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THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA
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CHAPTER 11
THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA

History is not an accumulation or a juxtaposition of intentions. History consists of deeds, concrete deeds, and their interrelations with one another. History is continuity of actions, of deeds and the relationships between these actions and deeds. History is everywhere and at all times guided by the law of continuity and rejects all vacuum, all interruption in its process. Even where qualitative leaps occur, they are always part of this historical process. As this process develops independently of the will of man, man, within the People, must master its laws as much as possible. This attitude with regard to the objective determinism of historical laws must reflect in the perseverance of the People in the fulfilment of their obligations towards themselves as well as in the determination of man in the accomplishment of his duties. And this attitude is only possible where there is also the will to achieve the objective in view. Such a programme calls for moral principles to guide the conduct of the masses, principles without which, there can only be a bunch of men, to say the least, but certainly not a People. Evolved in the course of history, these principles constitute the basis of the personality of a People and determine their role in the domination of nature and the mastery of the facts of History. It is these principles that make it possible to identify a responsible people

Consequently, any talk about the United States of Africa entails first of all principles that are to guide the formation of Unity, which is all the more important especially as it relates to a whole continent.

Naturally and undoubtedly, all Africans unanimously support the idea of the unity of our continent. Unfortunately, however, there are deep-seated divergences of opinion as to the methods of achieving this sacred unity. Some maintain that the economy is the factor that can achieve this Unity while others consider that it is common culture. It is our opinion that two countries may have the same culture and language without however being united; two ethnic groups with the same language and common customs may still not be united. Similarly, two countries may be confronted with the same economic problems without being united, for Unity presupposes mutual confidence, mutual respect, and active solidarity. Unity is the determination to live together, achieve common objectives, establish and maintain solidarity in order to face up the challenges of History. Indeed, even twins have each an individual personality, individual tastes, and inclinations. In other words, Unity is only possible insofar as the associated persons first of all feel respected and secured in their interests and dignity, and also insofar as they are determined to remain interdependent both in concrete actions and in their thoughts with regard to the events of History. As far as we are concerned, it is upon these foundations that we can build a future of solidarity among the Peoples of Africa. After all, why don't we draw lessons of our past from History?

Our grandfathers were united. It was the colonizers who, in order to dominate them, divided them, moulded them to suit their conceptions of life and

their interests. Thus, barriers which were hitherto non-existent now divide our various States. But we must realize that our grandparents neither desired nor accepted this iniquitous system imposed upon them.

We have inherited complex and disquieting situations. Each African State faced with very serious problems strives to lead a normal life, balance its economy and speed up its development. Yet, experience has amply shown that the search for adequate solutions to these problems and the achievement of these objectives necessarily depend on a number of prerequisites which, despite their variety, all boil down to the fundamental question of unity of action based on the active and collective participation of all African States in the achievement of the balanced economic, cultural, social, and political development of Africa. But what do we observe? We observe that we, Africans, are yet to utilize our resources in common and to combine our efforts to achieve our unity. Pooling our resources and joining our efforts together constitute the one means without which the harmonious development so much desired by every African People cannot be guaranteed. That is why the same forces militating against our Unity continue to work against us in their attempts to divert us from unity, because it is not in their interests to see us re-establish our lost historical and social balance, that very balance which our ancestors and grandparents had established and which we want to retrieve through this dynamic development. If, for instance, a foreign power feels securely established in Guinea but has no roots in another African country it would neither welcome nor desire unity between the two countries, as this would definitely compromise its domination of Guinea. On the

other hand a foreign power well established in that other African country but without roots in Guinea would, for the same reasons, fear all rapprochement between that African country and Guinea. This means that the Unity of Africa necessarily depends on the formulation of a common programme, an enterprise to which all African States will be committed, and which will require a constant sense of sacrifice and a firm desire to unite, all the more so as we must necessarily neutralize the enemies of our Peoples who are fiercely opposed to this unity.

Africa has her history. Those who colonized Africa surely want to confine her within that history. Not quite long ago a distinction was drawn between “Africa North of the Sahara,” “Africa South of the Sahara,” so that Africa may never achieve her unity. Even the so-called “Black Africa” and “White Africa” were divided into ethnic groups. Fortunately, however, each People are endowed with creative genius and wisdom, and every man determined to achieve dignity strongly upholds the cause of the triumph of the historical reason of the Peoples. Realizing the stratagem, Africans saw the need to pave their way to greatness which enabled them first to recover the independence of their countries and then to unite within the Continental Organization of the O.A.U., established, fortunately enough at the right moment, to rehabilitate our continent, Africa, through joint efforts.

The first attempt at African Unity made in Casablanca produced the document known as the “CASABLANCA CHARTER” adopted on December 31, 1960. This paved the way for the Organization of

African Unity established in Addis-Ababa on May 25, 1963. Since that date, considerable progress has indeed been made!

Africa is therefore on the move: she is moving with perseverance, she is moving with the certainty to triumph, she is moving with the determination to succeed in achieving her objectives. Imperialism is intent on impeding the move, capitalism is no less intent upon undermining it and the racists are resolved on putting an end to it. It is our duty as Africans to cleanse ourselves of the slights that our grandfathers, our fathers, and ourselves alike have each in turn suffered. We must cleanse ourselves of these insults by proving, like other Peoples, that God has created us as men and Peoples endowed with intellectual and moral faculties which distinguish man from beasts. We must assume all our responsibilities on the African soil, and by so doing prove to those who despised us that they were sadly mistaken in their utopian desire to change the human nature of the African. By assuming our responsibilities in the retrieved unity, we shall prove to the enemy that the African is indeed equal to any other man from any other continent of the world. The African is already proving this through his devotion to duty as shown by the African cadres at the O.A.U.

This resounding proof of the maturity of the African is henceforth a constant feature that will affect the determination of historical facts. And tomorrow, the African shall in dignity look up and face any man, proud as he is of his effective contribution to world civilization and to the progress of mankind through the struggle and in the struggle. Our permanent and sacred duty must be the struggle!

Africa, with over 400 million souls with a glorious past witnessed a historical eclipse characterized by foreign domination. Africa has 400 million People who have finally chosen their path and now know where they are heading to. Certainly, what they lack is material resources. But the factors of History are man and consciousness! Fortunately, the majority of us have now realized the alienation we suffered and the root causes of the backwardness of our Continent in relation to other continents. We are aware of our condition as exploited People. We are aware that this condition can only be qualitatively transformed by ourselves through the struggle we must wage and the sacrifices we must make. If we accept these sacrifices today for the liberation of our Motherland and the dawning of an era of prosperity for our Peoples, then there is no doubt that we shall pave our way and move with confidence towards concrete unity. This unity cannot be achieved without the organization of an upward movement and the awareness of everyone, of the need to remain faithful to the objectives in view. Through the achievement of this unity, we shall rise from one level of our existence to an eminently higher level. This change calls for great efforts, the efforts to eliminate all aspects of chauvinism we still harbour and the efforts to forego certain selfish interests» in the utmost interests of our Peoples. We must control and develop our environment, for nobody else will do it conveniently for us out of humanism. We must also make use of time which waits for no man because time is the very embodiment of life. Utilizing time profitably is devoting it to useful activities so as to acquire the values of progress. And these values cannot be achieved except in relation to history and society, since every value is essentially histo-

rical and social. It is therefore by working for the advancement of our Peoples and the fulfilment of common destiny that we can utilize time profitably.

We must therefore decide to move faster in light of our specific conditions and utilize the great natural potential at our disposal, for the achievement of the unity of Africa is a veritable Revolution which we have embarked upon, the more so as we are conscious that we are behind the other continents in certain areas of development and need true and solid unity as a means to bridge the gap. We must resolutely commit ourselves to the triumph of this Revolution which is in our best interests. By combining our efforts, we shall rapidly attain the level of material development in the developed countries and at the same time improve the qualities of the components of our humanism. By rationalizing our attitudes and actions, attaching the greatest importance to our Peoples, and making them our only frame of reference, we shall through the African Revolution advance from this unitary Revolution to the African Democratic Revolution. The triumph of this Revolution, a duty imposed on us by the Peoples of Africa also calls for the consistent attitude of African leaders who in the face of the requirements of the evolution of their Peoples and their aspirations to liberty and responsibility, shall be less inclined to be deceitful, as they shall be identified with the People in the common achievement of the basic and essential means of our human promotion. It is our exclusive responsibility first of all to decolonize our mentality and by so doing decolonize other things. We must revive and redirect our mentality and thereby acquire a dynamic attitude towards the solution of our problems. We should henceforth reject all feelings and attitudes of inferiority

towards other Peoples. We must shoulder our responsibilities. True independence for man and a People resides in the responsibility that man and the People assume simultaneously. A People with no sense of responsibility towards their destiny are real slaves even though they may not be chained up physically. They are slaves tied up with the most heinous chains, namely inferiority complex, helplessness, and anguish with regard to their own future.

The basic Revolution must therefore be conducted within and on ourselves. We certainly have defects which we must admit. We must take stock of our shortcomings in all sincerity, know ourselves for what we are, be realistic with ourselves with regard to our available resources, identify ourselves and muster the courage to combat the imperfections within and around us.

If Africa must successfully embark upon the Democratic Revolution for economic, political, ideological, and cultural advancement, then we must resolutely embrace the battle, the daily struggle for African Unity. In order to succeed, our thinking and our actions must reflect that cardinal virtue of a worthy man a progressive man, a man with a historical outlook, namely, consistency. We must be consistent, for inconsistency degrades man. A Nation without a consistent stand discredits and degrades itself. Once we decide upon a course of action, we must pursue it accordingly. Indeed, a self-respecting and respectable man must not countenance contradictions between his words and his deeds, knowing that he will be judged by the conformity of what he says and what he does. In other words, the most objective judgement is based on conduct. Even if a man conceals his

thoughts when speaking, his actions will effectively and objectively reflect his nature, the nature of his choices and the nature of his options.

This further underscores the need for us to be always consistent and courageous. When we take decisions, in complete independence and liberty, we should be consistent in carrying them out so that we might efficiently exercise our independence. Consistency in our thoughts, conduct, and actions will enable us to further consolidate our attainments daily and thus make further progress.

The demands of history are constantly growing and becoming increasingly compelling. Certainly, their pressure is heavier today than yesterday, and tomorrow, it will be heavier than today. The constantly increasing nature of liberty and responsibility can be traced to the multiple dimensions and growth of the personality we want to recover. Each victory won by one African People forms part of the sum total of the victories of all the Peoples of Africa.

Each defeat suffered by one African People reduces the sum total of the attainments of all Africans to the same extent. Consequently, each African country must commit itself to development efforts and contribute honourably to the creation of the happiness of all our Peoples.

The aspirations of Africans are well-known. This is why we laid the foundations of our People's Unity as early as 1963. For the same reasons, it must be realized that the O.A.U. is by no means a trade union of governments or Heads of State. Membership of the O.A.U. has not been determined by the member States on the basis of a particular regime. ***The O.A.U. is the expression of a historic need felt by Africa, namely the need to unite***

all African States irrespective of their nature. The O.A.U. is not the property of Heads of State or Government. It is the instrument of the dynamic harmonious and rapid evolution of the Peoples of Africa, the instrument of the construction of the future of Africa. All kinds of regimes are represented within the O.A.U., monarchies, bourgeois Republics and those which have proclaimed the Revolution or socialism. The O.A.U. embraces all political and ideological options and all forms of governments. This is what Africa wants, and we must not consider our diversities as points of friction or grounds for antagonism. On the contrary, we should understand that they must serve as factors of enrichment. By remaining truthful to one another, African Leaders will discover which country advances more rapidly than the other, and from the result ascertained by the choice and attitude adopted by that country in the face of the common problems confronting us all shall clearly emerge as the best way to adopt, and we shall through this process of emulation assist one another. This is why African Governments must realize that everything must necessarily unite them and that nothing must divide them. They must not allow pride or inequality to affect their relations. No country should boast of being the most thickly populated or the richest. Whether or not it is the most thickly populated or the richest, no country can alone liberate Africa from imperialism. The victory over imperialism can only be won through the unity of all Africans. If we are all united and give the continent the personality it aspires to recover and must recover, with each of us contributing his quota to the common enterprise, the sum of our efforts will be greater than individual effort, thus enabling us to neutralize the hostility of the forces militating against

African Unity and 'consequently develop together in a harmonious and balanced manner for the benefit of each of our united Peoples.

The first requirement is our unity. We must strive our utmost to establish our unity on solid foundations. But it is not Unity for the sake of Unity, It is Unity with an active dynamic finality, Unity for the progress of our peoples.

By improving upon the machinery and institutions of the O.A.U., we shall adapt it to the ever-growing demands of the defence and development of the personality as well as the moral and material interests of the African Continent. For this reason, we deserve credit for the timely establishment of the O.A.U., the organization of the -liberation struggle and also for the volume and organization of aid to freedom fighters. Significantly, about twenty countries have become independent States since the formation of the O.A.U. However, there are African States still under subjugation and some areas under foreign domination which we must liberate from the yoke of exploitation and oppression, to enable them also to recover the right to independence and dignity and assume full responsibility as free and independent Nations both at the African and at the international levels. As we have said, the liberty of the independent countries remains ineffectual as long as there are African countries still under foreign domination. For that reason, we must call all our resources into service to put an end to this domination. Whatever our difficulties, we must be uncompromising in our duties towards the freedom' fighters; besides, if they are falling daily at the battlefield, it is to enable us to live by recovering what we lack today, namely our total dignity as Peoples of Africa and as men of Africa. Therefore, we must no longer be objects of history, but actors of history; we must no longer al-

low others to decide upon African problems on our behalf while we merely content ourselves with waking up each morning and following in their footsteps. No! the O.A.U. has never discussed the problems of America for Americans or the problems of Europe for Europeans. If other Peoples study the problems of their development, we, the Peoples of Africa, are duty-bound to also play our role by ourselves. We must no longer follow the dictates of others. We must therefore show responsibility, for it is our exclusive duty to conceive, decide and accomplish everything that can favourably influence our destiny directly or indirectly. That is the responsibility of African Leaders which they can effectively assume through the framework of unity provided by the O.A.U. This is what constitutes true Revolution.

Some foreigners classify African Leaders into revolutionaries and non-revolutionaries or extremists and moderates. For our part we consider as revolutionaries all O.A.U. member-countries which have been working for the common progress of Africans ever since they pledged their support for the Charter of the Organization denouncing imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, and which have also committed themselves to the struggle for the dignity and progress of Africa in pursuance of the Charter. That is the Democratic Revolution, for the logic behind such a procedure is the Peoples, our Peoples now in Power.

Certainly, if all African countries are committed to the same struggle, and must move towards the same objective, the ways and means adopted are however different. Some are more committed and advance more rapidly than others, the rhythm of their march

differentiates them. But the common options of our Peoples for unity, their common will for happiness and liberty, as well as the common ultimate objective they have assigned to our struggles and our sacrifices must make us, the present leaders of African States, the generation of African revolutionaries, men working for qualitative changes for the liberation of Africa, insofar as we are and shall remain sincere and consistent.

And in this respect, political Revolution must precede Revolution in the other fields. Without political Revolution not only will there be no national consciousness, let alone continental consciousness, but Political Revolution will reinforce revolutionary activities in the other aspects of life, particularly in the economic field. Economic Revolution requires the adaptation of our structures to the exigencies of the rapid development of our Peoples. Economic Revolution calls for the common utilization of our resources for the solution of our common problems. Economic Revolution demands that we no longer afford outsiders the opportunity to systematically determine, in furtherance of their own interests, the prices they will offer for our coffee, our bauxite, our iron-ore, etc... Such requirements cannot be met without a change of political mentality.

It is our right to fix the prices of our products. Yet it is the buyer who fixes the prices of the products Africa must necessarily sell to him. It is the same buyer who fixes the prices of manufactured goods he sells to Africa. Wherein lies our liberty under these conditions? Wherein lies our independence? If we must give the independence of our countries its true significance and true context, then we must recover

this important and compelling right, that is, the right to produce our material goods, control, manage and develop them in terms of our needs. We must no longer tolerate any alienation whatsoever with regard to the fruits of our daily labour and toil. This Revolution is indispensable, for although there are economically and financially powerful Nations in Africa today, we must admit that these Nations are still weak and poor as long as they have not recovered the right to determine the prices of their exports. This right is sacred and the exploited Peoples have the duty and the right to rehabilitate themselves henceforth, by rejecting all systems of alienation, all practices of exploitation and asserting themselves as producers controlling their own affairs. If we endeavor and succeed in conquering these rights, the hypocritical lip service to human rights and the subtle encroachments they represent will be ineffective. The organic link between the rights of man and the rights of the People resides in this conquest of the control over the existence and future of Africa. Indeed, in order to have shade, there must be a tree, a house, in short, any object that provides shade. For man to enjoy all these rights and liberties, the People must liberate themselves from all the obstacles that hinder their historical evolution.

This is why the forthcoming O.A.U. Summit Conference, as was decided in Monrovia and which will be exclusively devoted to the economic promotion of the Continent, must be prepared with all the seriousness and determination to defeat the forces of resistance both at the continental and international levels. Our recovered political independence will always be insecure unless it leads to economic development within the context of political sovereignty. One

of the responsibilities conferred upon us by our political independence is the promotion of economic development to enable our Peoples to live freely and independently of any foreign power. Besides, what is the value of a means when the objective is not attained? Political Revolution is indeed an indispensable weapon, a prerequisite for independence, yet it is ineffectual if it is not followed by economic Revolution. Therefore, in the field of our economy, and confronted with imperialism, the alternative for African Nations is clear: we must develop in solidarity or else we cannot develop at all. This is a historical law, an objective necessity which we must appreciate in its full significance and finality.

We must also seek to increase the factors of economic development. We must increasingly master science, technique and technology which constitute the dynamic factors of economic development. Although these factors are essentially cultural, yet their objective is economic. The economic Revolution must be extended; it must inspire and urge us on to make us convinced of the compelling need for us to help one another. Unfortunately, when a particular African country is confronted with economic and financial crisis likely to undermine its sovereignty and dignity, the others look on unconcerned, if their governments are not laughing up their sleeves. These countries which fall victim to instigated upheavals are often compelled to seek foreign aid, whereas they could obtain it here on the African Continent. African leaders must understand and comply with the demands of history in order to the dignity of every African State.

Besides if they really want to help one another, within the framework of bilateral or multilateral cooperation, Heads of State must be honest with one another, reconvert their mentalities and consider themselves as morally responsible for the balanced development and happiness of the People in other African States, by accepting observations and advice from all the other Heads of State. By so doing, if they observe serious deficiencies in their respective States, they must not remain silent. They must advise one another by pointing out measures which they consider detrimental to the People's interests, and which should be abandoned or modified. On account of the objective in view, these examples of active solidarity cannot in any way be considered to be interference in the internal affairs of a country ».As the experience of some benefits others, African States and Governments can accelerate and improve upon the progress of Africa. Such an attitude is in fact the materialization of the will to achieve African Unity. The economic Unity of Africa will be an economic Revolution. But economic Revolution is not possible unless it is backed by cultural Revolution and ideological Revolution, for it is the intellect that makes man. Some animals are physically stronger than man, but man is superior by virtue of his intellect, the conscience with which he is endowed. This is why we must take all steps to refresh our intellect, make it more dynamic, liberate it from factors impeding its constant development, liberate it from archaic conceptions, tribalism, regionalism, selfishness, and fetishism. We must realize that as the key artisans of the advancement of Africa the socio-human qualities we will acquire will be transformed into increasingly greater economic gains. We must develop African culture. We must develop our African languages and make

them scientific, technical, and technological languages in every African Nation. The results we have achieved in Guinea in this field amply testify to the appropriateness of our option. One day, shall have to choose African languages imposed by history and made practical necessities and make them continental languages. We consider it necessary to liberate ourselves from cultural alienation, which is the most serious aggression Africa has had to suffer. In this regard, the Cultural Manifesto of Algiers and the Cultural Charter of Africa must be duly considered, respected and enforced.

Certainly, this is a choice; everybody does not necessarily act like we do. But ultimately, we shall see the choice that accelerates or thwarts social progress. In any case, we reaffirm that our cultural values need to be rehabilitated. It might well be argued that our languages are not rich. No language is born rich and complete, it is enriched through culture. Culture follows a special socio-human mathematical process: when, for instance, I spend part of the money at my disposal, my assets diminish, whereas when I utilize my culture, it increases. For a language to develop, it must be practiced, spoken, and written; as soon as we stop speaking a language, we lose it, we do not preserve it. Culture is lost when it is not judiciously utilized.

It is therefore part of our responsibilities to develop our cultural wealth; by so doing, we shall acquire a fuller personality and the capacity to organize general progress not for a privileged few, but for the entire masses which constitute our Peoples. Our conception of development must be a mass conception, because the evident feature of our times is the transition from an elite to a mass civilization. At this juncture, we must specify that by mass civilization we do

not mean a situation of conditioning individuals or the commercial exploitation of the low instincts of man, but the access of the Peoples to culture as a factor of liberation. This is why preparing the masses, educating, and training them in view of this objective also means, above all, preparing really the future of our Nations. Thus, we must pool our resources together.

Today we are in a position to speak about the United States of Africa and emphasize the necessary complementarity of our economies. But we should be able to organize emulation among ourselves accordingly. Emulation among us must not consist in displaying our wealth, but rather the way we utilize our available resources. It is the socio-historical significance of our actions and attitudes. For us therefore, it is not the material gains of a Nation that are important; what is important is our common destiny in defending African values, and with regard to the African problems to be solved.

Therefore, through selective and appropriate criteria based on our common contribution and achievements in the history of Africa, we shall know how to organize emulation which will ultimately enable us to become complementary and merge into a single community, a single personality, reflecting an identical Motherland, that is, Africa.

We must constantly better organize and further enhance our progress by improving upon our activities in all fields of endeavor. If we do this resolutely and make each successive stage in our progress a starting point towards higher stages, then African Unity shall become a reality. In this regard, the O.A.U. constitutes a stage which leads or must henceforth lead to concrete and real African Unity.

The O.A.U. is a reality; it has through ordeals and surmounted many snares and obstacles. First of all, its formation in 1963 was an unexpected event for imperialism was indeed surprised by this unprecedented historical fact. Furthermore since, then, its continued existence and development, its rigid adherence to its programme and the regularity of its sessions also astonished imperialism: African States therefore deserve credit, but they must also realize that history demands perseverance and continuous improvement in our endeavors. For this reason, they must accordingly strive for the constant development of their common tool, which is the O.A.U. In other words, they must specially consider the idea of a great African, the late Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who from the very beginning of the O.A.U. insistently appealed to the Heads of State and Government in Addis-Ababa to think about forming a Continental Executive, even if its powers were limited or confined to a few areas! He insisted: ***“Let us think about it right from today, and let us start working to establish it, for we cannot construct a building without a roof; a man without a head is not a man.”*** Although we must congratulate ourselves on our achievements in the context of this late hero's thought, yet we must not flatter ourselves. Since 1963, the same problems have been cropping up at every session, assuming greater dimensions and becoming increasingly complicated year after year. Each year, we repeat the same things. Certainly, the O.A.U. has a General Secretariat, but whatever its good intentions, its capacity and its rigorous fidelity to our ideals and objectives, the Secretariat cannot act consistently, effectively, and significantly owing to its limited terms of office and the lack of planned long term action programme. The same applies to the role of the current Chairman of the Conference of Heads of State who is

simply thanked and replaced by another after his one-year mandate. There can therefore be no continuity, and each year, the experiences acquired are lost or compromised.

Now history is a continuous process reflected in constant action which necessarily calls for the adaptation of human resources to the demands of the continuity of action. The true test of the viability of the O.A.U. with regard to its finality resides in its ability to adapt to those demands. Now, African States are certainly in a position to form a team capable of fully appreciating and solving correctly the major problems of Africa, which suggests that the principles to govern the formation of a viable Continental Executive in order to avert the dangers of neo-colonialism and the paralyzing effects of conservatism must be envisaged without delay.

Precisely, the Continental Executive is essentially the most powerful weapon in our struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism which are precisely conservative systems, the most effective tool in our struggle against under-development in all fields and also the most efficient antidote for any Particularism and chauvinistic nationalism.

Moreover, the experience acquired is there to testify to the appropriateness of our steps though still timid and insufficient, which have led to the establishment of a number of institutions:

First of all, the four Institutions of the O.A.U., namely the Conference of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, the Secretariat and the Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, which constitute an appreciable contribution

to the promotion of our continent, even though, considering our aspirations, they fall far below the ambitions of the Peoples of Africa in the search for adequate solutions to their problems and for appropriate decision-making. The inefficiency of the Institutions becomes• apparent and manifest particularly in the implementation of these decisions. Why are the decisions not implemented? Why is there no follow up? It is because in the absence of a unifying and coordinating super-structure, well-intentioned decisions by their nature and objective pile up year after year for non-execution of earlier ones and as a result, decisions generally become incoherent and inoperative. We are therefore always confronted with the same problems in the absence of a Continental Executive responsible for translating into concrete actions decisions adopted by the Institutions of the Organization of African Unity. The O.A.U. Secretariat would be unable to fulfil the requirements attached to the functions of such an executive, even if it contributed to a partial solution of the problem of continuity because, owing to the conditions determining its structure and functions, the Secretariat has no executive powers.

There are also Agencies, Commissions and Institutions which may not all come under the O.A.U., though. These include:

1. The O.A.U. Economic and Social Commission.
2. The O.A.U. Commission for Education, Science, Culture and Health.
3. The O.A.U. Defence Commission.

4. The O.A.U. Labour Commission.
5. The Pan-African Telecommunications Union (associated with the O.A.U.): Kinshasa.
6. The O..A.U. Pan-African Information Agency: Dakar.
7. The Economic Commission for Africa which comes under the United Nations Organization and concerned with all sectors of economic and social development, with its Headquarters in Addis-Ababa.
8. The African Development Bank with its Headquarters in Abidjan.
9. The Scientific, Technical and Research Commission (CSTR) with its Headquarters in Lagos.
10. The Centre for Linguistic and Historical Studies on Oral Traditions: Niamey.
11. The Inter-African Linguistics Bureau with its Headquarters in Kampala.
12. The O.A.U. - W.H.O. - F.A.O. Joint Commission with its Headquarters in Accra.
13. The Inter-African Bureau for Soil Research with its Headquarters in Bangui.
14. The Inter-African Bureau for Animal Research.
15. The African Civil Aviation Commission with its Headquarters in Addis-Ababa.

16. The African Postal Union with its Headquarters in Cairo.
17. The Railway Union with its Headquarters in Kinshasa.
18. The Association of African Air Lines with its Headquarters in Addis-Ababa.
19. The African Insurance and Reinsurance Company with its Headquarters in Morocco.
20. The Pan-African Youth Movement with its Headquarters in Algiers.
21. The Pan-African Women's Organization with its Headquarters in Algiers.
22. The Organization of African Trade Union Unity with its Headquarters in Accra.

All these Agencies and Institutions, including several others not mentioned, formulate and •submit reports and projects at each session of the Council of Ministers, yet no decision is taken for the simple reason that no organ can function properly without a driving force. Moreover, as the various fields of activity of the O.A.U. are correlated, the absence of a coordinating element necessarily engenders incoherent actions which are in themselves appropriate when considered individually.

By this, we want to illustrate that even if the Pan-African Institutions and Agencies do not betray the Continent, and fears are consequently dispelled, their activities will still be futile on account of the absence of a Continental executive effectively responsible for clearly defined activities.

African Governments not therefore endeavor to establish the United States of Africa. This is the objective clearly defined in the preamble to the O.A.U. Charter which we quote in extenso to show you that 16 years after the establishment of our Continental Organization, any further delays would appear to be a clear evidence of indifference and a betrayal of our obligations as signatories to the Charter.

The Preamble to the CHARTER of O.A.U. stipulates, and I quote: We, the Heads of State and of Government assembled in Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia:

CONVINCED that the Peoples have the inalienable right to determine their own destiny:

CONSCIOUS of the fact that liberty, equality, justice and' dignity are essential objectives for the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the Peoples of Africa.

KNOWING that our duty is to put the natural and human resources of our Continent at the service of the general progress of our Peoples in all fields of human activity.

GUIDED by a common will to strengthen understanding between our Peoples and co-operation between our States in order to fulfil the aspirations of our populations to the consolidation of integrated brotherhood and solidarity within the framework of a wider unity that transcends ethnic and national differences.

CONVINCED that in order to put this firm determination in the service of human progress, it is essential to establish and maintain conditions of peace and security:

FIRMLY RESOLVED to safeguard and consolidate hard-won independence and sovereignty, as the territorial integrity of our States, and to combat neo-colonialism in all forms.

DEDICATED to the general progress of Africa.

PERSUADED that the charter of the United Nations and the universal declaration of Human Rights, to whose principles we reaffirm our support, provide a solid basis for peaceful and fruitful cooperation between our States.

DESIROUS of seeing all African States unite henceforth to ensure the well-being of their Peoples.

RESOLVED to strengthen the links between our states through the establishment and reinforcement 'of common institutions.'"

Africa's march towards this noble objective set by the O.A.U. has proceeded uninterrupted, in spite of some vicissitudes, although its dynamism has not reflected the true quality and power of the resources at the disposal of member States.

Indeed, since the promulgation of our Charter in 1963, about twenty colonial territories in Africa have recovered their national independence and are today contributing their quota within the O.A.U. to the struggle of our Peoples henceforth resolved to make history according to their conscious will and no longer to be subjected to foreign domination, no matter the form it may take nor the method it may employ.

But we are compelled to admit that at this period in world history, the only continent that still suffers from the misdeeds of foreign domination is Africa. The only continent that has still no monetary or banking institutions nor air and sea transport systems of its own is Africa. The only continent that uses languages other than its own is Africa. The only continent of which several parts are still groaning under the fetters of racial discrimination and oppression, systematized into a legal and official administration, is again Africa.

To rehabilitate Africa means to enable Africa to conquer its total dignity.

To rehabilitate Africa means to ensure that Africa exercises its full sovereignty in all fields of activity. To rehabilitate Africa means that Africans must themselves create the conditions to enable Africa to master science and technique and consequently ensure its harmonious and accelerated development.

The success of any historic enterprise beneficial to the Peoples calls for three dialectically related conditions:

But to achieve this, the sons and daughters of Africa must be provided with the necessary means to be devoted to its cause and under no constraint, except that imposed upon them by their own conscience in the quest for happiness.

The first condition is the appropriateness of the choice, in other words, the democratic liberating emancipating and progressive character of the objectives in view.

The second condition is the establishment of an Organization of men and Peoples in line with the requirements of these choices which aim at transforming present conditions into new conditions of life, all in harmony with their aspirations to progress. By this we mean an organization deriving its force from its adequacy to the scope and nature of the action envisaged and with the requirements of the tasks reflecting the choices, options, or objectives in view. In order to ensure the permanence and efficiency of action, an organization must freely adopt a discipline whose strictness must be accepted in order to make it determine the efforts, collective and individual attitudes and gear them towards the same objectives, a condition without which all efforts would be mere utopia.

Finally, the third condition is the necessary fidelity of leading cadres to the ethics attached to these objectives, the ethics prescribed in the organization established and the morals governing the principles and methods of work. This ethics requires devotion, readiness, efficiency, and usefulness in the action undertaken for the achievement of the objectives decided upon by common accord.

These are the conditions determining the success of any collective enterprise. Now, we must succeed together.

Our common objectives chosen by the O.A.U. are appropriate. Our national institutions and the means with which we must provide the O.A.U. deserve to be adapted to each phase of the evolution of our Continent to ensure the gradual growth of their power and their rate of efficiency.

Today, the number of independent African States is higher and their resources greater, than in 1963. That is why the keyword for the decolonization of Africa and the integral defence of the attainments of our Peoples must express a more urgent demand and more vigour through a stronger common resolution. It must also express a greater collective determination to impose upon all the powers in the world our will for justice, progress, and peace, as well as the noble ideals of liberty and free co-operation. These powers certainly are enjoying their liberty. They are exercising their sovereignty fully and tolerate neither a foreign military base on their soil nor the domination of a foreign culture or a foreign economy. Therefore, the ideals cherished by each African People must also be respected.

Unfortunately, imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and apartheid are vicious, humiliating, and degrading realities still prevalent on the African continent. Our Peoples who are legitimately aspiring to dignity are still subjected to these calamities and plagues that are a disgrace to humanity.

As a matter of fact, there are regions where Africa, on its own soil, is still under the yoke of the direct or indirect domination of foreign powers; foreign domination is a shame and a humiliation inflicted upon a People, and for that reason, it is the duty

of Africa to employ all the political and financial, military, and moral resources at its disposal for the recovery of her dignity, liberty, and sovereignty on her own soil. In this task, the independent countries of Africa must consider themselves more responsible in the conduct of the struggle than those still under subjugation, and who, on that account, do not yet have the means required to ensure their own rapid victory.

The independent countries of Africa have the means to put an end to this highly prejudicial and intolerable situation. The intelligent, rational, collective, and decisive utilization of our resources is enough to defeat the exploiters of the territories still occupied in Africa. It was through violence that imperialism invaded and dominated Africa. It was through the same means that it maintained itself for centuries in Africa. It was through exploitation and oppression that imperialism imposed its supremacy and dictatorship upon us. It was through the same violence that imperialism treaded our legitimate rights and aspirations under foot and seized our wealth. It is through force that some countries on our continent are still occupied, dominated, oppressed, exploited, and humiliated.

The struggle against this force, against this imperialist violence, against colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid, must assume all the forms required to enable Africa to assert herself, not on other continents, but on her own soil.

We do not in any way cherish the idea of isolation, chauvinism, or selfishness, for true liberty and true sovereignty for a People does not admit of these negative values. Liberty and sovereignty for a People

constitute the only true means through which fruitful and mutually beneficial co-operation can be established and promoted in the well-defined common interests of the parties concerned for lasting accomplishments.

As liberty and dignity constitute the prime wealth of man a People, we must, beyond all differences of ideology, language or creed, establish sincere and indefectible unity of action among our Peoples, to enable them work for their political and moral rehabilitation in the world. To this end, we must ensure that Africa, like other continents, fully exercises its freedom of action and dignity to adopt free choices corresponding to the interests of our Peoples and to co-operate freely with all countries in the world on the sole basis of its recovered sovereignty and equality.

If we know the true nature of imperialism, it will be impossible for us to delude ourselves into thinking that it will voluntarily change its essence. Imperialism without the domination, exploitation and oppression of Peoples is not imperialism. Imperialism and the champions of apartheid will never, out of generosity, renounce their illegitimate, anti-African and reactionary practices. Any change in their attitude which favours respect for the personality and the interests of our Peoples will necessarily have to be imposed by us, the sole victims of their attitude.

Liberty, justice, democracy, progress, and peace are conquests won by the Peoples, conquests that are indispensable to the full development of their personality, the assertion of all their rights and the preservation of their happy existence. They are never given freely but won through bitter struggle.

We are far from the decisive end to the liberation struggle. As long as a portion of our continent still remains under foreign domination, we shall pursue the struggle, intensify it, and ensure victory for all the Peoples of Africa.

As we have already said, imperialism cannot change its essence; it cannot change its attitude of exploiting the human and economic resources of our continent; it can only change the tactics it employs, but fundamentally it remains the same, faithful to its options aimed exclusively at maintaining the supremacy of might over right, the supremacy of might over legitimacy and legality, the supremacy of might over the most noble aspirations of Peoples without any adequate material resources for the successful defence of their material and moral interests.

Imperialism, we would repeat, is the devil portrayed in the Holy Koran, the Satan proscribed in the New Testament of the Bible. Imperialism is not only bad, it is evil, characterized by refined cruelty, a methodically demented evil, an evil which recoils before nothing, an evil which, in its over-all strategy plans in advance all the phases of its action of dominating and exploiting our Peoples with downright cynicism.

Africa is ever the victim of this large-scale organization launched by imperialism and employing all the resources of science, technique, and technology to enslave countries-and Peoples and to exploit the material wealth of inadequately developed Nations. Africa does not seem to be consistent with itself, for it sometimes creates the very conditions for the interference of its enemies in its internal affairs. Indeed, Africa continues to shelter those who would readily exploit the submission of its Peoples to their own advantage. Africa must realize that it has the duty to

protect itself, develop itself and hence help itself, by creating the appropriate conditions for the exercise of national sovereignty and the harmonious functioning of State institutions in all African countries.

Although the majority of African countries have won their political independence, the fact still remains that most of them are not yet really independent in the cultural, electronic, and military fields. We must endeavour to change this situation of mutilated and deceptive independence, hence the absolute need for us to understand that history is a long-distance race which involves sustained struggle to preserve what has already been acquired and to conquer or create what is lacking, order to ensure the ever-dynamic progress of each People towards the achievement of their material and immaterial needs.

Whatever the level of development attained by some African countries, the incidence of criminal military interventions in certain parts of Africa against the will of our Peoples proves that none of them is completely secure from imperialist attack, aggression, or provocation.

The anti-African powers are united and intent on dominating us, and to that end suppress their own differences. Worse still, they formulate concrete programmes aimed at maintaining their power of sovereignty in Africa.

On the other hand, in spite of the common identity and destiny and the collective adherence to the O.A.U. among African States, hostilities are manifest, whilst ideological differences degenerate into a situation of hatred which imperialism exploits against our Nations. Conflicting practical attitudes to a common African or international problem are known throughout the world, highly prejudicing the power of action of the O.A.U. and all other African organizations

exposed to difficulties created by the forces militating against the emancipation of the African continent.

In our confrontation with imperialism and with regard to the interferences with the sovereignty of our States, the various acts of aggression perpetrated against our Peoples, our consistent attitude and effective action resides in the achievement and constant reinforcement of unity of action, the one eloquent expression of our effective solidarity and the awareness of our common destiny.

For that reason, besides transcending ideological differences and economic, political, and sociocultural options, we must never lose sight of the historical backwardness of our Peoples in the field of development, backwardness which can be traced to the inadequacy of our knowledge, of our capacities and of our scientific, technical, and technological means. The awareness of this backwardness must lead to the mobilisation and pooling of our resources in order to free African realities from this situation. We must be convinced once and for all that nobody else will do it for us.

For the same reason, our nations must be conscious of their specific conditions and demonstrate their capacity to resolve their internal differences, and by so doing ensure that their common will for rapid progress and their spirit of brotherhood and solidarity reflect in their collective and individual struggles for greater domination over nature and greater mastery of history, through the full development of the faculties and capacities of our Peoples.

And finally, for the same reason, the O.A.U. must further strengthen its position and thereby hasten, first the political liberation, and then the economic

and socio-cultural liberation of the Nations and Peoples of our continent.

To strengthen the position of the O.A.U. means to utilize available resources as efficiently as possible, while pursuing the search for new possibilities to consolidate and guarantee the economic, intellectual, and technical development of Africa through negotiation, in other words, through dialogue with all those who sincerely want to help Africa.

In its attempts to subjugate us at will, imperialism indulges in maneuvers of diversion, creating a fixation abscess, digging holes in which our energies are engulfed and transforming us into skirmishers in the war it fights against us, while it intervenes and strikes as it pleases with our own blessing. Yet our major problems remain on our agenda, unsolved.

By signing the Charter of the O.A.U., we therefore pledged to establish the United States of Africa in the short or in the long term. Once this principle is accepted, all that remains to be done is to define the realistic and practical steps leading thereto.

We shall therefore proceed to construct a solid structure; based on this necessary framework of the complementarity of our economies, the free movement of ideas, people and goods and the joint development of Culture, Science and Techniques.

We could envisage the basis of a true, *African Economic Community* and establish a *Pan-African Ministry of Economic Planning* to be responsible for the establishment of that Community.

Let us consider our industries. Why should Guinea produce the same items as the Ivory Coast, Sierra-Leone, Liberia, Mali, or Senegal? Why could we not together develop key industries already established in Senegal or Liberia to raise their productive capacities so as to reduce production costs and thereby meet all the needs of these countries? We could thus make appropriate choices to ensure complementarity of our industrial activities, instead of encouraging a competition based detrimental to the interest of our States and the harmonious economic development of the Africa continent.

In another field, that of maritime fisheries for instance, we notice that the same foreign companies operate in neighbouring coastal countries, These companies are cheating, deceiving, and robbing us all. The revenues they declare in all these countries are far below what they secretly send abroad. And yet, we could easily pool our resources, organize rational fishing in our waters, meet the requirements of our populations, and even export the surplus to develop our fishing industry.

Since 1978, we have been involved in the United Nations Decade for Transport and Communications in Africa (1978-1988) under the auspices of the United Nations Organization. The fact that we, in other words, the O.A.U. did not take such an initiative is evidence of indifference. The successful accomplishment of this decade points to the urgent need for us to set up a responsible body, a Pan-African Ministry of Transport and Communication to be responsible for the co- ordination and harmonization of our national Transport and Communication policies as well as the rational exploitation of the infrastructures in this vast field which constitutes the mainstay of the entire economy.

The system, as the Ten-year Programme recalls, includes:

-Roads and Road Transport; Railways and Rail Transport; Maritime Transport; Air Transport; Telecommunications; Postal Services; Satellite Communications; Manpower and Training, With regard to air transport, if each State provided one or two aircrafts, the Community would be able to form a considerable air fleet. The African Airline which would thus result from the combination of our individual resources would enable us to establish a continental network covering the whole of Africa with uninterrupted and accessible national connections.

Concerning the development of sea-transport, we could together acquire vessels to establish a common merchant fleet regularly serving our ports and thereby contributing to the rapid development of communications. Our great continental rivers could be dredged and maintained through communal efforts to serve as an incomparable means of communications, and at the same time provide the source of hydro-agricultural and hydro-electric power which would constitute an important support for our economy. The same applies to road connections. We could establish road networks linking the major towns in Africa and ensure the regular movement of passengers, goods, and services. Briefly speaking, we could concretely study all the potentialities in the field of transport.

In the field of Posts and Telecommunications and Information, we could establish sufficiently functional postal services and by so doing ensure regular correspondence between our citizens wherever they

may be and also avoid the cost involved in forwarding our mail through external centres. Consequently, a letter from Conakry would no longer have to go through London, or a cable through London or Paris. All these services are within our capacities today. Even if we, the African leaders, do not love one another, our Peoples, fortunately enough, love one another, and in their interests, we should provide such common structures.

In the case of broadcasting for example, when Mozambique announces an aggression by the racists of South Africa, as long as the news is not taken on by foreign stations (assuming they want to), Guinea or the Gambia will not mention it. Events occur in a neighbouring country while its neighbour is kept unaware; to hear and understand what is going on in your own house, you must listen to foreign stations. We cannot blame the imperialists for this mistake. We must blame ourselves for it, because we are not determined to unite, to remove the barriers, for with regard to information, we could succeed in making ourselves more interested in one another. If our broadcasting services gave a summary of all the speeches of African leaders before Parliament, of all the meetings they convene or the directives they issue, for the information of the Peoples of Africa, then our populations would be in a better position to understand one another. Information plays an important role because it creates and develops understanding between Peoples. We could therefore better organize our information system through television programmes featuring the lives of our Peoples. This would make our programmes profitable to all, diversified, and rich in content. But instead of this, we are importing foreign programmes which poison the minds of

our Peoples. A football match in London is better followed by television viewers in an African country than another played in a neighboring country; and vice-versa; we only fill our programmes with the activities of others, whereas we could be self-sufficient in this field.

In the field of TRADE, African States could set up a system of complementarity in respect of goods and transactions. The transactions would be free, and at the close of each year the Banks would draw the balance and settlement effected, whilst flexible terms of payment could be arranged by mutual agreement. The introduction of these important trade arrangements would surely constitute a step toward the real unity of our countries.

With the establishment of a Pan-African Ministry of Economic Planning, a Pan-African Ministry of Finance like the Economic Development Bank, a Pan-African Ministry of Information comprising all our mass media, similar to the African National Radio and Television Union, the Pan-African Information Agency and finally a Pan-African Ministry of Education, Scientific Research and Culture, we shall have laid the foundation stone of the Federal Executive of the United States of Africa.

This programme is absolutely realistic and perfectly applicable right from now. What would be a utopia, and a dream would be to envisage both the Unity of Africa and the true development of the Continent without the immediate methodical execution of the programme we have just outlined.

Let us consider the example of the African Development Bank (ADB). The Bank ought to come under a Pan-African Ministry of Finance responsible for regulating

relations between African National Banks. On the other hand, if it were possible to make our continental Bank a Savings Bank for our foreign exchange reserves, tens of billions of dollars would be available to Africa each year, as each year the export earnings of our 49 states together represent hundreds of billions of dollars. This would establish the credibility of an African Bank of that magnitude and provide the proper conditions for introducing a strong African currency which is an essential element in the promotion of intra-African trade. We shall thus have created the conditions for the establishment of a structure of production geared towards the production of manufactured goods and thereby lessen significantly our dependence on foreign countries for our various material needs.

This is a necessary enterprise because it represents a means of expressing the African personality. For it is not a matter of publicizing African personality or exalting African Unity without concretely achieving it in the vital sectors of the African economy. We must therefore join the Revolution instead of merely proclaiming it. Asserting the African personality concretely is better than referring to it in speeches.

The establishment of a Pan-African Ministry of Finance for Africa as a whole, a Central Bank, as well as Deposit and credit Banks operating under the authority and on behalf of the Continent in collaboration with other credit banks in Africa, will constitute a real improvement of our resources.

For instance, there are countries willing to help Africa. If there were only one body speaking for

Africa, our arrangements would be facilitated, as this Bank would undertake all the commitments on behalf of our The usual procedures would be simplified.

What about the Lome Convention? We shall continue discussing it for centuries on end, but if we do not establish the African Common Market, the African Economic Community, whose pressing and historical necessity has ceaselessly been repeated, but has unfortunately produced no concrete result, no International Convention, however generous, can ever promote the economy of Africa and make it as independent as we would like it to be. The truth is evident, but we must first accept and conform to it! We must be daring and this means accepting our responsibilities and the risks involved to accelerate effectively the positive outcome of the issue.

Thus, Europe is presently organizing itself, pooling its resources and concerting its efforts, planning its development, taking stock of all its potentialities. It has just issued a European currency. And what are we waiting for? What do we expect to urge us on to decide? Instead of saying the currency of this country has no value, I cannot trade with it why don't we liberate ourselves from a decaying international order and conduct trade with one another? All selfishness in Africa must be buried so that the O.A.U. might achieve its noble ideals.

Large communities have been built by Peoples and leaders conscious of their historical responsibilities. These examples must be cited, to convince us of the necessity and the possibilities of such an enterprise at the African level. They are the United States

of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the People's Republic of China.

The geographical, human, and economic dimensions and the complexity of the social structure of these States are by far greater than those of African States put together. This means that the paucity of our resources compels us to unite, and that our unity is perfectly possible.

For the purpose of comparison between these achievements in the unification of Peoples and Africa, compelled to pursue the same path, we shall confine ourselves to data on the following present-day geographical, human, and political realities:

Continent	area (km ²)	Population (million)	N° of States
Africa	27 872 078	457 171 854	50
USA	9 399 000	220 297 000	51
USSR	22 400 000	270 000 000	15 Republics
CHINA	9 780 000	900 000 000	--

It is also appropriate to cite the example of the European Economic Community comprising 9 industrialized States whose economic and industrial power exceeds that of all African States put together. The Community includes Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark with a total population of 270 million and an area of 1,528,000 km². By way of Comparison, these figures clearly indicate that Africa, united and organized, is capable of developing and attaining a standard of living comparable

to, if not higher than the average standard in Europe, so true the population and area of a snte constitute the basic resources to be developed to accelerate and sustain the process of economic, political, and social development.

These considerations point to the urgent need for us, Africans, to put our resources together and to concert our efforts within a large common community, if Africa must fully enjoy, not the right but the power to effectively exert its influence on international economic decisions and also on decisions which determine the evolution of mankind.

With regard to the security of persons and property, potential criminals in Senegal, for instance, could no longer cross the borders of Guinea with impunity and take refuge in Liberia, Sierra Leone, or Mali, if an extradition agreement were enforced, empowering a country of refuge to hand over fugitive criminals to the county concerned. We could thereby protect the legitimate property of our own Peoples and guarantee for them a better organized order.

In Africa, the struggle of Peoples, Political Parties and Government for liberty and a true historical promotion continues to develop at a faster rate. Breaking loose from their chains, States spring up where there were only vast areas of influence or rich areas of exploitation. In spite of the oppression, the considerable shedding of the blood of freedom fighters and the proliferation of other vexations perpetrated by colonialism against the masses, the colonial era is certainly receding. This general evolution of the Peoples of Africa in their onward march towards a better future is henceforth irreversible, and cannot be halted, no matter the opposition from imperialist forces.

We must be definitely convinced that the victory of the Peoples over all the systems opposed to their emancipation is inevitable; but this victory, however, depends on the multiform struggle of the Peoples to attain ever increasing creative capacities and ever powerful means of action. And how can our Peoples acquire these ever-increasing creative capacities and ever-powerful means of action without the Unity of the Continent?

It is our conviction that the O.A.U. can establish a Continental Executive. Even if it were initially confined to only three departments, it must be established. In their negotiations with the European Economic Community (E.E.C.), the World Bank, the United States of America, etc... African States must centralize their efforts to defend their interests more effectively before partners willing to co-operate with them.

In the field of education, our problems are solved according to our individual wishes and capacities. On the other hand, if we had a Pan-African Ministry of Education, Culture and Scientific Research, our efforts would be coordinated and hence more effective and the results far greater, which would accelerate our progress towards the mastery of science, technique and technology, leading to our mastery of nature, and also our progress towards the promotion of African culture, thus protecting us from any alienation. It would be a dynamic and rational solution to the problem of the development of our human resources if, for example, we had young students from Chad, Angola or Mali attending technical courses at the Universities of Senegal, Algeria, Morocco, Nigeria, and Guinea, insofar as these Universities are

equipped to train them to the best of their abilities. It would undoubtedly contribute to the advancement of Africa if all the young technicians were trained in these technical Universities. Our children would be united in these Universities, and through a system of co-ordination, a common training programme could be formulated whereby our youth would be trained, not for the outside world but for our countries, and whereby they would be better acquainted with our countries with regard to history, geography, economy, society, culture; this would enable us to produce full citizens capable of carrying on the work of national construction.

Let us organize ourselves, let us organize ourselves without delay! History has proved that a bad organization is better than no organization at all. African leaders must have confidence in one another and establish unity among themselves. If they have confidence in the common destiny of their Peoples, they will also develop confidence in one another. This is the core of the matter! They must necessarily follow the same path and henceforth eschew misplaced pride, for they are all in needy circumstances. Some, we can't help repeating, say: "this or that country is poor; we are rich." All this smacks of unconsciousness! It is unconsciousness that is driving them to distinguish themselves from the others instead of collectively assuming common responsibilities. They depend on one another in a solidarity that embraces the entire destiny of Africa. There are problems which no African State can solve if it remains isolated. We speak about a new economic order, but let us first create the conditions in Africa, through the realism and power of our structures, our decisions, our attitudes, and particularly, through the necessary recon-

versions of the mentalities of men in harmony with our new responsibilities and in furtherance of our dignity.

Our onward move is a living reality that continues but it needs to be constantly improved. Its rhythm must be adapted to the demands of the progress to which our Peoples aspire.

A sad reality in Africa today is the drought that affects more than half of our Continent; the drought that kills children, women, old men, and livestock alike. It is a phenomenon whose causes are continental and which we can only combat successfully through a continental will endowed with a continental political machinery and continental institutions. Only a unifying realism can lead us to rid the Continent of this harsh reality, that is drought. But instead of creating and promoting the unity of action by establishing a continental organization, for example, a Pan-African Institution for Land Development, we are individually appealing to foreign powers and International Organizations whose efforts remain ineffectual in this direction. This example alone justifies the existence of a Continental Executive to save the lives of our Peoples, a Continental Power which would embark upon a generalized long-term action against drought.

Indeed, at every turn, we can only find reasons for the Unity of the African Continent.

What is happening on the Continent? Peoples live in material destitution amidst immense natural

resources! And why should it be so? Is it through lack of capital? No! Through lack of techniques and technology. Yet, outside the African Continent today, we have a number of qualified scientific and technical African cadres far greater than the number of foreign experts working in Africa and who do not succeed in solving our problems for us because they cannot solve our problems. It is evident that if there were a powerful African Economic Community provided with high-level Scientific and Technical Institutions, all the African scientific and technical cadres who are wandering all over the world would return to achieve their purpose in Africa by promoting the happiness of the Peoples of Africa. This problem of brain drain can only be solved through joint efforts.

We are not forcing through anything. As we have said, everything points to our Unity if we really want to live, develop and assert ourselves before the other Continents as partners to be reckoned with.

And even at the United Nations, if we had a Continental Executive couldn't we have imposed ourselves within the Security Council like the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., or the People's Republic of China? Certainly!

We talk about Defence, about a Defence Committee; the Defence of the attainments of our Peoples is a compelling reason for setting up a Pan-African Ministry of Defence. Certainly, each country would maintain its Army, but our common obligation to aid our brothers in struggle would be better assumed

through such a continental structure. The establishment of this structure at the continental level is possible now, if all African Governments so decided.

Namibia is waiting impatiently and calls for a dynamic and decisive attitude. By analyzing the strategy of the liberation struggle of Africa, we realize today that we have many assets for embarking upon a real, full-scale offensive to liberate Namibia. Why? Because it was the League of Nations, from which the United Nations Organization took over and whose obligations and responsibilities it has assumed, that placed the trusteeship of Namibia under South Africa. Now, the United Nations has lifted that trusteeship. Legally therefore, South Africa can no longer claim any right over Namibia. With our 50 Independent African States, if we solemnly and firmly pledge ourselves to contribute between 400 and 500 soldiers per country to a Continental Liberation Army, and organize the defence of Namibia, the Republic of South Africa can no longer impose its racist dictatorship. Some will say: "South Africa has the atomic bomb, let's not venture." But who can erase Africa from the map of the world? It does not matter even if this is possible, but we prefer to die so that future generations may learn that entire Peoples laid down their lives to wipe out the affront of indignity imposed upon some of them. Through the O.A.U., through our unity, this sister country, Namibia, could undoubtedly recover its liberty.

These are therefore problems which call for strategic and tactical study

with regard to the organisational approach that can lead to the final objective. But if we merely continue writing them on our agenda, these problems will not find their own solutions! It is only the independent African States that can solve them; but as their efforts are scattered, the rule of foreign domination tends to perpetuate itself. If the O.A.U. could, for instance declare before the United Nations and the Security Council that as from a specific date, if Namibia does not attain total sovereignty, Africa will go war, a holy war against apartheid D, neither Europe nor Asia, nor any country whatever, will run the risk of losing friendship and co-operation with the whole of Africa.

We therefore have at our disposal some solutions to our problems, but we need a concerted attitude, courage, and an awareness of our common responsibility. We believe all this is possible. If we do not do it today, the youth shall do it tomorrow: our grandsons shall do it after tomorrow. But it is better to do it today, to prepare the ground for our descendants so that their preoccupations may be geared more towards the ascent of Africa, towards the sun of liberty and prosperity.

Instead of each one utilizing his trump-cards in a scattered manner, African Governments stand to gain by consulting one another, concerting their efforts, and adopting the same attitude in order to become stronger. Only a common attitude can enable them to assume their responsibilities more efficiently.

Unity means a more dynamic conception of life. It is like a young bachelor intending to get married, he looks forward to a new life; as long as he is not married, he cannot appreciate the responsibilities of a home! No University can train a student to become a good swimmer, if the student does not actually come into contact with Water! *If our Peoples were consulted on the desirability of unity, if they were asked whether they would like to live together in a community, they would not hesitate, they would present the Government with the fait accompli by asking for real unity. The Peoples are ahead of their leaders; they are more generous and more eager than their leaders. But the leaders are egoistic, irresolute, and complicated in red tape proceedings. As for us, we have already said publicly that Guinea would rather be even in the last position in a united Africa than in the first in a divided Africa. This is our firm expression of a consistent and profound political conviction.*

But we know that some are hiding ill-feelings among African countries. They would say: “Beware of Guinea! She is concealing territorial ambitions, an expansionist scheme.” They would tell Gambia; “Be careful, you are a thorn in Senegal's flesh.” And each says what he pleases, which, of course, is far from the truth. We therefore say that we must not pay heed to those who want to maintain us in a state of mediocrity, incompetence, and dependence.

We African Leaders, elevated to the highest functions in the history of our countries, shall pass away some day; but what shall we have bequeathed to you the young continuators? What significance shall we have given to our lives? Of what importance is a long

term of office if the work has no positive significance for the popular masses of a country. Are we going to remain as European colonizers have moulded us? If so, we shall have no more right to say that colonizers have divided us. Let us assume for instance that colonialism infiltrates a household and divides its members; the latter affirm that imperialism has divided them and denounce imperialism; they declare that they are chained by imperialism. But when they succeed in defeating imperialism and refuse to rebuild their family unit, they no longer have the right to speak of imperialism lest they exhibit inconsistency and lack of will!

We believe, for our part, that African Leaders and African Governments must trust one another and always tell one another the truth, nothing but naked truth. Man's perfection is a stage in his objective of constant improvement. If the Leaders agree to work together, then they must point out all their errors and progressively solve the problems that confront them; this is the only way they can achieve their objectives. The difficulties at the early stages will be enormous but they will be overcome if every Leader maintains a sincere attitude. Ten years hence, the youth will be in a different mood for the future will have been better assured. And though present-day Leaders shall have passed away, it would seem as though they were still alive, because their achievements would remain imperishable.

African statesmen must strive for the real unity of Africa. They must, on account of the paramount interests of the continent of Africa, upon the process leading to true unity. We could, as suggested by late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, begin with a flexible formula.

Of course, every state has its own personality, its own institutions, its particular style of work and would hardly countenance interference in its internal affairs from another State. But certain areas could be selected, common areas where human, material and financial resources could be pooled to organize the relevant services solidly and make them function effectively. As confidence grows, they could envisage other areas and take concerted action, and with time, in ten years or perhaps in twenty years, they would give their community an integrated form. We believe that this process is necessary; but there is however the need to design well defined objectives, evolve a common will and strive to achieve them.

At any rate, development constitutes an overall vision of the activities of a People, considered as an homogeneous, total entity whose dimensions must constantly increase without prejudice to universal interest or the interest of other Peoples.

Material, social, and cultural development must represent a rise in the Peoples' standard of living and continuously ensure greater improvement in all aspects of their life. Such a system demands the elaboration of a mode of production characterized by the emancipation of productive forces and giving a new impetus to all the creative energies through justice and equality in social relations by giving a new impetus to all the creative energies.

On account of this overall vision of development, scientific and technical activities are both the moment and means of this development, taking into account, of course, the social aim assigned to the objectives in view.

As we have already said, for development to be harmonious and balanced it must be determined and realized by and for the People. For development to be a reality, People must be conscious of development. The need for development must be felt by every citizen like a primary need, an irrepressible need, a vital need.

This philosophy of development constitutes the backbone of the ideology of the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG). In the light of this, the development we seek, and which mobilizes us with ever renewed tension, is not sought for its own sake, it is not an end in itself, a mere objective of growth. Man is not an abstract theoretical being; man is a product of Geography and History. In order to achieve real development all development must take into account the characteristics of each country, of each People.

External aid must be considered only as a supplement, but never as a complement., External aid, for conscientious People, is to the accomplishment of a programme, which the People alone are able to accomplish fully. Briefly speaking, the People must prove capable of accomplishing it even if there were no aid. When people speak about development aid, we must ask ourselves who aided who propose to give us aid. It is their creative genius that aided them, their will translated into diligent work and their perseverance at work.

For that reason, Africa too, must, with or without aid from whatever quarter, through her own genius, develop at the same, if not at a faster rate, since her resources are today more modern and more effective than one or two centuries ago. Africa will certainly

succeed if she achieves unity. It is our conviction that the mobilization of the immense human resources on the continent to stimulate creativity and the inventive spirit of Africans will accelerate our development of the living conditions of our populations. *For her part, and as an integral part of Africa, the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea views the problem of her development from the continental angle and seeks African solutions to it.*

Briefly speaking, it is political will that counts. We Guineans have this deep-seated political will and have confidence in all African countries.

We can and must do something to guarantee the future of our Peoples. This future is dear to us.

Working in furtherance of this is a demonstration of a common political will. We have demonstrated this will by giving positive significance to our ability to exercise State power. We shall by so doing strengthen the bonds of co-operation between our countries.

We must educate our Peoples and inculcate in them the sense of discipline for the task ahead. We must courageously denounce our shortcomings to enable our Peoples get rid of them. We are educators, and it is education that makes the future of a country. Co-operation between our countries must therefore be sincere, and unreserved.

From sincere and dynamic co-operation between African will emerge the prospect of effective complementarity of activities and the guarantee of rapid development. Indeed, we say “complementary” because the ideology of the Democratic Party of Guinea

aims as much as possible to champion the struggle of all the Peoples for social and democratic progress without identifying itself with an idealist philosophy or polarizing action on the creation of a utopian Community.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have sprung from federal states. The various forms of their divergences are subordinated to the political will to establish an organic human entity. In the United States, religious sects, sometimes in conflict with one another, constantly emerge, while Blacks, whites, Indians called Red Indians» Chinese and Japanese live side by side. But has America been imperiled in spite of the conflicts arising from certain factors of non-cohesion which we shall not elaborate on here P No!

In the Soviet Union can be found federate and autonomous Republics in spite of the diversity of her Peoples, religious, ethnic groups, cultures.

Is the existence of the Soviet Union threatened by these potential factors of division? No!

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which has for more than three decades demonstrated undisputed dynamism and pursued an exemplary political formula, however, experiences internal upheavals which constantly affect its structural unity. But has Yugoslavia succumbed to these upheavals? No.

Western Europe is composed of Peoples of diverse tribes Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, and history abounds with instances of bloody confrontations among these Peoples, But they have learnt a lesson from their conflict, and within the E.E.C. today, co-

-exist the belligerents, the victors and the vanquished of yesterday.

What is the prevailing atmosphere of these instances? It is, in our opinion, political will and the nature of the system of production. But this does not mean that the Secretary-General of the Party puts capitalism and socialism at the same level of capacity and national cohesion.

This value judgement will be appreciated by history through the aspirations of the Peoples concerned. This is not our aim here. We only want to show that the politician cannot live on illusions, still less spread illusions among the citizens.

We want to say that the African continent has seen all sorts of concrete social and political organizations. It has also seen the existence of socialist orientated regimes, bourgeois Republics, monarchies and even “maintained” primitive Community. We say maintained » because inhuman desires have halted the evolution of certain human communities in the name of the forbidding law of profit! Let's not talk about it!

To speak about the United States of Africa whilst the mode of production are as different as they are obscure is to invite utopian debates. In other words, we cannot speak about the United States of Africa when we are aware that every mode of production implies a particular nature of social relations and engenders a particular superstructure within a Nation, a superstructure irreducible to any other superstructure in a country with a different mode of production. But must we conclude that it is impossible to form United

States in Africa? By answering yes» we are sacrificing the future of the Peoples of our Continent on the altar of dogmas! By answering “No,” we are sing fear of solutions outside the well-trodden paths!

Indeed, why don't we understand the United States of Africa to mean a Confederation of States whose common concern is the survival of the Continent, its social development, the assertion of its sovereignty, the establishment of a peaceful atmosphere propitious to creative activities? Why don't we envisage without complex, the Confederation of even basically different regimes in order to achieve objectives beneficial to the peoples of the African Continent and to the security of mankind?

Some may argue that “a confederation presupposes in the long or medium term the dissolution of the federate entities into a federal entity.” We have precisely spoken about the mode of production as an important factor to be taken into account if we must not drift into utopia. No one can as yet foresee the time when the same mode of production will prevail in all African countries. Such a reality must be the result of the class struggle at the African and extra African levels.

Indeed, the will of the Peoples with regard to the quality of their living conditions or their ideal relations is evident. The African leaders who are all aware of this will, could take it into account or close their eyes to the danger.

Let us consider the case of Switzerland; she has been a Confederation as far back as 1815, but today she is a true Federal State. We need not propose one

mode of production for Africa. We could envisage federate African State entities on the basis of economic and social options, united within a confederation under the O.A.U.; our objective of a Continental Executive remains valid.

At the moment five vast geographical Zones are organized within the O.A.U., namely:

NORTHERN AFRICA comprising 6 States:

- Morocco
- Algeria
- Tunisia
- Lybia
- Egypt
- Sudan.

WEST AFRICA comprising 16 States:

- Mauritania
- Gambia
- Guinea-Bissau
- Mali
- Liberia
- Upper-Volta
- Togo
- Senegal
- Cape Verde Islands
- Guinea
- Sierra-Leone
- Ivory Coast
- Ghana
- Nigeria
- Benin
- Niger

CENTRAL AFRICA comprising 11 States:

- Cameroon
- Equatorial Guinea
- Congo
- Angola
- Central African Republic
- Burundi
- Gabon
- Sao-Tome and Principe
- Zaire
- Chad
- Rwanda

EAST AFRICA comprising 10 States:

- Ethiopia
- Kenya
- Tanzania
- Mauritius
- Comoro Islands
- Somalia
- Uganda
- Seychelles
- Madagascar
- Djibouti

SOUTHERN AFRICA comprising 7 States

- Zambia
- Malawi
- Mozambique
- Botswana
- Lesotho
- Swaziland
- Zimbabwe

To these 7 States will be added 2 others after their liberation: Namibia and Azania (South Africa).

It would be easy to organize a federation of States in each of the five zones and to bring them together under a Confederation at the continental level to form the United States of Africa.

The permanent characteristics of social life at the family, national or international level is a set of contradictions effecting the conflicts and divergencies of interests. A right solution to these diverse contradictions engenders social harmony, social balance, individual and collective happiness.

The 50 States of the African Continent are all confronted with the same problems in the struggle to stamp out the material Consequences as well as the cultural and political effects of foreign domination, colonialist exploitation and die cultural depersonalization which their Peoples have had to suffer for decades or even centuries.

The serious problems of die development of the African economy, the dynamic promotion of African culture, the assertion of the political and cultural personality of the Peoples of Africa, the participation of the African Continent, with the other continents, on the basis of strict equality and dignity, in the conduct of a just international policy, are tasks which can only be rapidly and fully accomplished when the Continent is provided with operational structures and means commensurate with its collective skills.

The internal contradictions which paralyze the harmonious development of relations of cooperation among African States, and which are dangerously by imperialism and colonialism would be radically resolved as soon as Africans banish

national selfishness and ethnic or cultural particularisms. Consequently, the real serious contradictions between Africa and the powers and interests opposed to its Power and well-being will in turn be easily resolved through the effective unity of action and the great political, material, military, and moral power of a Continental Government.

Indeed, the internal problems of Western Sahara, those of the Horn of Africa, as well as the African struggle for true independence in Namibia, and for the decisive eradication of apartheid in South Africa will all find their solutions in harmony with the aspirations of our Peoples without compromising the happy future of the Continent.

The great geological, mineral, energy, sea, and inland water potentialities will be better exploited with our collective means for the social advancement of the whole of Africa.

Africa will consequently possess the strongest currency and enjoy economic stability that will guarantee the continuous progress of its Peoples. It will be provided with structures and means of transport and communications better adapted to the demands of its evolution. Useful scientific centres will be established to increase Africa's means of action. Its culture and values of civilization will be provided with an atmosphere that promotes their Constant development and efficiency,

At the international level, the Continent shall no longer be subjected to any other Continent because it shall be master of its own destiny and shall not tolerate any relation of subordination or alienation.

Those are the rights we must first conquer in order to give the African the true rights without which his life cannot develop fully.

But at the moment, these respective rights are tasks to be accomplished within ourselves, within the milieu in which we live and within the network of relations binding us in the world.

The question therefore is whether we must have the courage to live in the present while preparing for the future or vegetate in the present by continuing to live the life of the past.

To this question, the citizen of Guinea, the Democratic Party of Guinea, the Government of Guinea, the Popular Guinean Revolution vigorously reply that they are resolutely prepared to embark, with the other Peoples of Africa, the other African States, the other African Governments, upon the only historically valid and viable path, the road to Continental Unity, the decisive factor for the preservation and constant promotion of the personality, the dignity, and the true happiness of the Peoples of Africa.