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Volume IV

CAIRO, JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1962

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Special Supplement on the Executive Meeting
of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity
Organisation held in Gaza from 9th to 11th
December, 1961.

Cover : Plenary Session of the first Afro-Asian
Writer's Conference held in Tashkent.

LUMUMBA

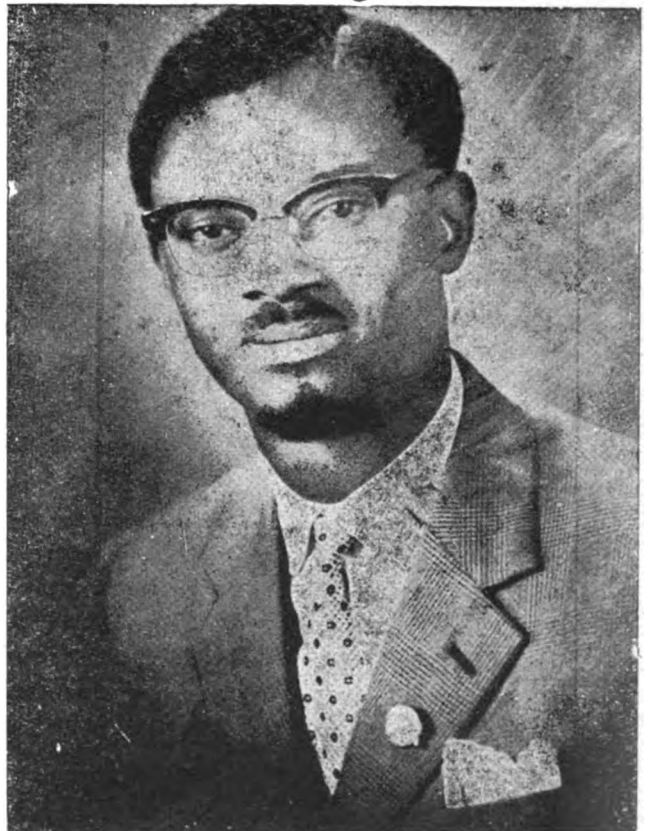
Symbol of the African Liberation Struggle

A year has passed since the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. He lived and died to see his people free. The imperialists and their agents murdered him but the torch of freedom that he lighted will never extinguish. It will always haunt the imperialists and its stooges. It will always illuminate the path of liberty, freedom and justice. Here is a short historical glimpse of the life of our national hero.

Born in Katakombé on July 2, 1925, Lumumba received his primary education. He also received a postal education which qualified him for appointment in the Postal Service of the Colonial Administration. In the course of his career he participated in the various social activities such as advanced study circles, library work etc. He also contributed a great number of progressive articles to the Congolese press. He did that at the time when the Congolese people had only the right to work silently for their living. Accordingly, the Congolese authorities did not delay in accusing him for arousing agitation and disturbances. Lumumba yet never hid his hatred for the oppressive colonialists and he was thrown in prison upon return from his trip to Belgium in 1956, with the aim of isolating him from public life and putting an end to his activities, which they at the time described as subversive. He was no sooner released than many financial circles attempted to buy him over with bribes so as to silence him. He was successively appointed Commercial manager of the Beer company in Bralima and Braconga.

In spite of the prohibition of political movements at the time, Patrice Lumumba did not hesitate to accept leadership of the Congolese national movement — a party which was formed in 1958 before convocation

of the All African Peoples' Conference in Accra in October 1958 which Lumumba attended as head of the Congolese delegation participating in it. He was elected in this conference a member of the steering Committee. Upon return from Accra a popular rally was held in the open air in which the evils of colonialism generally and especially Belgian colonialism were denounced. The Belgians expelled him from his job after they came to know of his outburst against their evils. His whole life became then devoted to liberation of the oppressed people and he undertook leadership of the Congolese national movement. He was arrested during convocation of a conference in Stanleyville from October 26-30, 1959, and he was lead to



prison in Jadotville, second town in Katanga province. After many attempts at mediation with the colonialist administration he was set free and was sent to Brussels on January 21, 1960, to participate in the Round-Table political conference which led to the Congo's independence. His statements in the conference had a great effect especially those in connection with the unity of the Congo. After the Brussels Conference he participated in the General Executive body from which emanated the government which was formed after the popular referendum in March 1960.

In the elections, Lumumba's party won a great number of seats and the first Congolese government was formed with Lumumba at its head. Since the first day of the formation of the Government, Lumumba was distinguished as a politician able to resist the Belgian colonialist manoeuvres which mainly sought to compel the newly-born government to sign prefabricated agreements. Before their failure and to fight Lumumba, the colonialists did not delay to organise a rebel movement within the ranks of the army as supervised by their agents. The Prime Minister then decided to assign all the key-posts to the Congolese nationals. Still set on achieving their aim, the colonialists launched armed aggression through the Belgian colonialists at the same time organising a secessionist movement with the aim of destroying the New Republic. Prime Minister then addressed an appeal to the United Nations with the hope of preserving the unity of the Congo and its independence. Must we say that Prime Minister was wrong in appealing to this international organisation? — We leave the world public opinion to answer this question. You will note that all the measures adopted by Premier Patrice Lumumba to put a final end to colonialist domination in this part of Africa, at the time condemned by some, were eventually proved correct.

Lumumba died so that the Congo may live independent and unified in free Africa :

The great national hero defended till his death the legitimate aspirations of his people. He had valiantly rejected secession of the Congo as menacingly proposed by the agents of colonialism. He had defied foreign domination which bore down on his people and accepted willingly torture and even death, so that the Congo would reign free, united and sovereign in free Africa. His views on the problems of his country and the whole world's would always inspire the generations to come.

In order to prove to you our Premier's courage and dynamism in defending his people till his death, I have the honour to quote to you a message which he addressed to his wife, asserting the indomitable will of his people.

The last letter written by Patrice Lumumba in his prison in Thysville :

My dear companion,

I write you these words, not knowing whether you will receive them or not, or whether I shall still be alive when you read them. All along my struggle for the independence of our homeland, I have not doubted for one minute the victory of the sacred cause for which my comrades and myself have devoted our whole life. Yet, what we sought to achieve for our country was but its right for an honourable life, its right for establishing its dignity, its right for complete and unrestricted independence which the Belgian colonialists and their Western agents sought to withhold, for they obtained direct and indirect support, deliberate or undeliberate, from some high officials of the United Nations, this organisation in which we have placed our confidence when we appealed to it for help.

They have corrupted some of our compatriots, they bought others, distorted truths and smeared our independence. What can I say more? Whether I am dead or alive, whether free or imprisoned upon the orders

of colonialists, my person does not count. What counts is the Congo, is the poor people whose independence they transformed to a cage through whose bars people look on us in sympathy and in sorrow, with joy and pleasure sometimes. Still my faith will remain unshakable. I know and deeply believe that my people will be free sooner or later, from all internal as well as external enemies, and that they will rise as one man to confront the hateful and base colonialists, so as to retrieve their dignity in the light of a shining sun. We are not alone. Africa and Asia, and all liberated peoples the world over always stand by the side of millions of Congolese who will never abandon their struggle till the homeland is purified of all colonialists and their agents. I want it to be said to my children whom I leave and whom I may not see again, that the future of the Congo is bright and that it expects from them as from every Congolese, accomplishment of their sacred duty towards the consolidation of our independence and sovereignty, for there is no freedom without dignity, no freedom without justice and no free man without independence.

No amount of brutality, maltreatment and torture would ever compel me to beg

for mercy, for I prefer to die with head high, belief firm and deeply convinced of the destiny of my homeland rather than live in submission and witness violation of sacred principles.

History will one day speak its word, but it will never be the history that is taught in Brussels, Paris and Washington. It will be the history that is taught in countries liberated from colonialism and its agents. Africa will write its own history and it will be a history that is full of glory and dignity whether North or South of the Sahara.

Do not lament me my dear companion. I know well that my homeland which has suffered much will know how to defend its independence and freedom.

Long live the Congo !
Long live Africa !

Patrice.

This same letter which was sent to Mrs. Lumumba is also sent to the Congolese people, to Afro-Asian peoples and to the peoples the world over.

GOA IS FREE

By "Goan Patriot"

After more than four and half centuries' barbaric rule by Portuguese colonialists, Goa, Daman and Diu are free. With this glorious freedom India's independence is completed and the last vestiges of colonialism obliterated.

Today the people of Goa are thrilled with a new experience in life — the experience of freedom and liberty, the experience of light after centuries of darkness, misery and terror. A dream has come true for which our people were aspiring for such a long time, for which they suffered for years in Portuguese jails, and their terror and repression. They sacrificed the best sons of their sacred soil. Today the whole of India is jubilant and proud because the last black mark on their soil has been removed, because their long struggle against colonialism has finally succeeded. People from all parts of India have made great contributions and sacrifices to achieve this goal.

COLONIALISTS HOWL

This great victory of the Indian people has unnerved the colonialists and imperialists all over the world. In the U.N.O., U.S. and the British imperialists openly attacked the Indian Government and tried to stop its action. In the British Parliament, official attacks were made on our Prime Minister. The whole press in the imperialist camp joined in this howl. Indian government was accused of doublefacedness. They showed clearly to the Indian people on what side they stand. As our Prime minister and our Defence minister pointed out it was not India which resorted to aggression, it was the Portuguese who were the aggressors and India just only liquidated that aggression. India tried patiently for fourteen years to solve this problem peacefully but instead of helping in this the imperialists and particular-

ly the U.S. and its NATO allies always sided with the Portuguese fascists and colonialists. Portugal could not have survived for a day if it was not supported by NATO Powers both militarily or politically. In fact they often threatened actions through their SEATO and CENTO allies, who are surrounding our country, if we liberated our territory.

The anger of the imperialists and colonialists is understandable. This will give a new impetus to the brave fighters against Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and other colonies and other freedom struggles in Africa and other parts. The British and the U.S. anger is quite obvious since they still occupy many areas and pockets in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world and this is a bad precedent for them. It opens further the gate for the liberation of these territories.

But the imperialists and their stooges are few in the world. The front of liberation and peace is very big and powerful today. The imperialist can not do anything but howl. Freedom of Goa lighted the hearts of millions of people all over the world. The governments of Ceylon and U.A.R. along with the Government of the great U.S.S.R. frustrated all the efforts of the imperialists in the U.N.O. for intervention. The Governments and peoples of U.S.S.R. stood firm in support of India's rightful action. The socialist countries, the Afro-Asian and other peace loving nations expressed great jubilation and support to the Indian people and hailed the Goa people in this freedom. This great powerful force of the freedom loving people will keep on marching forward. The year 1961 ended with the liberation of Goa. Let us make 1962 the year for the complete liquidation of colonialism and imperialism from the face of the earth.

WEST IRIAN WILL BE LIBERATED

By IBRAHIM ISSA

The situation in the Eastern part of Indonesia, in West Irian, is now very explosive due to the continued domination and occupation of Dutch colonial troops in West Irian and their refusal to transfer this Indonesian territory to the fold of the motherland, the Republic of Indonesia. The Indonesian people who are well known as the most patient and tolerant people in the world have lost their hope to settle the West Irian question with the Dutch in a peaceful way. We have made great effort to negotiate with the Dutch from 1950 to 1957 and from this negotiation it is clear that the Dutch have not the slightest intention to end their colonial domination and exploitation on West Irian. The Dutch used the time during the negotiations merely to strengthen their armed forces in West Irian, turn this territory into a centre of subversion and espionage directed against the Republic of Indonesia. During this negotiation period the Dutch not only openly declared in 1952 that their constitution has been officially changed in such a way to include West Irian as a territory of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, they continuously instigated and organized counter revolutionary mutinies and revolts in Indonesia, from the occupied territory of West Irian. Let me give some examples :

- (1) In January 1950, immediately after the Dutch officially recognized the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia, they instructed a notorious paratroops battalion of the Dutch army under the leadership of a savage Dutch captain called Westerling, who has butchered not less than 40,000 Indonesian civilians in South Sulawesi during the national liberation war, to stage a coup d'etat in Bandung.
- (2) In April, the same year, the Dutch plotted with an ex-colonel of the Dutch colonial army in Indonesia, Sultan Hamid, whom the Dutch once promoted as head of a

puppet state in Kalimantan, to overthrow the government of the Republic of Indonesia.

- (3) In the same month the Dutch plotted again in South Sulawesi with a certain captain of the ex-colonial troops to oppose the central government of the Republic of Indonesia.
- (4) Again in the same year the Dutch plotted with reactionary circles in South Moluccas to create a secessionist state. In fact they already proclaimed such a puppet state a la Katanga of Tshombe. This so-called president of the puppet state has now fled to Holland. And the Dutch imperialists are waiting for another chance to use this notorious stooge.
- (5) From the beginning of 1950 to up till now the Dutch and SEATO bloc headed by the U.S. imperialists continuously supported a terrorist movement called the "Darul Islam."

All these plots and conspiracies of the Dutch imperialists and the SEATO have been foiled by the Indonesian people and Government with the support of the Afro-Asian Peoples and all progressive forces the world over. It is no secret that in all these activities the Dutch colonialists rely mainly on U.S. imperialism. Without the support of the SEATO headed by the U.S. imperialists the Dutch imperialists can not stay one day longer in West Irian and carry on their subversion and aggression against Indonesia.

All the supplies of Dutch forces in West Irian are U.S. made and sent to this territory with full consent of the U.S. government.

Why does the U.S. support the Dutch imperialists? Of course first of all it is the nature of the U.S. imperialists and all imperialists in the world to support each other in their aggression and exploitation. But there is another explanation. Washington is interested in Holland retaining her grip on West Irian because it regards this territory

as a potential bridge-head in the Far East. During his visit to The Hague, Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of the U.S. Naval operation, declared outrightly that the Pentagon hoped to obtain military bases in West Irian.

U.S. big business is also quite keen about West Irian. It is fabulously rich in minerals, gold and iron, oil and uranium, and non ferrous metals. This wealth is only just being explored, but Wall Street has already laid hands on it. For instance, nearly all oil deposits have been seized by the Nederlands New Guinea Petroleum Maatschappij, in which 60% of the shares are held by the Americans.

Some time ago the Dutch Parliament passed a bill granting a joint U.S.-Dutch company a 75 year concession to explore and mine diverse minerals in West Irian. Survey expeditions are being financed by American monopolies. So, this is another explanation of why the U.S. is so interested in West Irian being maintained as a colony of the Dutch. This is indeed not very strange. To-day, U.S. imperialists are the ringleaders of all reactionaries in the world. The IIIrd All African People Conference, held in Cairo last year, and the IVth Session of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council, held in Bandung last year, have very correctly condemned the U.S. imperialists as the common and principle enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the whole world, as the main instigator and source of aggressive wars which the peoples of the world must fight against in order to gain and protect national independence and safeguard peace of the world.

After the failure of the negotiations between Indonesia and the Dutch and having curbed and foiled all the plots, conspiracies and subversion against the Republic of Indonesia by the Dutch imperialists, we again tried to get this West Irian question solved, that is returned to the Republic of Indonesia, through peaceful means, through the United Nations. This we did more than three times. What is the result? A very big zero. What is worse! The Dutch and American imperialists are now using the UNO as their tool to

continue domination over West Irian and many other colonies and territories under the UN-Trusteeship or protectorate. Yet, the U.N. proved to be supporting the Dutch imperialists. It is true, to-day the U.N. has done more harm to the peoples than service. It is not necessary to recall the Korean war in which the U.S. under the Blue Flag of the U.N. was butchering and murdering the peaceful Korean people. Only recently we witnessed the assassination of one of the most staunch African Patriot and leader Patrice Lumumba, after he invited the U.N. to help the Congo. The UN, instead of condemning the U.S. occupation of the Chinese territory of Taiwan, has on the contrary prevented China from assuming her legal right in the U.N.

Thus, the Indonesian people after having their own bitter experience with the UNO could not any more have any hope in this body concerning the West Irian question; and we warn all our friends not to have any illusion in the UNO. President Sukarno very correctly pointed out in a mass rally in East Indonesia recently, that Indonesia would not ask United Nations help to get what it wanted. "We trust only our own strength", said President Sukarno. We decided to make the Dutch imperialist understand what we want by our own means, since the Dutch can not understand it by negotiations and any other peaceful means. Mobilization of the masses for the liberation of West Irian and stop their plots, conspiracies and aggression.

*

Facing this firm determination of the Indonesian people, the Dutch now openly with the U.S. support, were recently plotting again in the U.N. in order to maintain domination in West Irian. Concerning this new plot, Mr. Youssef El Sebai, on behalf of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation issued a statement in which he said: "Realising the failure of the notorious methods to subjugate the people in West Irian, the Dutch colonialists together with the U.S. and other imperialists are plotting — at the present U.N. General Assembly — to use the U.N. trusteeship as a

cover and new means of continuing their domination and exploitation or to internationalise the problem of West Irian as they call it. This Dutch-U.S. scheme using the so-called "right of self-determination" for the people of West Irian, as a pretext, is destined to use the UNO as a tool of neo-colonialism, and to transfer Dutch domination over West Irian to a joint exploitation of imperialist powers headed by the U.S. In their dirty plot the imperialists are playing with the word of "self-determination" in order to deceive the peoples of the world.

"The events in the Congo have clearly shown to the peoples that the U.N. is being used by the imperialists for their own selfish objectives of dividing and dominating this rich African country and at the same time systematically liquidating the real patriotic leaders of the Congolese people. U.N. Trusteeship's territory and protectorate in Africa and the Pacific also revealed the truth that it is merely a cover of domination and exploitation by the imperialist powers under the U.N. Flag."

Due to the firm determination of the Indonesian people and government and the support and solidarity of Afro-Asian peoples and all progressive forces the world over, this manoeuvre of the imperialists in the UNO has met with failure.

The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Permanent Secretariat, in its statement very recently and correctly declares that :

"At the present moment the Dutch colonialists, strongly supported by the U.S. and other imperialists are concentrating their efforts to liquidate physically the national liberation movement in West Irian and further to establish a puppet state of the so-called "state of Papua." At the same time Dutch military reinforcement is flowing to West Irian.

"Experience repeatedly shows that the colonialists and imperialists will never voluntarily give up their colonies and exploitation. They will not understand the aspiration of the peoples to be free unless they are forced to do so. Therefore, the Permanent

Secretariat, speaking on behalf of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Movement, strongly condemns the continued Dutch domination of West Irian, and wholeheartedly welcomes and strongly supports the preparation and mobilization of the peoples of Indonesia to hoist the Indonesia "Red and White Flag" in West Irian and liberate this territory from colonial domination. The liberation of this territory from imperialist yoke will eliminate another hot bed of war and thus promote peace and security in this area.

"The Permanent Secretariat calls upon the peoples and Government of Asia, Africa and Latin America and other freedom loving forces in the world to redouble their support to the struggle of the Indonesia people to liberate West Irian. It calls especially upon the peoples and the workers in the harbours and aerodromes of Asian and African countries to boycott any Dutch ship and aeroplane used to transport troops, reinforcement and military equipments to West Irian."

Here I want to add to the appeal of Permanent Secretariat; on behalf of the Indonesian people, I call upon the workers of Port Said, Suez Canal, Cairo Airport, Beirut Airport, Damascus, Casablanca, Tunis, Baghdad, Bahrain, Dharam, Karachi, Bombay, New Delhi, Colombo, Rangoon, Bangkok, Tokyo, Tokobana, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Manila and other workers of Airports and harbours in all Asian and African countries; I call upon the workers in Panama Canal and other Latin American countries. I also call upon the workers and the peoples of Australia who have demonstrated their solidarity during the national liberation war with the Indonesian peoples; I call upon all these brave workers and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and Australia to boycott any Dutch ships and aeroplanes used to transport reinforcement and military equipments to West Irian. I CALL UPON THESE BROTHERS THAT IN THE EVENT OF WAR BETWEEN INDONESIA AND DUTCH IMPERIALIST, TO BOYCOTT EVERY DUTCH SHIP PASSING THROUGH THEIR COUNTRIES.

The Afro-Asian Permanent Secretariat further said that the continued Dutch domination over West Irian and their refusal to transfer peacefully this territory to the Republic of Indonesia is a deliberate action to provoke war over this area. It is clear that such a war will be a just liberation war for the Indonesia people and will be supported by all progressive forces in the world, since this is a war to complete their national independence. On the contrary this war will be a colonial war on the side of the Dutch imperialists and will be condemned by mankind. Such is the position of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement toward the West Irian question.

The imperialists' plots and manoeuvres and conspiracies and aggression are not only directed against Indonesia. The U.S. imperialists are plotting and organising a new invasion against the brave people of Cuba. In South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists are intervening in a more wider scale in propping up the anti peoples regime of Ngo Dien Diem. In North East Asia the U.S. is planning a new military pact called the NEATO with South Korea and Japan as the nucleus. Also Laos is still suffering from imperialists' intervention. At the same time the U.S. is continuing the occupation of Chinese island of Taiwan. In Africa the imperialists are busy settling their affairs to dominate the Congo and meanwhile practising neo-colonialist methods.

In Algeria, France, while paying lip service for a peaceful solution, is continuing massacring the Algerian peoples.

And here in the Middle East the British imperialists, covered by the U.S. Sixth Fleet, are starting again a new imperialist plan.

The Indonesian people while fighting for the liberation of West Irian strongly condemn the British and U.S. imperialist moves in the Middle East and declare our solidarity

with the Arab peoples, and all Asian and African peoples.

In our support to all Arab peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism we also realized that the Dutch imperialists are strongly supporting Israel, the imperialist stooge in the Middle East and Africa. Dutch support to Israel is obvious from the visit of Dutch Minister of War last year to Israel in order to attend Israeli military training. Later on the Dutch decided to contribute in arming Israel. Dutch support to Israel is not confined to military field only. Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Josef Luns stated in the Dutch Parliament that his Government will propose Israel to be member of the European Common Market.

Even though Indonesia is surrounded and encircled by aggressive military pacts as the SEATO, ANZUS and proposed NEATO, by aggressive military bases in Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and the Philippines, by the 7th and 5th U.S. Fleet in the Pacific and South China Sea, which are supporting the Dutch, we are not afraid and resolutely determined to liberate West Irian and carry on our anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle for complete national independence. On the contrary we are waiting for the command to be issued by President Sukarno to expel the Dutch colonialists from our territory of West Irian by means of force.

We are strong, because our struggle is just and supported by all Asian, African and Latin American peoples and all freedom-loving forces the world over. We are strong because Afro-Asian people are with us. Of course we are peace-loving nation. We are for peace! But peace can be enjoyed only after the imperialists are routed from our territory, only when the imperialists are forced to stop their aggression. Continue to struggle against imperialism and colonialism until they are completely liquidated that is our creed and banner!

The Concept Of An Asian Mind

By Dr. MULK RAJ ANAND

Of course there is no one mind in Asia. Nor can there be a single mind in such a vast landscape, with so many old and new peoples emerging from their thousands of years of history into the modern world. The unequal patterns of development of Asian countries with their local accents and inflections, make for the many variegated and colourful minds of Asia — almost eighteen hundred million minds !

But through the exigencies of the great religious and cultural movements of the past, between the various countries of Asia, there is undoubtedly an Asian spirit, the flavour arising from a more or less a shared historical process. And this aroma has not yet evaporated, inspite of the perfumes imported from Europe. As this aroma arises from the common culture of Asia and is like the poetry of that culture, therefore one may permissably describe the essence of the Asian spirit as an introvert poetic attitude towards life.

Let us briefly review the main religious movements which have moulded the Asian spirit. We must keep in mind that these spiritual currents were comprehensive. Life concepts, with their implications in philosophy, art, literature and even in the ritual of ordinary living. And as there has not been much historical writing, the mental changes, betokened by the moral ideas of the various faiths, constituted the real history of Asian countries.

The ancestor worshipping religions of the Egyptian dynasties of five thousand years ago, and of Assyria and Babylon, as well as of China, and the Manichaeism of Central Asia, left intense residual values for later cultures which we cannot clearly distinguish. But, apart from the dominant Mother cult, which spread about two thousand years before Christ, the Aryan infiltration into India represented one of the most dynamic episodes.

For it seems to have shifted the emphasis from the dark brooding spirits of inanimate nature, as good or evil, to the imaginative vision of nature gods, the inner powers of the sun, the rain, the fire, the sky and the dawn. This mental view of the energies behind the startling phenomena of the universe absorbed the previous idea of the inner processes behind everything, and of the transmigration of souls, and speculated about the subsistence of the One Supreme spirit, which expresses itself in the manyness of this world.

This exaltation of the mind, or spirit, in Vedic religion, owed itself, to a large extent, to the dominant strain of the previous and contemporary faith of the Dravidian peoples, the original neo-lithic peoples of India. But the preservation of the sanctity of the supreme soul, certainly led to the founding of a superior priestly caste, the Brahmins, in order to differentiate their higher philosophy from the multifarious superstitions and beliefs of the local peoples.

The revolt of the Buddha against the individious hierarchy of chosen men, the Brahmins of Hinduism, represented the first humanist movement in Asia.

Gautama the Buddha accepted the interior view of man's life, current in Hindu thought, but did not believe in God. Instead he postulated the vague Emyrean of Nirvana as the salvation of mankind. As the oppression of the caste system, and small minded feudal principalities, had produced a vast wretchedness among the peoples, the tenderness of the Buddha's outlook prevailed, not only across India, but spread through Central Asia to China, Korea, Japan, and to the countries of the Indian ocean like Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Combodia, Java, Bali and the Celebes islands.

The intense moral doctrines of the Confucius, and the belief in the union with the

nature of Lao Tzu, co-existed in the East Asia for a long time with the refinements of Buddhism.

The invasion of Persia and India by Alexander of Macedon connected the Buddhist world with the paganism of the Dorian conquerers of Greece. And Europe and Asia intermingled for nearly five hundred years in Central Asia and northern India.

In the west Asia, the crucifixion of Jesus led to the second wave of Asiatic humanism, through the exaltation of suffering man in this world. And almost all the ideas of the Assyrian, Babylonian and Judaic civilisations travelled through the major movements of Christianity towards the west and through its minor movements towards the East.

The hangover of primitive obsessions among this Bedouins of Arabia, inspite of the sobering truths of Christianity, produced yet another wave of human feeling and brotherhood through Mohammed the prophet of Islam. And this faith in the one God spread in mighty waves wherever there was need of pure worship among the downtrodden.

The core of the problem before Asia during those long centuries, was again and again, simply the question of life as against death, specially the sudden, often cruel and meaningless death, brought by rapacious and even land hungry feudal princes of the more barren landscapes to the lush and fertile river deltas and valleys.

The eternal truths about the higher powers were supposed almost uniformly in all these religions to be grasped by the soul in mystic union with the supreme soul. The common approach being interior, there was an emphasis on the achievements, even in the ordinary daily life, of an inner connection with the rhythms of the world, eternally in flux or vital movement. All experience was to be realised through the imaginative processes of prayer or meditation, to achieve the

calm of the still centre. And the whole of life was a kind of dedication to this creative living, that is to say to the release or expression of the inspired human genius through symbols, word, line, colour, form and even formlessness.

Certain values percolated from the various ages of faith into later times. There were imaginative vision; the universe as one vast complex full of many human and other species; tolerant intolerance towards others and compassion.

If then the contemporary world has tended to pose the "Spiritual East" as against the "Materialistic West" the clichés have been used mainly to indicate the dominant mentalist hypothesis of most of the religions and philosophies of Asia, as against the dominant materialist postulates of the western world. But this does not mean that, inspite of divine sanctions, the Asian did not value knowledge of the outside world, in the effort to live in harmony with nature, or that, inspite of their effort to conquer and absorb nature, the westerners did not evolve the idealistic apperceptions of Plato, Poltinus, Kant, Hegel and Bergson, and the mysticism of Saint Teresa and Meister Eckhart.

The facts which seem to have actually led to the difference of emphasis were rooted in geography. From the earliest times man could not easily absorb, with his five senses and two feet, the gigantic landscape of Asia. Therefore, he tried to ally himself with the inner movements behind phenomena, with the magical insight of his fervid imagination. He ascribed a soul to every tree, stream and rock, qualitalively measured the surrounding world, in terms of demi urges, gods, ghosts, nymphs, howbattas and hobgoblins.

In Greece, to which modern Europe owes the primary impulses of its civilisation, man could go round the small islands in a boat, almost in a day and night. Therefore man was considered the measures of the universe.

The Gods were modelled on beautiful human beings with a couple of wings on their shoulders, and they sometimes came home to dinner with the privileged families. The Greeks invented the science of geometry, placed the greatest reliance on reason, and began to navigate the seas and encompass the spaces of the earth.

The civilisation of Rome inherited the Greek view, even exaggerating the importance of heroic kings by worshipping them as gods. And they passed on the techniques of discovery to the European renaissance to the 15th century A.D. Although early Christianity and Byzantium had tried to draw man back to the inner moods of Asia, the nature of three dimensional space occupied the attention of all those scientists, thinkers and creative men, who had to fight against the inclement arctic cold spells of Europe and to discover new warm worlds, full of spices, for preserving meat, and galley slaves for sailing across the seas.

At the end of the first age of discovery in Europe, there began the industrial revolution which by itself, engendered a second bigger age of discovery leading to the occupation of vast spaces of the earth by volatile Europe, and the release of the second, bigger industrial revolution, even in the newly conquered worlds.

The first reaction of Asia to the impact of the European science was that of a defensive withdrawal into the inner shell of its sensibility. And for a long time, the Asian peoples saw all values only in their feudal inheritance. But soon the spread of European education and its synthesis with the principles of the ancient civilisation of the East, was to lead to urges for inheriting the vitality of both Europe and Asia, in the heart of the modern Asiatic. And this in turn has made the average Asian probably more ambitious and optimistic for the future of mankind than the average satiated Westerner, with the uniform achievements of gadgets in the cash

nexus world of suburban living, with the anxieties and despairing philosophies which arise from having to pay instalments on the house, the refrigerator and the television set.

Thus the introvert poetic attitude of Asia, based on eternal categories at one time, now seeks to extend the orbit of its awareness to the whole universe. And in this naive, almost childlike, but open assertion of the will to live, to discover and absorb new techniques, and concepts, he vaguely, and unconsciously, accepts a kind of comprehensive historical humanism, which might enable him to inherit all the valuable things, of all the civilisations and of every country, making him the precursor of a new kind of man possessed of the will and to take the world forward into the age of plenty promised by International science. If he adopted this attitudes merely from the instinct of survival as did the Westerner a century ago, the tendency in nevertheless organic and inevitable.

The only inhibition against this life accepting, positive drive, which possesses the Asian spirit, is the danger of war, promised by the same international science, which has promised to the new emergent peoples, an age of plenty. And the irony of history is that unless the Asian spirit enlarges itself quickly to understand this paradox of science, and asserts, with a greater singleness of purpose the fundamental human and moral values, and the right to survive into a vaster renaissance than Europe even thought about, the gains of the present dynamic Asian outlook may be lost.

What are the possibilities of the Asian spirit coming to grips with the dilemma of our age ?

Let us put down the positive assets of Asia.

There are certain residual values from the past, which have already been referred to above, such as imaginative vision, universal-

ism, tolerant — intolerance and compassion. These values began to be rediscovered through the wave of Pan Asianism initiated by the Japanese Okakura, the Singhalese Ananda Coomaraswamy, and the Indian Rabindranath Tagore, before the first world war. There was a tinge of defensiveness against the masterful west in these men, but it led to an awakening of the whole Asiatic intelligentsia to their traditional habits of mind. I am not sure whether these characteristics, which have come down from the past, are operative in all countries of Asia, under present day conditions; but it is quite clear that, because of the recent emergence of the many countries of Asia into political freedom, the common aspiration to live and grow in a balanced way is bringing these values into play. The enunciation of the five principles of co-existence and peace in Asia, evidences to the desire for generosity to each other among the countries of Asia and the West.

Secondly there are the advantages of the process of renewal, of ancient people descended from feudalistic cultures, into the new democratic age. The first world war happened in Europe, but its effects were registered deeply in Asia. Not only did the aftermath of that holocaust bring Asia into the orbit of the world economy, but it showed that the western civilisation was not the only kind of pattern it had seemed till then. The element of greed and jealousy seemed to corrode Europe. The Asians were therefore, drawn to the more egalitarian concepts, implicit in modern western culture. And they began to dream of welfare states, through the development of their potential natural resources. The rise of fascism, and the struggle for power in Europe, with its culmination in the tremendous slaughter of the second world war, deprived the all powerful states of the west of the prestige they had so far enjoyed. The defeat of militarist Japan, which emulated the lust for power of fascism, only intensified the Asian reaction against centralised systems built on the concept of the rule by a Samurai. The freedom urges of many countries in Asia

became more eloquent. And the moral force of the argument for liberation won independence for almost all the countries of Asia. And, infact, the urge for self-determination spilled over into the Africa, until it brought self consciousness into almost every corner of the East. The pooled resources of the United Nations, today, evidence to the force of emergent nations, which demand the application of the principles of human rights and of international law implicit in the charter of the world body.

Thirdly, following the first two urges of survival and renewal are the programmes for reconstruction, or economic freedom, of the so-called underdeveloped countries of Asia. The intricate complex and varying demands of each country for a share of world resources, either from the haves of Europe and America, or the haves of the U.S.S.R. and other communist countries, seems to embroil all concrete endeavour in unprecedented difficulties of accepting aid without strings attached. But the awareness of the Asiatic intelligentsia, of the possibilities of the increased pool of the world resources, which may be refurbished through the cutting down of armament programmes, makes for a plausible argument against wasteful expenditure and for regaining the age of plenty promised by science through disarmament. There is somewhere linking in the Asiatic spirit, the poetry of renaissance utopianism, which is frowned upon in the west, but romantically espoused by the younger peoples of the East.

As against these positive factors there are certain negative impulses, which inhibit the Asian mind from coming into full play.

Firstly, there is the dark curtain of the cold war, made up of the smoke of the mushroom clouds of atom and hydrogen bombs, as well as the ghostly presence created by the fear and prejudice, arising through the alchemy of poisonous words and images, from the witches cauldron of the propaganda machines of the world. The innocent peoples

of the bulk of Asia are only dimly aware of the open jawed monster of war, but with their instinctive awareness, they can sense the danger of children growing up as two headed carrots or lepers, discoloured by radio active waves, and of millions of people being reduced to ashes through the consumption of contaminated fishes and vegetables.

Secondly, there are the confusions following from the enthusiasm to build quickly, often without the technical means and the possession of advanced skills. The fact that the creative talent of the people, and their industriousness, are surviving old habits, help greatly, but the uneven growth creates unemployment, insecurity and disillusionment. The increased needs of the new times, which almost seem within the reach of every individual, also make for a certain aggressive competitiveness, very much like that witnessed in the west, at the culmination of the industrial revolution. But this vicious egoism militates against the transition towards the welfare state. Thus the impatience with democratic forms witnessed in several countries of Asia. Also, the mass disenchantment at the non-arrival of utopia.

Thirdly, the survival of many bad mental and social habits, from the feudalistic past, make for the exaltation of reaction, and for a certain defensive arrogance. The self possession of the orthodox, old fashioned, gentleman has given place to the agitated nervous-type of personality, disbelieving in the past culture, and ignorant of the new, but involved in a frantic struggle to become worthy of the future. Only the dignity of weakness of the millions who work in the daily grind, relieves the neurosis of the immature sections of the ~~neuveaux riches~~ middle classes, of rebuilding gigantic Asia into a great new civilisation avoiding some of the mistakes of the West and Asia's own historical small state mindedness.

All the same Asia seems to have glimpsed the dream of a possible human life in the near future. And the poetry of this vision, consciously or unconsciously, inspires its emergent millions. And the beauty of the dream confers upon Asia the aroma of an Asian spirit, if it does not exactly give it a one Asian mind.

Literature of the Soviet Oriental Republics

by **KAMIL YSHEN**
Soviet Uzbek Writer

The book has always been a mighty force affecting the minds of the people. Some use it as a means of broadening and deepening the knowledge of life, as a means of changing it for the sake of human beauty, world peace and liberty; while others exploit the book as a means of violence and suppression of human dignity.

The literature of Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenia is an excellent example of what can be achieved by free nations, armed with new ideology, and with the adherence to peoples' aspirations. Such literature serves as a rich source of enlightenment. The books by Soviet authors, including those of the Soviet East, are highly praised in many foreign countries.

The literature of every country is following its own pattern. It gives the world men of letters who are distinguishable in their approach to art; but every writer, if he has a real talent, reflects the life of his people, their hopes and aspirations.

The literature of Soviet East is primarily dedicated to the problems of re-making the nature, of building a new life, of bringing up a new psychology. It is dedicated to the liberation of women of the Orient, to our new intelligentsia, to heroic deeds of those who are building a new life and who are fighting for human happiness and world peace.

Colonialism, like a falcon, has been eating out the heart of the people. But this heart, burning and bright as the heart of Darko from Gorki's famous novel, so popular in the East, has always been a torch-light showing the road to the immortal dream of happiness.

Wounded, bleeding, this heart has shown the way to justice, peace and progress.

Many books by Soviet writers are devoted to this essential humanitarian theme. Peoples' aspirations are the only source of creative art of the Soviet writers.

In the period preceding the Revolution of 1917, Turkmenia, Tadzhikistan and Kirgizia had no literature published in their native languages. The existence of languages of many nations in Russia was not recognized by the Czarist regime.

The victory of the Soviet system has changed radically the life of Uzbek, Kazakh, Turkmenian, Tadjik and Kirgizian peoples. It made their self-determination and independent economic development possible. It created the necessary economic and political conditions for the practical realization of this right.

During the civil war in Uzbekistan, plays and revolutionary songs were created by Hamsa.

These works are still being performed alongside with the poem "Russia" written by Hamid Alimdjan in the years of the Great Patriotic war.

During the post-war reconstruction period there appeared the best poems by Aibek and Gafur Gulam.

Over thirty years have passed since Gafur Gulam's poem "On the road from Turkestan to Siberia" appeared, and it is still read with enthusiasm by our people.

The splendid novels by Aibek, "Nvoi"

and "Sacred Blood", have been translated into many languages of the world. A number of good plays and poems were written by a well-known Uzbek writer Ouigun.

By the time of the Cairo Afro-Asian Writers' Conference the Uzbek literature has made further progress. For the last few years there were created scores of new interesting books: novels, short stories, poems and plays about the factory workers, collective farmers, intellectuals and youth.

A substantial contribution to the important theme of our contemporary life, namely the utilization of the virgin lands, was made by the writer Sharaf Rashidov who wrote the two books, "The Victors" and "Stronger than the Storm."

The first of these novels is dedicated to the great patriotic movement of the Uzbek collective farmers for the cultivation of new lands and for the increase in cotton production to 3 million tons a year. The novel gives a vivid picture of life with its internal conflicts, differences of opinions, with the struggle of new ideas against the old ones. The book was translated into many languages of

the world.

An interesting novel by another Uzbek writer, Abdulla Kahhar, "The Small Bird", gives a colourful story of the people of a collective-farm village. The author deals with a very serious and sharp problem. He tells a story of a young woman who became a Communist and was elected Party Secretary of a big collective farm. This woman is shown as an honest person, faithful to the ideals of her Party. Her portrait was painted with great artistic skill and can serve as good example of what the Soviet literature has been able to achieve in recent years in its presentation of a new character.

The life of the Uzbek village is shown in novels, plays, and short stories by Ibrahim Rahim, Khakim Nauyr, Said Ahmed, Anarbaev, Saida Sununova and others.

P. Kadyrov has written a novel called "The Three Roots" about young Uzbek intelligentsia of the post-war years when a complex ideological struggle against the cult of personality was launched.

A number of books were written on the history of the Soviet society. Among them one should mention Askad Mukhtar's novel "The Sisters" about the emancipation of women and the Uzbek working class gaining power. In a new novel written after the Tashkent Writers' Conference, this author shows the process of formation of a new man building Communism.

An interesting novel about establishing the Soviet system in Uzbekistan was written by Hamid Gulam. The title of the book is "The Lantern."

An increased interest of the Uzbek writers to international problems is reflected in such works as the novel "In the Search of Light" by Aibek dedicated to the struggle of the people of Pakistan for peace and national independence; the poem "The Song of Kashmir" by Sharaf Rashidov and others.

In March, 1958, when Djamilia Buhreid an Algerian woman patriot, was threatened with a death sentence, Gafur Gulam published in the "Literary Gazette" a poem titled "To my Daughter Djamilia."

An eminent Uzbek poetess Zulfia has written many verses expressing the same sentiments. As if inspired with ideals of the Tashkent and the Cairo Conferences, she published her famous poem "Mushaira." The poetess invites her colleagues from Asia and Africa to take part in the poetical competition called "Mushaira."

Only 45 years ago Kazakhstan was the most backward province of Tsarist Russia with its feudal way of life. Now this country is a Soviet Socialist Republic with highly developed industries, agriculture, arts, science and literature.

The Kazakh literature is growing very rapidly, the professional skill of writers is improving, the themes are broadening. This Republic now has a large body of professional writers.

The books by Kazakh authors are very popular among the readers in the Soviet Union as well as in other countries. Among them one should mention first of all the epochal novel "ABAI" by Mukhtar Anezov which can be justly called an encyclopedia of the life in Kazakhstan in the first half of the 19th century; then goes the autobiographical novel of Sabit Mukanov titled "The School of Life" and a series of novels by an eminent writer and public figure Gabit Mousrapov. One of his books, "The Awakened Country", gives an excellent picture of the life of Kazakh working people and their friendship with the Russian workers.

The young writer Akhtakov published his "Days of Danger" about the Great Patriotic War against nazi Germany.

The war hero Baurd Jan Momysh-uly, who fought at the outskirts of Moscow in the famous general Panfilov's division, has become a writer himself and published the book "Moscow Is Behind Us" about heroic defenders of the Soviet capital.

Jair Jarokov published a poem titled "The Woods in the Desert" in which he tells about the happy life of Kazakhstan today.

A. Tadjibaev in his poem "Africa" praised heroism of the awakened Arabs waging struggle for their national independence.

For thousands of years the silver-headed Tien Shen mountain has been a silent witness of human sufferings. But the day came and the sun began shining here.

Before the Revolution of 1917 the Kirgiz people had no written language at all and they were cut off from the world civilization. But several years passed and in 1934 they

were able to hold the first Congress of Kirgiz writers. The leading genre of the Kirgiz literature at the time was poetry which developed on rich traditions of folklore. Now all the genres of literature are highly developed in that Republic.

The novel "Ken-Suu" by Sydykbakov gives a true picture of feudal and tribal society being transformed into a new way of life. Another novel of this author, "People of our Days" about the Great Patriotic War, is widely known in foreign countries.

Verses by Jokombeev, Bokanbaev, Malikov and Umataliev attract readers' attention with their humanism and emotion. Abdumomunov, Djontoshev, Jokombaev Jurusbekov have written plays which give a picture of contemporary life with its characteristic conflicts.

In the post-war years a large group of young writers came into the Kirgiz literature. The most outstanding of them is Chingiz Aitmatov, author of the wonderful novel "Djamila" which can be regarded as a significant achievement of the multi-national Soviet literature.

The literature of the Tadjik Republic is developing in all respects. The well known poet Mirzo Tursun Zade has recently written the books "The Voice of Asia" and "The Indian Ballad" which arouse the interest among readers. For his two books, "The Voice of Asia" and "Hassan Arbakesh" Mirzo Tursun-zade was awarded Lenin price. His name is now known throughout the world. Also very familiar are the names of Ulugzade, Rahim Djalil, Mirshakar, Faten Niazi and many other Tadjik writers.

Great progress has been achieved by the literature of the Turkmenian Republic. The most distinguished writer there is Berdi Kebabaev, whose book, "Nebit-Dag", is regarded as one of the best novels dedicated to the contemporary life of the oil-fields workers.

The readers also liked the novels "The Brothers" by Sitakov, "The Young Love" by Nuraliev, "The Milky Way" by Djumaev and others.

A book is like a bird : it recognises no borders. Overcoming all obstacles, flying over oceans, seas, rivers and mountains, it reaches the remotest parts of the world.

"The writer's word, said an eminent Soviet writer Nikolai Tikhonov, is a mighty force, especially at a time like this. The writers of Asia and Africa express the will of their people, they speak about things that had been kept secret before, that had been unknown to the world."

There is no doubt that the Cairo Conference of Afro-Asian writers based on the prin-

ciples of freedom, peace and progress, will give a new incentive to creative talents of people. One can be sure that as a result of this great forum there will appear new, still more significant works of the Afro-Asian literature, that new writers' associations will be set up in many countries, especially in Africa, that young talented writers will come to literature and will take an active part in the cultural revolution.

The fresh forces entering literature, like a mighty spring storm, will sweep the dead leaves of colonialism off the tree and clear the way for the new leaves of freedom and prosperity.

I wish the Cairo Writers' Conference all success.

A Note on Indonesian Culture

By YUBAAR AYUB, M.P.

Secretary General of the Peoples
Cultural League of Indonesia LEKRA

There are many western experts who, when analysing the culture, literature, anthropology and sociology of Indonesia, East Asian and African countries, which are often called underdeveloped, do it in a formalistic way.

Generally, these experts deal only with specific forms of the Indonesian culture, they deal with architecture, dancing, the form and construction in languages and literature of the East. They seriously study how the Indonesian and Hindu culture are blended. They also study the development of the different forms of Western culture in Asian and African countries. In short, they evaluate the development of culture, literature and art in Indonesia and other Eastern countries from a "formalistic" viewpoint. They never or very seldom analyse and study the vital use of Indonesian, Eastern Asian and African culture and literature to the peoples of Indonesia, Asia and Africa. These western experts never or very seldom study the essence, value and role of the Indonesian culture and literature in the life and struggle of the Indonesian people.

Of course it is necessary to analyse the forms of culture and literature in order to know their real essence and value. But if we only limit ourselves to the study and analysis of the forms of the Indonesian and Afro-Asian cultures, these efforts will no doubt have very little, or absolutely no use for the struggle of the people. Formalism in science and art is superficial and useless.

It is also useless in chemistry and mathematics. Sometime ago, before the Indonesian August 1945 Revolution's outbreak, the formalistic approach to culture, literature,

art and social sciences was dominant. There was quite a lot of Indonesian intellectuals and writers who wasted their whole lives studying formalistic works, fully supported by the Dutch colonialists, because such works could be used by the Dutch to deceive the people and sometimes even intellectuals.

But after the Indonesian National Revolution, known as the August 1945 Revolution, broke out and turned upside down the Dutch colonialism and forced the Japanese fascists who were in power at that time, to surrender formalistic ways of thinking in art and works which did not have enough social basis to continue to exist and develop.

Meanwhile since the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, since the Indonesian language was tested and transformed into the National language, the language of the struggle, the trend of realism developed in the fold of the Indonesian National resurrection movement against Dutch colonialism. Since the old days, the Indonesian people have preserved their tradition of realism, their literary tradition of giving priority to the revolutionary content. In the remoulding of anti-peoples' literature, first of all we must fight against the reactionary content. But in creating a new progressive literature, we follow the principle of "high in ideological content and high in artistic form." And when the National resurrection movement developed, this tradition was maintained and further developed by the progressive writers. Mas Marco is one of the progressive writers who pioneered the realistic tradition in literature and social success. In 1914 he wrote a novel called "Green Student" which was banned by the Dutch co-

lonial government as soon as it came out of the press. Mas Marco continued to write short stories and articles in a newspaper which he edited himself. He died in the 1930's in a Dutch concentration camp in Digul West Irian; his death was due to Dutch tortures.

At present Indonesia is still in revolution. The main enemy of the Indonesian people is still Dutch imperialism. And the most dangerous enemy of the Indonesian people is U.S. imperialism and other imperialists. The Indonesian revolution actually does not only cover the economic and political fields but the cultural one as well.

True at the moment a national people's culture is developing. But imperialist cultures especially the Dutch and U.S. ones are still dominant, they prevail in the field of films, music and literature, especially University textbooks. The struggle to liquidate the domination of imperialist culture, according to experience, will not succeed if carried on by only a handful of intellectuals, writers and scientists. In Indonesia this struggle has a wide mass character. There are now more than 60,000 progressive artists, writers and scientists organised in the People's Cultural League. The people's cultural movement in Indonesia has the complete support of the broad masses of workers, peasants and youth, because the culture which is being built by this movement is a people's culture the content and values of which are useful to the workers, peasants, youth and women in their

struggle.

This people's cultural movement developed further on a wider scale. The realistic tradition of the Indonesian culture threw away the methods and trends of formalism which were planted by western and some Indonesian scientists.

This People's Cultural League (LEKRA) has published in 1961 twenty eight literary and cultural works including translations of works from foreign countries such as Vietnam, Soviet Union, China, Korea, Latin America and others.

This People's Cultural League has a fortnightly cultural magazine the "New Age" which publishes short stories from foreign countries such as Algeria, China, Angola, Cuba and others besides our country's literary works.

The cultural work in Indonesia is carried on a limited scale. That is a natural state for a country which is in the process of completing its national revolution.

We develop all forms of culture of the Indonesian nationalities as long as they are in conformity with the people's demand. We differ from most western scientists, we evaluate tradition, but all our efforts are directed towards the development of revolutionary values for a **NEW INDONESIAN CULTURE**.

Arab Literature Between "Nationalism" And "Universality"

By MURSI SAAD EL-DIN

Arab literature is to-day passing through an important stage of its development, a stage which is fact a reflection of the political and social evolution and of the feeling of full ideological independence.

Ever since the advent of the Revolution, Arab Literature has been unable to take a definite shape, it is rather like a pendulum oscillating from one side of the other. This oscillation is reflected in literary controversies which have been taking place concerning such matters as form and content of art-for-arts-sake and literature "engagé". There are those who call for the necessity of adhering to by inherited localism and those who lament the isolation of our literature being from the current of world literature, as though inherited tradition is in conflict with the universality of literature.

In fact, whatever the conflict may be in this field, there remains one fundamental truth: The writer should realise that his national origin is the basic source of his creative impulse. Springs from his national heritage, if he were to deviate from this origin, he would expose himself to serious dangers. This, however, does not mean that the writer should confine himself to the boundaries of his country. We have before us vivid examples of this aspect in Rudyard Kipling, E.M. Forster, Somerset Maugham and Ernest Hemingway whose works have been inspired by Asia and Africa but at the same time without losing their localism and national characteristics. On the other hand in referring to internationalism we do not mean that the writer should treat only international topics, or that he should neglect his localism. Examples of this are manifest in the literature of Chekov, Tolstōi and Gorky which reflects a severe Russian character. When

Chekov's plays were first staged in Europe, they aroused a great deal of surprise for their dramatic personal were not bound by the European concepts. Nevertheless, the greatness of Russian literature was able to give it a universal character. Tagore's works only dealt with Indian society, its evils and injustices yet they acquired that universality.

What then is that quality that gives a literature a universal character in spite of its localism, and is the quality absent from our literature? I remember a competition organised by the "Encounter" Magazine with the participation of the UNESCO for the best English translation of a short story from the literatures of Asia and Africa. Stories of most of an Arab Writers, old and young were submitted but not one of an Arab stories won the prize; the prize-winning story was one from Korea. This result greatly disturbed me and at the first opportunity of meeting with the sponsors of the competition I desired to know the reason. Their answer was that in addition to the aspect of technique, they felt that Arab stories were far removed from them and did not move them in the least. They asked me to read the prize winning story and upon reading it I realized precisely what they had meant. The story was a very local one, the simple story of love between a boy and a girl, whose events take place in Korea in spring when the flower blows gave Korea a special touch of beauty. There was nothing new in the story, but after reading it, I had that feeling which only Literary masterpieces can arouse. It was then that I decided to re-read our modern literature, its stories, plays and poems to know wherein lay the defeats and to find a common explanation to this phenomenon that stands in the way of acceptance of our literature and its universal recognition.

Isolation of our Literature from Philosophy :

In my opinion the two main reasons are first :

The absence of a comprehensive human outlook and second : the superficiality of sentiments and feelings that characterise it. I attempted to rationalise. I argued that may be colonialism was responsible for driving our writers into directing their efforts to slogans, but then I remembered Tagore who had written under the yoke of colonialism, who had depicted its evils and injustice, who had exposed the state of his people in a true manner — but whose outlook, pure and human gave him that universal status. The reason may be that our literature has not got any philosophical concept in its background, indeed our modern cultural life seems to be completely void of any philosophy. The modern Arab world has not given birth to any philosopher and consequently there is no Arab philosophical concept of life or man. This has resulted in the absence of any depth in our literature.

Evolution and the reality of Colonialism :

The basic topics which literature deals with are one and the same regardless of the difference in languages. Contemporary writers search only for new interpretation that would enable them to live in a world where imitation is rampant. The literature of the world is the property of everyone, so are its values and elements. We are now living through one of the phases of the world, when ideologies, the way of life and artistic means are no longer governed by geographical boundaries but by the free expression of individuals or groups. Thus we find now trends in literature not springing from one country or culture alone but from several countries. The way literature moves forward from the local and to the universal is not through invitation or the establishment of unified international standards but through the emergence of the basic differences among writers. If we examine the common factors

that bind the literatures of India, China, Japan, the Arabs, Burma and America, we would come across two conflicting factors : firstly the phenomenon of change and secondly : the reality of continuity.

People may differ in appearance, ages and countries may differ, people may wear a different garb, would laugh at things that others would not, but their experiences in love, their afflictions and hopes are the same. Differences are present on the surface but at the same time there is a latent unity and the conflict between superficial differences will finally lead to unity and coordination. Some literature combines the superficiality differences and the universality. Literature is the spiritual contact between one people and another, between one nation and another, between the past, present and the future and it expresses more than any other of these aspects.

Isolation of the Arab Writer :

The Arab writer is completely isolated from the currents of World culture and consequently our literature is so isolated. No doubt a close relationship between writers and cultures is a fundamental factor for the emergence of a literature from its isolation to the universal sphere. We have vivid examples in the literature of Arab emigrants. Arab writers who have lived in a foreign society, and have assimilated their habits and traditions found themselves immersed in World culture ; consequently their poems reflected a humanistic perception which we find in the works of Iliya Abu Mady for instance and others. The works of Gobran Khalil Gobran are another example of the cultural effects in literature and his book "The Prophet" was translated to most of the world languages. The works of our literary pioneers, who came into contact with the classics of world culture, reflect greatly this imprint.

Literature is but a reflection of experiences, stored experiences that are derived from the broad and deep life-travel, acquaint-

ance with peoples of other countries and reading. Reading can make up for the writer what he misses in life. Most of our writers lead eventful and broad lives but in the local range. Their reading are limited, sometimes almost null. Reading is basic, indeed, is vital for the writer, not with purpose of imitation but for comparison. We are living today in a small world that is growing and developing as a whole. Modern Technological development, the advancement of nuclear science exposed men, regardless of language or race conflict, to the same destiny : the downfall of civilisation or its inlancement to a degree unknown before. We are all in the same boat and the task of the writer is to help steer this boat. More than ever before the World today stands in need of common humanistic ties, of an international fraternity that our literature should reflect. The

emerging forces in the world, these forces that drive man to dominate the internal and external worlds, should be understood by the writer. These forces aim to transform man to a reasonable, responsible creature and the world to a happier place for existence.

Literature is a collective and racial production in as much as being an individual creation with dreams, fear, hope and pain at its basis. Literature has a dual personality, which is also a quality of man. He is an individual, but he is also one of million of beings, an atom in the universe.

National literature is like a bright star in the skies, governed and directed by its own laws, but at the same time, it is a part of a universal phenomenon and a member of the constellation.

Role Of Writers In India's Struggle For Freedom

By M. KALIMULLAH

Indian intelligentsia and particularly Indian writers have played a very glorious role in the history of our country. The onslaughts on our literature, our languages and our culture did not start with the British colonisation of India. There were many invasions from the north before that and many areas often remained under occupation by alien nations and rulers. For many centuries before the arrival of the British, Persian was the official language in many parts of our country, which hindered the development and growth of the national dialects and cultures.

The watertight caste system was another factor which was keeping the majority of our people into abject backwardness and servility and making literature and culture out of bound for them.

The struggle for the preservation of national dialects and developing and spreading education and literature in those dialects and helping them to flower into full fledged languages, the struggle for freeing them from a handful of feudal hierarchy is very long and very old and the Indian intelligentsia and particularly the Indian writers have played a very glorious role in this struggle throughout our history. They not only struggled and saved our dialects and languages from disintegration but it is the result of their struggle that so many beautiful and highly developed languages are flourishing today in our country.

The British imperialists, after the occupation of our country, adopted the same policy of suppressing the local languages and cultures and imposing English as a medium of instruction, as they did in other countries and in this way deprived the overwhelming major-

ity of our people of any chance of education or developing their own culture. They distorted our national history and culture in such a manner as to inculcate in the minds of the people the superiority of the white races and backwardness and inferiority of the Indian people so that no urge for emancipation and self-realisation might emerge.

They did their best to help produce such literature which may spread obscurantism and develop contempt and hatred in one section of the people against the other.

It is not surprising that in the struggle for freedom and emancipation in the struggle for preserving our languages and literatures, educating our people in our own languages, re-writing our history in such a manner as to obliterate the distortions spread by the imperialists and in this way rouse the feelings of patriotism and faith in the greatness of our cultures, the Indian intelligentsia and particularly the writers have played a very great and noble role.

In the period after the 1857 revolt, hundreds and thousands of writers and poets emerged in all the languages singing the songs of greatness and beauty of our country, our culture and our heritage. They aroused the feelings of patriotism and love for the great past of our country. They exposed the oppression and butchery of the foreign coloniser. Many a times when it was not possible to speak in a direct language they took old fables, stories from mythologies and great epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata and presented them in such a manner that every reader could easily see behind the cover the face of the modern oppressors. Not only this, a new and great

movement was born which tried to spread modern education amongst our people, popularised great and new ideas of the revolutionary Europe, it struggled to introduce rationalism in our thought, developed and created new forms in our literature. This movement transformed our prose and poetry. It gave birth to modern fiction and criticism. This movement attacked outmoded social system. It simplified and enriched the Indian languages and brought nearer to the spoken dialect. This struggle for social transformation was a part of our political struggle against the foreign domination. Our political struggle became very closely linked with our literary movements and movements for spreading education and that is why it is not surprising that we find many writers working for the spread of education and many educationist active in the political field.

In this struggle for emancipation our intellegentzia suffered, many a times, oppression, privations and often imprisonment from the hands of the foreign rulers, but this struggle could never be stopped.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the world faced the first great war and came in its wake great upheavels all over the world. The greatest among them was the revolution in Russia. It was the first time in the history that an imperialist and colonialist power was overthrown and the workers and peasants of that country not only overthrew the rule of the Zars and the capitalists, they established their own regime and helped the people of the Zarist colonies to get freedom and establish their own power. This great historical event shook the foundations of imperialism and anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles all over the world achieved new dimensions.

These events, naturally, had a great impact on the struggles of the people in India. For the first time India masses, workers, peasants and middle classes participated in millions in the liberation movement. These struggles, though, were crushed with the

most brutal force but people could never be subdued. Struggles, revolution and anti-colonialism became the most common subject of our literature of this period. There is no poet and writer of this period, from great Tagore onward, who has not sung in praise of Soviet Socialist revolution and in support of the struggle of the people. They wrote not only about the oppression of the colonialist power, they scathingly attacked the suffocating and oppressive colonialist imposed feudal system, emancipation of women and backward sections and classes. Peasants and workers, their woes and sorrows and their aspirations started becoming more and more the subjects of our literature.

The thirties saw a new and great development in the whole course of our great political and cultural struggle against colonialism. The great economic crisis of the twenties and early thirties shook the foundations of world imperialism and capitalism. For the first time great economic and political battles of the European and American working class got linked up with the growing struggles of the people in the colonies. The Western imperialist powers in desperation reared and fed fascism in Germany and facilitated its conquest and spread in Europe.

In India, not only the struggle against colonialism achieved a new height, it linked itself with the general struggle against fascism and imperialism. The organised working class and peasantry became an important effective part of our struggle.

In this growing political struggle against fascism and imperialism and against the danger of new war world intellegentzia also played an important role. A new movement arose in Europe under the leadership of such literary giants like Maxim Gorky, Romain Rolland, Henry Barbuse etc. and it swept the literary and cultural world.

These developing revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggles and movements made a great impact on the Indian writers, which

gave birth to the progressive writer's movement. It had the full support of the giants like Rabendranath Tagore and its first president was no other than the greatest Hindi writer Munshi Prem Chand. There was never such a literary movement in India which has such a wide and numerous support among the writers of all the languages.

Progressive writers movement brought about a great leap forward in our literature and in all the aspects of our cultural life. It brought about a great transformation in both form and content of our literature. It gave it a new depth, purpose and verity. It tried to portrait common people and their struggles and in the process inspired millions of people. Often our popular poets and singers drew and still draw bigger audiences in towns and villages than even some of the biggest political leaders.

Our writers maintained and carried for-

ward these traditions till our country achieved complete freedom.

After the achievement of our own freedom the Indian writers did not give up their struggle. Their pen is still busy in the cause of social justice and colonialism. They have not forgotten the people still struggling for their freedom. In no other country, probably excepting Algeria so many poems have been written hailing and glorifying the struggles of the brave Algerian people and probably very few writers were stirred so much at the murder of Patrice Lumumba as did the Indian writers and poets. It was just due to great anti-imperialist traditions of the Indian writers that they took initiative in calling the first conference of the Asian Writers in Delhi in 1956 and they have set up an Association to carry forward those traditions. We are sure that as the time passes their activities in this cause will achieve new depth and new dimensions.

Some Aspects Of Culture In Ceylon

By D. JAYAKODI

1 — Developing National Culture in Afro-Asian Countries.

The Culture of the people of Ceylon dates back to some 2500 years. The growth of the culture had much to do with the growth of the indigenous kingdom. The Kingdom of Ceylon, up to the time of the imperialist subjugation in 1815, grew in an environment of a religious belief namely Buddhism except for certain short periods when Hindu Kings reigned over Ceylon. This situation resulted in the growth of a religious culture all over the islands which in fact is evident from our ancient architecture, dance, drama, music and various other fields of art.

The imperialist subjugation gave a big blow to this culture and foreign influence began penetrating into the lives of the people. Nearly 150 years of imperialist rule was able to do much harm to the cultural outlook of the people but basically the influence of the national culture could not be removed from the people, especially those in the interior, and the old cultural standards remained untouched.

Since the establishment of the Cultural Department by the Bandaranaike Government, these old trends are now coming into light with a certain amount of modern touch. This modernizing of the old culture has always met with success and people themselves have started to appreciate it.

In Ceylon today, there really is a cultural renaissance taking shape.

What Ceylon needs is only a backing-up as even the cultural development cannot take place without a similar development being seriously thought of in the field of national

economic activities. As the economic growth in the country is very slow and there remains a lot more to do, the cultural development has to follow.

2 — Re-evaluation of the history of Afro-Asian peoples and the propagation of their civilisation.

In the time of Kings in Ceylon, the history of the country was written by religious dignitaries whose existence greatly depended on the King. So what was actually written was not the history of the people but the history of the Kings whose deeds dominated every chapter.

When this era came to an end with the imperialist domination of the island, the position completely changed but not in favour of the peoples. Then the writers began to record history from the point of view of imperialists themselves and those who shared the same ideology for purposes of private benefit. The devastating results still haunt the country even in the minds of younger generations, as those books are even today being taught in Schools. To some of those history-writers, our national heroes who organized revolts against the imperialist suppression of people, seemed as enemies of the country.

There are in Ceylon today signs here and there of a change taking place in this direction. New books are being written by modern writers who grasp the situation correctly.

But very little is being done in the field of exploring the lost history of the people themselves. Some work, though is being done in universities, it has not yet reached the masses and the younger generation.

The civilization of the country too has had a great set-back during the imperialist rule. During this long period so much of damage has been done to the civilization of the country. The people of Ceylon have today to emerge almost from nothing.

The old civilization has become a thing of the past. New emergence of the nation has to look forward for new opportunities and new trends.

3—Condition of Writers and Developing the means of publishing.

The writers of Ceylon have to undergo much difficulties. They are actually at the mercy of publishing houses run by private businessmen whose only motive is to make money.

However good or useful may be the work of the writer, the problem would be for him to find a publisher who would respect the labour put in by the writer for his production. Sometimes it may be a few rupees that he gets from the publisher. Even for that amount of consideration the writer will have in most cases to sell the rights of the book to the publisher. It is only a handful of writers who could be considered as exempted from this pathetic situation.

This situation has created a tendency for the emergence of a large number of indecent publications which tap the low depths of human feelings. The immoral publications dominate this type of writings as the publishers could make more profit and they could be sure of being up in the deal by putting such books onto the market.

The Cultural Department of the Government has a programme to assist writers. But the measurements they use to find out what is a good book and who are the writers who should be encouraged for national upliftment and such details are so reserved and limited the writers of Ceylon could expect only a very little from this department.

It would do a great deal for the writers if a publishing house could be established which considers the national needs and the benefits of the writers themselves as the major issue.

Writers should be able to live by their own writing. There should be facilities free of any undue influences for the publication of such writings. Then the growth of writers enlightened by national needs will automatically follow.

The Role of Afro-Asian Writers in the Present Struggle Against Imperialism

By ALI SULTAN ISSA

It is very important for the Afro-Asian writers to use their talent and energies and clear the minds of the people in our countries.

The duty of writers is to inform the reading public the truth and the real causes of our miseries, it must be pointed out as to who is responsible for the aggravation of the international situation in other words the people must be informed that it is imperialism headed by USA which is responsible for all these miseries.

The Afro-Asian writers have a great responsibility and it is the sacred duty of the writers to mobilise the masses against imperialism headed by USA. They must uncover and unmask to the world all the manoeuvres by the US imperialist especially now when they are plotting again to launch another aggression against Cuba, it must be clearly pointed out that the ready difficulties in Laos came from US Imperialism ambition to colonise the peaceful country.

The Afro-Asian writers should not give praise to the imperialist but should condemn outright the intrigues of imperialism. They should be in the forefront leading the masses who are struggling for a free and happier life in our countries.

The writers from these continents should and must serve the people and not to misrepresent the people even though they might be employed by the reactionary press lords. It is important because the people who are struggling must receive the maximum support in a life and death struggle against imperialism.

In our opinion the Afro-Asian writers should extend their activities to Latin America and should keep the people in their respective countries well informed of the struggle being waged in these three continents against enemies of the people. They must inspire us to wage more stubborn struggle and not to pacify us because should the fighting spirit of our people become less this will serve only the imperialist.

The writers must be bold and clear in their writings because most of our people are simple and should at all times refrain from playing with words but should be concrete in presenting the information.

It is our duty to minimize the differences as far as possible which might arise among the people because the contradictions are within the family but exposed bitterly any manifestation of contradiction among the enemies of the people, the imperialist. We must not hide anything to the people of moves of the imperialist because to do so would not prepare well in advance in our struggle to the shameful system of colonialism both old and new.

In our opinion it is also the duty of the writers to use the names of the area as given by the people and not to cling to the imperialist names, for example West "New Guinea" this is an imperialist term for the West Irian so the writers whenever they refer to this issue they must at all times refer it as West Irian similarly for Taiwan and not Formosa as the imperialist would like it to be referred, also the German Democratic Republic and not East German as they would like us to call it. This in our opinion will help to clear the minds of our people.

It is very important for the Afro-Asian writers to meet and exchange their views and experiences. Also the coordination of their onslaught against imperialism headed by USA. It is the duty of the writers from these continents to reflect truly the inspiration of the fighting people and not to confine their report to personalities because it is the people in the last analysis who are the determining force and all respect must be given to the masses who are waging the heroic struggle to defeat the old and new colonialism headed by US Imperialism.

We believe that the greatest responsibilities lies with the writers in clearly drawing a line of demarcation as who are the people and who are the enemies of the people. This to our opinion is very important because, no one should be left with doubts as to the

differences between the people on the one hand and the enemies on the other.

The writers' duty is to bring the people together at all times and inspire them to wage struggle against the colonisers, the people must know that it is the US imperialist today who are presenting oppression and exploitation and therefore should wage a bitter struggle against the US imperialism.

Through our own contacts we should be able to get true information as to the happenings in different parts of the earth but should not depend on the imperialist press agencies because everyone of us knows that these agencies do not serve the interest of the people, we can only use these agencies to expose the intrigues of our enemies.



ZEROS TURN IN CIRCLE

By MALEK HADDAD

I am less separated from my country by the Mediterranean than by the french language. Should I write in arabic, a fence would immediately rise between my readers and myself : Analphabetism.

My cousins of the devastated mountain will not have to decipher your monument "Nedjma", O Kateb Yacine. The old women of "Dar-El-Spitar" will not have to recognise themselves in your "Big House", my dear weaver of the cursed dailyness, Mohammed Dib. Who will have read Krea's "The Earthquake" in the roseless streets of Blidah ? Yet, the music found the convenient orchestra. Marcel Moussy, Malek Ouary, Feraoun, Senac, Mammeri, Jules Roy, Amrouche, my friend Roger Curel, Roblès, I could, on your behalf, quote the words of a Free France spokesman and tell you with all my respect and affection : Algeria salutes your loneliness.

I salute you orphan readers, you noble Representatives and tragic Soli. You have made me understand the meaning of the expression "...to preach in the desert" : but beyond my bitterness, I know that the vocation of deserts is to give birth to broad meditations and to gazelles.

*

The war is about to end. Guns will be silenced but pens will keep on writing. The prophecy of Saint Exupery will be realised : "A tour to be built..." Ink will take blood's place.

We will return from exile. The transplanted plants will find their garden. In the house to build or to rebuild, everyone, within the reasonable limit of his utility, will have his place. We shall see again those lost places, the hells and paradises of which we were deprived, those high places of memory and heart that justified our homesick.

The love of Algeria threw us into the winding path of dispersion. We have not escaped the drama for we bear it within ourselves, because we carry it with us and because our novels and poems contributed to make it known ; because many testimonies assure me that these novels and poems kept alive the hope of those who, although not lacking hope, saw in the swallows one more reason to believe in spring. I think of those letters addressed from prisons, those messages that came from Algeria, from France and from Europe ; those letters and messages that constituted some sort of prizes for the students and lessons that we are. These letters and messages were full of advices and demands.

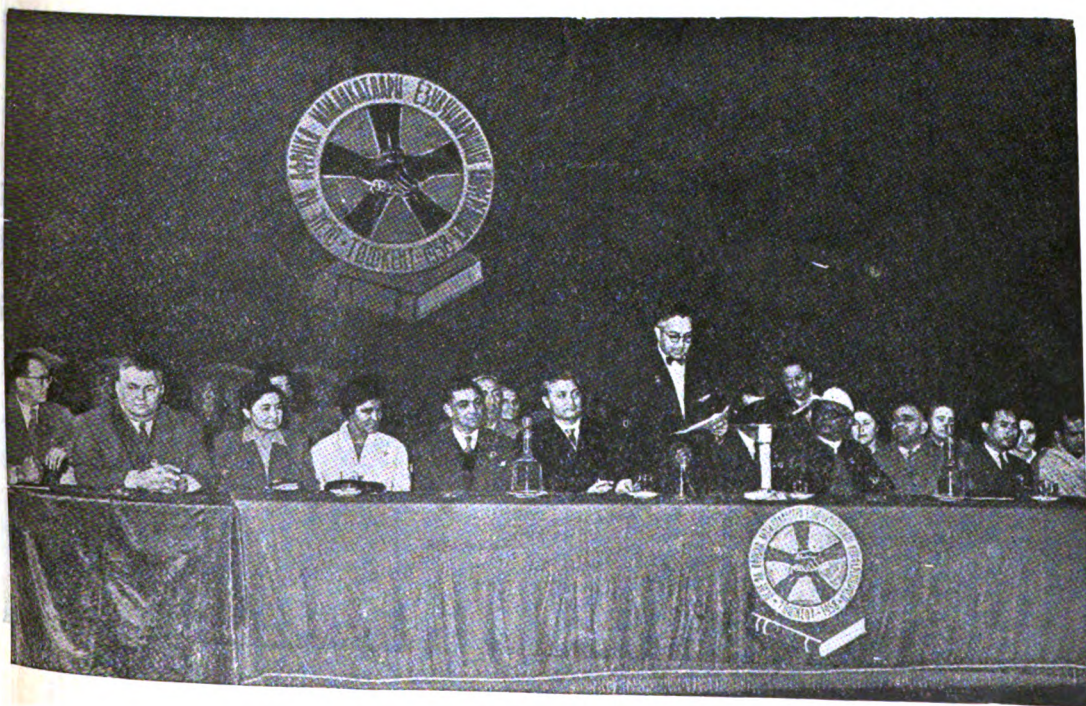
We shall leave the exile, but not for a pilgrimage, not even for a return to the sources, for we have never left them. Ants and cicadas at the same time we are, conditioned ants and cicadas, for the tree needs its roots and roots need their soil ; because the Motherland, at its elementary stage, precise and glorious in its reality, it a biologic phenomenon. I said, a while ago, "orphan readers". May all those who had the kindness and curiosity of following my litterary approach understand me and forgive me.

Readers we do have. We even have to much of them in Algeria, in France and elsewhere. We know that the interest we arise, the attention that we happen to attract, are no deprived of political sympathy and pour out the poet's or novelist's personality. Through us, it is struggling and suffering Algeria which they salute. We are the sad beneficiaries of a bewildered and bewildering reality.

Readers we do have and they are numerous. Our editors, who are sometimes, or should I say in nearly most cases, our friends, were not mistaken in combining the



Plenary Session of the Afro-Asian Writer's Conference held in Tashkent.



Presidium of the Tashkent Conference.



Session Hall, Emergency Meeting of the Permanent

Bureau of Afro-Asian Writers (Tokyo)



Members of the Permanent Bureau of the Afro -Asian Writers at the first meeting in Colombo.

Welcome Party for delegates, sponsored by the Japanese Liaison Committee of Afro-Asian Writers. (March 27th. Chinzan-so Villa, Tokyo).





“Algeria Day”, organised by the Permanent Secretariat in co-operation with a number of organisations in Cairo.

Public Rally in support of the people of Indonesia to liberate West Irian and to condemn Imperialist intrigues in the Middle East.



technical requirements of their qualitative choice with the political opportunity of their publications. May I be allowed here to pay tribute to all those who knew how to take tremendous risks, both physical and material, to remain faithful to a traditional vanguard humanism.

Readers we have, we have lots of them, but nobody will prevent me from repeating over and over again that we are, by the force of things, "orphans of true readers". Because all those for whom we write do not read us and they will probably never do. Over 95% of them ignore even our very existence. These readers who, by adding a syllable to their name, have become the blessed grave-diggers of all forms of imperialism; these readers who, by exchanging the plough's cuff for the gun's trail, have astonished the whole world and won the respect of general De Gaulle himself. These readers who live and do not write history — one cannot do two things at a time — these readers who do not read us, who cannot read us and who are yet our very reason of being, our reason of writing, the cause and goal of the Algerian Revolution: The Fellahine.

*

I recall two stories, two pictures, from my exile. One day, I was in Clermont-Ferrand. It was winter, and it was cold. Walls and trees were all black. The statue of France's first fellagha seemed to overlap the low clouds. Behind the police station, beyond a more provençal than cevençal market, not very far from a church with a smooth and proud face, I entered a library to buy some newspaper. At that very moment, in the blessed kingdom of coincidences, a man of about 40 was asking for one of my books. The bookseller served him. It was not a feeling of puerile and legitimate pride that excited me. My emotion was far beyond that vague mythomania which is but one of the labour accidents of our business. The man, obviously a farmer, went out with my book. He threw it on the back seat of his "2 H.P."

which took off, jolting on the Middle-Age pavement. I dreamt... The same thing was to happen to me in a library of Saint-Tropez. And every time, I thought of that ideal reader, that farmer today busy with some other work, that farmer who does not read me and for whom I write. that farmer of love, of wrath and of immoderation who was stricken by colonial darkness with the most atrocious of all blindnesses: Analphabetism.

Another picture that comes back to my memory is that of a public auction sale in Paris, at the old winter cycle racing-track, at the C.N.E. I was, at that time, the only Algerian writer to take part in that sale and I had a sharp feeling of my solitude and of my fugitive representation.

Then came before my stand a dumpy Algerian, very dark, dressed with that naive style and that touching correction of the eradicated proletariat who was taught, by the usual habit of racism, that it is indeed the cowl that makes the monk. He asked me in Arabic:

— Which one do you want me to take?

But how could I reply to such a question, without being influenced by a personal preference or a ridiculous vanity?

— Take the one you wish.

He started moving his right hand forefinger like a blind man hesitates before pressing the floor-button of an elevator. And he went on to say:

— I cannot read.

I could not prevent myself from asking:

— Then, why do you want to buy a book?

To which he immediately replied:

— Because I was told that you are from Home and that you write about me.

We soon found common memories to talk about. I always find such common memories with all Algerians I meet, as well as with

those I have never met and whom I probably never will.

My reader who cannot read vanished into the crowd, with my book in his hand.

I will never forget this.

*

I can hear the objection, and it is good-sized too, if the argument stinks with bad faith :

— This Algerian who vanished into the crowd with your book, could he have been more of a reader if you wrote in arabic ?

To this good-sized objection and to this argument which stinks with bad faith, I reply :

-- Of course not.

This is not much of an explanation. Yet, the explanation is so easy, so simple, so common in its evidence :

The colonised man found himself deprived of his cultural inheritance the same as he was deprived of his land. He was dispossessed of his wealth. It was necessary, if not to kill his soul — for soul is immortal — at least do everything possible to dim it or to switch it off completely.

The process of colonisation has a severe logic : It is an implantation logic. The same way as the victor strikes the flag of the conquered to hoist his own in its place, he undertakes to destroy, to contradict and to ban all that was and that should have been the evidence and the vehicle of an original autochthon way of thinking, of a national entity.

But in the darkest night of the colonial regime, Islam was awake.

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In elaborating the awakening of nationalities and the struggles of political libera-

tion, one phenomenon was often neglected : the religious phenomenon. It is a proved fact : the present Algerian revolution is of a laic nature. However, giving Islam the great place it deserves in the conservation of traditional values and in the defence of what could still be saved, would not be a twist to the objectives and sources of this revolution.

The Koranic religion, a tutelary guardian of language, found itself controlled and really administered by the occupying power. Ulemas were persecuted and the great patriot, that great defender of Islam, Sheikh Benbadis, closely escaped death in prison. One of his disciples and successors to the Constantine Institute, that carries his name, Ahmed Rida Houhou was murdered during the massacres of March 1956 in that same city.

It is significant that architectural masterpieces such as the mosques of Algiers and of the antique capital of Numidia, were transformed into cathedrals or synagogues, in violation with all the sacred respect due to such monuments.

By attacking Islam, imperialism was acting less by religious intolerance than by political strategy. The dream of Cardinal de La Vigerie meets that of marshall Bugeaud : the gun and the plough demand the help of the sword and the cross.

This is an example of the attempt aiming at national decoloration and historic disorientation.

Never will it be said enough about the period of 124 years of colonial eclipse — this period of cultural and political suffocation that extends from the 5th of July 1830 to the 1st of November 1954 — and about the great role played by Islam and its servants in Algeria to protect for my profanated homeland her last features, her ultimate originality, her cultural authenticity and what was left to her of organic unity and monolithism in her constitutional expression : Language.

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A language is not only fed by the maternal breast. It is not only taught in the limited and necessitous framework of the family, itself drowned into an intellectually unnatured, impoverished and dislocated context. A language is also taught in school and at the university. Needless to state the number of Algerian children who do not attend school, and that — even more surprising — of the kids who are able to obtain their primary studies certificate and who were also able to continue their studies until high school. What is even more important, and at the same time more serious and stupid, is the kind and the methods of teaching.

Starting from primary schools, teaching is done in French. Any use of arabic, even for pedagogic facilities, is prohibited. At the end of Middle Course, 2nd year, we used to skim the surface of Algeria's geography or history. In high-school, Arabic was taught as a foreign language. Other subjects, such as science, mathematics, etc., were taught in French. Our national language was exiled in its own country. Moreover, the press, the radio, conferences and films, theater and advertising, all kinds of formalities, from the writing of a simple money-order to the identity card, everything that is written, from the sign "stick no bills" to the names of streets, absolutely everything was the privilege and monopoly of the French language.

One should have seen, not very long ago, how those teachers who came from some Poitou or Normandy, treated their pupils with cruelty, calling "stupid" those children who were as hungry for education as they were for food. We are not trying to anathemize the body of teachers and to generalise in a demagogic way. But, whether it is intended or not, and whatever may its originally liberal vocation may be, it so happens that this body of teachers, even when limiting the casualties, was part of the colonial apparatus and contributed thus, together with the other administrations, to the combined enterprise of decoloration and disorientalisation, which

is the reason for the existence of this colonial phenomenon.

The machiavelian nonsense of the ways of teaching turned absurd and anti-pedagogic. Not only were they teaching us that our fathers were Gaulish, or that the Seine was the most beautiful river in our country, but they taught this to children in a language which they stopped from using as soon as they crossed the school's door. It had appeared necessary to include in primary educational programmes, in a way parallel to the vocabulary lessons, "language lessons" for young Moslems, which was an obvious proof of the fact that the French language was not in its natural sphere in Algeria. The paradox would not have been greater if French children were taught, for instance, that Emir Abdelkader was a hero of French independence, while completely ignoring Joan of Arc, and that this was done in Mohammed's language. The results of this incredible preposterousness was the birth of that slang called "Sabir", the delight of the superior races in search of exotism. The latest hit "Mustapha" is an example of this linguistic ignominy which the specious gracefulness of the Hernandez families could not turn compliant.

Thus, from the first day they go to primary school, from their first contact with the intellectual life, from their earlier childhood, zeros started turning in the vicious circle of the greatest of all mystifications and usurpations history has ever known: Colonialism.



Some among these students have become writers. It is mainly about them I want to talk, not to distinguish them from the other victims of imperialist fantasia and plans, simply because their problems are my own, because history has placed us before the same dramas and responsibilities. But first, I would like to make one point clear: It is not my intention to put the French language on trial, directly or indirectly.

Now, let us see why ZEROS TURN IN CIRCLE.

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Despite everything I talk, and I must talk. I would have used chinese if I knew chinese. The paradox has reached its culminating point : the coloniser's language has become, for the colonised, an efficient way for liberation. They are crying out ingratitude. Let them cry out. The most beautiful tribute we can pay to the French language is to respect its hospitality enough, should it even be imposed upon us, to rise to the level of its servants who were and often are the servants of the great human ideals. Péguy or Bernanos would have been my friends if they were alive, for Péguy and Bernanos would have turned in circle should an imperialism, an Arab imperialism for instance, would have forced them to express themselves in any language, other than their own.

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My grandfather has never read my books, nor did he ever read those of Mohammed Dib, Kateb Yacine, Henri Kréa or any of those writers. I salute the eloquence of all these dumbs ! I salute these bastards, princes of bastards ! I salute their noble bearing, and I can understand the deafness of the deaf. I am incapable of expressing in Arabic what I feel in Arabic.

Such are the phenomena ! Colonialism being a pathology of history, it is not astonishing that, in a certain extent, its products should be defined at a pathological level. I am convinced that Algerian writers will sing in their language, Arabic, for the benefit and enrichment of the languages of others. The harmony of the Algerian symphony will not emerge from its lyrics but from its unanimous music, and there will never be enough voices for such a chorus. As for the bewildered, I say to them : Algeria having no intention to colonise France, I do not see why and how the Arabic language could threaten the French language and, more generally speaking, the French cultural potential. Besides, 124 years

of co-existence have created ties, and the reality of an important European minority makes it necessary to deal with the bilingual problems. It will only be a question of practical convenience and not at all an issue that could bother any of the two ethnic blocs. For it is certain that new Algeria will not consist of two communities, but only one, the Algerian community, one and indivisible, whether its members speak arabic or french.

In this matter, the theatrical experiences of Mustapha Kateb are of a boldness which is rich in teachings. This great artist who said : "We have resisted Bugeaud, but not Molière" also stated : "Molière (in Algeria) is the most appreciated. This reveals a wonderful piece of anachronism... The man who has led french theater in its first paces to maturity, was to find his youth in a society that was not different from that which refused Jean-Baptiste the derisory dedication of an official hearse. Molière is no stranger to the Algerian people, neither has he anything to do with the colonising power. On the contrary : he brings us the mournful experience of his own persecution, and he teaches us that the first enemy is the one from within : the feudal lord which he succeeded to unmask in France and who, in Algeria, opened his arms to the conquerors..."

Said also Mustapha Kateb : "The people cannot be integrated ; but the Algerian people have integrated Molière."

Further ahead comes this staggering cry : "The country one day will know all the things it owes to a handful of shipwrecked people who hang on to the old traditional teaching and to the Koranic school, to those who, refusing despair, went on studying their national language in the universities of El-Karaouyine, Zitouna, and others, more bold, in Cairo."

Having launched the irreverable decolonization process, the Algerian people are fighting for their right to freedom. Descending from its metaphysical clouds, liberty

...gives to them the right to live and the Arabic language is one of the manifestations of this original existence. Whether they want it or not, whether they admit it or not, the overwhelming population of Algeria talks Arabic. And the recognition of Arabic as the national language could never harm or cause any prejudice whatsoever to the French language which is, whether they want it or not and whether they admit it or not, part of our national inheritance.

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Gabriel Audisio once quoted to me one of his own phrases that might well reflect his thought: "The French language is my homeland." I recall having replied:

— The French language is my exile.

I understand and respect this definition of Gabriel Audisio, the more that a writer of his age, jostled and overtook by history, can, in order to avoid certain slanders, seek refuge in this supra-national homeland whose geographic boundaries and historic contents are those of the Mediterranean coast. Personally, my heart and my pen are urged by the one and only homesick feeling of that language which is being used in what I call with a sad destination: The street of Arabs.

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My homeland is Algeria, the Algeria of tomorrow when the fact of stating "I am Algerian" will not be considered as an offense against the internal security of a State that I respect and whose friendship I wish, but which I do not consider as my Country and to whom I do not recognise any rights upon me. My homeland is Algeria. And the love I have for her does not threaten Moselle's homeland nor does it endanger the skies of Loire. I mean tomorrow's Algeria and in particular the Algeria of today in all her wrath and sacrifice, this Algeria which has re-invented the word Man. But most of all, I mean the Algeria of yesterday, the one prior to the disembarkment of Sidi-Ferruch, that Algeria

that did not yet know that our fathers were Gaulish...

I consider being a conservative as a point of honour, and I do not dream of a liberated country that would turn out to be a replica of the one that imprisoned it and forced it to vegetate, completely deprived of its structures, traditions and all forms of sensitivity, deprived of its own way to believe in God and of its ways to react facing the great eternal themes.

Imperialism would be a winner if, by misfortune, the vanquished resembling the victor would give up the very essence of his historical and geographic personality. To my own advice, the vanguard is the return to the past and I beg of unpropitious suitors to spare me a vicious trial. Let no man talk to me about the Arab woman's veil — apart from the fact that I find this dressing very beautiful — or of any other nonsense that would lead to the confusion between Liberation and Westernisation, withholding ours. Of course what I mean is not to oppose two civilisations but merely to respect the personality of each.

The french language is my exile. Exiles, however, can be useful and I am sincerely grateful to this language for having allowed me to serve or to try and serve my beloved Country. When peace and freedom would have prevailed in my Country, I will say again what I have never ceased to say, that my love for the Aurès is not incompatible with the emotion I feel for the Vercors. There is no great difference between Joan of Arc and Kahina, colonel Fabien and colonel Amirouche, Jean Moulin and Ben M'Hidi, Kateb Yacine and Paul Eluard, the same as there is no great difference between the most french among frenchmen Charles De Gaulle, expressing his hopes before a microphone in London, and the most Algerian of all Algerians Ferhat Abbas, affirming his steadiness from behind a microphone in Tunis.

For us, Algerian writers, all this is but a real humanism that can be expressed in

Arabic. And despite, or should I say BECAUSE of this lack of language which we owe to colonialism, we put the question: Who are the Algerian writers ?

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Algerian writers of different origins and with different political tendencies, once replied to the questions put before them by André Marissel in the form of an inquest published in the "Litterary News" which, incidentally, only published part of the inquest, probably fearing the consequences of publishing the naked truth. It is most unfortunate that all the answers were not published and that cuttings were obviously operated by some censor on duty. The first question — and certainly the most interesting one, at least as regards this context — was the following :

— Speaking of Algerian writers bears generally reference to authors of European descent born in Algeria as well as to Moslem writers, Arabs or kabylees. Do you consider the expression "Algerian writers" as being ambiguous ?

In their replies, or what was left of them, all authors were almost unanimous to state that they belong to a distinct literary group, to a family, in some sort of way, that dares not spell out her name. It seemed as if they had taken shelter by speaking in general terms, and by reading between the lines one could see some sort of embarrassed cautiousness.

"The ambiguity of the term "Algerian writer" is very recent. It exists only in the framework of the perils and hatred that mark our time. But when peace prevailed, and when peace was genuine, there was not ambiguity."

This reply, made by René-Jean Clot, reveals that it is the Algerian Revolution — what that call "the events" — that came to contradict and raise problems that did not exist before 1954. Personally, I do not recall

of any "peace that was genuine", and the author of "Noir de la Vigne" seems to have forgotten that when peace "was there", there were already Algerian writers to denounce the standing calamities and to share the sufferings and hopes of a whole nation. Once again, political realities are frightening and avoided instead of being carefully analysed.

Jules Roy explains himself : "...The ambition of an Algerian writer is not that of a *berrichon* or *cevennal* writer ; his ambition extends to the universal level. The diversity of origins is a proof of the spiritual wealth of Algeria which is a great community whose family tree has roots that stretch to the deepest and most various layers of soil and culture, but whose branches and palms rise to the same heights, the same light, the same sensuality, the same love of justice and freedom."

We have already said that "the Algerian war", being more than just the testimony of a sincere and talented writer, was the cry of a wounded man, some sort of *mea-culpa*. All through the pages, Jules Roy seems to apologize to his conscience, to Algerians and to metropolitan readers for whom he wrote this book, for having taken such a long time to understand, to see and to talk. But in his definition of the Algerian writer, we deplore a certain hazyness, and it is our belief that we represent more the soul of a suffering and struggling nation than a "great family with lots of members." I know how words can be frightening and I know how simple it is to reduce the complexity of a problem by merely inserting a "this" or a "that". However, at this crowdy stage of his history, the appartenance to any community is measured according to the unreserved adherence to the political and military struggle of the community concerned.

As for Jean Pelegri, he takes more the distances of the historian than those of the novelist :

— "...It is, in fact, astonishing to realise

that all these writers, even the most European among them, come to refer to Algeria almost unconsciously as "my country." Quite a peculiar country, I should say, formed as it is of so many peoples at the same time closely linked and widely divided by history, but in search for unity in a long ordeal."

These words indicate that the author of "The Palms of Justice" seems astonished that a writer, when referring to his country, would call it so. In many circumstances it is less the Country that lacks than the patriotic feeling. Furthermore, I cannot clearly see why Algeria, of all the countries, should be "peculiar", for nearly all processes of national elaboration are alike.

-- "Algeria is a black and white drug that kills and revives, it is a hell and paradise of a country and all those who depend on her are too much in collusion with each other not to be able to reach this fraternal friendship, desolated and accomplice of intelligent lovers of a particularly beautiful and stupid woman; they all have her "under their skin" and whatever they do, this love yokes to the same carriage the cohort of claimants."

I can well see here, dear Roger Currel, your tremendous potential of the need to live. But you will allow me to say -- and this is less of a criticism than pure decency -- that Algeria, our Algeria, your and mine, is not our common mistress but our common mother, since there cannot be any incest in the family.

I remember that night, as we were walking down the Champs-Élysées, when you said to me :

— When peace will return, I will claim the Algerian nationality. My dream is to settle down in Relizane.

And yet, you looked at the sky of Paris with love in your eyes. Your words sounded sincere. You did not give me the impression

of those children of a divorced couple who chose to live with one or the other of their parents.

As for Henri Kréa, he did not hesitate :

"To my advice, and to the advice of all writers of the 1954 generation, the expression "Algerian writers" means that the person using it has chosen the Algerian homeland for his own, no matter what his racial origin is or to what religion or philosophy he belongs."

Kréa's formula places the problem exactly where it belongs and defines its solution wonderfully well.

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Obviously the expression "Algerian writer" needed these precisions, in order to destroy any ambiguity.

The Algerian reality is of such a wealth and of such originality that we cannot but hesitate in choosing the exact words and beware of formulae of an attractive form but of a deceiving and dangerous nature. On the other hand, we all know the arbitrary nature of classifications. The search for a criterion seems to me here more of a delicate thing to express than an impossible thing to achieve, for we are not to establish differences between the citizens of one country and tomorrow, that is very soon, the citizens of a State.

When an "engaged" poet like Sénac tells me : "I feel as much Algerian as Ben Bella", I do not see here an attempt of political comparison, because everyone cannot be a Ben Bella. What I see is a cry that came out of a man who is not suffering, an Algerian of European origin, who has gone beyond the stage of hesitations.

Conciliations are not impossible to achieve, and there is no such thing as colonial dramas.

Now, let us talk of Camus.

Camus is the type of Algerian intellectual who, in order to avoid what he believes to be a separation, breaks off with himself, choosing not an interrogation mark, not even a spiritual comfort, but only the relaxation and the undefined aspect of meaningless dots... Neither metaphysics nor morality forbade him to express himself, because love and reason were not in conflict with each other, for it was not betraying France for anyone to chose, without ambiguity, to be what he is. Let us not be afraid of words : To choose, one must know himself and feel he is something. If I remember having once written :

A MAN IS MY COUNTRY

I refuse to take into serious consideration this abstract man, this conceptual man, this man in whom it is too comfortable to live so long as one refuses to assume the dramatic problem of this own definition and of the context in which he evaluates. I know, in a way, many Algerian writers who claim to be Algerians and who only got "a certain idea of Algeria." The question is not only to deal with the calamity of a people, but first to understand their hopes and to become hostile to their enemies. In other words, one must first know the people and share their life.

Malek Quary felt this very well and I doubt that there should be seen in his writings any sign of segregation :

-- "It has always been extremely hard to find a suitable term to refer to the non-European inhabitants of Algeria... To my advice, it would be convenient to establish a clear distinction between European and other writers. In fact, European writers, being unfamiliar with the non-European circles, cannot express the concern and aspirations of the latter. On the other hand, non-European writers not only live or lived in the past among these circles, but are also fully aware of their problem, should it be only through themselves. They can therefore serve as good interpreters for their community."

I completely agree with Malek Quary except for one term that he uses : "aspirations..." If it is true that a writer, Algerian or else, cannot talk but of what he knows, it is also true that non-European Algerian writers can share the political ideal of their country. And it is the merit of such writers as Jean Sénac or Henri Kréa, to have, from the very beginning of the liberation war, reacted like true Algerian patriotic writers. We can only deplore the fact that they were few.

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Yet, great and honourable voices, voices of quality, voices with wide audiences, observed silence, voluntarily : Camus, Roblès Audisio and, until very recently, Jules Roy. I am not putting anyone on trial, for I am not qualified to judge. But I know by personal experience that Algerian readers have tremendous demands and that at the crucial moment of their country's history, they consider that every writer who claims to be Algerian is mobilised in the service of his country.

Great voices remained silent. I state this with grief, and if I have bitterness, this bitterness is deprived of any rancour. Beside humility, History would have taught us, if now indulgence, at least prudence and justice in our judgements and condemnations. Should anyone be really honest, he could adopt this formula of Vercors in "The Silence of the Sea" : "Blessed is he who can, with so simple a certainty, find the voice of his duty..."

Voices remained silent.

For these writers, Algeria had become a source of non-political then of inhuman inspiration. Algeria had become a cherished background, a chosen scenery, but not this "carnal earth" of Péguy which lifts mountains and gives a new meaning to the epics.

For these writers, Algeria had become a mere literary phenomenon, an intellectual homeland.

The latest novel of Jules Roy, which, for us Algerians, is a noble and sincere book, is more valuable as a confession than as a testimony. The author, however, said himself that he was addressing the middle French. The tremendous success of this book has proved to what extent this middle Frenchman was weakly informed, and how much he wanted to be informed, on the condition that the informer was not politically marked. To my opinion, "The Algerian War" is the mea-culpa of a pure and brave poet. One can only wonder with great sadness why is it that intelligent and good men took such a long time to speak. The answer is simple : They had not believed in Algeria as a nation, as their nation, a nation that would subject them to such duties that could not be avoided by any writer unless he should exclude himself from this entity. Camus was not taken in when we wrote : "The time has come for everyone to join his community." Truly, history went ahead of them and changed their habits. Having consciously or unconsciously benefited from the colonial regime, they had become, consciously or unconsciously, — and to various extents — if not colonialists, at least colonisers. Which means that only Algerians of arab or berber descent, in their overwhelming majority, had lived the real life of their country under imperialist domination. As for the others, they were either French, (and no one could reproach them for it on the condition that they do not play a double-game and that they join once and for all their own community), pro-French or de-Algerized. I must repeat that it is most tragic indeed that it took Jules Roy over six years of war and hundreds of thousands of victims, to decide that he should SEE and SAY.

All the lucidity of a great statesman, all the chivalry that honours him and us all, I see them in a man called Ferhat Abbas when he addresses the author of "The green valley" in an interview in Tunis, in these words : "I am addressing an Algerian."

I am among those who consider that there is no such thing in Algeria as insoluble

or tragic minorities' issues. In Algeria, there are Algerians, or should I say, there are Algerians and "the others." In contradiction with the old popular saying back home, it is not the best who will depart. The Algerian motherland is not a stepmother. She has too much of tribal sense to tolerate among her children legitimate ones and bastards.

Finally, the term "Algerian writer" is ambiguous as long as the exact meaning of the word "Algerian" remains undefined.

A writer is more of a produce of History than of geography, for geography is contingent while history is not. I think that all this ambiguity in the research for a definition comes from the drama of language, which flows from the French expression of our writings.

Thus, because I respect them, I say that there is a great difference between Gabriel Audisio and Jean Amrouche, between Roblès and Did, Jules Roy and Kateb Yacine, Roger Currel and Ait-Djafer, although we all write in french.

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You cannot be all Algerian if you wish. We, writers of Berber or Arab origin, have been brought along to write in a particularly wonderful language. This language, however, is not ours. And the difference between arab-berber writers and the other Algerian writers is less their political preoccupations than their homesickness for our national language of which we have been deprived like unconsolable orphans.

All we have in common with the European writers who have chosen Algeria for their country, is the future. This is already something.

The indelible mark of Islam distinguishes us from the others, but it should not separate us from them. We have our own ways of thinking, of feeling and for acting. Even when expressing ourselves in french, we carry out the dream, the wrath and the com-

plaint that come out of centuries and centuries of our national history. Let no man tell us that Algeria was never a nation or, what is even worst, that it was until the last few years, according to the surprising opinion of a marxist Maurice Thores "nothing but a nation under formation."

The West, considering itself a model, devastated by its pride and animated by a senile form of conqueror's paternalism, never admitted that there could exist any other forms of states or other national manifestations than its own. The West had even monopolised Humanism.

Vanquished by the force of arms, Algeria was melted as the victor implanted his flag and his national language. There exists, throughout the world sufficient authentic documents to prove the existence, before 1830, of an Algerian State, on the Home as well as the international level. It is up to our jurists to correct the facts, once and for all.

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It is worthy, most of all, to stress that, even when expressing themselves in French, Algerian writers of Arabo-Berber origin TRANSLATE a FUNDAMENTALLY ALGERIAN thought which would have certainly been more eloquently expressed in Arabic.

I could remain fifty years in this Provence which I love and understand, this Provence which inspires number of my books, without necessarily being a provencal poet. The love of Isabelle Eberhart for Algeria is not enough to make her Algerian. I know some wonderful pages written by Maupassant and inspired by Constantine, and that could well constitute a booklet on Algeria, but certainly not in any anthology of Algerian writers.

The litterary nationality is not a judicial formality and is not of the competence of the legislator but only of the historian. Naturalisation provides a statute but does not affect the essence of a personality. The adaptation is only superficial.

Very often, when discussing with authors in France, friends or opponents, I have the strangest feeling our discussion takes place in French, and yet we do not speak the same language. We charge the words with a content and give them a meaning which the French expression does not fully translate.

We manage, though, to make ourselves clear. Words, that constitute our everyday material, are not of the size of our thoughts and even less of our feelings.

There is only an approximative correspondance between our ARAB THOUGHTS and our FRENCH VOCABULARY.

This is the main reason for this desolate merry-go-round that makes ZEROS TURN IN CIRCLE.

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Evidences need no demonstration and words are much more than a simple sign or a mere convention. Otherwise, dictionaries would reflect talent and translators would be men of genius.

We are therefore bound to use the same words and fundamental concepts to express the feelings and ideas that are far from being universal. People do not love and hate the same way in Alaska, China, Chile, Greece, France or Algeria. The fact of being a man is far from serving as common denominator. Resemblances and similitudes do not prevent the existence of a large and indefinite number of tones. The word comes to loose or to find an intensive tone, grows stronger or fades away, is coloured or discoloured, according to the latitudes. Establishing a distinction between civilisations is not hierarchizing them, neither is it a tendency to surrender to the cursed temptation of a dangerous racism in contradiction with human or devine morals. The farmer of Loir-et-Cher has a different logic from that of the fellah in Soummam. I insist on the term "logic". If I believe in identical forms of psychal apparatus or psychological process, I do not believe in this

man who, as soon as they write his name in capitals, becomes a metaphysical entity and escapes, I must admit it, my sympathy.

These different "logics" demand different verbal expression. And it is not because I like terminological acrobatics that I say : We write French, but do not write IN French.

Personally, this homesickness for my national language finds its place in my everyday preferences. I like Aix-en Provence, but I am not Provençal, and what I seek in its quite and fickle streets is above all the memory of the quite and fickle streets of Constantine. In other words, I am, in a way, like a lover whispering "I love you" to a woman, while thinking of the other woman which he will never forget. Whatever I do, I am bound to distort my thought.

I could be told that it is worthless to wail and lament, and more convenient to face facts. Had Albert Memmi given up when he told me: "For us, it is too late. At our age it is impossible to start all over again."

For us, of course, it is too late indeed. For over thirty years now, ever since kindergarten, we write French, we study French, and we express our thoughts through the French language.

The progressive acquisition of the techniques of our business plunges us more and more deeper into this language which constitutes our major medium of communication with the outside world, this business which we have placed at the disposal of that reader who does not read us for the reasons already mentioned.

Then what ?

Since there is a problem, there must be a way to solve it. But let there be no illusions. If we are the explanation of this problem, we are not its solution.

Our avail is indisputable. We will always be like lessons. I think, most of all, that we

are and will remain typical examples of the colonial waste and aberration. We could have even supported the followers of the integration policy, those people who look through a magnifying-glass and see France stretch from Dunkerque to Tamanrasset, should our works have not been deliberately elaborated in a way to affirm our will to be Algerians. For, these followers of integration never denied the regional characteristics and consider Algeria as a French province among many others. Marcel Pagnol writes in French, while Kateb Yacine writes French; Henri Bordeaux writes in French, and Mohammed Dib writes French; Stendhal writes in French, and Ferraoun writes French, etc.

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I am convinced that the Algerian writers who will relieve us, or those who already have, will not face such problems.

The teaching, at last, of Arabic as an official national language, will allow the latter to invade all fields of intellectual activity. French-born Algerians themselves will learn this language which will help bringing them closer together with their compatriots. They will not forget, though, neither will they deny the French language which will continue to occupy, at school and in the city, a place of honour. It is not useless to reaffirm that the French language in Algeria is now an integral part of our national inheritance.

It is bewildering to realise the extremely low number of European-born Algerians who can speak Arabic, and the even lower number of those who can write it, except for some settlers who had to learn the language in the interest of their affairs, some civil service officials and military commands — for the same reason — and a few orientalists. Yet, most of them are in Algeria for generations, and they knew that they had to live with Moslems, side by side. This shows the scope which colonialism gave racism, and the extent to which the gap was large and deep — and it still is — between genuine Algerians and

the others. This clearly indicates that, by principle and facts, a colonial regime does not create links but mere relations on a superiority basis.

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The fate of our generation, the writers as well as the other Algerians, appears to be that of a generation of transition.

With the end of the colonial regime and of its far-reaching consequences, of its remains, will also disappear the nonsenses and paradoxes which we really are. Algeria will then have genuine and highly representative writers. Everyone of them will deal with the problems he is acquainted with, in the language he knows, and most of all in the language of his readers. For over 120 years, the oral tradition had taken the place of the written words and, according to the wonderful formula of Did, "the memory of the people had become Algeria's National Library."

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To-day, the problem number 1 is the teaching of the arabic language and the organisation of its relations with the French language. It is hoped that everything will be settled stage by stage, in a progressive and harmonious way, with a view to repartition of priorities, to the satisfaction of the essential demands and in the respect of all standing values.

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The liberation of the individual will follow national liberation, as a direct consequence of it. Once liberated from the colonial mortgage which distorts all problems and degrades all values, once able to express himself in the language that corresponds the most to his own sensitivity, the writer we are all waiting for will go onward, away from the reef called "absurd" in which we are splashing to-day. His personality's originality will expand in the warm shelter of his language and in the light of his history. In this national past, he will look for the sources of his creative

energy, and in our hard experiences he will see salutary warnings. The greatest favour we can do to a genuine Algerian national literature is to trumpet if not our despair, at least our grief.

We shall forever remain strange thing in the museum of colonialism for generations to come. And even the historian himself, who is not used to being surprised, will remain bothered in front of so much contradiction, nonsense and paradoxes.

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Zeros or no zeros, we all are part of an entity and are agitated by a movement which is enough to prove that we are alive. If the walls are thick — that cage of words referred to by Arabon in "The unfinished novel" — the glass is clear. Horizons are clear and secure. That historical neurosis called colonialism was a nucleus of concern and fear. Every stone, every brick, constitutes a problem for the mason, but it is a problem which he controls, for the house he builds is its solution.

For the edification of the Algerian literary entity, we did not use materials of origin. It would be of bad taste and of bad policy to neglect or to despise these imported materials.

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Very often during the nights of exile — and in exile it is always night — I happen to contemplate in the windows of a library or on the stands of a bookshop, novels written by my companion Algerian authors. Very often I come to talk of them or to be talked about them. Then, I always feel, facing those familiar names and titles, that bewildered emotion which I felt one afternoon in winter when arriving at Barcelonnette in a 20 degrees below zero atmosphere. In the window of a modest looking provincial library, between Christmas fir-trees and a novel by Roger Frison-Roche, I saw "An African Summer" by Mohammed Dib. An unusual presence

indeed!... All that snow, those signs warning tourists that the Aoste pass was blocked, this classical village in the mountain which seemed to come out of some Canadian legend, and "An African Summer"...

Quite unusual too was that letter from Mexico that was addressed to me by an Algerian doctor informing me that he had just bought one of my books.

Poor gazelle!...

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In fact, a writer is always surprised to be read. After the final "O.K." that proceeds printing, comes the great adventure. Your book is read or lendred while its cover turns yellow except for the small white rectangle of the advertizing label at the sad stand of the unsold...

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Here, I must make a terrible confession, a confession that might provoke surprise, but whose confidence, while relieving me, will be able, I think, to enlighten the problem that interests us:

When, during the summer of 1958, I had received an official report signed by general Massu, informing my editor and his agents in Algeria that the stock of my novel "The last impression" had been confiscated and that its circulation had been banned considering the book as "harmful to the re-establishment of order and to the safeguard of the Algerian territory", I was not the least surprised nor shocked. It was quite fair. And the fact that I had, some time ago, received a letter from General De Gaulle telling me how interesting he found my book did not either astonish me. General De Gaulle was then Prime Minister. Later, when he became head of State, he wrote me a second letter to congratulate me and thank me for having sent to him a copy of "I shall offer you a gazelle". He added that "I had the talent to narrate and to excite". This letter did not prevent my being banned, in April 1959, from the Television programme "Reading for all", by order of some Information or Home Secretary, while I was already in the TV studios, rue Cognacq-

Jay. I must admit that I was very surprised for, according to my readers "I shall offer you a gazelle" is much less direct and less "engaged" than "The last impression" which describes the process that leads an Algerian intellectual from political consciousness to the underground. Moreover, in order to justify my surprise — to be more sincere I should say my half surprise — I must say that "I shall offer you a gazelle" was never banned and was even circulated in Algeria.

I am not relating these facts for the pleasure of recalling personal memories. Besides, a writer dealing with issues concerning a community seldom has personal memories when narrating his professional adventures. (May I be forgiven. I am not self-conceited but I think very much of my profession). Let's close the brackets.

As I was saying, when I heard of the confiscation of "The last impression" in Algeria, I felt really relieved. (My dear René Julliard, try to understand me). At last, thanks to this confiscation, I will not be read in my country, not only because of illiteracy, but on account of an order that came directly from the colonialist authority. Illiteracy is one of the consequences and, in the long run, one of the objectives of colonialism. But no official text has ever prescribed it. Each time a book or a newspaper is confiscated in Algeria, this measure is rendered official to lead to the same results. All books, however, before and during this war, all books and newspapers are, in fact, banned in a country where the majority of the population cannot read or write.

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To go back to our problem, that of the Arab language and its thwarted vocation, we shall quote Mohammed Harbi who, in a special issue on Algeria of the "Entretiens" magazine, wrote :

" — From the first day of occupation, the colonialists deprived the Algerian national culture of all its means, first by plundering its sources of revenues then by excluding it

from a budget mainly financed by Algerians. These measures of strangling culture could not be efficient unless the medium of expression disappeared, that is the Arabic language. On October 18, 1892, a law was promulgated placing the teaching of the Arabic language under the control of the French administration, and on March 8, 1938, a decree by minister Chautemps declared Arabic a "foreign language", "foreign to the country it served to unify and to which it gave a soul..."

To acquire a clear idea of the paternalism and machiavelism of the servants of the colonial regime, we shall not quote a general searching for glory, nor shall we quote a settler, fat or thin — the size of microbes being independent from their danger, — we shall not quote the formal man who supports the ideology of the "white, adult and civilised man", nor shall we quote any smart politician. We shall only quote a certain Monsieur Bernard. A man "from among us", not too mean and not too good; not too rich and not too poor, not a general nor a settler or a politician, but a Monsieur Bernard, member of the primary stage education. This education that trumpets the glory of Jules Ferry and ignores the drama of the Tunisian conquest and the part played by that false prophet; this education that repeats, believing in them or not, the empty and wonderful formulae of 1789, this education which, as I said a little while ago, is closely linked to the colonial apparatus. This Monsieur Bernard, head of a teachers training-school, defined the mission of French education as follows :

" — It is not by generosity that the University wants to propagate education in Kabylie but, let us say it loudly, in the interest of France; this sole interest, always present in our minds, has given our teaching its own feature, and our teachers their own methods and ways, and our programmes their present forms. It is important that natives should have the highest and purest idea of our Country; we shall therefore give our pupils, through specially appropriated lessons, good notions on France's grandeur, on her military

force and on her wealth. Our situation would be stronger should the natives think thus : "The French are strong and generous; they are the best masters we could ever have". The native school, in its present form and through its double welfare action, is not only an instrument of moral renovation, but most of all an instrument of authority and a medium of influence; it will make of our subjects useful members to the colony and faithful allies of France."

No comments.

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War is now about to end. Wonderful perspectives appear every day. This Liberation we had called for so much is now at hands. The notion of Algerian homeland has interred the french and international morals the same as it has made the heart of all Algerians beat for 124 years.

Zeros turned around and still are, but this stamping will not have been in vain, for it will show to generations to come what it takes the people to lose their independence and to be thrown to the mercy of ideologies that are strange to them. Imperialist interests have threatened with death a country that was stopped in its way and deviated from the traditional course of its historical vocation.

It is by looking in himself, first at home, in Algeria, that the Algerian writer, free to exercise his profession, living on his national soil, will find again those immortal words which, coupled with the universal symphony, contribute to the progress of any human march.

Armed with an ancestral revived language, he will make the old poets desire come true : To be a strong echo. He will also be perhaps that "chief loud speaker" referred to by Maiakowski. But he will be Algerian, all Algerian, and vigilant to all rumours in the world.

Such is the kind of writer we are waiting for, and our only satisfaction is that we have been the cursed writers of good will of the preface of the great novels full of smiles and certitudes which he will write to revenge us.

ETERNALLY YOUNG, A TEACHER FOREVER

This poem was written in memory of a young man who was murdered in the Escambray Mountains in Cuba for being Negro, for being poor, for being a worker, for being young, for being a teacher. It was written by a poet old in years but young in spirit, who, as we were waiting for the cowardly imperialist aggression, went to trenches and camps to recite his poems to the soldiers of the people.

They killed him at night.

Don't ask the time that was marked on the clock.

All day, it was night.

Each hour, each minute, dark and bitter,

Shadows cast on a well of dread.

They killed him at night.

A flower of hope — and they took him and hanged him.

Men of the world, look towards my island.

This luminous star, this youth hanged in the woods,

Is one of your dead.

He was killed in Algeria,

He was killed in Laos,

He was killed in South

Korea, in Guatemala,

He died. Look well

At this star suspended

From a rope. Look at him well,

He was killed in the Congo,

He was killed in butchered

Spain. Look at him well:

He is one of your dead.

He is your, southern lumber-jacks, miners, fishermen of Chile;

He is yours, farmers, and workers of Argentina.

Yours, you who have been burned by the deep thin mines of Bolivia.

Look at his well: he is one of your dead.

Scar his name in your hearts with fire,

The name of a plain youth; monstrously killed,

In silence, a symbol of tomorrow and glory...

Do not forget, rubberworkers of Colombia,

Enslaved Indians of Peru, remember well.

Oil workers of Venezuela, place his name

So that it towers over the oil fields.

And you, you of the "green hell" of Central America,

With your knives, carve his initials

On each banana stalk.

He was killed by those who are killing you.

He was murdered by the hand which murders

In Algeria, in Laos, in Guatemala,

The hand of the bomb of Hiroshima,

The hand which burned the children alive

In North Korea,

Which ripped pieces of land from Mexico

And robbed Puerto Rico of her flag.

Men of the world, look towards my island.

This luminous star, this youth hanged in the woods,

Is one your dead.

Listen:

"They killed him for being Negro, for being poor,

For being a worker, for being young, for being a teacher."

He was a living blade of the Revolution,

He was a son of the people, a son of work.

He was a volunteer teacher in the high mountains.

Listen well, men of the world:

He was a young volunteer teacher!

They killed him at night.

All day, it was night

A flower of hope — and they took him and hanged him.

MY SISTER AFRICA

Who has heard not of Africa, beautiful, noble
and brave
Of the ebon-skinned virgin held fast in the
chain of a slave,
On the sufferings borne by the victims of
famine and strife,
Torn and tortured, afar from the highways
of life,
Of the ships that put off for the palm-girdled
harbours in quest,
Of live prey, from the shores of the cannibal
West,
Of the fabulous land, of the body as black as
the night
Red with blood at the hands of the villainous
white.
Limb from limb she was rent by the
pale-featured mob;
In the heart of black Africa's jungles they did
their black job.
O my sister, how clearly I pictured you, far
to the South,
With an agonied death-cry distorting your
sensitive mouth,
With the horrified moon shrinking back in the
clouds at the sight.
Of her chain-tied beloved tormented by day
and by night,
Filled with wrath at those murderous deeds,
rolled the Ocean its waves;
O how often it drowned in its depths the
despair of your slaves !
Calling loudly for rescue, appealing to known
and unknown,

From the heart of the burning Sahara came
groan after groan
Pinning under their yoke, longed the Arabs
to slake from the Nile
Their unbearable thirst-thirst for freedom
from all their conquerors vile.
Years and centuries passed-till at last other
days have arrived,
Now are Africa's hopes for delivery being
revived !
Walls are falling that barred her before from
the world,
Soon, aye, soon, from her shoulders the yoke
will be hurled !
For the glorious Spirit of Freedom is well on
its way.
Better known to us all is the Africa of today
For indeed, all the world has now entered
upon a new life.
She arises-our sister, the land where
oppression ran rife ;
Bound for freedom, for freedom she struggles
and raises her voice,
And with her, and for her all the world's
countless nations rejoice.
Cheers for Africa's freedom re-echo through
nations and lands
To New Africa gladly extending in friendship
their hands.

(Translated by
Dorian Rottenberg
from Tajik)

Hassan Abbas Sabry

Repository of Flowers

There was once
Dead without graves
On the right and on the left
Dead without graves.
Every moment that passes of life
Dead without graves
Thus does the grindstone turn

Tearing life grinding man
Its sonorous sounds
Echoing calamities that fill the being
With terror, devastation and forboding
Then does the ballad ascend from broken
hearts
And the flute sheds deep tears

emptiness unheard, unseen-but not unknown,
sits with this merchandised man.

Calloused eyes gleam with awe
a spectred Hiroshima they saw.
Oblivion sprawls unseemly
around the city's rim; sterile ornament—
a mock on this wretched man
flouts reason, love and honour.
Children of our fathers walk not
the path we tread. Lest in sleep
you dream things vile and mean, Go home!
leave us here to talk and drink with men
who fought and died at Weenespruit
when Time and men were indiscreet.

Imprisoned destiny,
in shifting time revealed,
change-changing not-not error
will amend, but potent hour present
incisive of the time; deride not searching mind
with peasant heaviness weighed down.
Never was battle fought twixt spear
and saracen tank — honour is defended
when men on men do feed. Seeking
not to justify, but to see, seeing
perhaps to understand, respond and create
of Africa's being in new semblance seen;

in others bound, we to ours are lost.
Our fury blights the soul. The mind—
parasitic, feeds the will and marks the
"arrogant wake".
Being what we know, knowing not what we
be,

How just is justice true?
Does truth of beauty speak?
Most secret visage-life in Time abounding,
soothe not the heart, quickening not the mind.
Mountains echo hoarse requiescat voices
alleys groan with guttural moaning:
we gasp from thirst eternal
for balm of this hour.
We know the Man. At dusk
the land of Him does speak—
a fine fellow, they say. We agree. Yes, we

agree.
Is he dead? No.) Inject him, we did.
Street sweepers have been here
his place looks clean.

We weep not for sadness, but joy
made sad by clammy hand of colossi
invincible:
Galileo's world made equare in mind
hectagonal

paradise bleached
by anti-cosmic men — a world
iron-clanged in Time immeasurable.
Would that we could
with deictic violence short-circuit
this current of triviality, with David's lyre
touch
the Sauls of today. In aspect pure
our love then would stand,
this woman — all women, this child — all
youths:

loving, guarding and building
before and after their form,
a myriad faces lo! would sparkle
bright with hope — the health and wealth
of youthful clans, gay with song,
choralling love in Zululand.

Alas! we are blind,
either too young or too old
too uncommitted, too long wed to words,
too concerned with meaning to have meaning.
Forlorn, we stand apart,
impotent, we disdain.

Watchman speak
the sun does languish in the East!
"Come sit with me and learn
of fire reduced to ashes.
Come, sit with me and taste
of scalding water on parched tongue:
Come, sit with me and see
night shivering in awe of the on — coming
dawn.

Come, Come sit with me.
The children of our land
charged of me to tell,
I told them I did not know.
They asked me why?
I told them I was not to know.
They asked me what for?
I told them I am not to know.
But this — to all I do tell,
Forward we must move
With Truth of This Day."

Report on the Activities of the Secretariat

December 1961 — January 1962

The Permanent Secretariat issued a statement on November 26, calling on all Afro-Asian peoples and governments to strongly oppose colonialist manoeuvres and support the Indonesian people for the liberation of West Irian through all means.

*

On the occasion of the "Fortnight of struggle against aggressive military bases and pacts", the Secretariat issued a press release hailing the battles of struggle waged by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

*

The Permanent Secretariat in collaboration with the National Union and African Association held a popular rally on December 3, 1961, at the Press Syndicate on the occasion of celebrating "Quit Africa Day", Mr. Fouad Galal, from the National Union, Mr. Youssef El Sebai, Secretary General of the Solidarity Organisation, Indian, Algerian and Iraqi delegates to the Permanent Secretariat spoke and the following resolutions were adopted :

- 1) The meeting launched a warning to the colonialist powers to quit Africa in order not to face the disastrous consequences of their presence in Africa.
- 2) The meeting expressed its total and unconditional support to all freedom fighters of the world and to those in Africa and Asia in particular.
- 3) The meeting hailed all the heroes who fell for the sacred cause of liberty in Africa, Asia and Latin America and proclaimed that these martyrs will live forever as symbols for all struggling peoples.
- 4) The meeting warned all African peoples struggling against neo-colonialism incarnated mostly by imperialism's No. 1 agent : Israel. The meeting appealed to

these peoples to remain vigilant in facing the manoeuvres perpetrated against them under the guise of the so-called Israeli aid.

*

The Permanent Secretariat issued a Press release on December 2, concerning the unconditional evacuation of the emergency forces under the UNO and of all colonialist military forces from the Congo, asserting its conviction that with effective co-operation, the Congolese people will realise final victory.

*

The Permanent Secretariat in its press release, issued on December 3, expressed its denunciation of the aggressive objectives the imperialist states aim for, behind the suggested Federation of Malaysia.

*

In implementation of the resolutions of the Permanent Secretariat and Executive Committee in Gaza concerning preparation for an Afro-Asian Latin American Conference, a delegation formed of the members of the Board of Secretaries and the Executive Committee, headed by Mr. Huong Muoi, Vietnamese representative went to Stockholm to participate in unofficial discussions with the Latin American delegations, in the world Peace Council Session held in Stockholm, December 16-20, 1961.

*

The Permanent Secretariat in a statement issued on December 20, concerning liberation of Goa sent a message of greetings, congratulations and high esteem, to the Indian people, asserting that the victory attained in Goa, was not only a victory attained by the Indian people alone, but also by all Afro-Asian peoples, a victory that was only a prelude to the final and total defeat of Portuguese colonialism and of all forms of colonialism.

*

The Permanent Secretariat, in a statement on December 30, called on all Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples as well as on all freedom and peace-loving people, to double their support for the Indonesian people's struggle for the liberation of West Irian especially calling on the people, dockers and all airport workers in Africa, Asia and Latin America to boycott all colonialist ships and airplanes undertaking transport of all reinforcements or weapons to West Irian.

*

In implementation of the Gaza Committee Session's resolution concerning celebration of Congo Week, January 17-24, 1962, the Permanent Secretariat sent a circular letter to all national committees, asserting its support to the just struggle in which the Congolese people are engaged.

*

The Permanent Secretariat sent as well a circular letter to all national committees concerning internationalization of posts in the Secretariat through the appointment of new staff members from Afro-Asian countries, thus in implementation of the resolutions adopted by the Fifth Executive Committee Session in Gaza. It made known its need for 5 experts: 2 qualified for Economic research, 2 qualified for Publications and 1 qualified for Social research, stipulating high qualification of applicants in the respective fields.

*

On the occasion of the third anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution and the prospective convocation of the O.A.S. meeting which aims at completion of attempting armed aggression on Cuba, the Permanent Secretariat released a statement hailing the national will of the Cuban people and calling on all national committees and popular organisations to mobilize popular masses through all possible means so as to condemn U.S. conspiracies and to defend the Cuban Revolution.

*

The Permanent Secretariat issued a statement on January 8, concerning the British military moves against Iraq, expressing in the name of Afro-Asian peoples, denunciation of these wild attempts, demanding cessation of

these moves and withdrawal of all military troops and equipment which are threatening the security of the Iraqi people, more so that Afro-Asian peoples consider that British colonialism and at their back colonialist states are responsible for the possibility of the outbreak of a third World War.

*

At the popular rally held at the Press Syndicate in Cairo by the Permanent Secretariat in collaboration with the National Union and the African Association, in support of the liberation of West Irian and in condemnation of the British military moves, Mr. Fouad Galal on behalf of the National Union, Mr. Ibrahim Issa, Indonesian delegate to the Secretariat, Dr. Nofal, from Arab League, Mr. Okello, on behalf of the African Association, Mr. Ahmed Zamerline, Algerian delegate to the Secretariat, Mr. Sabri Abu el Magd, Secretary General of the Press Syndicate, spoke. At the end of the rally the following resolutions were adopted concerning provocative moves of the British troops in the Middle East.

The rally :

- 1) Denounces the provocative measures carried out by Britain, and condemns the British military moves which constitute an aggression on the dignity and sovereignty of the people in this area, and which menaces Peace and Security in the Middle East.
- 2) Strongly denounces British flagrant intervention in the affairs of the Arab world as is all too clear from the recent events in Lebanon which have torn off the mask of the brazen aim of the moves of British forces and which clearly proves that colonialism would not stop short of employing any means including the use of arms in an attempt to overthrow the anti-reactionary regimes.
- 3) Warmly congratulates the Lebanese people and government in their success in strangling the British imperialist conspiracy supported by Arab reaction, in its cradle.

- 4) Supports the Arab peoples in their defence by all means of their complete independence, freedom, national sovereignty and insuring their future.

The following resolutions were also adopted concerning West Irian.

The rally :

- 1) Strongly denounces Dutch occupation of West Irian which is an integral part of Indonesia's territory, and condemns the brutal oppression suffered by peoples there.
- 2) Deems that the Indonesian people possess the right of choosing the most effective means to liberate West Irian, and we support mobilisation of the Indonesian people to realise this aim.
- 3) In the case of an armed conflict occurring between Indonesia and the Dutch colonialists, as a result of occupation of West Irian, we will declare our all-out support of the Indonesian people's right to liberate West Irian and condemn the aggressive actions carried out by the Dutch colonialists.
- 4) Calls on all Afro-Asian peoples and all progressive forces in the world to support the Indonesian people's struggle to liberate West Irian and calls on dockers and all airport workers in Africa, Asia and Latin American countries to boycott all ships and colonialist airplanes undertaking transport of reinforcements and weapons to West Irian.
- 5) Unreservedly supports the policy of the Djakarta Government concerning West Irian and condemns the conspiracies being hatched within the U.N. with the aim of placing West Irian under temporary trusteeship of the international organisation, for such an action is an aggression on the sovereignty and dignity of the Indonesian people.

The Permanent Secretariat wired a cable to Dr. Ahmed Soekarno, President of the Indonesian Republic, supporting the liberation of West Irian, denouncing the attempt made on his life and congratulating him upon being saved from this base attempt committed by the agents of colonialism.

*

In implementation of the resolution of the Fifth Executive Committee Session in Gaza concerning acceptance of membership of the National Democratic Congress of Mozambique and the People's Party of Brunei, Mr. Youssef El Sebai sent a letter to these organisations in the name of the Permanent Secretariat, welcoming them among the ranks of the Solidarity Movement members and expressing his hope that the cause of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement would be consolidated through their participation and efforts.

On the occasion of the Conference of Independent African States held in Lagos at the end of January, the Permanent Secretariat issued a press release, calling in the name of Afro-Asian peoples, on all participants in the Conference to unite in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism in Africa, and expressing the hope that the Conference effectively contributes for the liquidation of military bases and withdrawal of all foreign forces from the continent.

*

On the occasion of the O.A.S. meeting, the Permanent Secretariat released a statement on January 20, asserting that any conspiracy hatched in this meeting would be doomed to failure, as well as the fact that any new aggression undertaken by U.S. colonialism against Cuba would meet with a heroic upsurge from the Cuban people standing at combat readiness as well as by sure opposition from the Asian, African and Latin American people, for the defence of the Cuban revolution is greatly important for the freedom and peace-loving peoples the world over.

*

The Permanent Secretariat charged Kamerun delegate now present in Conakry, to attend the African Youth Conference held there, as an observer and to contribute with

all possible means towards the success of the Conference, and released as well a statement on the occasion of convocation of this conference, expressing support of its aims which are the Secretariat's own and conviction that these aims would meet with the unanimous support of the African Youth.

*

On the occasion of the recent events in the Congo, Mr. Youssef El Sebai, in the name of the Permanent Secretariat, sent the following cables :

A cable to Mrs. Lumumba, reiterating condolences on the occasion of the passage of a year over the abominable crime committed, the victim of which was Patrice Lumumba.

A cable to Mr. Adoula, Premier of Leopoldville, declaring the Afro-Asian peoples' condemnation of the brutal measures taken by his government against the nationalists celebrating the first anniversary of the death of Patrice Lumumba and their concern with regards to the fate met by Antoine Gizenga for his devotion and sincerity to Lumumba's memory.

A cable to Mr. Antoine Gizenga, expressing in the name of the Permanent Secretariat deep condemnation of the illegal measures adopted against him and all-out support for his just struggle for the true unity and independence of the Congo.

A cable to Acting Secretary General of the U.N. in New York, expressing, in the name of the Permanent Secretariat, protest at Gizenga's arrest and condemnation of this measure adopted against a fighter whose aim is to unify the Congo, whereas notorious secessionists like Tshombe still enjoyed freedom.

The Permanent Secretariat sent a cable, dated January 25, to all national committees requesting them to support the popular rally to be held on February 4 in Havana, in condemnation of U.S. aggression on Cuba.

The Permanent Secretariat sent as well a cable to the Latin American Peoples' Conference strongly condemning the new attempt of U.S. colonialism to organise armed aggression and collective intervention through the instigation of the participating states in the O.A.S. meeting.

*

The Permanent Secretariat held a popular rally on 30.1.62 in co-operation with the International Committee of Aid to Algeria and the Congo and the African Association in support of the Congo and Cuba. Mr. Modibo Diallo, Mali ambassador, Mr. R. Bulness, charge d'affaires of Cuban embassy in Cairo, Mr. Ahmed Zemerline, Algerian delegate, Mr. Soliman Malek on behalf of the African Association and Mr. Anesit Mbiassi the Congo's delegate, spoke. Speeches of Mr. Kalimullah, Indian secretary and Mr. Kitazawa, Japanese secretary at the Secretariat and text of the cable received by the Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity were distributed.

The following resolutions were adopted concerning the Congo. The rally expresses anxiety over the deterioration of the Congolese problem. While the freedom and peace-loving peoples want to see the Congo free and united under the authority of the Central Government, the imperialists with the USA at the head, accentuate the policy of dividing up the Congolese patriotic forces, specially through the creation, within the Central Government, of artificial contradictions on an individual level.

The United Nations whose role in the Congo consists in safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of the Congo, has shown an inadmissible complacency regarding the imperialist plots and did not undertake any positive action against the Katanga secession and its separatist leader Moise Tshombe. On the contrary, they favoured the inhuman action of the Western mercenaries against the Congolese people and opposed systematically Congolese nationalism and its leader Antoine Gizenga whom they have treacherously de-

lievred to those responsible for the assassination of Patrice Lumumba.

Therefore, in the name of the Afro-Asian peoples, we express our indignation against the attempts of recolonization in the Congo and the complacency of the UNO regarding these attempts.

We demand of the independent States of Africa, Asia and Latin America as well as of all progressive states in the world to exert pressure on the UNO and the Central Government of the Congo so that Antoine Gizenga is liberated and occupies his place by the side of the Congolese people in their just struggle for independence and national unity.

We demand of the Security Council of the UNO to make of the General Secretariat a truly executive organ endowed with all the efficient possibilities, not advocating any neo-colonialist and imperialist influence. In fact, the General Secretariat of the UNO has proven its deficiency in the implementation of the diverse resolutions of the Secretary Council concerning the liquidation of the Katanga secession and expulsion of the Western mercenaries,

We demand of all African and Asian states to demonstrate their solidarity towards the Congolese people, the victim of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Concerning Cuba, the following resolutions were adopted :

1) To condemn the U.S. imperialists who are now attempting to isolate Cuba from

other Latin American countries in preparation of a new armed aggression as clearly shown in the meeting of the Organisation of American States.

- 2) To firmly support the heroic Cuban people who showed us what complete independence is, and who are at the head of the struggle of the Latin American peoples.
- 3) To congratulate the Latin American peoples and countries who are coming out in great numbers in support of the Cuban people.
- 4) To send a heartfelt greeting to the People's General Assembly of Cuba to be held on February 4.
- 5) To appeal to all the Afro-Asian Latin American peoples to come out in support of Cuba.
- 6) We call upon all freedom and peace-loving mankind to render all-round support to the valiant struggle of the Cuban people for the consolidation of their national independence and peace.

At the end of the rally, it was decided to dispatch a cable to the Parliamentary organisations to demand the release of Gizenga.

*

The Permanent Secretariat delegated Mr. Camara Mamady, Guinean Secretary to Addis Ababa to attend the annual meeting of PAFMECA (Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa), to be held from February 2-10, 1962 as an observer.

Calcutta Conference — A Land Mark

(A Report of the First National Conference of the Indian Writers' Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity)

The auditorium of the Mahabodhi Society, situated at the College Square, Calcutta, with its excellent paintings depicting the life and work of Lord Buddha on all its four walls and ceiling recalls to one's mind the historic Buddhist temple — Buddha Vihara at Sarnath. Incidentally, but rightly too, this was the venue selected for the First National Conference of Indian Writers' Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity which was attended by some eighty eminent writers who came from all parts of the country. Speeches, sober in tone but at the same time touching to the heart and appealing to the mind, echoed and re-echoed in this hall on November 4 and 5 last.

The first session of the Conference was presided over by a profound scholar of Persian, Arabic and Urdu and a man closely associated with the literary-cultural movement of our country for the last 35 years — Dr. Abdul Aleem. The Conference began with the recitation of the famous poem of Rabindranath Tagore: "Africa". Then three fraternal delegates, Shri Rusakov of USSR, Shri Ibrahim Issa of Indonesia and Dr. Clovis Maksood, Chief representative of the Arab League in India, read out their messages of greetings.

TASK BEFORE WRITERS

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, General Secretary of the Association, thereafter, took the floor to submit his report. In his profound and scholarly speech Dr. Anand gave the background of the conflict of ideas going on in the world. "A wave of thought", he said "is sweeping over the Afro-Asian countries. India had communicated her heritage to the neighbouring countries not by waging wars but by peaceful means. But the European countries have been attacking country after country in the Afro-Asian continents by violence and war.

The ideas they introduced in the subjugated countries are diametrically opposite to those which they applied at home."

Quoting the basic ideas behind the French Revolution he stated that the French Government was following a policy contrary to the great ideals upheld by the revolution itself, a policy of trampling human values and human dignity.

Recalling the role played by India in creating a sense of confidence among the subjugated people of the world, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand continued: "After the First World War the people of Asia were very much horrified at the bloodshed and violence committed by the Western powers and consequently from 1920 to 1942 our aspiration for freedom found its expression through the Gandhian way of struggle, through peaceful means. With that the feeling that Asia was coming into her own spread. The great peaceful struggle waged by the Indian people inspired the African people to win their own independence."

Giving detailed accounts of the atrocities perpetrated on the subjugated peoples of Africa by the Portuguese and French imperialists, Dr. Anand sounded a note of warning. He said, "this onslaught on mankind could be prevented only by solidarity — a passion for joining together for literature." The struggle to liberate the enslaved people of the world demand passionate solidarity and love for people, he asserted.

Recalling the fraternal co-operation extended by intellectuals abroad to the struggle for freedom waged by the Indian people, Dr. Anand said that "India has, unfortunately, not repaid the debt."

Dr. Anand then referred to the history of the movement for Afro-Asian solidarity. He added : "The First Asian Writers' Conference held in Delhi in the year 1956, left the writers of our country enthused enough. Then came the Tashkent Conference — the First Afro-Asian Writers' Conference held in 1958. It too contributed greatly to strengthening the Afro-Asian spirit created already. The writers who returned from Tashkent visualised that they must meet and act together.

Dr. Anand said that since the Tashkent Conference the Indian writers had had ample opportunities to meet writers from foreign countries and exchange ideas. The movement was spontaneous and it had its own specific purpose. That was true. But, he thought, in order to promote Afro-Asian solidarity three things were needed e.g. (1) Solidarity, (2) translating our own consciousness for developing Afro-Asian solidarity and finally, (3) strong organisation.

THE SCOPE OF ASSOCIATION

Initiating the discussion on the report placed by the General Secretary, Shri Sajjad Zaheer held that it was not correct to say that Indian writers were doing nothing to promote Afro-Asian solidarity. Enough has been written and the Tagore-spirit was being carried forward. But people knew little about what was being written in different regional languages. The writings in various languages in Afro-Asian countries had to be pooled, translated into different Asian and African languages and conveyed to the people of the respective countries. "The delegates to the forthcoming Cairo Conference must not go empty-handed. We must take the "finest flowers" from the works of Indian writers with us and present them to the delegates of other countries", he said. He also pointed out that Indians were very much respected in other countries. The peoples of Africa, who were carrying on the gigantic struggle for their freedom were looking towards India for more support. But that support was not forth-

coming adequately. This situation must be changed, he added.

Referring to the scope and nature of the Indian Writers' Association for Afro-Asian solidarity, Shri Zaheer observed that the Association must not, in any case, be taken as a substitute for Indian writers' organisation whose job was to deal with the problems like the form and the content of literature. "The Association would invite writers of all shades of views, to our platform. The task of the Association is to reflect the changes going on in Afro-Asian countries. One of its aims is to collect all kinds of literature on Afro-Asian problems and thus give impetus to the entire Afro-Asian movement."

Referring to the organisational difficulties he said that it was imperative to make the organisation much more effective than what it was. He opined that at least 1000 to 1500 writers must be enrolled as members. One person from every linguistic group should be specially made responsible for actively helping the central organisation.

Shri Praboth Kumar Sanyal, well-known Bengalee writer and Shri Janaki Ballabh Bhattacharya also spoke on the report appreciating the work done and emphasised the need for further strengthening of the organisation.

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand then wound up the discussion, once again laying stress on the necessity of building up a strong organisation. "Solidarity cannot be achieved only by yearning or writing poems and translating books. For that hard work is necessary."

INDIAN REGIONAL LANGUAGES

The Second Session of the Conference, which started at 10 a.m. on the 5th was presided over by Prof. Venkitaraman, a prominent Tamil writer. Delegates belonging to Gujarati, Urdu, Punjabi, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam languages gave brief reports on the development of their respective

literatures in the post-independence period.

Speaking on Urdu literature, Shri Sajjad Zaheer pointed out that three distinct tendencies were visible in Urdu poetry : first, a decadent tendency pursued by the traditional feudal remnants ; second, a revisionist-experimental tendency pursued by some writers and third, progressive tendency pursued by writers like Makdoom Mohiuddin.

Speaking about Punjabi literature, Shri Jagjit Anand observed that because of the functioning of a well organised writers' organisation in Punjab the topranking Punjabi writers were progressive. But, he said, unhealthy tendencies were not negligible.

Shri Pragji Dossa, a Gujrati play-wright, recalled the outstanding services rendered by Sarvashri Ramalal Desai, Prabubulal Dwivedi (play-wright) and Umasankar Joshi (poet).

Shri Rammohan Rao, a novelist from Vijayawada, stated that new themes and techniques had been adopted by many Telugu writers and Telugu literature was progressing.

Speaking in Tamil, Shri P. Jeevanandam said that Tamil progressive writers were carrying on an effective struggle against unhealthy tendencies in Tamil literature.

Shri M.M. Joshi, who belongs to North India but is domiciled in Mysore, gave an account of the Kannada writers' activities.

Shri Lakshman Shastri, speaking for Malayalam described the social background in which Malayalam literature had developed during the last few decades and the close relation of a section of writers with the masses; the Writers' Co-operative Society, etc.

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand while commenting on the reports drew the attention of the audience particularly towards the report made on Urdu and Malayalam and said that there was tremendous vitality in the regional languages and literatures. He appealed to the writers to form co-operative societies on the lines functioning in Kerala. He stated that if the writers of different regions made some efforts in that direction, Government was sure to come forward with aid.

Referring to the task which confronted the writers, Dr. Anand said that it was their job to stir the feelings of human life. "Values of literature are the values of living man," he said. Citing the illustrations of the great urge in Tagore that moved him to do big things, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand said that under the existing circumstances effective action on the part of writers was imperative to prevent the gross violation of human values and decencies in many Afro-Asian countries which were groaning under the yoke of imperialism. Referring to the situation at home Dr. Anand observed, "A million copies of Tagore's works are needed to bring about a new renaissance in our own country."

CONCLUDING SESSION

At the third session of the Conference, which was started at 4 p.m. under the presidency of Dr. Abdul Aleem, Shri S.S. Chauhan, Secretary of the Association, moved the amended Draft Constitution clause by clause and after discussion they were adopted unanimously. The Conference also adopted a resolution on the late Nirala and another on Angola, and on Goa.

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, then read out the Declaration of the Conference which was unanimously adopted. The Conference then elected new Office bearers and a representative National Council for the next two year. In his concluding speech, which was marked for its eloquence and erudition, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand once again recalled the great potentiality of India to do great things and appealed to the writers to throw their full weight on the side of the still suffering millions in Africa and Asia.

As a part of the Conference a seminar on National Integration was also organised in the evening of October 5. In the function, presided over by Shri Pragji Dossa, Dr. Panchanan Mukherji and Shri K.C. Sonrexa read out Papers on the subject. Similarly in the seminar on Tagore held day before a number of writers including Shri Kalidas Nag spoke on life and work of Poet Tagore.

Writers, Unite and Uphold the Human Dignity !

(Declaration of the First National Conference of the Indian Writers' Association
for Afro-Asian Solidarity)

Indian writers have always stood in the vanguard of our people's struggle for freedom. Under imperialist rule our culture was deliberately distorted and discouraged, the national aspirations of the people were brutally suppressed, and patriotic Indian writers were denied the freedom to raise their voice in support of the national struggle and against colonial tyranny. Undeterred by handicaps and restrictions, Indian writers took their stand with the people in their struggle for independence from which they drew inspiration and to which they imparted greater depth and wider perspective through literary portrayals of the real life conditions of the people and their new awakening. Thus, in defiance of imperialism and with closest association with the movement for freedom, modern Indian literature in our various languages grew up into a living force for India's re-awakening.

Though India has attained freedom, the fight for social and economic justice and equality, for full application of democracy and for our people is still continuing. We are also aware that imperialism has not changed its character and is trying to regain its hold on our political, economic and cultural life by encouraging forces of reaction and disharmony and is thus undermining our freedom. In order to lead our writers, artists and intellectuals away from the great patriotic tradition and to disrupt their ranks, imperialism is spreading despair and confusion by promoting these insidious as well as overt propaganda. Imperialist incursions constitute a real danger to the healthy growth of our national culture. Indian writers cannot remain indifferent to it.

The Writers of the newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa, who are engaged in

consolidating their freedom by rebuilding their economic, social and cultural life are also faced with similar problems as ours. They are valiantly fighting against all vestiges of colonial rule, which hamper the growth of their national literatures. They are also struggling against the new cultural aggression by imperialism. On the other hand, writers and intellectuals of these Afro-Asian countries, which are still under colonial rule — writers of Algeria, Angola, South Africa, Goa and other countries — are engaged in a life and death struggle along with their people against colonial oppression and racial tyranny, for freedom and for the preservation of their national cultures, which have been destroyed and desecrated by their oppressors.

At the conferences of Asian and African writers held at Delhi, Tashkent, and Tokyo, we gained, for the first time, a true insight into the agonising situation faced by the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia, and it was brought home to all of us that, as long as they were forced to live under colonial rule, they could not develop their national cultures.

It is, therefore, quite obvious that peoples of all countries of Asia and Africa, the newly independent countries as well as those which are still under colonial rule, are faced with a common danger and common problems. It was this realisation which impelled patriotic Indian writers to take the initiative in 1956, to call for the first time in history a Conference of Asian Writers in Delhi. Similarly it was the awareness of common problems and common destiny that impelled writers from newly awakened Africa and Asia to gather in Tashkent in 1958 to revive their ancient cultural contacts, which had been arbitrarily snapped

during the last two or three centuries of western imperialist rule, to acquaint each other with the development of their national literatures in the overall context of their struggles for national liberation and to devise ways and means to unfold an uninterrupted process of cultural exchange between them, in order to enrich each other's cultures as well as to help the evolution of a world literature in which the great contribution of the Afro-Asian genius is no longer denied its due place.

We, the Indian writers, wholeheartedly welcome the great upsurge for solidarity, which is sweeping across Asia and Africa, and which is lending courage and sustenance to the freedom fighters in various lands. It is this great awareness of our common destiny, that has forced imperialism and colonialism to retreat and suffer defeat after defeat. It is our united struggle that is responsible, to a great extent, in staying the hand of imperialism for unleashing another world war.

As against the concept of despair and disintegration of values, the spirit of resurgent Asia and Africa, as expressed by the movements of their peoples and writers put forward the concept of togetherness, solidarity, friendship and new afflorescence of moral values and human dignity. As against the concept of disengagement of the writer, the patriotic writers of Asia and Africa have proclaimed the concept of voluntary dedication to the cause of peoples' freedom from colonial rule and economic exploitation. We are convinced that the freedom of Afro-Asian writers can be realised only in association with the general struggle of their peoples against imperialism and colonialism and against social and economic backwardness and for a scientific advance in all spheres of life. Not through denial of social responsibility, but through confirmation of human values and

engagement, can the Afro-Asian writers lead their peoples towards freedom and well-being and realise their own freedom. It is the inalienable right of every writer and artist to serve his people through his creative work and no amount of imperialist propaganda can persuade Afro-Asian writers to relinquish or evade this right.

Creative workers today all over the world, in common with other sections of the peoples, are deeply concerned at the growing deterioration in international relations, at the building up of armament stockpile, the invention and testing of more and more powerful nuclear weapons, at the threats and open call for aggression and for changes of frontiers. It is for this reason that the Indian writers dedicate themselves equally to the task of implementing of the principles of peaceful co-existence and to bring about an agreement for complete, universal and controlled disarmament.

Therefore, while the Indian writers have to fight for social justice, by reflecting in their works the realities of our people's life and aspirations, we have also to fight against the forces of war, imperialist penetration and interference in the field of culture, by forging the unity of all the patriotic Indian writers. We have to strengthen the bonds of our solidarity with the writers of all the Afro-Asian countries, through frequent meetings and cultural exchange, through translations of their works into the respective languages of each country.

To realise these noble aims, this First National Conference of Indian Writers for Afro-Asian Solidarity calls upon all Indian writers to unite under its banner for harmony among our resurgent peoples and for everlasting friendship.

Algeria And Congo Committee

During the Gaza Session of the Executive of the Afro-Asian Solidarity organisation, the International Committee for Aid to Algeria and Congo organised its plenary session. It organised a special meeting on December 10, 1961, to receive fraternal delegates from Red Cross Organisation of Hungary, German Democratic Republic Committee for Solidarity with African Peoples and Czechoslovak Society for International Relations, and discussed with them further co-operation. We have great pleasure in giving below some extracts from their reports of activities.

HUNGARIAN RED CROSS

Hungarian Popular organizations are deeply interested in the idea of international Solidarity and fraternal assistance and they are mainly ready to help the African Peoples struggling in difficult conditions and exposing their lives.

It is for these reasons that the cruelties perpetrated by colonialists in Algeria and the Congo have aroused a deep indignation in our country, and these feelings were expressed by the numerous cables and messages of support protesting against the criminal actions perpetrated against the Algerian and Congolese Peoples.

I take this opportunity to inform you about the steps undertaken in this effect during these last years. 1958 — at the end of the year, several parcels of medical aid — scap, foodstuff, bandages as well as textile products for a value exceeding half a million of florins were sent by the Hungarian Red Cross, the National Council of Hungarian Trade-Unions and the National Council of Hungarian Women, to the Algerian residents in U.A.R., Tunisia and Morocco.

1959 — in spring time; with the participation of all popular organizations a Solidarity Committee was formed in Hungaria in order to help the Algerian Refugees. This Committee launched a campaign for collecting donations. The donations campaign was very successful and all the fractions of the Hungarian people expressed their Solidarity with

the Algerian Refugees who are struggling against colonial oppression and for independence.

Following this campaign, we have sent parcels as assistance to the Algerian Refugees for the value of 1,800,000 florins through the Algerian Red Cross in Tunis. This parcels included: medicines, textile products, blankets, foodstuff, soap, and condensed milk.

The Youth Section of the Hungarian Red Cross also launched a campaign to the Hungarian Youth. Our Youth contributed to this movement and sent 400 parcels of Hygienic articles and used clothes.

In connection with the action of the Solidarity Committee, we were able to assume the medical care of wounded Algerian fighters. Up to now, 18 of them specially T.B. cases recovered and returned to Tunisia and Morocco.

In order to bring those sick fighters in Hungary we had to send two Hungarian planes on October 1959 to Tunis. We have also transported to Bulgaria 23 sick Algerians.

It would be appropriate to mention here that according to an agreement concluded between the National Council of Hungarian Trade-Unions and the General Syndicate of Algerian Workers (UGTA): 30 Algerians were technically trained in Budapest in one year time, in order to contribute surmounting difficulties.

G.D.R. COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH AFRICAN PEOPLES

Considering the development potential of the national liberation struggle in Africa, our Committee has deemed Algeria and the Congo to be the prime focus of its task for Solidarity work. Democratic organisations in the G.D.R., represented in the Committee aware of this reality, organised aid in a large frame. In the past three years the Union of free and semi-free German Syndicates, the Democratic Union of German Women, and the German Red Cross Society, undertook collection of contributions from houses, organisations and schools, and managed to gather donations for Algeria alone, exceeding greatly the amount of 4 million marks.

All classes in the population participated in the work for Solidarity with the Algerian and Congolese peoples. For example students in training at the nationalised ready-made clothes factory in Lezbig — worked 3000 hours free, and produced toys and clothes worth 8000 marks specialised for 170 Algerian childrens. One owner from Berlin offered 600 marks from her saving for the Congolese people, the seventh form the Secondary Lambersold school in Groshein region, directed an appeal to a thousand forms in the Dresden and Cotbous regions, calling on them to collect school materials for the Congolese and Algerian Children. Every form had to give in 100 copy books, 10 lead pencils and other materials. This appeal started of great activity among the students, and the response was so great that the results 5 times exceeded what was estimated.

Thousands of rallies were held by organisations, women syndicates and youth organisations as well as by all democratic parties in support of the Algerian and Congolese peoples struggle. The murder of the national Congolese hero, Patrice Lumumba, roused the workers of our Republic who directed many protests to the United Nations. Strong protests were made in the course of many popular rallies against the colonialist brutal terrorism

in Algeria. In the course of discussions and in publications issued, the mask was torn off the West German militarists and imperialists who support the Belgian and French Colonialists, and their hateful role condemned.

Our Committee in collaboration with the German Red Cross, prepared medical materials and medicine worth more than 265,000 marks, and two groups of doctors — the first including 6 persons and the second 3 — stayed each 3 months in the Congo.

On last March 8, our Committee sent to Alexandria, the boat "Cape Arkona", of the G.D.R. carrying supplies to the Congo worth half a million marks, these surplus include 200 tons of sugar, 100 tons of salt, 12,000 soap pieces, 1200 blankets, 2000 fans of rubber shoes, medicine and medical materials.

All this work of solidarity and aid measures carried out by organisations and societies in the G.D.R. is an expression of solidarity which binds our people and African people fighting for the cause of freedom.

Your appeal addressed to the peoples of the world encouraged us and urged us not to slaken in the work we undertake, thus we sent September last to Casablanca medicine, medical materials, materials and sewing machines, motorcycles and shoes worth 260,000 marks, especially for the Algerian People. Beginning of next month, our Committee will rjeceive 15 wounded Algerians, a doctor and 5 Algerian nurses— whom we will treat at our Beauty Clinic. Next month we will also be sending another boat carrying the necessary materials for the establishment of an Algerian hospital and a medical laboratory, motorcycles and other important products. On the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the beginning of the Algerian Revolution we will hold a big rally in Karl Marx Square to express our solidarity support with the Algerian fighters for Algeria Freedom.

In order to expand the Solidarity movement, the G.D.R. Committee for Solidarity

with Afro-Asian Peoples, took films pictured in Tunis and Morocco by the G.D.R. Cinema Corporation and T.V. These films have as well been sent to Africa with a translation or commentary in the 3 languages Arabic, English, and French. These films are "Escape from Hell", "Don't cry Ahmed", documentary film "Patrice Lumumba" was also sent to Cairo with an Arabic, English and French Translation.

CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIETY FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May we use this opportunity to inform you in brief at least on some forms of our aid extended to the people of Algeria and Congo. We sent 700 tons of foodstuffs, medicaments and clothing to the fighting people of Algeria; these goods were delivered by a specially chartered Czechoslovak ship to Tunisia. The seriously wounded Algerian combattants were granted all-sided medical treatment in Czechoslovak hospitals and sanatoriums many doctors gave their medical assistance to the wounded in Africa. The orphans descending from killed heroes are invited to stay in our country for a long term in holiday camps for children where highly qualified pedagogues are doing their best to make the stay of these innocent victims of colonialism as agreeable as possible in order to allow them to forget the horrors they have been through.

At the time of the imperialist plot against legal Government of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, plot the purpose of which was complete starvation of Congo, aid was furnished to the people of Congo amounting to 300,000

U.S. dollars in form of medicaments, food and clothing. Two groups of prominent Czechoslovak medical specialists were helping to overcome the health problems of Congo, one during 4 months and the other during 3 months. The students of both countries, Algeria and Congo, were granted fellowships for studies in Czechoslovak high schools and universities.

Beside help to Algeria and Congo the Czechoslovak organisations and institutions extended large aid to other countries of Africa on the occasion of such events as were the natural catastrophes in Lagos, Nigeria and others.

A very important action which had a nation wide response was the "Friendship Week of the African and Czechoslovak People" which was organised by our Society during June 1st. In all regions of our country mass meetings, forums, discussions and exhibitions on the life of the African peoples were organized accompanied by lectures etc. During the Week about 100 delegates from African countries among them also delegates from Algeria and Congo had the opportunity to inform our public about the contemporary problems of the development in Africa, to point out activities of your Committee and to explain the needs of the national liberation movement. The Friendship week became an important turning — point in the development of friendly relations among the peoples of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Africa as a result of which the solidarity movement will grow still further.

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