



H.E. Diori Hamani
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Address 18

I envision a promising sign for the success of our endeavors and a testament to the strength of the African Unity initiative we have embarked on, as we welcome you to this remarkable capital, situated atop Africa's highest plateau, where one of the world's oldest dynasties endures. This gathering, aptly referred to as the Conference of Hope by previous speakers, serves as a testament to the shared aspiration of the people we represent and the mandate we uphold, with the hope that during this significant meeting, our dream of African Unity will transform into reality.

Questions of consideration: What does President Hamani mean when he said that "We are between hope and reality and our action as leaders must be situated between the two"? Why does President Hamani call Addis Ababa Conference as a "Conference of Hope"? What effects do the respect for the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in domestic affairs have had on Sub-Saharan African peoples' desire for unity? If leaders of Sub-Saharan Africa united to defeat colonialism across Africa, but unable to unite to dismantle colonial legacy across the continent, what will they have proven to the world, to Sub-Saharan Africans and to their posterity? If the masses of Sub-Saharan African peoples fought alongside African nationalists to attain independence and national sovereignty, but they were eventually denied the opportunity to participate fully and actively, in post-independence era's institution building process by their leaders, what will Sub-Saharan African leaders have proven to Sub-Saharan Africans and to their posterity? What does it mean for a group of citizens to be independent and united?

In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 1963

Your Majesty
Excellencies

I must first thank Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, his government, and the people of Ethiopia for their magnificent hospitality. I wish to see a happy augury for the success of our work, and a symbol of the solidity of the work of African Unity we have undertaken. In the welcome to this admirable capital, perched on the highest plateau of Africa, and in which reigns one of the most ancient dynasties of the world, has reserved to this "Conference of Hope". As some of the speakers who preceded me have so aptly named it. This Conference bears witness to the deep desire, common to all the people we represent and whose mandate we bear, that in the course of this historic meeting this great hope for African Unity may become a reality. Hope and reality, two contrary terms, between which our action as Heads of State and Government must be situated.

A realistic view of the African conjuncture enables to perceive this first crying fact: the great diversity of situations within our continent: People of the black, white or brown races whose ways of life, languages, beliefs, and ethics are very different alternatively separated, opposed, confronted, sometimes even regrouped by the accidents of history, particularly by the "colonial fact", these peoples are today situated at superimposed levels of economic and cultural development: and their membership of large world groups, such as the monetary zones, seems to condemn them to divergent facts. And behold, in the course of recent years, these Africans, either through the force of arms or through the ways of laws, cease to be foreign dependencies and enter with heads high, the assembly of free nations as modern States, henceforth open to the life of the whole world. Must we, in the name of African Unity, abolish our differences, make uniform the elements of those difference and tend to produce an average standardized, depersonalized "home africanus"? That would be pure Fantasy.

On the contrary, proceeding from the same realistic view of matters, and basing ourselves on this new fact which is the national fact, it is appropriate that we should become clearly aware of some other fact from the internal wars which preceded colonial dominations; despite the cruel bleeding of the slave trade; despite murderous participation in world conflicts on the battle fields of Europe and Asia, African vitality has been maintained and asserted. Then, the dislocation of traditional economic and social structures, the overthrow of customary moral values, provoking the political awakening of the masses, fanning their desire to secure, a decent material and cultural life, justified by the accelerated progress of modern techniques. Demographic expansion, expansion of needs however natural they may be, these

phenomena contribute to the worsening of the present situation. Here we are, we, countries known as “developing, “threatened with a halt to this development, threatened with stagnation and even with retrogression.

The facts are there, drawn from statistics: in international trade, be it with the countries called the Free World, or with the countries of the East, third countries to which we have the dubious privilege of belonging derive their essential resources from export earnings, which are almost in their entirety, from 50 to 90 percent. Exports of agricultural products (oilseeds, bananas, cocoa, coffee). These earnings are constantly declining despite increased productivity and production, and that because of the general fall in world prices fixed by the buyers of the western world. following, in principle, the hard law of supply and demand. The price support policy and the organization of markets practiced by certain major European powers is nothing but a superficial mechanism and moreover, only provisional.

Then, the decline in the monetary income of the African producer matched by a decline in the budgetary earnings of the States, which aggravates deficits, consolidated economic dependence, and cuts back the equipment needed for industrialization. Specially, the consequences are already tangible: in many African countries the precariousness of national financial resources (account being taken of population growth) tends, to the detriment of cultural development, the motive power of technical development to keep steady, if not cause a decline in the school attendance ratio. In short, if international relations are not fearlessly revised by the parties concerned, the gap between the living standards of the rich and powerful countries and those of the inadequately equipped and economically dependent African countries will inevitably widen. For each African nation, threatened with asphyxia and anemia. The problem is no longer that of development in a calm conjuncture: it is, in the more or less long run, the problem of survival. In addition, however, to the danger of being reduced to penury there is also the not negligible danger or an offensive return of various imperialisms.

These opinions, which may seem pessimistic should nevertheless guide our action: The hard struggle which each human grouping carries on, more or less consciously, to maintain its place in the sun, in liberty, in dignity and well-being cannot be conducted in verbal euphoria. Cold reason demands awareness of what there is in common in the situations of our peoples and in their vital interests. African Unity is essentially this awareness of our solidarity, which must in the first place demand us to take common and energetic action in favor of our brothers still under the foreign yoke. I affirm that none of our nations can pride itself on having attained real independence before the whole of our continent is free. It is for this reason that I suggest that we take here the firm resolution to make joint use of all means to facilitate the accession to independence of the African peoples still living under colonial regimes. And

one of the immediate measures we must take the establishment of an inter-African solidarity fund to assist liberation movements.

Our solidarity must also manifest itself by the setting up of an organization for wide African co-operation based on reciprocal respect and esteem brotherly trust, excluding all desire for ethnical, ideological, religious or economic preeminence, sincerely repudiating any attempt to settle possible differences by force, any interference in the domestic affairs of nations, any direct or indirect support of subversion. This cooperation must set itself, as its primary aims, to establish a sound communications system to draw up rules facilitating trade, to coordinate development plans, and to organize the common peasant producers front for the defense of agricultural raw material prices. It is a question in sum of seeking and putting into effect the means which will enable the African to participate actively in the life of men of other continents. No longer as a second-rate citizen, a poverty-stricken producer, a subject client, or a servile imitator of foreign ways of life. But as a free man, a physically healthy and technically qualified producer, having not only attained his maximum development but also having retained cultural patrimony, his moral values, his soul. Most of us are convinced that the bouquet of African nations will blossom to the extent that each of the flowers composing it blossom while yet preserving its original perfume.

To this end, and in conclusion, the delegation of the Republic of Niger proposes that the members of this Conference should not separate without having taken the following concrete measures:

- 1). A decision to elaborate within as short a space of time possible, an inter-African Charter (the name is of little importance), the basic principles of which would be:
 - respect for the sovereignty of each State and non—interference in the domestic affairs of other Independent States.
 - the establishment of advisory and coordinating political institutions, with a permanent secretariat.
 - the organization of a collective defense and security system.
 - the establishment of a body responsible for settling differences which may arise between our States.
- 2). The establishment here and now to give this political union economic basis of a body responsible for coordinating and harmonizing the development efforts of African States.
- 3). A decision in the sphere of cultural co-operation to establish that African University of which there has already been talk which should intensify cultural exchanges between our countries and work for a better knowledge and restoration of the cultural values proper to our continent.
- 4). The establishment, to provide African liberation movements with immediate and effective assistance of a Solidarity Fund and an office for the coordination of Inter-African assistance, which would be

responsible for centralizing requests and distributing relief funds. As a means of drawing attention to this joint action, an African Solidarity Day must be instituted, with a collection which will add to the fund's resources.

5). The undertaking by each state, insofar as the fight against the apartheid policy of South Africa is concerned, to put into effect, immediately, the sanctions decided upon at previous inter-African conferences.

6). Finally, a decision that the African Group of the United Nations, which meets for consultation whenever a problem concerning our continent arises should abide firmly only by decisions taken in common.

If we reach understanding on these few concrete points, we shall be able to leave each other satisfied, and with the conviction that this historic Addis Ababa Conference has marked the beginning of a new era for Africa.

LONG LIVE THE FRATERNITY OF AFRICAN NATIONS!