

# "Let us Forget About Alien Attachments"

A Speech by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah



OSAGYEFO

A GREAT Irish patriot who worked in the Congo about fifty years ago and exposed the injustices of colonialism and imperialism, once wrote:

"The more we love our land and wish to help our people the more keenly we feel we cannot turn a deaf ear to suffering and injustice in any part of the world."

These words are true of our own position and, I believe, of the position in which peoples in the countries which have emerged from colonial rule find themselves: namely, that our struggle for liberation is merely a part of the struggle of all mankind for freedom and particularly of the African struggle for emancipation.

As I have said time and time again, political independence does not necessarily mean the end of colonialism or imperialism. Political freedom is always a step forward but it is only the first step. Though a State may be nominally independent, it may still be subject to almost all the evils of its previous colonial regime.

## Objectives

Indeed the very fact that the country has obtained political independence, is admitted into the United Nations and enjoys all the outward trappings of an independent State, may make the fight against concealed colonialism in that particular country both more difficult and more urgent. The existence of client States, which are dependent on some outside Power for their economic existence and their military defence are a positive danger to peace.

Such States are pawns in the global chess game of international politics. In this periculous game, we must never forget that one of the objectives is the perpetuation of colonialism or imperialism either in its old guise or in a new form. Such States can be used for this purpose in a most effective way.

Instead of the colonial power having itself to put forward its own arguments in the United Nations and in other international gatherings, the client States can be brought forward to express a policy which the colonial power manipulating the State in question (with what I have called Teleguide diplomacy), realises would never gain acceptance if such a policy were put forward by the colonial power itself.

In order that Ghana may continue to maintain an independent foreign policy, it is essential that we should be economically and technologically strong and able to stand on our own feet without having to rely upon the financial assistance of any other nation. It is also essential that we do not compromise our freedom of action by entering into any military pact or arrangement with any particular Power or bloc of Powers.

## Industrialisation

Many States are compelled to enter into such pacts because of their own internal instability. They cannot maintain law and order in their own country unless they have outside assistance. It is for this reason that a country's policy at home and its policy abroad are so closely interlocked.

In order that we can pursue a policy by which we can assist other countries to attain real independence, we must develop our economy and pursue a policy of industrialisation in our country so as to establish a strong economic foundation upon which our foreign policy can be based.

We must, however, develop our economy in such a way that equal opportunity is given to all our road to socialism must be a road designed and charted in

accordance with the conditions of Ghana and the historical and social conditions and circumstances of Africa as a whole.

### African Freedom

We do not therefore seek to copy the methods by which other countries have achieved socialism within their own States. Indeed the path to socialism followed by many countries has not been one worked out in accordance with a pre-conceived plan. It should be our object to study history so as to profit by the experience of others and to avoid the mistakes and errors which were, perhaps, inevitable in the particular circumstances of the time but which need not be repeated.

We can perform a most important service in the cause of African freedom if we can show to the world that a comparatively small State that has recently escaped from a colonialist past can build itself up into a modern and progressive State in far less time than it took many of the other nations of the world to achieve this degree of progress.

The efficiency of a Government also depends, to a very large extent, on its internal structure. Very naturally, the Colonial Civil Service was built upon the theory that all change was dangerous and that therefore the administrative machine should be so constructed as to prevent any innovation.

We, on the other hand, have to do very quickly what it has taken other nations a long time to achieve, and it is for that reason that it is continually necessary for our Government structure to be reviewed and reorganised in accordance with current needs.

### Foreign Affairs

At the moment there are negotiations proceeding at the United Nations with a view to a new initiative being taken in disarmament. It would therefore be premature for us at this stage to put forward any other plan.

If, however, for any reason progress is not achieved at the United Nations, I consider that the uncommitted countries—and by these I mean the countries which are not members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the Warsaw Pact and other similar military alliances—might profitably come together to discuss putting forward a disarmament plan of their own.

During my visits abroad, I have been much heartened by the atmosphere of understanding which has pervaded my discussions with world leaders whom I met. I was particularly delighted at the sympathetic manner in which President Kennedy listened to the views which I put forward in regard to matters which are of particular concern to Ghana in the field of African Affairs.

My experience in the United States of America and in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London has led me to be convinced that there is today a real prospect of settling outstanding international differences by negotiation. It will be always the policy of the Government of Ghana to assist, as far as it can, in any such move to resolve international tensions.

I think we should explain to the world why we have chosen our structure of Government and why we believe that this structure of Government is more suited

to African conditions and to the conditions of newly independent States in general, than other constitutions based upon the historical patterns of some older nations.

I would like in this respect to explain our attitude towards federalism which is falsely believed by some people to be a cure for all the economic and political ills of the African Continent.

Outside nations almost invariably approach the problems of Africa from two quite contradictory standpoints.

In the first place, they all recognise the need for strong Government. Foreign investments, we are told, can only be made where there is internal stability. Equally, world public opinion recognises that progress is impossible unless there is the widest possible area of economic union and free trade.

### Basic Idea

On the other hand, when actual political suggestions come to be made as to the form of Government suitable in Africa, outside thinking is dominated by the political and historical idea of the eighteenth century world.

The basic idea behind the United States Constitution, for example, was that all Government was bad and a necessary evil. This should only be tolerated, therefore, according to the political thinkers of the eighteenth century, if a series of checks and balances were imposed in which some powers of Government should be exercised by the basic unit of the State, and other powers should be given to the Federal Government so that neither could become all powerful.

### Limited Powers

The authority of Congress was limited but so, too, was the authority of the President and the Supreme Court was established so as to see that neither the Federal Government nor the States over stepped the limits assigned to them in the Constitution, and that neither Congress nor President exercised powers not expressly granted to them.

In the historical conditions in which the United States was established, it is undoubtedly true that the only union which could have been set up with the consent of the people was one based upon these principles.

This does not, however, mean that because a constitution of checks and balances was suitable in the United States in the eighteenth century, it will automatically be suitable in Africa or in other parts of the world in the second half of the twentieth century. I refuse to comment on this mode of thinking.

The people of Ghana decisively rejected a federal form of constitution at the General Election of 1956, and the reasons why they did so are, I believe, equally applicable to other African States.

### Legacy

One of the worst legacies of colonialism was the absence of a trained body of African technicians and administrators. A federal form of government automa-

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tically means that it is impossible to concentrate in the central government machine the necessary limited manpower available. It has to be dispersed over the regional and the federal governments. Even more serious than this, however, is the power vacuum created by any federal form of government.

Once one starts laying down in the constitution what powers the federal government shall have, a vast area of doubt is created. It is not clear whether this or that particular matter is within the power of the federal government or of the regional government. Nothing can be done by either in regard to the matter until the courts have pronounced one way or another as to where power lies.

In consequence just at a time when a strong government is necessary, federalism introduces an element of paralysis into the machinery of State, and slows down the progress of governmental action. We cannot afford this luxury in Africa.

The Congo, indeed, provides a striking example of how federation can be used as a cloak to conceal new colonialism. In fact, this type of federalism is not federation at all it is separatism. It does not unite, it balkanizes.

In all African communities there is a natural and reasonable tendency for ethnic groups to come together and seek to organise themselves both politically and economically so as to restore their cultural and their traditional way of life which was suppressed under colonialism it is necessary that we understand and appreciate the force of this motive which is entirely praiseworthy and yet at the same time we should prevent it being exploited by those who wish to restore colonialism in a new guise.

Fundamentally, the reason why African ethnic groups failed to maintain their independence and succumbed to colonialism was that they were too small and not economically viable.

The whole history of the colonial penetration of Africa is the history of the colonial powers supporting one ethnic group against the other and exploiting African differences so that in the end all came equally under the colonial yoke.

The solution, therefore, is to find a form of political organisation which gives full expression to all ethnic groups and yet which maintains that essential unity which is a prerequisite of true independence. Such a political organisation should not be difficult to evolve.

The main problem would be the will of African States to start it: I mean an African Continental Government—a single continent—which would develop a feeling of one community among the peoples of Africa and work for the economic, technological, social, scientific and cultural development of Africa. Notwithstanding all nations to the contrary I firmly believe that such an African Continental Government is both essential and necessary.

The traditional form of colonialist penetration of Africa was by way of "indirect rule". An existing traditional ruler who was in some trouble with his own people could easily be persuaded to accept the para-

mounty of the colonial power in return for a promise to help to suppress his own fellow countrymen, where the traditional ruler was not prepared to call in the colonial power, then a pretext could be found for making war upon him and installing another ruler who promised to be more pliable.

Those colonialist powers who are interested in Balkanisation are playing exactly the same game today. Anyone can be a very big fish if the pool is small enough. There are, therefore, selfish politicians who have a vested interest in maintaining the individuality of their countries as against the political unity of Africa.

These are those leaders who are easy game for those who try to re-establish the system of indirect rule. The modern form of this indirect rule is what I have called "Teleguide diplomacy". Colonialism thrives on "Teleguide diplomacy". Such puppet regimes must realise, however, that their future is not even as secure as that of the former puppet rulers of colonial days.

Sooner or later they will be caught and crushed between two forces namely, the force of African mass nationalism on the one side, and colonialism itself on the other.

It would be the greatest mistake to imagine that all foreign powers are colonialists or that the interests of overseas investments are necessarily best served by a continuation of imperialism in an open or concealed form. On the contrary, the existence of colonialism and of Balkanisation is indirect contradiction to the interest of progressive nations and the essential elements of private capitalism.

The masses who struggle for independence did not do so in order to put a handful of puppet politicians into power. They fought for their independence because quite rightly, they considered that this was the only method by which they could achieve the other things which they desired—a higher standard of living and real political and intellectual freedom.

Puppet rulers cannot give to their people any of these things, so the puppets sooner or later become crushed between the external pressures opposed to colonialism and the internal pressures generated in the countries themselves. But we have, or should have, an effective answer to Balkanisation, and the answer is African unity.

The Union of African States, however, cannot be achieved by only passing resolutions. It can be achieved through positive action, and we must prepare the ground for such a union of African States.

In the first place, it is important to begin at once on the practical studies which are necessary to make African political union work.

### New University

We hope to create our own University in September next. One of its many important tasks will be preparing the ground work for African unity. We need to study, for example, how best we can build trunk roads so as to link up the African Continent. Our great new harbour at

Tema should become a free port for African States who want to use it.

The cost of extending the present network of roads in Ghana so as to link Upper Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta and Mali with Ghana is not great when compared with some of the sums which are now being spent on weapons of mass destruction. I hope, such a joint scheme, that those Powers who have stated their willingness to contribute to African development would lend it their support.

Every independent African State has a moral duty of assisting its neighbours in establishing full political and economic independence.

The Independent African States must start as soon as possible to devise a plan whereby the deficiencies of one country can be made good by the surpluses of another. Let me now turn first to the problems of the Union of South Africa. It is necessary that we should make a sober analysis of the South African situation—looking at the position objectively and never allowing our views to be influenced by sentiment or by racial prejudice of any sort.

The questions which we must ask ourselves are these: First, how long can the present regime in South Africa survive? Secondly, what is to be done when the ultimate collapse of that regime takes place?

The Congo crisis would not have developed to such an extent had the African States been united and better prepared than they were to deal with it when it arose.

Fortunately, the South African question is one upon which African States have already proved that they have a unity of approach, and therefore it should not be difficult to devise an appropriate line of policy which could obtain universal African support.

The ruling class in South Africa consists of some three million persons of European descent. This ruling class monopolises the Armed Forces which are specifically armed and trained to deal with civil disturbance. The opponents, the remaining twelve million inhabitants of South Africa are unarmed and lack the elaborate political and economic organisation which the ruling class has built up.

It is because of this that the ruling class of South Africa consider that their position is safe and that they can continue indefinitely to pursue their present apartheid policy.

By itself, of course, this intellectual revolt is not significant. It is, however, one of the classic symptoms of an impending storm. It is the cloud the size of a man's hand seen by the prophet Elijah from which he was able to prophesy the inevitable approach of the storm.

The second classic sign of revolution is the division of the ruling class itself. The controversy which now divides the ruling class in South Africa is, in fact, of no importance in itself. The two main political parties in South Africa, the Nationalists and the United Party, are both dedicated to the maintenance of racial inequality. What they differ about is how this inequality should be maintained.

This significance of the division is that it shows that one group of the ruling class does not trust the other, and the present Government, therefore, cannot claim undivided loyalty of the ruling class.

Also significant, and showing the breakdown of the existing structure of the ruling class, is the emergence of the Progressive Party, an organisation of persons of goodwill allied to the shrewdest financiers of the country.

The Progressive realise that there is something radically wrong with South Africa and that if the present social structure of the Union is to survive, radical changes must be made. Ultimately, however, they fight shy of the only radical change which can solve the South African situation, the establishment of the principle of 'one man one vote', irrespective of colour or racial origin.

Like all reforming parties which spring up on the eve of a revolution, they see an abyss opening up before them, but they are so conditioned by their membership of the ruling class to the existing situation that they are unable to formulate any acceptable alternative.

The large vote cast in favour of Progressive candidates at bye-election and provincial elections show that their fears are shared by a certain part of the ruling class but that this proportion of the ruling class is nothing like sufficient to reform the existing regime.

In short there is no indication whatsoever that the South African ruling class will, of its own volition, change its policy. On the contrary, there is every indication that it will pursue an even more extreme apartheid policy as pressure mounts against it.

Fundamentally, the weakness of the regime is not the split in the ruling class which is only important as a symptom of what is to come. The real determining factor is the fundamental weakness of the whole structure.

Industry and agriculture are dependent upon African labour and a point must come when this labour ceases to be subservient to the ruling class. History has shown that such a calculation is entirely false and if we look beneath the surface it can, I think, be shown that the position of the South African Government is fundamentally weak, and there is little likelihood of its surviving for long.

In the first place, it must be noted that the South Africa regime exhibits exactly these same symptoms which have invariably preceded revolutions elsewhere but whose significance are often not appreciated until the revolution in question has actually taken place.

There has occurred already in South Africa what was the prelude both to the French and to the Russian revolutions and, indeed, to the revolutions in many other countries. There has been a significant repudiation of the regime by an influential section of the intelligentsia of the ruling class.

The Dutch Reformed Church is the ideological pillar upon which apartheid rests, yet apartheid has been denounced by Professor Keel, until recently the Head of the Theological seminary of that Church at Stellenbosch University where Dr. Verwoerd himself was once a professor.

## Domination

The leaders of the Anglican, the Roman Catholic and the other churches in South Africa have all of them

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repudiated and, indeed, the whole system of racial segregation and racial domination.

Without organised Trade Unions prolonged strikes involving the organised withdrawal of labour are, of course, almost impossible to achieve. What is likely to happen is a spreading discontent, resulting in a sporadic withdrawal of labour.

The inevitable demonstrations which are bound to be sparked off by fresh sets of oppression may even be in themselves sufficient to dislocate the South African economy. Sooner or later a situation must arise where a resistance movement, similar to that which arose spontaneously in all countries under Nazi occupation, arises also in South Africa. The history of the resistance movement in Europe against the Nazis shows that those who were actively participating were comparatively few in number.

Their success was due to the fact that they have the active support of the great majority of the countries concerned. Similarly, a greater factor of weakness is the threat of isolation which must surround South Africa and cut her off from the association and sympathy of her African neighbours. This threat is very real.

FINALLY, the gathering storm is in itself likely to precipitate a financial crisis within South Africa. While South Africa is perhaps the most industrial developed country on the African Continent, this industrial supremacy has been gained by the systematic exploitation of Africans and Asian labour.

The clever financier realises that such a situation cannot last and he will therefore seek by all means possible to recover as much of his capital as he can before the inevitable crash occurs.

Hitherto, there have been two possible approaches to the South African problem. It has been argued that it might be possible to change the South African regime by persuasion and force example. It was on that basis that it was argued that it was best to keep South Africa within the Commonwealth so that Commonwealth pressure might bring about a change.

I have always had the gravest doubts about the success of any such policy. However, we did attempt to apply it in the years which followed independence. We offered, for example, to exchange diplomatic representatives with South Africa and we continued negotiating with South Africa on the issue for over three years.

It became quite clear, however, that the South African Government would never accept diplomatic representatives from any indigenous African State.

We invited to Ghana individual South Africans so that they might see for themselves how Africans could run their own affairs, and how racial harmony could prevail among white and black, but this policy was not reflected in the least change in South Africa's attitude to Africans or Asians in South Africa.

## African States

Accordingly, last year we put into full effect the resolution on South Africa adopted by the Addis Ababa Conference. I feel that it is time that those other African

States which have not as yet put this resolution into effect should do so. African States can scarcely call upon other countries of the world to boycott South Africa if they do not do so themselves.

We should begin discussions now with other African States as to the form of assistance we could give to any Government which was formed in South Africa after the defeat of the existing apartheid regime.

We should make plans, through the United Nations if possible, for the training of Africans from South Africa to be ready to take over positions of responsibility in the event of a change of regime. At present no African is trained in the higher forms of civil service administration, the management of business or as military or police officers.

Any action which is taken with regard to South Africa should be agreed beforehand by the largest number of States possible and I would, therefore, like other countries, interested in securing a solution to the South African problem, to consider whether it would be helpful to hold a conference solely on the South African issue.

If such a conference were held, it should be confined, to those countries which were prepared to take positive action to deal with the South African situation.

The situation in South Africa cannot be considered in isolation. Portuguese policy in Africa is merely the logical extension into Portuguese colonial territories of the policies pursued in South Africa on the one hand, and by the former Belgian colonial administration in the Congo on the other.

There is nothing unique about Portuguese policy. It is merely a blend of the system of King Leopold II of Belgium as applied in the Congo, and that of Dr. Verwoerd as applied in South Africa.

The most important point to examine in regard to the Portuguese colonies is how a system so oppressive as that at present employed has continued for so long. It is perfectly understandable that a great power with immense financial resource is able, if it so desired, to maintain for a considerable time at any rate, colonial domination over a subject people.

Portugal, however, has no great financial or military resources. How then has it been able to maintain its colonies? It is partly because these colonies are not only colonies of Portugal. They are in practice, if not in name, colonies of the Union of South Africa. They supply to the Union and to South West Africa a large proportion of the labour force which is employed in the mines.

It is also because there is a fear among Western colonising Powers that if the Portuguese regime collapsed, the floodgates would be opened and the whole of the European position in Africa South of the Equator fatally compromised.

I think this profoundly mistaken analysis. What compromises the Western position is their association with Portuguese colonialism through the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and in other ways. The external

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pressure required to liberate the Portuguese colonies in Africa is not very great.

The choice before the Western Powers is whether they will use their influence with Portugal and thus gain the gratitude of the people of Africa, or whether they will attempt, by maintaining their alliance with Portugal, to bolster up the decaying Portuguese colonial empire.

Which ever policy the Western colonising Powers pursue, they cannot prevent the liberation of Portugal's African colonies. All they can do is to delay temporarily their march to freedom and preserve for a time what is probably the worst form of tyranny existing anywhere in the world today.

At this point it is relevant to state what I believe should be the principle which must guide the world in dealing with the thorny issue of settler relations in Africa.

Because of race, creed and various other deep-rooted complexes, settlers in Africa segregated themselves from the indigenous people and took it upon themselves to dominate them. My view is that the predominant racial group must and will determine the majority rule and the Government of a country.

The race that is in the majority is the possessor of the land which it occupies, irrespective of any indigenous minority. This fact is amply illustrated in the cases of Australia and the United States of America where the settlers have so far outnumbered the indigenous Maoris and Red Indians, that they have become the undisputed rulers of the countries.

On the other hand, it can be seen what chaos and unhappiness prevails when a minority settler group tries to take possession of a land or to dictate to a majority as in the cases of South Africa, Algeria, Kenya or the Central African Federation.

The first step towards testing the right of rule in communities of mixed races and creeds, is, to give every adult man and woman—irrespective of their race and creed—the right to vote. When each citizen thereby enjoys equality of status, all barriers of race and colour will disappear and the people will mix freely together with one another working for the common good.

I will not repeat to you what I have already said about the Congo in my address to the United Nations. It is perfectly clear that there is an international conspiracy to partition and Balkanise the Congo and that this conspiracy has had considerable temporary success since Lumumba was murdered by Tshombe and his Belgian allies.

What is by no means so clear, is who are the actual participants in this conspiracy.

There are two factors which have caused the attempted dismemberment of the Congo. The first factor is the belief that a form of political organisation suitable in the United States, in the United Kingdom and in other parts of the world is necessarily suitable in Africa.

A number of pronouncements are made by distinguished statesmen to the effect that federalism is the only solution to the problems of the Congo.

This completely ignores the fact that the majority of the electorate of the Congo voted for parties which support a unitary type of State.

For the reasons I have given earlier, it is obvious that a

federal form of government in the Congo would lead to continued Belgian domination.

Since it is universally acknowledged that there are not sufficient skilled Congolese to run a unitary state, a federal Congolese state could only be run by expatriate civil servants and in the natural course of things, these could be drawn from Belgium.

### Conspirators

We know that Belgian colonial civil servants have no knowledge or experience of serving a democratically administered African State. Their only experience is that of colonial absolutism in the Congo.

The second factor is that there are conspirators who take advantage of the natural desire for ethnic unity and the widely-held belief in the virtues of federation to impose a Balkan solution upon the Congo.

These conspirations certainly include the Government of Belgium. It is difficult to tell how far other Governments are positively involved. It is admitted that three military aircraft, at least, which were being manufactured for Belgium in France under the auspices of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation were supplied to the so-called Katanga Government.

It is very difficult to see how these aircraft could have left France without the knowledge of the French Government. Similarly, it is difficult to understand how so many South African military personnel are serving with the Katanga forces unless the South African Government was actively supporting Tshombe.

His mercenary army is paid at extremely high rates and the money for it must come from somewhere. It is quite clear that the Belgian Ranks and the Union Miniere in which the investments are by no means exclusively confined to Belgium, are co-operating to support Tshombe militarily.

The object of the conspiracy is plain. It is to detach Katanga from the rest of the Congo and to create a puppet state which will permit the whole of Katanga's mineral wealth to be exploited on behalf of outside interests, and so deprive the African people of the Congo of any share of their own national wealth.

In order that such a conspiracy can be successful, it is necessary, of course, to break up the rest of the Congo into small units which cannot challenge the expatriate domination of Katanga Province.

This plan has had considerable success because it has been possible to confuse the newly liberated States of former French Africa as to the true nature of the manoeuvre. One sees in consequence at the United Nations the extraordinary scene of some African States supporting a so-called independence movement led by Belgian and South African soldiers.

Such a conspiracy is, however, ultimately doomed to failure. The wind of change in Africa will soon blow down those rickety colonial structures based upon foreign mercenaries and designed solely to serve its own interests and wealthy expatriate mining companies.

A new element has been introduced into the situation by so-called Tananarive—those of colonial powers—and Conference in Madagascar which was attended by Kasavubu, Tshombe and a number of other persons

interested in splitting up the Congo into tribal units. By agreeing to the proposals of this Conference, Mr. Kasavubu has, in the view of the Government of Ghana, abdicated his position as President of the Republic in a very similar way to that in which the Belgian King abdicated his position as constitutional ruler when he surrendered to the Nazis and acknowledged, in effect, that Belgium had become annexed to Germany.

In this regard I would like to call the attention of the Assembly to the words of the Secretary-General in a Report which the Belgian King Advisory Committee on the 3rd March, 1961, speaking of the so-called Tananarive—Conference—the Secretary-General said, and I quote his actual words:—"It seems to follow from the communicate that Mr. Kasavubu has put his name to an action which, if implemented, would annul the 'Loi Fondamentale' to President of a so-called Conference. It seems that he has also put his name to an agreement to annul the Central Government . . . Decisions and positions taken by the United Nations in relation to an integrated Congo under a constitutional Chief of State obviously cannot, by some magic, be constituted as applying to a confederation of eight units, seemingly claiming some kind of sovereignty with the Chief of State functioning without a Central Government and appearing to be only some kind of a Chairman of an interstate Council."

The Ghana Government is in entire agreement with those views of the Secretary-General. We propose to follow smoothly the precedent set by the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the former Chinese Government when they had to decide whether to accredit their Ambassadors to the Government of Belgium, then in exile, or to the Belgian King.

In all cases Ambassadors were accredited to the legal Government of Belgium. We propose to follow this course and to dispatch a diplomatic representative to Congo and Stanleyville.

In my address to the United Nations I most strongly urged the control of all airfields in the Congo so as to prevent the supply of arms, ammunitions and men to the contesting parties. Ghana must take note of the fact that the United Nations has not yet been able to prevent the influx of mercenary troops nor the open supply by air of arms to Tshombe by Belgium. A time must come when African States cannot stand by idly while foreign powers are allowed to arm forces in revolts against the lawful Gizenga Government of the Congo.

If such a situation continues African States will have to consider what action they should take to restore the balance of armaments. I hope and trust that the United Nations will soon be in a position to prevent all external supplies of arms.

If they cannot achieve this, then a new situation will arise when it will be necessary for Ghana and other African States to reconsider their policy and find ways to restore the balance of armament in the Congo.

Events in South Africa, in Portuguese Angola, Mozambique, the Rhodesias and Zanzibar, have thrown the whole of Africa South of the Equator into a ferment.

But one new element of stability is already appearing. The new States of Tanganyika. I look forward to the establishment of the most friendly and cordial relations between Ghana and Tanganyika.

Algeria still remains an international problem—the relations of France with many countries of Africa are poisoned by the failure to find a solution to the Algerian problem and by the French Government's insistence on exploding nuclear bombs in the Sahara.

In relation to these problems a very great service could be rendered by those States which have recently obtained their independence from France but which still maintain close links with the French Government.

If these States were to use their combined influence on the French Government, I have no doubt that they could make a decisive contribution to solving the Algerian question and to prevent further nuclear explosions on Algerian soil.

Ghana's position in regard to Algeria has always been quite clear. We fully support Algerian independence and have given material help to our brother nationalist fighters in their grim struggle against French aggressors.

It is just self-deceit to talk of French Algeria, for there is only one Algeria and that Algeria is Algerian. Thus we lend our whole support to the reasonable conditions requested by the Algerian nationalists for the peace talks which were unfortunately called off but which we hope will eventually take place.

The Algerian nationalists say:

1. That there should be no cease-fire before the talks;
2. That negotiations should be with them alone and not long with any stooge organisations which also call themselves nationalists.
3. That all nationalist prisoners held by France be released.
4. That Algeria should be discussed as a whole including the Sahara and not otherwise. Discussion of rights to exploit the oil resources of the Sahara can be taken as a separate exercise after independence.

These requests made by the Algerian nationalists are reasonable and wise and I do hope that the French Government will let good sense prevail and allow the peace talks to be opened on these conditions.

The resources of the African Continent and the real independence of the African people can only be achieved by the maximum unity. It is therefore our duty to work towards that unity.

I wish to repeat what I have said on a number of previous occasions, that our political objective should be to achieve African unity, that is, political union—namely, Continental Government of Africa. I know that this is possible—indeed inevitable. To this end I believe everything else must be subordinated.

At present whilst we are doing everything to realise the goal of African unity the colonialists are also straining every nerve to disorganise the concerted efforts of African leaders by encouraging the formation of communities based on the language of their former colonisers.

I have always stressed that we should not allow our selves to be divided by the languages of our former

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colonisers. The fact that I speak English does not make me an Englishman. Similarly, the fact that some of us speak French and Portuguese does not make us Frenchmen or Portuguese.

We are Africans first and last as Africans, our best interests can only be served by an African Community. To us Africans, neither the Commonwealth nor the French Community can be a substitute for an African Community. I have made this point very clear in my communications to my brother African leaders and it is surprising that some of them attempt to misinterpret my view on this cardinal question.

I wish to appeal to these brothers of mine again and to say to them: Sons of Africa, let us forget about alien attachments and come together to build a strong African Community of our own.

I am happy that the realisation of the Guinea-Mali-Ghana Union is making satisfactory progress. Our joint consultations have been maintained on all matters of common interests.

Recently, experts from the three countries constituting the Union met in Accra and considered in detail practical proposals for giving forms and substance to our Union.

Our brothers, Sekou Toure and Modibo Keita, will arrive here on the 27th of this month and together we shall see what further steps we can take to strengthen our Union.

I must now end on an internal note. Since I last addressed Parliament about the Volta River Project, on February 20, 1961, I have had further discussions about the Project with President Kennedy, Mr. Black, who is the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and with Mr. Macmillan in London.

All that remains to be done now, in order to bring this great project to life, is to complete certain formalities with the authorities abroad who will lend money to us and to complete agreement with Volta Aluminium Company.

It is my earnest desire that these formalities should be completed by the end of next month and that all the authorities concerned with the project should then sign the necessary agreements.

Our Consulting Engineers, are well advanced in their examination of the tenders for the dam and a decision will be made at the same time as the various agreements are signed.

Thanks to the preliminary work which we have undertaken in the last two years, the successful bidder for the dam will be able to start work under very advantageous conditions and this vast scheme—which can mean so much to the future of Ghana—should therefore get off to an excellent start.

I have confidence that we shall emerge victorious in all the matters confronting Ghana and Africa.