Rivals

But this issue was not the only divisive factor between the Independent States. At the Addis Ababa Conference the Cameroun Republic—the first former French territory to join the Conference

of Independent African States—mounted a bitter attack on Guinea for harbouring the rebel headquarters of Mr. Moumie's UPC at Conakry. Somalia and Ethiopia are unreconciled over 'the Somali lands'. Tunisia and Egypt have grown steadily apart. For a time their relations were completely ruptured following an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate M. Habib Bourguiba, which he blamed on Cairo. Togo and Ghana quarrelled over the question of Ewe reunification and despite attempts at conciliation have remained on bad terms. Relations between Nigeria and Ghana have remained at the level of polite restraint.

What is as significant as the disagreements is that despite them, until roughly October 1960, the Independent African States continued to share a common platform through the Conference of Independent African States, through the Secretariat of the African Group at the United Nations, and even through the AAPO. As late as August 1960, the 'Little Summit' conference of thirteen African States was able to reach agreement in Leopoldville (with only Guinea dissenting) on their policy of support for the United Nations in the Congo.*

Then everything changed. The five main events associated with this change are: the independence of Nigeria; the sudden independence of the thirteen French territories; the quarrel between Morocco and Mauritania which led to a rift between Morocco and Tunisia because of the latter's support for Mauritania's separate independence; the breakdown in the Central Government of the Congo; and the role of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Africa.

The limited scope of this survey does not allow for a full discussion of all these factors. The serious divisions over the ICFTU, are discussed later. Before their independence, many of the leaders of the French-speaking territories had come to be looked upon by the African States in control of the Pan-African organisation as 'stooges'. It was alleged against them that they had failed to stand

* The countries attending this conference in Leopoldville at the request of the late Mr. Lumumba were Algeria, Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Liberia, Morocco, Sudan, Togo, Tanganyika, Tunisia and the U.A.R. The conference disagreed with Mr. Lumumba in his attack on the policies of the U.N. and especially against Dr. Ralph Bunche, who had been Mr. Hammarskjöld's personal representative. They praised the work of the U.N. and unanimously agreed to send a message of appreciation to Dr. Bunche. They emphasised the importance of 'harmonising' all aid in the Congo within the U.N. programme. While condemning the 'secession and colonialist manoeuvres' of Katanga, and pledging support for the integrity of the Congo, they did not agree on a policy for dealing with Mr. Tshombe.

against French policy in Algeria—some were even supplying troops to help fight the FLN; that they had not come out against French atomic tests in the Sahara; that they had openly sided with Western policies in contravention of the Pan-Africanist convention of non-commitment; that several states, such as the Cameroun and Togo, had signed treaties for the supply of French troops to defend their governments. As a result, Accra, Rabat, Conakry and Cairo gave open support to exile groups from the French-speaking territories, so that Pan-African organisations (especially the AAPO) had become committed to the opponents of some of the governments in the pre-independent French territories, notably the Cameroun and Niger. In the affairs of the former Belgian Congo, the French territories—led by Congo (Brazzaville)—had openly worked against the Lumumbaists in support of Mr. Tshombe and President Kasavubu. Here, in a nutshell, were the elements making for strong antagonisms against leaders of the emerging French-speaking states.

The second event was the belated arrival of an independent Nigeria on the African—and especially West African—scene. By the time of her independence there was, as we have already seen, a division between herself and Ghana on the right approach to African unity. Many of the Nigerian leaders had also come to resent the dominant rôle assumed by their dynamic neighbour.

The third event was the Congo disaster.⁶⁴ Until the fissure opened in the Central Government between Lumumba and Kasavubu, the African states in the United Nations enjoyed their finest hour. They worked in unison, compelling the Security Council to operate effectively; they staved off the incipient 'cold war' threat in the Congo. The presence of Africa as a force in the councils of the world had been made real for the first time in history. There is a great deal still to be written about that period: about Ghana's rôle as mediator and moderator; about Guinea's rôle as irritant and militant, outflanking Ghana on the left; about the French African leaders' negotiations with Mr. Tshombe and President Kasavubu; and about Nigeria's incursion through Mr. Jaja Wachuku's chairmanship of the UN Conciliation Commission. But for our purposes it is enough to record that faced with its first major test in an African crisis, the African states were disunited. Nor was it the French-speaking Africans against the rest; the divisions were much more fundamental. In the end one group of African states recognised the Gizenga Government in Stanleyville;* another recognised the Kasavubu Government in Leopoldville. And

* These included Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the U.A.R. and Morocco.

around this division—but for a wider variety of reasons—there grew up two groups, the Casablanca Powers and the Monrovia States.

It is against this background that one must examine the rival groupings that emerged towards the end of 1960.

The Brazzaville Group

The Brazzaville Group⁶⁵—or to give it its official title, *The Union of African States and Madagascar*—grew out of a meeting summoned by the Ivory Coast in Abidjan in October 1960 primarily to discuss the possibility of the French African territories mediating between France and Algeria. The need for such an initiative had become urgent in view of their approaching application for membership of the United Nations. At a subsequent meeting in Brazzaville in December 1960 the decision was taken to form a more permanent association, and this decision was implemented at a meeting in Dakar in January 1961.

The Brazzaville Powers are Congo (Brazzaville), Ivory Coast, Senegal, Mauritania, Upper Volta, Niger, Dahomey, Chad, Gabon, the Central African Republic, Cameroun and Madagascar. Not all the members have agreed to join the French Community; and Togo has not joined the group.

The Brazzaville Declaration* called for peace in Algeria by 1961; favoured mediation in the Congo; and upheld Mauritania's independence. While opposing political union in the sense of establishing integrated institutions, it nevertheless accepted a permanent Inter-State Economic Secretariat.†

This development introduced two new elements into African politics: for the first time invitations were extended to a restricted list of independent states, and a deliberate attempt was made to create a bloc of African states (as opposed to regional groupings).⁶⁶

The Casablanca Powers

Brazzaville led to Casablanca. The group of African states which had adopted a clear-cut Lumumbaist line in the Congo had for some time felt the need to co-ordinate their policies. They had become a minority in the African Group at the United Nations and they were anxious to reassert the initiative taken by them in the earlier stages of Pan-African developments, Morocco, reacting to

* For French and English texts of the Brazzaville Declaration see Appendix 13.

† Decision taken at Yaounde in March 1961 where Madagascar's President Tsiranana was elected first president of the organisation.

the Brazzaville Group's sponsorship of Mauritania, took the initiative in calling the Casablanca Conference in January 1961.⁶⁷ The list of invitations was again a restricted one. Although more states were invited than finally came, the sponsors have kept their original list of invitations secret. Seven African delegations—Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the UAR, Libya, and the Algerian Provisional Government—as well as Ceylon—were represented.

Apart from discussions on a constitutional framework for the Casablanca Powers, four issues dominated the conference: Mauritania, Congo, Israel and the concept of political union. This last point is taken up more fully later in this chapter.

Libya, Ghana and the Algerians had not at first supported Morocco's attitude to Mauritania. Ghana had, in fact, favoured her admission to membership of the United Nations. But for the sake of 'greater unity' they subsequently reversed their previous stand. (Libya once again changed her position at the subsequent Monrovia Conference.)

On the Congo question the argument was mainly between Ghana and the rest. Only Ghana had refused to withdraw her troops from the UN Command in the Congo (a position she has steadily maintained). On this point she was notably out of step not only with the Casablanca Powers but with her own allies in the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union. Nor did Dr. Nkrumah favour the suggestion that direct military aid should be given to Mr. Gizenga's Stanleyville régime. He argued at great length against a military adventure because, as he insisted, the 'logistics' of keeping Stanleyville supplied would ensure its failure. By all accounts he took a tremendous hammering from many of the other delegations because of this attitude. But in the end his view prevailed.*

Ghana was the only member which could have resisted the UAR's demand for branding Israel as an 'imperialist base', as it had done at other conferences. But after the Congo debate, Dr. Nkrumah was unwilling to isolate himself on yet another point. Casablanca was the first occasion where a group of African States agreed to the UAR resolution on Israel.†

The broad principles of agreement reached at the Casablanca Conference were subsequently incorporated into the Casablanca Charter‡; its Protocol was signed at a meeting of Foreign Ministers

* For the text of resolutions passed at the conference see Appendix 15.

† Col. Nasser tried to get support for the Casablanca resolution at the Belgrade Conference of Non-aligned States in September 1961, but failed.

‡ For text of the Casablanca Charter and Protocol see Appendices 15 and 16.

in Cairo in May 1961. Libya did not sign the Protocol. The nineteen articles of the Protocol regulate the executive machinery of the Charter and provide for four permanent committees to be established—political, economic, cultural and a Defence Supreme Command. The Political Committee consists of the Heads of State, or their representatives, and is scheduled to meet 'periodically' to co-ordinate policies. The Economic Committee is composed of the Ministers of Finance of member-states, and the Cultural Committee of the Ministers of Education. The Supreme Command consists of the Chiefs of Staff of the various Armed Forces. Bamako, Mali's capital, is designated as the headquarters for the secretariat, with a Moroccan as Secretary-General.

The Charter prohibits accession to foreign military pacts and lays down that all signatories shall strictly adhere to policies of non-alignment. Any independent African state can accede to the Charter.

The Monrovia States

In the same way as Brazzaville had led to Casablanca, so Casablanca in its turn led to Monrovia. The Conference of twenty states that opened in the Liberian capital on May 8, 1961, included the twelve Brazzaville States; as well as Liberia, Nigeria, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Togo, Ethiopia, and the Casablanca deviate, Libya. Tunisia came but chose observer status. The Sudan stayed away as she had from Casablanca. Her official objection was to Mauritania's presence. Neither Congo (Leopoldville) nor the Stanleyville régime of Gizenga was invited to either of the two Conferences.

The Monrovia Conference was originally initiated by Dr. Leopold Senghor, Senegal's President, who had become increasingly concerned about his own country's isolation. Although Senegal belongs to the Brazzaville Powers it is not altogether secure in this association. Not wishing to take the lead himself Dr. Senghor approached Togo's President, Mr. Sylvanus Olympio. After consultation with Liberia's President Tubman and Nigeria's Premier, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the three agreed together to act as sponsors, and persuaded the Ivory Coast and Cameroun to join as co-sponsors. At one stage they persuaded Guinea and Mali to act as co-sponsors as well, but under pressure from Ghana these two withdrew on the grounds that the meeting was inopportune and that it should consist only of Heads of State.

In his welcome address to delegates President Tubman indicated some of the aims of the Conference as well as the anxieties that had led up to its being convened :

'It should be crystal clear to every leader that Africans cannot live in isolation if they expect to allay suspicion, fear and tension. The idea of *primus inter pares*, first among equals, is destructive of African Unity and Peace. . . . The sense of oneness should be deeply rooted in the breast of every African. But the whirls of circumstances and ambition can make it difficult for us to fit ourselves into the picture of a unified Africa, the foundation for which we hope will be laid before this Conference closes. I come now to the question of leadership of Africa. . . . In this connection I have observed that there seems to be three schools of thought on this subject. There are those who feel that Liberia should assume leadership based on the fact that she is the oldest African Republic and is riper in political experience; but it will require more than age and political experience to assume leadership of Africa. There are others who assume that Ghana should assume that rôle because she is physically more developed and embraces larger territories. It will require more than development and larger territory to assume leadership of Africa. And there are yet those who opine that Egypt with its rich traditions dating back to the remotest antiquity should do so. It will require more than rich traditions of antiquity. It will require, in my opinion, the aggregate of the best that is in all compounded in such a manner as to represent the divisibility of Africa indivisible.'

The Monrovia Conference has so far been the largest single gathering of African states. For the first time the whole of the French-speaking states joined with a majority of the English-speaking states. On questions affecting the principles of colonialism* it spokè with the same sharp voice as the AAPO and other militant Pan-Africanist groupings. It faltered, however, on the atomic tests in the Sahara; its resolution condemning tests in general took note of French assurances that tests in the Sahara would cease. And on Algeria, it accepted a tepid compromise expressing goodwill for the negotiations between the two sides that were about to take place. It backed economic sanctions against South Africa, and promised material support for the Angolans. It expressed full support for the Congo Central Government, but deleted a resolution condemning the assassination of Mr. Lumumba.

The Monrovia approach to the question of co-operation and unity is discussed in the next section. The Conference regretted the absence of the Casablanca Powers and left open the door for them to join at a follow-up conference to be held in Lagos where the machinery of co-operation was to be discussed in greater detail.

* For text of resolutions see Appendix 17.

By the end of the Conference Togo's President, Sylvanus Olympio, was able to say⁶⁸: 'At last we are beginning to think of ourselves as Africans and not simply *as extensions* of the European Powers.'

No event did more to flutter the doves in Africa's capitals than the Monrovia Conference. Ghana's Press was livid. Having published nothing about the Conference, except to refer to the absence of this or that Head of State, the pro-government papers opened a campaign to show how 'bogus' the Conference was. 'The very moment the BBC and other imperialist broadcasting brass-bands began their phoney adulation of the so-called virtues of the Monrovia slave-mentality operated slogan (*sic*) of "unity without unification", students of African history suspected with considerable concern the genesis of this new brand of His Master's Voice, just to discover that it was only the hand that was of Esau.' This article in the Ghana *Evening News* went on to suggest that 'the imperialists chose Monrovia because they believed that Liberia is still pulling the economic apron-strings'. Liberia is referred to as being 'in the economic mess-pot with her split, deformed and distorted personality'; and President Tubman is called upon to admit that he is 'an American first, African second'.

The Nigerian Press was incensed by this language. The *West African Pilot* (the paper started by Dr. Azikiwe and which has always expressed his policies) wrote on May 18, 1961:

'One single parliament for all Africa would be the ideal thing but, unlike Dr. Nkrumah, we would not strive to attain the unattainable. The Ghanaian leader talks sense most of the time but when he goes amiss he does so in a big way. We know that he is a great advocate of African unity but that does not mean that he is always right in his approach to African affairs. Dr. Nkrumah launched a blistering attack on the Monrovia Conference the other day. He was not there and yet this was an opportunity for all leaders of Africa to get together. Dr. Nkrumah is an advocate of unity. He was not there because he and his minority group could not, as they planned, impose their will on the conference. Dr. Nkrumah says Pan-Africanism means nothing unless it transcends the artificial barriers and boundaries imposed by colonialism. Ghana is in union with Guinea. They do not yet have one parliament or currency. Ghana is a very different country indeed, from Guinea, and the so-called union remains a scrap of paper. The Ghanaian Messiah has not yet succeeded in removing "artificial barriers imposed by colonialism".

'As an advocate of unity, Dr. Nkrumah has failed to rally the Ashanti region of Ghana behind him. The lash of the

Preventive Detention Act has created an artificial unity. Without his police and para-military groups such as the Builders' Brigades and the Young Pioneers, Dr. Nkrumah knows he will be facing a revolt any day. Yet this is the man who goes before the world, preaching unity. Dr. Nkrumah chooses to believe that the Monrovia powers do not represent the majority of African States. Twenty-one [*sic*] States were represented at Monrovia. There are only five countries in the Casablanca bloc. **THE TRUTH IS THAT DR. NKRUMAH MUST BE AT THE HEAD OF ANYTHING OR OUTSIDE IT** because he must always lead. He is the Messiah and no camp follower, this man. Dr. Nkrumah must be told that his reckless pursuit of his ambitions for expansion will lead him nowhere. His real aim is to swallow up little Togo and chew off parts of Ivory Coast. This talk of an African parliament and an Africa without boundaries is merely a cloak to conceal his aims. No matter how much we may admire the Ghanaian leader, it is our duty to warn him to desist from the pursuit of false principles.'

In another editorial attack⁶⁹ the *West African Pilot* said that in pursuance of 'cold war tactics' in Africa a struggle for leadership has already developed. 'Until recently it was a tournament between Nasser and Nkrumah but Africa today contains many stars and meteorites, all of them seeking positions of eminence.'

Politicians joined in the Press war; the NCNC issued a special Press statement appealing to Ghana, Guinea and Mali to join in the discussions with the Monrovia States. In the end, Dr. Nkrumah himself ordered that the Ghana Press should 'unilaterally' end its campaign. The importance of this spilling of ink was that for the first time many of the things that had previously only been said in private were now a matter of public discussion with the benefits that go with open disagreements openly discussed.

Pan-African Unity: The Crucial Question

Brazzaville, Casablanca and Monrovia have broken the charmed circle of Pan-African unity. But nobody who has closely followed the interplay of African forces can believe that the present divisions are permanent. Alliances and relationships are still extremely fluid in the Continent. As recently as 1959, Ghana and Guinea signed the Sanniquellie Declaration with Liberia; yet less than two years later the Ghana Press was busy denouncing the Liberians as 'western agents of America'. But Liberia had not changed. The Tubman of the Monrovia Conference was the same Tubman of

Sanniquellie. It is a feature of the contemporary game that friendships and enmities change fast. Nowhere in the Continent have politics or alliances had sufficient time to solidify.

It is not yet possible to make a confident assessment of the fundamental differences that divide the Casablanca Powers from the Monrovia States. Casablanca was for Gizenga's régime; now (like the Monrovia) they are for the Congo Central Government. They support Morocco's claim on Mauritania; Monrovia is opposed to it. On the other hand both groups have declared themselves emphatically against the remnants of colonialism and against *apartheid*. Casablanca is on record for non-commitment; Monrovia is silent on this point. But it would be misleading to tag all the Monrovia as 'pro-Western': they represent many different attitudes, ranging from Somalia's strict non-alignment to Madagascar's Francophilism. Is there a clear-cut division then between the two groups on the crucial question of how best to achieve African unity?

The Monrovia declaration on promoting better understanding and co-operation among African states defines five principles: recognition of each state's equality and sovereignty; freedom from annexation; the right for any state freely and voluntarily to join with another without hindrance; respect for the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs; respect for territorial integrity, and condemnation of any state harbouring dissident elements who might wish to carry on subversive activities against another state.

Monrovia accepted the idea of promoting co-operation throughout Africa, conditioned by '*non-acceptance of any leadership*'. The key to their attitude on Pan-African unity reads: 'The unity that it is aimed to achieve at the moment is not the political integration of sovereign African States, but unity of aspirations and of action considered from the point of view of African social solidarity and political identity'. Also, they accept, in principle, that an inter-African and Malagasy *Advisory Organisation* shall be created. Committees of technicians have been set up to plan co-operation in the economic, educational, cultural, scientific, technical and communications field.

How does all this compare with Casablanca's proposals for African unity? The Casablanca Charter goes only so far as to 'affirm our will to intensify our efforts for the creation of an *effective form of co-operation* among the African States in the economic, social and cultural domains'. While it provides for the immediate establishment of four Joint Committees—political, economic, cultural and a military command—these are purely con-

sultative and have no power of any kind. It is completely vague on the crucial question of what is intended by 'an effective form of co-operation'. There is no mention of abandoning sovereignty, nor of political union. In fact, although Dr. Nkrumah argued strongly at the Casablanca Conference for political union, his proposal was not accepted. In its closing stages Dr. Nkrumah made his own position admirably clear: 'The future of Africa lies in a political union—a political union in which the economic, military and cultural activities will be co-ordinated for the security of our Continent'. But he spoke for himself; Casablanca was silent on political union.

Political union is an idea of which Dr. Nkrumah has become the leading and, indeed, virtually the only prominent exponent in Africa; even Guinea and Mali are less specific, except in their approach to the Union of West African States. Dr. Nkrumah's latest book, *I Speak of Freedom*,⁷⁰ is, significantly, dedicated to 'Patrice Lumumba, late Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo, and all those who are engaged in the struggle for the political unification of Africa.' [Author's italics.] To all the disturbing problems in Africa—poverty, neo-colonialism, balkanisation, disunity, cultural and language differences—Dr. Nkrumah offers one recipe: 'strong political unity' and 'the African race united under one federal government'.

'The emergence of such a mighty stabilising force in this strife-worn world should be regarded,' he writes,⁷¹ 'not as the shadowy dream of a visionary, but as a practical proposition which the peoples of Africa can and should translate into reality. There is a tide in the affairs of every people when the moment strikes for political action. We must act now. Tomorrow may be too late. . . .'

The debate over *political union* (or as it is sometimes called *organic union*) and *regional association* (or *functional co-operation*) has become a lively issue not only in the higher spheres of Pan-African politics but in national parliaments and on the political hustings as well. Nigeria's official Opposition, the Action Group which is led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo⁷² introduced a motion into parliament in September 1961, to promote the idea of a Union of West African States. Opening for the Opposition, Chief Tony Enaharo attacked government policy for advocating 'functional co-operation among African States at a time when the climate of progressive opinion throughout Africa is overwhelmingly in favour of organic union.'⁷³

But neither he nor his leader, Mr. Awolowo, appear to subscribe to the idea of political union as advocated by Dr. Nkrumah. This

emerges clearly from a Press Statement made by Chief Awolowo on behalf of the Action Group in June 1961.* It is in many ways a remarkable document, coming as it does from a great and influential party which has always been counted in the past among the reformers and traditionalists. It illuminates the strength of feeling about blackness. 'The first principle which I advocate is that, in the present context of the world, the black man *qua* the colour of his skin, is confronted with certain knotty and intractable problems which are peculiar to him.'

It calls for the creation of an Organisation for the African Community which must be 'first and last a revolutionary body... it must openly advocate the overthrow of all white rule in Africa, whether such rule is by white settlers or by white colonial powers.'

But while it makes a number of concrete proposals to achieve African unity, these do not amount to *political union*. It concedes that *confederation* might be considered.

I am not here concerned with the charges levelled against Mr. Awolowo that his plan is only intended to make 'political propaganda'. The significant fact is that the idea of unity is considered to be sufficiently important to encourage an influential political party to adopt it as its platform in opposition to the Nigerian Government's foreign policy.

What do other Nigerian leaders think? The Governor-General, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, is of course the doyen of the Pan-African leaders in West Africa. In an address delivered in London in August 1961† he put forward his idea for what he called 'a concert of African States'.

'Granted that political union is desirable,' he said, 'the question arises whether it should be in the form of a federation or a confederation. If the former, should it be a tight or a loose one, in which case it will be desirable to know whether it is intended to surrender internal or external sovereignty, or both? In this context we cannot overlook the struggle for hegemony as indeed has been the case in the last few years. Hand in glove with the struggle for hegemony goes the manoeuvre for the control of the armed forces for the effective implementation of policy.'

Dr. Azikiwe's successor as Premier of the Eastern Region of Nigeria, Dr. M. I. Okpara, was even more concrete in the proposals he outlined for an African Union in London in August 1961 at the end of an extensive tour through Asia and Europe.⁷⁴ His proposals

* See Appendix 24 of the first edition of this book.

† See Appendix 25 of the first edition of this book.

envisage : firstly, that Africa should be organised into five Economic Regions (North, East, Central, South and West) with common customs, currency, transport and research organisations; secondly that these economic regions should be welded into political unions; and thirdly, that the five political units should form either a Federation or a Confederation, or even a Common Market.

'My contacts during my journeys through Asia and Europe have confirmed my view that the Union of African States will make for rapid economic advance on this Continent. Its political advantages will be enormous, as the Continent will be completely liberated, and a source of constant temptation to the Imperialist will be removed. . . . Unless there is a rapid and complete change of policy such as we have seen on the West Coast [of Africa], the West will definitely lose Africa. To hasten this change Africans must band themselves together into a Union. . . . It is important that we should carry all along with us if we are to arrive at the goal of a United Africa in peace and not in pieces. Only by the fullest discussion and persuasion is this possible. Coercion or precipitate action will achieve nothing; indeed it might imperil this vital objective of African unity. This is the lesson of Nigerian unity.'

But this argument is not confined only to West Africa; it is going on everywhere in the Continent. In an invaluable pamphlet⁷⁵, Mr. Dunduza K. Chisiza, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance in Nyasaland and one of Dr. Hastings K. Banda's most effective lieutenants, writes :

'Pan-Africanism, as a strategy for emancipation, is unquestionably effective, but we must build from down upwards, not from up downwards: the fabric of the regions must be knitted together not merely tacked. As a unifying agent for regional co-operation Pan-Africanism is superficial; it is an 'operation roof-top'. This is not a counsel for gradualism in the attainment of independence, which must come quickly, but of realism after it. Ideas about stages vary with writers not only in politics but also in other disciplines such as economics. The writer suggests the following: 1. Attainment of independence. 2. Vigorous modernisation of economies. 3. Encouragement of regional economic co-operation and regional consciousness. 4. Political regrouping of neighbouring countries.'

Non-alignment and Belgrade (1961)

Non-alignment has become a second major divisive factor between the African states. All believe in non-alignment, or at least

profess to do so. There is, however, a wide difference between the *positive neutrality* of Bandung or the *non-commitment* of the first Conference of Independent African States in 1958, and the policy demanded by the Conference of Non-aligned Countries in Belgrade in 1961.

Of Africa's twenty-eight independent states, only ten went to Belgrade: Congo (Leopoldville), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia and the UAR.* And of these only two—Somalia and Ethiopia—are members of the Monrovia States. Two others—Tunisia and the Congo—lean towards Monrovia. On the other hand, all the Casablanca Powers were at Belgrade. They had played a leading part in the earlier work of the preparatory committee which met in Cairo in June 1961 to plan the non-aligned conference. Only three non-Casablanca Powers attended this meeting from among the African States: Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia.

The Cairo preliminary meeting⁷⁶ decided two important questions. It defined for the first time what was meant by non-alignment; and, in the light of its definition, it recommended which states should be invited. To be non-aligned a country must: 1. Pursue an independent policy based on peaceful co-existence. 2. Not participate in multilateral military alliances (e.g. NATO, the Warsaw Pact, SEATO or CENTO). 3. Support liberation and independence movements. 4. Not participate in bilateral military alliances with Great Powers; nor should they have foreign military bases on their territory, set up with their agreement.

What is a military alliance? Does it rule out, for example, defence agreements for training local armies? No precise definitions were agreed; this led to bitter controversies both about Latin American and African membership. The Brazzaville Powers were not even seriously considered, but Nigeria was—and it was decided not to invite her (or Tunisia), despite strong protests from such countries as India, the Sudan and Ethiopia. After 'the battle of Bizerta' Tunisia was invited; and as a result of a special initiative by Ethiopia a belated invitation went to Nigeria. Her government angrily rejected it, not without bad blood.

'It is a matter of prestige,' Nigeria's Foreign Minister, Mr. Jaja Wachuku told Parliament when questioned why the Government had not accepted the invitation.⁷⁷ 'An African country spent all its time fighting against Nigeria attending this conference....

* Algeria's Provisional Government attended the Belgrade Conference as a full member; it was accorded *de jure* recognition by a number of the other countries attending the Conference.

Nigeria is not going to beg for a thing that she is entitled to. . . . If we had the same time as these people have had, perhaps twelve months from today, it may be that all those who have been making the noise will find themselves very backward in international affairs.'

Until nearly the end of 1960 the newly-independent African states were, generally-speaking, 'neutral on the side of the West'. (Two exceptions were Guinea and the UAR; each had good reasons for its attitude.) Even though criticisms of Western policies were voiced everywhere in the Continent, the African leaders continued to shop for aid and ideas almost exclusively in the West. By the end of 1961 this picture had largely changed: no African countries were pro-Communist; none was overtly anti-West; but fewer were 'neutral on the side of the West'; and a great number were genuinely non-aligned.

These attitudes are not only reflected in the policies of governments; they are even more strongly shown in the attitudes of political leaders, and especially among the African youth.

Even if Western policies were attuned to the real feelings and needs of Africa it is doubtful whether the drift into non-alignment could have been stopped. Indeed, it is questionable whether Western policies would have been well served by trying to stop it—but that is another question. Nevertheless, Western mistakes contributed greatly to its changing fortunes in Africa. The tragedy of the Congo, and Western pressures in the United Nations (both in the Security Council and in the lobbies) probably did more than anything else to harden sentiment in favour of a more strict application of non-alignment:⁷⁸ for one thing it helped to produce the Casablanca Conference with its rigid insistence on members being genuinely non-aligned. But French policy in Africa—the Sahara bomb-tests, the method of surrendering power in some of the French-speaking territories, the Algeria war and Bizerta, as well as her voting record at the United Nations on such questions as South-West Africa and South Africa—also played its part. France's allies in NATO could not escape sharing responsibility for her policies once they refused to disassociate themselves publicly from the French nuclear tests (which were carried out in defiance of the moratorium on testing); and when they tacitly agreed to NATO arms being shipped to Algeria. Once rebellion broke out in Angola, anti-NATO (hence anti-Western) feelings became further hardened, although the uncompromising position adopted by the United States towards the Salazar régime possibly made things less bad than might otherwise have been the case.

These developments occurred at a time when independence was bringing both frustration and fresh opportunities to African states. For the first time many of them had political freedom to negotiate for economic aid where and with whom they chose. At the same time they needed vastly increased technical and financial aid to carry forward the impetus independence gave to development. For these reasons alone the period 1960-62 would unquestionably have witnessed a 'breakthrough' of the Communists' economic and technical aid programme into Africa; and this must inevitably have led to some change of attitudes. The Communists' 'arrival' as a competitor in Africa should not be connected with Western policies, even if their apparent strength in one or two countries is almost certainly due to Western reluctance to help.

This coincidence of a period of disillusionment with the West and the appearance of the Communists fresh on the African scene, gave a much sharper edge to African attitudes on non-alignment. While this impact was strongest on militant elements in the Pan-African movement, it had its effect also on such countries as the Sudan, Ethiopia, Tunisia and Somalia.

Reformers and Revolutionaries

On the question of political union the majority of the Casablanca Powers have, as we have seen, less in common with Dr. Nkrumah than they have with the Monrovia States. And yet in their general attitudes the two groups are clearly distinctive. Where, then, lies the difference?

When one comes to examine the most active protagonists in both groups one is struck by certain fundamental differences of attitude. There is, for example, a similarity between Ghana, Guinea, Mali and the UAR* on the one hand; and, say, Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal and the Ivory Coast on the other.

The first category is militant in a revolutionary sense.† Although there are differences between them, they all subscribe, in one form or another, to the concept of the State and the Party being one and the same: an idea presented as 'democratic centralism'. They are

* But not Morocco, their Casablanca partner.

† Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, speaking on 'The West and Africa's Challenge' on the occasion of the Royal African Society's sixtieth anniversary in London, said of Africa's post-colonial governments: 'These new governments are not the result of a slow process of evolution. They are revolutionary in character, have revolutionary tasks to perform, and are obsessed with the idea that their task of carrying out extensive economic and social changes must be made with speed.' (Quoted in *East Africa and Rhodesia*, June 8, 1961.)

willing to force the pace of change by direct state pressure from above. They are not afraid to risk drastic economic experiments.

None of this is true in equal measure of the second category. That is not to say there are no 'democratic centralists' among the Monrovia States, for there are. But the general attitude of the Monroviens is reformist and radical rather than revolutionary. Their radicalism lies in their nationalist struggle; but once having achieved independence they are not anxious for too rapid or widespread social and economic changes. Their chief preoccupation is with their own affairs; they are not champions of a particular political concept which they would like to persuade *all* the African states to adopt. But the triumph of the militant Pan-Africanists (or is it the dynamics of Pan-Africanism?) is that the reluctant reformers and radicals have been compelled to compete for authority and influence, either by creating their own organisations in self-defence, or by joining in the organisations started by the revolutionaries. It is not accidental that when one thinks of the *political capitals* of Africa one thinks automatically of Accra, Cairo, Conakry and latterly of Bamako. Among the 'Monroviens' the nearest one gets to the idea of a political capital is Brazzaville, but this has largely to do with the regional aspirations of M. Fulbert Youlou.

Another important distinction we have noted is that while both believe in 'non-alignment', the revolutionaries believe in an aggressive assertion of this policy. It is not enough that their own foreign bases should go; they are pledged to see that everybody else's should go as well. The majority of the 'Monroviens', e.g. the 'Brazzaville Twelve', Liberia, Sierra Leone and Togo—that is three-quarters of the Monrovia States—assert this belief in non-alignment (if they do so at all) as a theoretical concept rather than as a practical policy.

But while these distinctions have validity at the present time it is possible to misconstrue the dynamic forces of Africa if one regards them as either rigid distinctions or constants. In the rapid changes of a society—not only in transition from colonialism to independence, but from a society unadapted to modern statehood to a future nowhere yet clearly defined—there is a strong interplay between radical and revolutionary ideas. Neither the reformers with their cautious attachment to traditions and slow change, nor the revolutionaries with their belief in rapid modernisation are sufficiently sure of themselves to resist each other's arguments. Both forces are present in every African society, and there is hardly a government that does not include representatives of both. Thus far the radicals have tempered the revolutionaries rather than the other

way around. But recent developments in Egypt and Ghana show that the swing may now be going the other way. There is no logical reason why the revolutionaries should not in time establish themselves as the stronger force in Pan-Africanism; if such a development should come it would dramatically change the whole picture in Africa.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

I

THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Paris, 1919

RESOLUTION

(a) That the Allied and Associated Powers establish a code of law for the international protection of the natives of Africa, similar to the proposed international code for labour.

(b) That the League of Nations establish a permanent Bureau charged with the special duty of overseeing the application of these laws to the political, social and economic welfare of the natives.

(c) The Negroes of the world demand that hereafter the natives of Africa and the peoples of African descent be governed according to the following principles:

(i) *The Land.* The land and its natural resources shall be held in trust for the natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop.

(ii) *Capital.* The investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for social and material benefit of the natives.

(iii) *Labour.* Slavery and corporal punishment shall be abolished and forced labour except in punishment of crime, and the general conditions of labour shall be prescribed and regulated by the State.

(iv) *Education.* It shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of native teachers.

(v) *The State.* The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the Government as fast as their development permits, in conformity with the principle that the Government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the Government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government, according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceed, to the higher offices of states; to the end

that, in time, Africa is ruled by consent of the Africans . . . whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilised citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and culture, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the notice of the civilised world.

2

THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS *Manchester, 1945*

The following are some of the principal resolutions passed:

I

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

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

In connection with the political situation, the Congress observed:

(a) That since the advent of British, French, Belgian and other Europeans in West Africa, there has been regression instead of progress as a result of systematic exploitation by these alien imperialist Powers. The claims of "partnership", "Trusteeship", "guardianship", and the "mandate system", do not serve the political wishes of the people of West Africa.

(b) That the democratic nature of the indigenous institutions of the peoples of West Africa has been crushed by obnoxious and oppressive laws and regulations, and replaced by autocratic systems of government which are inimical to the wishes of the people of West Africa.

(c) That the introduction of pretentious constitutional reforms in West African territories are nothing but spurious attempts on the part of alien imperialist Powers to continue the political enslavement of the peoples.

(d) That the introduction of Indirect Rule is not only an instrument of oppression but also an encroachment on the right of the West African natural rulers.

(e) That the artificial divisions and territorial boundaries created by the imperialist Powers are deliberate steps to obstruct the political unity of the West African peoples.

II

Economic. As regards the West African economic set-up, the Resolution asserted:

(a) That there has been a systematic exploitation of the economic resources of the West African territories by imperialist Powers to the detriment of the inhabitants.

(b) That the industrialisation of West Africa by the indigenes has been discouraged and obstructed by the imperialist rulers, with the result that the standard of living has fallen below subsistence level.

(c) That the land, the rightful property of West Africans, is gradually

passing into the hands of foreign Governments and other agencies through various devices and ordinances.

(d) That the workers and farmers of West Africa have not been allowed independent trade unions and co-operative movements without official interference.

(e) That the mining industries are in the hands of foreign monopolies of finance capital, with the result that wherever a mining industry has developed there has been a tendency to deprive the people of their land holdings (e.g. mineral rights in Nigeria and Sierra Leone now the property of the British Government).

(f) That the British Government in West Africa is virtually controlled by a merchants' united front, whose main objective is the exploitation of the people, thus rendering the indigenous population economically helpless.

(g) That when a country is compelled to rely on one crop (e.g. cocoa) for a single monopolistic market, and is obliged to cultivate only for export while at the same time its farmers and workers find themselves in the grip of finance capital, then it is evident that the Government of that country is incompetent to assume responsibility for it.

Commenting on the social needs of the area, the Resolution said:

(a) That the democratic organisations and institutions of the West African peoples have been interfered with, that alien rule has not improved education, health or the nutrition of the West African peoples, but on the contrary tolerates mass illiteracy, ill-health, malnutrition, prostitution, and many other social evils.

(b) That organised Christianity in West Africa is identified with the political and economic exploitation of the West African peoples by alien Powers.

III

1. The principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter be put into practice at once.

2. The abolition of land laws which allow Europeans to take land from the Africans. Immediate cessation of any further settlement by Europeans in Kenya or in any other territory in East Africa. All available land to be distributed to the landless Africans.

3. The right of Africans to develop the economic resources of their country without hindrance.

4. The immediate abolition of all racial and other discriminatory laws at once (the Kipande system in particular) and the system of equal citizenship to be introduced forthwith.

5. Freedom of speech, Press, association and assembly.

6. Revision of the system of taxation and of the civil and criminal codes.

7. Compulsory free and uniform education for all children up to the age of sixteen, with free meals, free books and school equipment.

8. Granting of the franchise, i.e. the right of every man and woman over the age of twenty-one to elect and be elected to the Legislative Council, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.

9. A State medical, health and welfare service to be made available to all.

10. Abolition of forced labour, and the introduction of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

IV

DECLARATION TO THE COLONIAL POWERS

The delegates believe in peace. How could it be otherwise, when for centuries the African peoples have been the victims of violence and slavery? Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.

We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people. We continue willingly to sacrifice and strive. But we are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance a false aristocracy and a discarded imperialism.

We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy.

Therefore, we shall complain, appeal and arraign. We will make the world listen to the facts of our condition. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy and social betterment.

V

DECLARATION TO THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

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

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

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

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

3

EXTRACTS FROM THE BANDUNG DECLARATION 1955

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
 2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
 3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.
 4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
 5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
 6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big Powers.
(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.
 7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
 8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiations, conciliations, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
 9. Promotion of mutual interest and co-operation.
 10. Respect for justice and international obligations.
- The Asian-African Conference declares its conviction that friendly co-operation in accordance with these principles would effectively contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security, while co-operation in the economic, social and cultural fields would help bring about the common prosperity and well-being of all.

4

THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES

Accra, April 15-22, 1958

DECLARATION

We, the African States assembled here in Accra, in this our first Conference, conscious of our responsibilities to humanity and especially to the peoples of Africa, and desiring to assert our African personality on the side of peace, hereby proclaim and solemnly reaffirm our unswerving loyalty to the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration of the Asian-African Conference held at Bandung.

We further assert and proclaim the unity among ourselves and our solidarity with the dependent peoples of Africa as well as our friendship with all nations. We resolve to preserve the unity of purpose and action in international affairs which we have forged among ourselves in this historic Conference; to safeguard our hard-won independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; and to preserve among ourselves the fundamental unity of outlook on foreign policy so that a distinctive African Personality will play its part in co-operation with other peace-loving nations to further the cause of peace.

We pledge ourselves to apply all our endeavours to avoid being committed to any action which might entangle our countries to the detriment of our interests and freedom; to recognise the right of the African peoples to independence and self-determination and to take appropriate steps to hasten the realisation of this right; to affirm the right of the Algerian people to independence and self-determination and to exert all possible effort to hasten the realisation of their independence; to uproot forever the evil of racial discrimination in all its forms wherever it may be found; to persuade the Great Powers to discontinue the production and testing of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons; and to reduce conventional weapons.

Furthermore, mindful of the urgent need to raise the living standards of our peoples by developing to the fullest possible advantage the great and varied resources of our lands, We hereby pledge ourselves to co-ordinate our economic planning through a joint economic effort and study the economic potentialities, the technical possibilities and related problems existing in our respective States; to promote co-ordinated industrial planning either through our own individual efforts and/or through co-operation with Specialised Agencies of the United Nations; to take measures to increase trade among our countries by improving communications between our respective countries; and to encourage the

investment of foreign capital and skills provided they do not compromise the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of our States.

Desirous of mobilising the human resources of our respective countries in furtherance of our social and cultural aspirations, We will endeavour to promote and facilitate the exchange of teachers, professors, students, exhibitions, educational, cultural and scientific material which will improve cultural relations between the African States and inculcate greater knowledge amongst us through such efforts as joint youth festivals, sporting events, etc.; We will encourage and strengthen studies of African culture, history and geography in the institutions of learning in the African States; and We will take all measures in our respective countries to ensure that such studies are correctly orientated.

We have charged our Permanent Representatives at the United Nations to be the permanent machinery for co-ordinating all matters of common concern to our States; for examining and making recommendations on concrete practical steps for implementing our decisions; and for preparing the grounds for future Conferences.

Faithful to the obligations and responsibilities which history has thrown upon us as the vanguard of the complete emancipation of Africa, we do hereby affirm our dedication to the causes which we have proclaimed.

RESOLUTIONS

1. Exchange of Views on Foreign Policy

The Conference of Independent African States,

Having made the widest exchange of views on all aspects of foreign policy,

Having achieved a unanimity on fundamental aims and principles,

Desiring to pursue a common foreign policy with a view to safeguarding the hard-won independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Participating States,

Deploring the division of the greater part of the world into two antagonistic blocs,

1. Affirms the following fundamental principles:

A. Unswerving loyalty to and support of the Charter of the United Nations and respect for decisions of the United Nations;

B. Adherence to the principles enunciated at the Bandung Conference, namely:

(i) Respect for the fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

(ii) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

(iii) Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.

(iv) Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

(v) Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

(vi) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big Powers.

Abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.

(vii) Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

(viii) Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

(ix) Promotion of mutual interest and co-operation.

(x) Respect for justice and international obligations.

2. Affirms its conviction that all Participating Governments shall avoid being committed to any action which might entangle them to the detriment of their interest and freedom;

3. Believes that as long as the fundamental unity of outlook on foreign policy is preserved, the Independent African States will be able to assert a distinctive African Personality which will speak with a concerted voice in the cause of Peace in co-operation with other peace-loving nations at the United Nations and other international forums.

2. The Future of the Dependent Territories in Africa

The Conference of Independent African States,

Recognising that the existence of colonialism in any shape or form is a threat to the security and independence of the African States and to world peace,

Considering that the problems and the future of dependent territories in Africa are not the exclusive concern of the Colonial Powers but the responsibility of all members of the United Nations and in particular of the Independent African States,

Condemning categorically all colonial systems still enforced in our Continent and which impose arbitrary rule and repression on the people of Africa,

Convinced that a definite date should be set for the attainment of independence by each of the Colonial Territories in accordance with the will of the people of the territories and the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Calls upon the Administering Powers to respect the Charter of the United Nations in this regard, and to take rapid steps to implement the provisions of the Charter and the political aspirations of the people, namely self-determination and independence, according to the will of the people;

2. Calls upon the Administering Powers to refrain from repression and arbitrary rule in these territories and to respect all human rights as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

3. Calls upon the Administering Powers to bring to an end immediately every form of discrimination in these territories;

4. Recommends that all Participating Governments should give all possible assistance to the dependent peoples in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence;

5. Recommends that the Independent African States assembled here should offer facilities for training and educating peoples of the dependent territories;

6. Decides that the 15th April of every year be celebrated as Africa Freedom Day.

3. The Question of Algeria

The Conference of Independent African States,

Deeply concerned by the continuance of war in Algeria and the denial by France to the Algerian people of the right of independence and self-determination despite various United Nations resolutions and appeals urging a peaceful settlement, notably the offer of good offices made by the Moroccan and Tunisian Heads of State,

Considering that the present situation in Algeria constitutes a threat to international peace and the security of Africa in particular,

1. Recognises the right of the Algerian people to independence and self-determination;

2. Deplores the grave extent of hostilities and bloodshed resulting from the continuance of the war in Algeria;

3. Urges France

(a) to recognise the right of the people of Algeria to independence and self-determination;

(b) to put an end to the hostilities and to withdraw all her troops from Algeria;

(c) to enter into immediate peaceful negotiation with the Algerian Liberation Front with a view to reaching a final and just settlement;

4. Appeals to all peace-loving nations to exercise pressure on France to adopt a policy which is in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

5. Appeals to the friends and allies of France to refrain from helping France, whether directly or indirectly, in her military operations in Algeria;

6. Affirms its determination to make every possible effort to help the Algerian people towards the attainment of independence;

7. Recommends that the representatives of the Independent African States at the United Nations be instructed by their various Governments to consult each other constantly and acquaint members of the United Nations with true states of affairs in Algeria and solicit their support for a just and peaceful settlement and to recommend to the Independent African States measures which may from time to time become necessary to be taken and in particular find ways and means whereby the Independent African States may enlighten world opinion on the Algerian situation including the appointment of a mission as soon as possible to tour the capitals of the world to enlist world support of Governments.

4. Racialism

The Conference of Independent African States,

Considering that the practice of racial discrimination and segregation is evil and inhuman,

Deeply convinced that racialism is a negation of the basic principles of human rights and dignity to the extent where it is becoming an element of such explosiveness which is spreading its poisonous influence more and more widely in some parts of Africa that it may well engulf our Continent in violence and bloodshed,

Noting with abhorrence the recent statement made by the head of the South African Government on his re-election to the effect that he will pursue a more relentless policy of discrimination and persecution of the coloured people in South Africa,

1. Condemns the practice of racial discrimination and segregation in all its aspects all over the world, especially in the Union of South Africa, in the Central African Federation, Kenya and in other parts of Africa;

2. Appeals to the religious bodies and spiritual leaders of the world to support all efforts directed towards the eradication of racialism and segregation;

3. Calls upon all members of the United Nations and all peoples of the world to associate themselves with the Resolutions passed by the United Nations and the Bandung Conference condemning this inhuman practice;

4. Calls upon all members of the United Nations to intensify their efforts to combat and eradicate this degrading form of injustice;

5. Recommends that all Participating Governments should take vigorous measures to eradicate where they arise vestiges of racial discrimination in their respective countries.

5. Steps to be taken to Safeguard the Independence, Sovereignty and the Territorial Integrity of the Independent African States

The Conference of Independent African States,

Determined to safeguard the hard-won independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each of its members,

Believing that the getting together and consulting among Independent African States, as in the present Conference of Accra, is essential for the effectiveness of their contribution to world peace,

1. Declares the determination of all Participating Governments

(a) to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of one another,

(b) to co-operate with one another to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity,

(c) to co-operate in their economic, technical and scientific developments and in raising the standard of living of their respective peoples,

(d) to resort to direct negotiations to settle differences among themselves and if necessary to conciliation or mediation by other African Independent States;

2. Condemns all forms of outside interference directed against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Independent African States.

6. Togoland under French Administration

The Conference of Independent African States,

Having examined the Memorandum on the situation in Togoland under French Administration submitted by the Juvento Party, and the statement made by the Representative of this Party during the hearing granted to him in the Conference,

Bearing in mind the objectives of the International Trusteeship System and the objectives proclaimed by the Bandung Conference,

Having regard to the extremely important responsibilities laid upon the Legislative Assembly to be elected on 27th April, 1958, as to the future of the territory by paragraphs 7 and 8 of the operative part of the United Nations Resolution of 29th November, 1957,

1. Expresses grave concern regarding the present electoral laws and system of the Territory;
2. Strongly urges that the Administering Authority will co-operate fully with the United Nations Commissioner in order to ensure fair and democratic elections in the Territory.

7. Cameroons Under French Administration

The Conference of Independent African States,

Having examined the Memorandum on the situation in the Cameroons under French Administration submitted by the Union of the Populations of Cameroons, and the statement made by the Representative of this Party during the hearing granted to him in the Conference,

Bearing in mind the objectives of the International Trusteeship System and the objectives proclaimed by the Bandung Conference,

1. Condemns the use of military force against the unarmed people in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French Administration as contrary to the spirit of the United Nations;
2. Calls upon the Administering Powers to comply with the Charter of the United Nations and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people concerned by opening direct negotiations with their representatives;
3. Appeals to the United Nations to intensify its efforts in helping the people of the Cameroons to achieve their legitimate political aspirations.

8. Examination of Ways and Means of Promoting Economic Co-operation between the African States, based on the Exchange of Technical, Scientific and Educational Information, with Special Regard to Industrial Planning and Agricultural Development

The Conference of Independent African States,

Having discussed the economic and social conditions in their respective countries,

Considering that these countries have great and various economic resources, mineral, agriculture and animal,

Considering that there are now possibilities for commercial exchange between Independent African States and that these possibilities should be greatly encouraged,

Considering that steps should be taken to bring about economic emancipation in these countries,

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

Considering further that Africa could be developed as an economic unit,

Noting that the incorporation of dependent African territories in the economic systems of colonial Powers is not in the best interests of these peoples,

Recommends to the Participating African States:

1. The establishment within each Independent African State of an Economic Research Committee to survey the economic conditions and to study the economic and technical problems within the State;
2. The establishment of a Joint Economic Research Commission
 - (a) to co-ordinate information and exchange of views on economic and technical matters of the various Independent African States;
 - (b) to find measures whereby trade among African countries could be developed and encouraged;
 - (c) to make proper and detailed investigation as to the possibilities of co-ordinating the economic planning in each State towards the achievement of an all-African economic co-operation;
 - (d) to find ways and means for common industrial planning within the African States and the possibilities of making available mineral resources and other African products among the African States;
 - (e) to lay down proposals by which Independent African States can receive foreign capital and employ foreign experts, and to encourage co-operation with other countries in such manner as not to affect their independence, sovereignty and unity;
3. To take steps in order to collect and exchange knowledge and technological information among themselves;
4. To establish joint African enterprises;
5. To hold economic conferences and African exhibitions;
6. To strengthen their co-operation with the Specialised Agencies of the United Nations and especially with the newly proposed Economic Commission for Africa;
7. To make joint efforts as far as practicable to construct means of communications between African States;
8. To investigate the possibility of eventual establishing of an African common market;
9. To provide facilities for exchange of labour and labour information and to encourage co-operation among national trade union organisations;
10. To strengthen the co-operation with the International Labour Organisation;
11. To take joint action for the prevention of diseases among human beings, in agriculture and in animal husbandry, and to act against the ravages of locusts;
12. To ensure the establishment of equitable social and economic policies which will provide national prosperity and social security for all citizens.

9. On the Cultural level, the formulation of concrete Proposals for the Exchange of Visiting Missions between the various Countries, both Government and non-Government, which may lead to first-hand Knowledge of one Country to another, and to a mutual appreciation of their respective Cultures

The Conference of Independent African States,

Having made the widest exchange of views on all aspects of the cultures of all Participating Countries,

Desiring to promote the widest dissemination of the cultures of all Participating Countries,

A. Upholds the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and reaffirms the principles approved by the Bandung Conference of April, 1955, concerning Cultural co-operation, and accordingly;

1. States that colonialism is prejudicial to national culture and as such hinders any possible cultural co-operation;

2. Calls for the development of Cultural Co-operation among African States in the larger context of world co-operation and in the spirit of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation;

B. Recommends to all Participating Members;

1. To promote and facilitate the exchange of teachers and professors;

2. To encourage the establishment of cultural centres in each other's country on the approval of the country in which such a centre may be established and in conformity with its laws, regulations and practices;

3. To encourage and facilitate the exchange of their students, each providing a certain number of scholarships for students from other African countries;

4. To facilitate the exchange of exhibitions, educational, scientific and cultural material including books, periodicals, bulletins, audio visual aids and other cultural and educational material;

5. To ensure that syllabi of history and geography applied in the schools and educational institutions of each include such material as may help to give each student an accurate information of the way of life and culture in the other African countries;

6. To spare no efforts to revise history and geography, text books and syllabi used in their schools with the view to removing any incorrect information due to colonial or other foreign influences;

7. To co-ordinate their school systems at all levels and to recognise the certificates, diplomas and degrees awarded by their educational institutions and universities of equivalent status;

8. To encourage reciprocal visits by their different organisations of youths, teachers, Press, labour, women, artists, sports, etc., granting them all possible facilities;

9. To strive to include principal African languages in the curriculum of the secondary school and colleges with the view to facilitating the cultural co-operation envisaged;

10. To hold inter-African periodic and *ad hoc* conferences for their educators, scientists, men of letters, journalists, etc., with the view to discussing common problems and to extend all possible facilities for such purposes;

11. To conclude mutual cultural agreements among them for the promotion of cultural co-operation.

12. To encourage in their universities and institutes of higher learning research on African culture and civilisation creating fellowships for this purpose;

13. To encourage the establishment of African publishing centres and to make concerted efforts to publish an African journal edited and contributed to by Africans introducing Africa's culture, civilisa-

tion and development to the world and to the various African countries;

14. To set up an annual prize for works which promote closer solidarity among the African States, the ideas of liberty, friendship and peace and which disseminate knowledge about African civilisation and culture;

15. To encourage the translation of books dealing with African culture and civilisation into their principal languages, e.g. creating fellowships for this purpose;

16. To establish an annual inter-African sports meeting and an annual youth festival;

17. To set up, each in its respective country, a local organisation whose functions will be the promotion and development of cultural co-operation among African countries.

10. Consideration of the Problem of International Peace and Conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the Re-affirmation of the Principles of the Bandung Conference

The Conference of Independent African States,

Alarmed at the prospect of nuclear and thermo-nuclear energy being used by the Great Powers for military purposes,

Desiring to strengthen their contribution to world peace and security,

Realising that world peace is a prerequisite for the progress and prosperity of all peoples,

Taking into account the fact that no African nation is at present represented in the international bodies concerned with the problems of disarmament,

1. Calls upon the Great Powers to discontinue the production of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons and to suspend all such tests not only in the interest of world peace but as a symbol of their avowed devotion to the rights of man;

2. Views with grave alarm and strongly condemns all atomic tests in any part of the world and in particular the intention to carry out such tests in the Sahara;

3. Appeals to the Great Powers to use atomic, nuclear and thermo-nuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes;

4. Affirms the view that the reduction of conventional armaments is essential in the interest of international peace and security and appeals to the Great Powers to make every possible effort to reach a settlement of this important matter;

5. Condemns the policy of using the sale of arms as a means of exerting pressure on Governments and interfering in the internal affairs of other countries;

6. Urges the United Nations to ensure that the African nations are represented equitably on all international bodies concerned with the problems of disarmament;

7. Considers that meeting and consultation on international affairs should not be limited to the big Powers;

8. Expresses its deep concern over the non-compliance with United Nations resolutions, calls upon the Member States to respect such resolutions, and urges a just solution of the outstanding international problems;

9. Expresses its deep concern over the question of Palestine which is a disturbing factor of World Peace and Security, and urges a just solution of the Palestine question;

10. Expresses its deep concern over the South-West African and similar questions which are disturbing factors of World Peace and Security, and urges a just solution to them.

11. The Setting up of a Permanent Machinery after the Conference

The Conference of Independent African States,

Firmly convinced that a machinery for consultation and co-operation is essential,

1. Decides to constitute the Permanent Representatives of the Participating Governments at the United Nations as the informal permanent machinery,

(a) for co-ordinating all matters of common concern to the African States,

(b) for examining and making recommendations on concrete practical steps which may be taken to implement the decisions of this and similar future conferences, and

(c) for making preparatory arrangements for future conferences of Independent African States;

2. Agrees that meetings of Foreign Ministers, other Ministers or experts be convened from time to time as and when necessary to study and deal with particular problems of common concern to the African States;

3. Agrees that the Conference of the Independent African States should be held at least once every two years;

4. Agrees that the next Conference shall be held within the next two years and accepts the kind invitation of the Government of Ethiopia to hold the next Conference in Addis Ababa.

19

THE CONFERENCE OF NEGRO WRITERS AND ARTISTS

First Congress: Paris, September 19-22, 1956

RESOLUTION

Whereas the Conference has shown that there is a profound interest in the work undertaken during its sessions in regard to various Negro cultures which have often been ignored, under-estimated or sometimes destroyed;

Whereas there has been made evident the urgent necessity to rediscover the historical truth and revalue Negro cultures; these truths, often misrepresented and denied, being partly responsible for provoking a crisis in Negro culture and in the manner in which that culture relates to World culture;

We recommend that artists, writers, scholars, theologians, thinkers and technicians participate in the historic task of unearthing, rehabilitating and developing those cultures so as to facilitate their being integrated into the general body of World culture.

We Negro writers, artists and intellectuals of various political ideologies and religious creeds have felt a need to meet at this crucial stage in the evolution of mankind in order to examine objectively our several views on culture and to probe those cultures with a full consciousness of our responsibilities—first, before our own respective peoples, second, before colonial people and those living under conditions of racial oppression, and, third, before all free men of good will.

We deem it unworthy of genuine intellectuals to hesitate to take a stand regarding fundamental problems, for such hesitations serve injustice and error.

Jointly we have weighed our cultural heritages and have studied how they have been affected by social and general conditions of racialism and colonialism.

We maintain that the growth of culture is dependent upon the termination of such shameful practices in this twentieth century as colonialism, the oppression of weaker peoples and racialism.

We affirm that all peoples should be placed in a position where they can learn their own national cultural values (history, language, literature, etc.) and enjoy the benefits of education within the framework of their own culture.

This Conference regrets the involuntary absence of a delegation from South Africa.

This Conference is pleased to take due notice of recent advances made

throughout the world, advances which imply a general abolition of the colonial system, as well as the final and universal liquidation of racialism.

This Conference invites all Negro intellectuals to unite their efforts in securing effective respect for the Rights of Man, whatever his colour may be, and for all peoples and all nations whatsoever.

This Conference urges Negro intellectuals and all justice-loving men to struggle to create the practical conditions for the revival and the growth of Negro cultures.

Paying tribute to the cultures of all lands and with due appreciation of their several contributions to the progress of Civilisation, the Conference urges all Negro intellectuals to defend, illustrate and publicise throughout the world the national values of their own peoples.

We Negro writers and artists proclaim our fellowship with all men and expect from them, for our people, a similar fellowship.

At the request of several members of Congress the Officers have undertaken the responsibility of setting up an International Association of Negro Men of Culture.

THE CONFERENCE OF NEGRO WRITERS AND ARTISTS

Second Congress: Rome, March 25–April 1, 1959

Preamble

The Negro Writers and Artists, meeting in Congress at Rome on the 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st March, 1959, welcome the process of decolonisation which has begun in the world on a large scale.

They consider that this movement should be extended and amplified and that, as the nineteenth century was the century of colonisation, so the twentieth century should be the century of general decolonisation.

They regard it as the imperative duty of the members of the S.A.C. to make themselves actively militant in all fields on behalf of this decolonisation, which is indispensable to the peace of the world and the development of culture.

They protest against all manifestations and all acts of violence, wherever they may happen, by means of which a retarded colonialism attempts to prevent the colonised peoples from regaining their freedom.

They reassert their conviction:

1. That political independence and economic liberation are the essential conditions for the cultural advance of the underdeveloped countries in general and the Negro-African countries in particular.

2. That every effort towards the regrouping of countries or nations artificially divided by imperialism, every realisation of fundamental solidarity and every determination towards unity are advantageous and profitable for restoring the equilibrium of the world and for the revitalisation of culture.

3. That every effort towards the personification and enrichment of national culture, and every effort to implant Negro men of culture in their own civilisation, constitute in fact, progress towards universalisation and are a contribution towards the civilisation of mankind.

The Congress, therefore, recommends the Negro Writers and Artists to regard it as their essential task and sacred mission to bring their cultural activity within the scope of the great movement for the liberation of their individual peoples, without losing sight of the solidarity which should unite all individuals and peoples who are struggling for the liquidation of colonisation and its consequences as well as all those who are fighting throughout the world for progress and liberty.

Resolution of the Commission on Literature

The Commission on Literature of the Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists, after studying the Reports submitted to it, and after a general discussion of these Reports and of their conclusions, at its sessions of Thursday 26th, Friday 27th, Saturday 28th and Sunday 29th March, 1959, examined,

I. The state of vernacular literature in Negro Africa and the countries of African population, and the need to defend those oral literatures which constitute the real basis of Negro-African cultures and their ethics, as well as the legitimate expression of national or regional peculiarities in the various countries concerned.

This work of defence and development has already been undertaken, for example, for Ghana, Guinea and Haiti, where the sovereign Governments are encouraging the development of the autochthonous languages, either by financial assistance to existing institutions, or by including these languages in the school curriculum, or by publishing newspapers and reviews, etc., and by the creation of Drama Centres.

The Commission also examined,

II. The confrontation of these traditional cultures with the forms of Western culture, in the unhealthy, and most frequently barbarous context of colonisation.

This confrontation in most cases resulted in a dead stop and in *cultural degeneration*. It involved the countries of African population in a long period of silence and loss of personality.

This contact also brought about new structures within the traditional literature, to the extent that, for good or evil, every culture in our time is influenced by other cultures.

There is a need for the study of these new structures and for help in acquiring consciousness of them and thus ensuring the transition from oral literatures to the stage of written literature, without impairing the character and ethics of these literatures.

The Commission also examined,

III. The situation of the Negro writer in the modern world. Such a writer is most frequently cut off from his authentic public by the use of a language which, in its literary form, is inaccessible to the mass of Negro peoples.

Such a writer experiences serious difficulties in getting his work published, in the modern Western conditions in which he finds himself; his public is therefore most frequently a restricted one.

He may also suffer from another cause of disequilibrium in those cases where the use of his autochthonous language is imperative for him and where its creative possibilities are limited by the fact that this language is not in literary use.

Emphasis should nevertheless be laid on the progressive character of the use of the Western languages to the extent that they lead to economy of time in constructing the new Africa.

This observation should in no way lessen the obligation to develop the autochthonous languages.

In view of all the reasons and considerations set out above, the Commission on Literature calls the attention of the Delegates of the Second Congress of Negro Writers and Artists to the following projects which should be instituted in the various Negro States:

1. The institution in each independent country of a strict and rigorous plan for the fight against illiteracy, inspired both by the most modern techniques already in use, and the original peculiarities of the country in question.

2. An increase in the number of fundamentally decentralised popular libraries, and the use of films and sound-recordings.

3. The institution of African Cultural Research Centres; these Centres, which would be responsible for working out practical plans, would be in close contact with the International Organisations, and with other nations.

4. The translation into autochthonous languages, wherever possible, of representative works of Negro writers in the French, English, Portuguese, Spanish, etc., languages.

5. The exchange of translations between the various cultural areas (French, English, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese) of Africa and the other countries of African population. Negro writers should not necessarily adopt the contradictions between the various Western cultures emanating from the nations which have dominated the Negro world.

6. The creation of national organisations for aid to writers. Such organisations already exist in various forms in Ghana and Guinea.

7. The Commission proposes the creation of effective aid to young writers within the Society of African Culture itself.

8. The Commission recommends the Society of African Culture to arrange cultural meetings with the writers of all countries.

9. Finally, the Commission hopes that the Congress will call the attention of the Governments of Negro States to the need to support and encourage the creation of theatrical schools along the lines set out above.

The Commission on Literature hopes that Negro-African writers will work to define their common language, their common manner of using words and ideas and of reacting to them. The desire for an ordered language expressing coherent cultures is embodied, among other things, in work within a national reality from which the flagrant disorder specifically inherent in the colonial situation will be banished. This language, transcending the various languages used, transcending the legitimate forms of national cultures, will thus contribute towards strengthening the unity of the Negro peoples, and will furnish their writers with a working tool.

The Commission also finally recognises that this contribution to the progress of the Negro-African peoples cannot fail additionally to strengthen the universal brotherhood of mankind. The Commission had endeavoured to carry out its work bearing constantly in mind this brotherhood and the generosity of spirit which it implies.

Resolution of the Commission on Philosophy

Considering the dominant part played by philosophic reflection in the elaboration of culture,

Considering that until now the West has claimed a monopoly of philosophic reflection, so that philosophic enterprise no longer seems conceivable outside the framework of the categories forged by the West,

Considering that the philosophic effort of traditional Africa has always been reflected in vital attitudes and has never had purely conceptual aims,

The Commission declares:

1. That for the African philosopher, philosophy can never consist in reducing the African reality to Western systems;
2. That the African philosopher must base his inquiries upon the fundamental certainty that the Western philosophic approach is not the only possible one;
and therefore,
 1. Urges that the African philosopher should learn from the traditions, tales, myths and proverbs of his people, so as to draw from them the laws of a true African wisdom complementary to the other forms of human wisdom and to bring out the specific categories of African thought.
 2. Calls upon the African philosopher, faced by the totalitarian or egocentric philosophers of the West, to divest himself of a possible inferiority complex, which might prevent him from starting from his African *being* to judge the foreign contribution.

It calls upon the philosopher to transcend any attitude of withdrawal into himself and his traditions so as to bring out, in true communication with all philosophies, the true universal values.

It is highly desirable that the modern African philosopher should preserve the unitary vision of cosmic reality which characterises the wisdom of traditional Africa.

Synthesis by the Sub-Commission on Theology

We, African believers, of all forms of faith, meeting as the Theological Sub-Commission of the Second International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists,

I. Find:

1. That there is a difficult and heavy responsibility upon us, in the present crisis of human values; a difficult responsibility, since religion involves requirements which demand the whole man, whose profit is not material and does not immediately appear; a heavy responsibility, because our Negro-African culture is in danger of losing what makes it original, if the profoundly religious spirit which inspires it came to be extinguished.
2. That we have our proper cultural personality, which is the source of our originality.
3. That the fundamental values of that cultural personality which might allow a valid communication between the various confessions known to the Negro world, may be summed up as follows:
 - a fundamental faith in a transcendental Force from which man draws his origin, upon which he depends and towards which he is drawn.
 - the sense of a vital solidarity ("*solidarité*"), a French word which seems to us the least removed from the Fulah *neddaku*, the Bambara *maya*, the Madagascan *fhavanana*, and others, and which comprises a series of moral and social virtues, such as Ancestor worship, the veneration of the Elders, hospitality, the spirit of tolerance, etc.
 - the vital union between spiritual and practical life.
4. That these fundamental values through which the African religious spirit finds expression, are undergoing a twofold crisis:
 - by reason of their encounter with the modern world and with religions coming from elsewhere.

II. Declare:

1. That it is our duty to acquire and diffuse a better knowledge of our cultural patrimony which is profoundly penetrated by the religious spirit.
2. That we must be lucid in assessing what is obsolete and what is lasting in the expressions of our cultural heredity.
3. That we must lay our hearts and minds open to everything which is universal in the values of any culture or religious expression whatsoever, distinguishing in them what is universal and therefore valid for all men, from what is the proper expression of their own cultural heredity.
4. That we wish to establish communication between the different religions by which the Negro-African world lives, a communication which must not end in an insuperable opposition between one religion and another, but in a mutual enrichment which will enable each of them to express itself through Negro-African culture.

III. Motions.

1. We call upon all religious forces to preserve and enrich the religious spirit of the Negro world.
2. We ask all those who guide the destinies of our countries (politicians, artists and scientists), to give the religious spirit its proper place in Negro-African culture.
3. We invite the ministers of all religions to continue their efforts towards the comprehension of African culture and to make use of it in transmitting their message.
4. We call upon all the elect to assemble and make known our oral sacred literature.
5. We ask all foreign scientists who have the noble ambition of making us rediscover our religious traditions, while grateful to them for all that is positive in their contribution, to beware of passing too rapidly from hypothesis to assertion.
6. We decide to make greater use of *Présence Africaine* to make our work known.
7. We demand that we shall not be compelled, in the name of an unconditioned fidelity to Africa, and of technical progress erected into a supreme value, to renounce our religious convictions, thus forgetting the fact that no properly understood religion is in opposition to progress and denying the great African spirit of toleration.

Resolution on Technical Sciences and Medicine

It seems daring to refer to science in speaking of modern Africa, so distant is the memory of the Cultural Centres which were found all over ancient Africa.

We have not in effect shared in the scientific upsurge which began in Europe with the sixteenth century and gathered momentum in the nineteenth, so paralysed were we by the slave trade which not only drained Africa of more than a hundred million human beings, but also caused the destruction on the spot of whole populations and the flight of the survivors to the forest regions, a relatively effective place of refuge, but hardly propitious for the development of science.

The colonisation which succeeded the slave trade was no more favourable to us. Technique never develops except under the pressure of real needs and thanks to investment which is sometimes burdensome, African techniques, crystallised since the sixteenth century, could only evolve with

difficulty in contact with more highly developed European techniques responding to priority requirements which are foreign to us.

At the same time, the obstacles which have limited the development of science in Africa are not all of an external character. There are internal obstacles (maintained and aggravated by colonisation) such as:

1. The initiatory form of scientific knowledge in old Africa. This form of spreading knowledge both dangerously limited the number of "those who know" (our wise men) and at the same time did not allow these "wise men," who before attaining full knowledge had already passed the most creative age, to give of their best.
2. The absence in the greater part of Africa of the writing which is necessary to sustain scientific reflection.

Report of the Commission on the Arts

Whereas:

The two points which received greatest attention of the Second Congress of Negro Artists and Writers under the headings of descriptions and spirit were:

1. The unity of thought indispensable to the equilibrium of the Black World, and
2. The overriding obligation imposed on all black artists to produce within their culture a liberation of all different forms of expression.

Whereas:

The Commission on the Arts finds that in the actual state of our knowledge, the work which has been done (mostly by Western specialists), and which is in the process of attempting to articulate general laws and the aesthetic principles of African art, does not yet yield more than hypotheses needing much further explanation!

Whereas:

The Society of African Culture is the sole existing medium on the international level for the mobilisation of the artistic production of black artists and writers, and has a unique possibility and responsibility for demonstrating before the world the richness and the value of the talent and competence of the new culture in the Negro world.

Whereas:

The Commission has understood the vital role of the cinema as a medium of communication, education, and indoctrination, which can be of extraordinary value to the native States of Africa (or of imminent harm, if delivered to remain by default, under alien domination);

Be it resolved that:

The Second International Congress of Negro Artists and Writers propose to the principal S.A.C. organisation the establishment of a team of Negro specialists who would be charged with making on-the-spot inventories of African sculpture to find out

- (a) the general laws which have governed the elaboration of African sculpture and statuary;
- (b) the spirit and the general laws governing the diverse expressions of Negro plastic art;
- (c) the present condition of the painter and the sculptor in the

different artistic zones of the Negro world; the condition of the painter and the sculptor in countries with populations of African descent; African sources of these artistic zones; the influence of the African plastic arts on Europe, and inversely, the influence of Western arts on Negro-African art.

Motion by a Group of Marxists

We, African Marxists,

Recognise that the evolution of Societies, the steady improvement of technique, recent discoveries, and the consequent emergence of new economic links and new social relationships make the enrichment and effective broadening of Marxism both possible and desirable.

The analyses of Western society worked out by Marx, although linked to the interpretation of a specific system of production, namely capitalism, enabled Marx to describe the feudal (pre-capitalist) forms of society, forms whose equivalent can be found today in the regions which are commonly called underdeveloped.

The economic situation with which Marx found himself faced at the time when he was explaining the laws which govern society led him to advocate certain forms of action.

It is nevertheless clear that in the particular case of underdeveloped countries and, more precisely in the case of Africa, the original forms of struggle take on specific dimensions; already at grips with colonialism, African leaders must further take into account their need to promote a programme of technical modernisation with the maximum speed and efficiency.

African Marxists, in their reflections and in their practice, must look strictly, not only at general economic problems, but also and especially at the facts of economic underdevelopment and the cultural configurations proper to their regions.

African Marxists must also draw inspiration from current experiments in other underdeveloped countries which have already attained independence.

In consequence, considering that,

1. The cultural references in Marx's thought are nearly all drawn from Western experience,

2. The economic situation of the Western proletariat cannot be strictly identified with that of the underdeveloped people;

3. A doctrine is all the more universal so far as, on the one hand, it takes into account all experience, historic, economic, etc., and the diversity of the cultural genius of peoples, and on the other hand, its application is controlled by a really representative authority,

We invite African Marxists to develop their doctrine on the basis of the real history, aspirations and economic situation of their peoples and to build and found it on the authority of their own culture.

CHARTER OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

We, the Heads of African and Malagasy States and Governments assembled in the City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia;

Convinced that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny;

Conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples;

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

Inspired by a common determination to promote understanding and collaboration among our States in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences;

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

Determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our States, and to resist neo-colonialism in all its forms;

Dedicated to the general progress of Africa;

Persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the principles of which we reaffirm our adherence, provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive co-operation among States;

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

Resolved to reinforce the links between our States by establishing and strengthening common institutions;

Have agreed to the present Charter.

Establishment

ARTICLE I

The High Contracting Parties do by the present Charter establish an Organisation to be known as the 'Organisation of African and Malagasy States'.

Purposes**ARTICLE II**

1. The Organisation shall have the following purposes:
 - a. To promote the unity and solidarity of the African and Malagasy States.
 - b. To co-ordinate and intensify their collaboration and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa.
 - c. To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence.
 - d. To eradicate all forms of colonialism from the continent of Africa; and
 - e. To promote international co-operation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
2. To these ends, the Member States shall co-ordinate and harmonise their general policies, especially in the following fields:
 - a. Political and diplomatic co-operation.
 - b. Economic co-operation, including transport and communications.
 - c. Educational and cultural co-operation.
 - d. Health, sanitation and nutritional co-operation.
 - e. Scientific and technical co-operation.
 - f. Co-operation for defence and security.

Principles**ARTICLE III**

The Member States, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article II, solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles:

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

Membership**ARTICLE IV**

Each independent sovereign African and Malagasy State shall be entitled to become a Member of the Organisation.

Rights and Duties of Member States**ARTICLE V**

All Member States shall enjoy equal rights and have equal duties.

ARTICLE VI

The Member States pledge themselves to observe scrupulously the principles enumerated in Article III of the present Charter.

Institutions**ARTICLE VII**

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

1. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government.
2. The Council of Ministers.
3. The General Secretariat.
4. The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government**ARTICLE VIII**

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government shall be the supreme organ of the Organisation. It shall, subject to the provisions of this Charter, discuss matters of common concern to all Member States with a view to co-ordinating and harmonising the general policy of the Organisation. It may in addition review the structure, functions and acts of all the organs and any specialized agencies which may be created in accordance with the present Charter.

ARTICLE IX

The Assembly shall be composed of the Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives and it shall meet at least once a year (every other year). At the request of any Member State, and approval by the majority of the Member States, the Assembly shall meet in extraordinary session.

ARTICLE X

1. Each Member State shall have one vote.
2. All resolutions shall be determined by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting.
3. Questions of procedure shall require a simple majority. Whether or not a question is one of procedure shall be determined by a simple majority of all Member States present and voting.
4. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Organisation shall form a quorum at any meeting of the Assembly.

ARTICLE XI

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

The Council of Ministers**ARTICLE XII**

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

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

ARTICLE XIII

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

It shall take cognisance of any matter referred to it by the Assembly. It shall be entrusted with the implementation of the decisions of the Assembly of Heads of State. It shall co-ordinate inter-African co-operation in accordance with the instructions of the Assembly and in conformity with Article II (2) of the present Charter.

ARTICLE XIV

1. Each Member State shall have one vote.
2. All resolutions shall be determined by a two-thirds majority of those members present and voting.
3. Questions of procedure shall require a simple majority. Whether or not a question is one of procedure shall be determined by a simple majority of all Member States present and voting.
4. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Council shall form a quorum for any meeting of the Council.

ARTICLE XV

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

General Secretariat

ARTICLE XVI

There shall be an Administrative Secretary-General of the Organisation, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers. The Administrative Secretary-General shall direct the affairs of the Secretariat.

ARTICLE XVII

There shall be one or more Assistant Secretaries-General of the Organisation, who shall be appointed by the Council of Ministers.

ARTICLE XVIII

The functions and conditions of services of the Secretary-General, of the Assistant Secretaries-General and other employees of the Secretariat shall be governed by the provisions of this Charter and the regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

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

Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration

ARTICLE XIX

Member States pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means and, to this end, agree to conclude a separate treaty establishing a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. Said treaty shall be regarded as forming an integral part of the present Charter.

Specialised Commissions

ARTICLE XX

The Assembly shall establish such Specialised Commissions as it may deem necessary, including the following:

1. Economic and Social Commission.
2. Educational and Cultural Commission.
3. Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission.
4. Defence Commission.
5. Scientific, Technical and Research Commission.

ARTICLE XXI

Each Specialised Commission referred to in Article XX shall be composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or Plenipotentiaries designated by the Governments of the Member States.

ARTICLE XXII

The functions of the Specialised Commissions shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the present Charter and of the regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

The Budget

ARTICLE XXIII

The budget of the Organisation prepared by the Administrative Secretary-General shall be approved by the Council of Ministers. The budget shall be provided by contributions from Member States in accordance with the scale of assessment of the United Nations; provided, however, that no Member State shall be assessed an amount exceeding twenty per cent of the yearly regular budget of the Organisation. The Member States agree to pay their respective contributions regularly.

Signature and Ratification of Charter

ARTICLE XXIV

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

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

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

Entry into Force

ARTICLE XXV

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

Registration of the Charter

ARTICLE XXVI

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

Interpretation of the Charter

ARTICLE XXVII

Any question which may arise concerning the interpretation of this Charter shall be decided by a vote of two-thirds of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, present and voting.

Adhesion and Accession

ARTICLE XXVIII

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

2. The Administrative Secretary-General shall, on receipt of such notification, communicate a copy of it to all the Member States. Admission shall be decided by a simple majority of the Member States. The decision of each Member State shall be transmitted to the Administrative Secretary-General, who shall, upon receipt of the required number of votes, communicate the decision to the State concerned.

Miscellaneous

ARTICLE XXIX

The working languages of the Organisation and all its institutions shall be English and French.

ARTICLE XXX

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

ARTICLE XXXI

The Council of Ministers shall decide on the privileges and immunities to be accorded to the personnel of the Secretariat in the respective territories of the Member States.

Cessation of Membership

ARTICLE XXXII

Any State which desires to renounce its membership shall forward a written notification to the Administrative Secretary-General. At the end of one year from the date of such notification, the Charter shall cease to apply with respect to the renouncing State, which shall thereby cease to belong to the Organisation.

Amendment to the Charter

ARTICLE XXXIII

This Charter may be amended or revised if any Member State makes a written request to the Administrative Secretary-General to that effect; provided, however, that the proposed amendment is not submitted to the Assembly for consideration until all the Member States have been duly notified of it and a period of one year has elapsed. Such an amendment shall not be effective unless approved by at least two-thirds of all the Member States.

In faith whereof, We, the Heads of African and Malagasy State and Government, have signed this Charter.

Done in the City of Addis Ababa, the 25th day of May, 1963.

Algeria	Mali
Burundi	Mauritania
Cameroun	Morocco
Central African Republic	Niger
Chad	Nigeria
Congo (Brazzaville)	Rwanda
Congo (Leopoldville)	Senegal
Dahomey	Sierra Leone
Ethiopia	Somalia
Gabon	Sudan
Ghana	Tanganyika
Guinea	Togo
Ivory Coast	Tunisia
Liberia	Uganda
Libya	United Arab Republic
Madagascar	Upper Volta