APPENDICES
Appendix I (A)

Table of Political Parties of French West Africa

R.D.A. - Rassemblement Democratic Africain; created in 1946 (October); led by Felix Houphouet Boigny; territorial branches were:

- Dahomey: Union Democratique Dahomeenne (to 1960)
- Guinea: Parti Democratique de Guinee (until 1958)
- Ivory Coast: Parti Democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire
- Niger: Parti Progressiste Nigerien
- Senegal: Movement Populaire Senegalais (to 1959)
- Soudan: Union Soudanaise (until 1959)
- Upper Volta: Parti Democratique Unifie

I.O.M. - Independants d'Outre-mer; created in 1948; led by Leopold Sedar Senghor; associated parties were:

- Dahomey: Union Progressiste Dahomeenne
- Guinea: No party; former deputy Mamba Sano and former senator Rafael Seller, were members of I.O.M. parliamentary groups
- Senegal: Bloc Democratique Senegalais
- Upper Volta: Union Voltaique

C.A. - Convention Africaine; succeeded I.O.M. in January 1957; led by Leopold Sedar Senghor; associated parties were:

- Niger: Union Nigerienne des Independants et Sympathisants
- Upper Volta: Movement Populaire d'Evolution Africaine
- Guinea: C.A. nucleus
- Dahomey: C.A. nucleus
- Ivory Coast: C.A. nucleus
M.S.A. - Movement Socialiste Africain: founded in January 1957; led by Lam-iné Guèye and Bakary Djibo; member parties were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Party Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dahomey</td>
<td>M.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>Democratie Socialiste de Guinee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>M.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>M.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Parti Senegalais d'Action Socialiste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soudan</td>
<td>Parti Soudanais Progressiste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P.R.A. - Parti du Regroupement Africain: founded in March 1958; led by Leopold Sedar Senghor and Lamine Guèye; united interterritorial C.A.F. and M.S.A.; associated territorial parties were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Party Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper Volta</td>
<td>Movement Democratique Voltaique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parti Social d'Education due Masses Africaines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>Bloc Africain de Guinee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahomey</td>
<td>Regroupement Democratique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Briefly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dahomeen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parti Republicain du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dahomey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Union Progressiste Senegalaise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soudan</td>
<td>Parti du Regroupement Soudanais, dissolved in July 1959</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P.F.A. - Parti de la Federation Africain : its birth in 1959 marked the break-up of the interterritorial R.D.A. and P.R.A. It was founded by Leopold Senghor and Modibo Keita. It supported the Mali Federation. Its associated parties were:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Party Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Union Progressiste Senegalaïse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soudan</td>
<td>Union Soudanaïse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>Sawaba (Outlawed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahomey</td>
<td>Parti Populaire du Dahomey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Volta</td>
<td>Parti National Voltaïque (outlawed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix I (B)

Representation of Territories in French West African Assemblies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>1948 First College</th>
<th>1948 Second College</th>
<th>1952 First College</th>
<th>1952 Second College</th>
<th>Grand Council</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahomey</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Volta</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soudan</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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## Table of Conferences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>Brazzaville Conference and the Beginning of the constitutional advance of African colonies (Brazzaville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Bamako Conference and birth of the Rassembleme Democratique Africain (R.D.A.) (Bamako)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>Bamako Conference of the R.D.A. (Bamako)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>Accra Conference of Independent African States (Accra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>First All African People's Conference (Accra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Abidjan Conference of Francophone States (Abidjan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>Brazzaville Conference and birth of the Brazzaville Group (Brazzaville)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>Casablanca Conference and the birth of Casablanca Group (Casablanca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>Monrovia Conference and birth of the Monrovia Group (Monrovia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>Tananarive Conference and birth of the Union Africain et Malgache (Tananarive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>February</td>
<td>Nouakchott Conference and birth of Organisation Commun Africain et Malgache (Nouakchott)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix III

The Constitution of the French Community

**Title XII of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic**

The Community

**Article 77.** In the Community established by the present Constitution, the States enjoy autonomy; they administer themselves and manage their own affairs, freely and democratically.

There is in the Community only one citizenship.

All citizens are equal before the law, whatever their origin, race or religion. They have the same duties.

**Article 78.** The field of competence of the Community includes foreign policy, defence, currency, common economic and financial policy and policy concerning strategic raw materials.

It also includes, in the absence of a special agreement to the contrary, supervision of justice, higher education, the general organization of external and common transport, and telecommunications.

Special agreements may establish other common fields of competence or provide for any transfer of competence from the Community to one of its members.

**Article 79.** The member States come within the provisions of Article 77 as soon as they have made the choice provided for in Article 76.

Until the coming into force of the measures necessary for the application of the present Title, matters of common competence will be dealt with by the Republic.
Article 80. The President of the Republic presides over and represents the Community.

The latter has as its organs an Executive Council, a Senate and a Court of Arbitration.

Article 81. The member States of the Community take part in the election of the President in the conditions provided for in Article 6.

The President of the Republic, in his capacity of President of the Community, is represented in each State of the Community.

Article 82. The Executive Council of the Community is presided over by the President of the Community. It is composed of the Prime Minister of the Republic, the Heads of Government of each of the member States, and the Ministers made responsible, on behalf of the Community, for common affairs.

The Executive Council organizes governmental and administrative co-operation between the members of the Community.

The organization and methods of work of the Executive Council are determined by an organic law.

Article 83. The Senate of the Community is composed of delegates chosen from among their own number by the Parliament of the Republic and the legislative assemblies of the other members. The number of delegates from each State is fixed in a manner which takes account of its population and of the responsibilities which it assumes within the Community.

It holds two sessions a year, which are opened and closed by the President of the Community and may not last longer than one month each.
At the request of the President, it discusses common economic and financial policy, before the Parliament of the Republic and, in appropriate circumstances, the legislative assemblies of other members of the Community pass laws in this field.

The Senate of the Community considers the acts, international agreements, and treaties referred to in Articles 35 and 53, where these involve obligations for the Community.

It takes binding decisions in the fields in which power has been delegated to it by the legislative assemblies of members of the Community. The decisions are promulgated in the States concerned in the same ways as the laws of the territories.

An organic law determines its composition and the rules under which it functions.

Article 84. A Court of Arbitration of the Community gives rulings on disputes between members of the Community.

Its composition and powers are determined by an organic law.

Article 85. Notwithstanding the procedure provided for in Article 89, the provisions of the present Title concerning the functioning of the common institutions of the Community are revised by laws couched in the same terms passed by the Parliament of the Republic and by the Senate of the Community.

The provisions of the present title can also be revised by agreements concluded between all the States of the Community; the new provisions are applied in the conditions laid down by the Constitution of each State.

Article 86. A change of the status of a member State of the Community may be requested either by the Republic, or by a
resolution of the legislative assembly of the State concerned, confirmed by a local referendum, organized and supervised by the institutions of the Community. The methods by which the change of status is made are determined by an agreement approved by the Parliament of the Republic and the legislative assembly concerned.

In the same manner, a member State of the Community may become independent. It thereby ceases to belong to the Community.

A member State of the Community may also become independent, by means of agreements, without thereby ceasing to form part of the Community.

An independent State, not being a member of the Community, can join the Community, by means of agreements, without thereby ceasing to be independent.

The position of these States within the Community is determined by the agreements referred to in the preceding paragraphs and, where appropriate, by the agreements for this purpose provided for by paragraph 2 of article 85.

Article 87. Special agreements concluded in application of the present title require the approval of the Parliament of the Republic and of the legislative assembly concerned.

Appendix IV

Franco-Ivorian-African Relations


(A) African response to De Gaulle's Visit 1962 pp. 54-55

"Then on to Abidjan. There, too, the welcome was magnificent, under the aegis of President Houphouet Boigny with the rousing support of the entire population. For this country, like the man who led it, had no hesitations, as it demonstrated to me when I spoke to a vast audience in the Geo Andre stadium. But if, thanks to its leader, the Ivory Coast was on the right road, and if the same was true of Upper Volta and Dahomey, governed respectively by Ouezzin-Coulibali and Souron Migan Apithy, while the Mauritanian vote under the guidance of Moktar Ould Daddah was certain to be favourable, the High Commissioner, Pierre Messer, informed me that in the rest of West Africa, the outcome was highly uncertain."

(B) De Gaulle on African Regional Organisations p. 65

The emergence of these nations, almost all new-fledged, each containing elements of very difficult ethnic groups within frontiers which had been drawn up during the colonial period simply for purposes of partition between European states or for administrative convenience, could, with the disappearance of our old "Federations" of West Africa and Equatorial Africa, have led to a halfhazard balkanization. But regional groups were formed among neighbours which we ourselves helped to create and foster. For instance the
Equatorial Customs Union between Congo-Brazzaville, the Central African Republic, Chad and Gabon, soon to be joined by Cameroon, was signed in Paris in January 1959, and in April the 'Council of the Entente', comprising the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger and Upper Volta, and later Togo, established technical and economic co-operation between countries stretching from the Sahara to the Bight of Benin. It is true that the attempt to merge Senegal and Soudan into a federation known as Mali was to fail because the liberal and democratic leaders in Dakar were afraid of being stifled by the Marxists of Bamako; Senghor, the President of the Federal Assembly, broke with Modibo Keita, the Head of Government, and Senegal resumed its former name while Soudan kept that of Mali.

(C) *De Gaulle on Franco-African Ties*  p. 67

Thus, between France on the one hand and a sizable part of Africa and Madagascar on the other, an assemblage of men, territories and resources was built up, whose common language was French, which in terms of currency constituted a "Franc-area", in which goods of every kind were exchanged on a preferential basis, in which there was regular consultation on political and diplomatic matters, in which each was pledged to help the others in case of danger; in which sea and air transport and the telegraph, telephone and radio networks were coordinated; in which every citizen, wherever he came from and whenever he went, knew and felt himself, far from being a stranger, to be welcome, esteemed, and to a large extent at home.
There was Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast, a first class political brain, familiar with all the problems not only of his own country but also of Africa and the entire world, who enjoyed exceptional authority at home and unquestionable influence abroad and wielded them in the cause of reason. There was Philibert Tsiranana, who displayed immense good sense and perseverance in leading Madagascar along the path of modern progress, in developing great island’s links with the African continent, while preserving its separate identity, and sheltering it from Asiatic intrusions. There was Leopold Senghor, the steadfast ruler of turbulent Senegal, responsive to all arts, and above all the art of politics, and as proud of his negritude as of his French culture. There was Hamani Diori, President of Niger, who, mirroring his country’s landscape with its mixture of desert and Savanna, knew how to reconcile the long view with practical commonsense in his policies at home and abroad. There was Ahmadou Ahidjo, magisterially surmounting the ethnic, religious, linguistic and economic complexities of Cameroon thanks to his wisdom in domestic affairs and his cautious attitude towards the outside world. There was Leon M’Ba, a model of fidelity in his attachment to France and his devotion to Gabon which, before his death, he was to see emerge from crushing poverty and advance towards prosperity. There was Francois Tombalbaye, whose mission it was to hold Chad together amid the swirling currents sweeping across the heart of Africa and whose feverile intensity made him equal to the task. There
was Moktar Ould Daddah, who exercised limitless ingenuity in order to induce us to extract Mauritania's mineral riches from beneath her impoverished soil without compromising her proud and solitary nature. All in all these African and Malagasy peoples whom France, in colonizing, had exposed to all demons, good and evil, of modern times, attained human freedom and national sovereignty without any serious upheaval. Perhaps the friendly relations which General de Gaulle maintained with their Heads of State had something to do with this.

(E) Houphouet Boigny on France:

'We are not attached to France for currency reasons - a moral link unites us. It is the ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity, for the victory of which France has never hesitated to sacrifice the blood of her noblest citizens. It does not seem overbold to say that the inevitable evolution of the peoples' constituting the French Union will one day be a multinational state, but it will lose nothing of its cohesion if it can retain its sacred love of liberty and equality.'

Appendix V

Council of Entente: Organisation and Functions

The organization was founded in May 1959. Original members were the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey and Niger. Togo joined it in 1966.

Organization

The Council consists of Heads of State and the President and Vice-Presidents of the Legislative Assemblies of each member country, and the Ministers responsible for negotiations between the states. It is an executive body and members who fail to implement the decisions of the Council may be brought before a Court of Arbitration.

The Council meets twice a year, the place rotating annually between the capitals of the member states. The head of State of the host country acts as President. Extraordinary meetings may be held at the request of two or more members.

Commissions

Commissions on Foreign Affairs, Justice, Labour, Public Administration, Public Works and Telecommunications, Posts and Telecommunications and Epidemics and Epizootics have been set up.

Trade and Development

There is complete freedom of trade and a unified system of external tariffs and fiscal schedules. A single system of administration for ports and harbours, railways and road traffic and a unified quarantine organization will be set up.
Functions of the Council of Entente

In August 1960 it was agreed that there should be:

1. An identical constitutional and electoral procedure in each state with elections to be held at the same time.

2. Identical organization of the Armed Forces of each state.

3. Identical administrative organizations.

4. Identical taxation and tariff policies.

5. Common Bank of Amortization

6. A common diplomatic corps.

Commissions were set up to study how these measures could be implemented, but little progress has been made.

Appendix VI

Selected excerpts from the Charter of the Organization of African Unity

The following two articles demonstrate the influence of the leaders of Monrovia group like Houphouet Boigny on the Charter of the O.A.U.

Purposes

Article II. (1) The organization shall have following purposes:
(a) to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states;
(b) to co-ordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; (c) to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence; (d) to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; (e) to promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Principles

Article III. The member states, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article II, solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles:

(1) the sovereign equality of all member states;
(2) non-interference in the internal affairs of states;
(3) respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each member state and for its inalienable right to independent existence;
(4) peaceful settlement of disputes, by negotiations, mediation, conciliation, or arbitration;
(5) Unreserved condemnation, in all forms, of political assassination as well as subversive activities on the part of neighbouring states or any other states.

Appendix VII

Selected excerpts from the Charter of the Organisation Commun Africain et Malgache (O.C.A.M.)

Article 1. The High Contracting Parties hereby establish an organization to be called "Afro-Malagasy Common Organization (O.C.A.M.). This organization shall be open to any independent and sovereign African state that requests admission and accepts the provisions of this Charter.

The admission of a new member to the O.C.A.M. shall require a unanimous decision of the members of the Organization.

Article 2. The O.C.A.M. is based on the solidarity of its members. In the spirit of the Organization of African Unity, its purpose is to strengthen cooperation and solidarity between African and Malagasy states in order to accelerate their economic, social, technical, and cultural development.

Article 3. For this purpose, the Organization shall seek to harmonize the action of Member states in the economic, social, technical, and cultural fields to coordinate their development programmes, and to facilitate foreign-policy consultations between them, with due respect for the sovereignty and fundamental rights of each Member State.

Article 5. The Conference of Chiefs of State and of Government shall be the supreme authority of the Organization. It shall be composed of Chiefs of State and of Government of the Member States or their duly authorized representatives.
Article 6. The Conference shall consider questions of common interest and make its decisions in accordance with the provisions of this Charter and the internal regulations of the Conference.

Article 9. Each Member State shall have one vote.

Any Member State may be represented by another Member State; the latter shall have the right to vote at the place specified in the proxy.

Two-thirds of Member States of the Organization shall constitute a quorum.

Any decision taken under the conditions of a quorum or required majority shall be binding on all Member States.

Article 10. The Council of Ministers shall be composed of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Member States, or of such ministers as may be designated by the governments of the Member States.

It shall meet once a year in regular session. The regular session shall be held a few days before the annual regular session of the Conference of Chiefs of State and of Government and in the same place.

Article 12. The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Conference of Chiefs of States and of Government.

It shall be responsible for preparing for that Conference, shall consider and decide any question that the Conference refers to it, and shall see that such decisions are carried out.

It shall ensure that the Member States cooperate with each other in accordance with the directives of the Conference of Chiefs of State and of Government, pursuant to this Charter.
Article 15. The Afro-Malagasy Common Organization shall have an administrative general secretariat, with its headquarters in Yaounde, Federal Republic of Cameroon.

The Administrative Secretary General shall be appointed for two years by the Conference of the Chiefs of State and of Government on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers. His term of office may be renewed.

Article 17. The Administrative General Secretariat shall be divided into departments corresponding to the main fields of activity of the Organization.

It shall supervise the activities of joint enterprises, in particular, the multinational airlines Air Afrique, and the Union Africaine et Malgache des Postes et Télécommunications.

Article 20. The budget of the Organization, to be prepared by the Administrative Secretary General, shall be approved by the Conference of Chiefs of State and of Government on the recommendation of the Council of Ministers.

It shall be maintained by the contributions of the Member States, to be fixed on the basis of the net amount of their respective operating budgets.

However, the contribution of a Member State may not exceed 20% of the annual ordinary budget of the Organization.

Article 27. Any State that wishes to withdraw from the Organization shall so inform the Administrative General Secretariat in writing.
Article 28. This Charter may be amended or revised if a Member State sends a written request for that purpose to the Administrative General Secretariat.

The amendment or revision shall not become effective until it has been ratified or approved by two-thirds of the Member States of the Organization.

## Appendix VIII

### Distribution of Fond d'Investissement pour le Développement Économique et Social (FIDES) by Territories

#### FIDES (Overseas Section) 1947-57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French West Africa Territory</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mauritania</td>
<td>15,100</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Senegal</td>
<td>140,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Guinea</td>
<td>78,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ivory Coast</td>
<td>109,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Upper Volta</td>
<td>44,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dahomey</td>
<td>49,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Soudan</td>
<td>79,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Niger</td>
<td>25,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 542,500

Appendix IX

Selected Excerpts from the Association Convention of the Rome Treaty 1957

Association of the Overseas Countries and Territories

Article 131. The member states agree to associate with the Community the non-European countries and territories which have special relations with Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The countries and territories (hereinafter called the "countries and territories") are listed in Annex IV to this treaty.

Article 132. Association shall have the following objectives:

1) Member states shall apply to their trade with the countries and territories the same treatment as they accord each other pursuant to this treaty.

2) Each country or territory shall apply to its trade with Member states and with the other countries and territories the same treatment as that which it applies to the European states with which it has special relations.

3) The member states shall contribute to the investments required for the progressive development of these countries and territories.

4) For investments financed by the Community, participation in tenders and supplies shall be regulated in accordance with the provisions and procedures laid down in the chapter relating to the right of establishment and on
a non-discriminatory basis, subject to any special provisions laid down pursuant to Article 136.

Article 133

1) Customs duties on imports into the Member states of goods originating in the countries and territories shall be completely abolished in conformity with the progressive abolition of customs duties between Member states in accordance with the provisions of the treaty.

2) Customs duties on imports into each country or territory from Member states or from the other countries or territories shall be progressively abolished in accordance with the provisions of Articles 12, 13, 14, 15 and 17.

c) The countries and territories may, however, levy customs duties which meet the needs of their development and industrialization or produce revenue for their budgets.