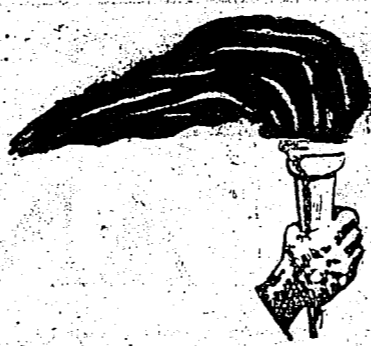


# THE SPARK



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## EDITORIAL

### DROP THE O.A.S. NONSENSE

RIGHT through the Addis Ababa Summit and the Dakar Conference of Foreign Ministers, agents of the United States government have been selling the idea that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) should be based on the formula of the Organisation of American States (OAS) which is described as an organisation of "twenty sardines over-awed by one big shark."

Perhaps in the case of Africa, the U.S. wants to manipulate the organisation through its puppets in Africa.

We learn from the history of the Americas that in 1823 when the United States formulated the Monroe doctrine, it was aimed at keeping out those European powers which at the time when Spanish colonialism was on its last legs were greedily looking to gobble up the newly-formed but still very weak republics of Latin America.

The Monroe Doctrine was based on two principles: First, that foreign powers should not intervene in Latin America, and second, that the U.S. should intervene there as its interests demanded.

Because of Britain's interests in North America, the U.S. kept out Canada.

The Pan-American Union, formed in 1889 purporting to be more like a genuine democratic alliance of states, revealed that its aim was to keep control of Latin America's trade in U.S. hands.

In 1948, the Pan-American Union became the Organisation of American States (O.A.S.). With the strengthening of U.S. imperialism during the Second World War, and its increased hold on Latin-American economies, the OAS became the basis for counter-revolutionary offensive in Latin-America. Reactionaries like Perez Jimenez in Venezuela, Batista in Cuba and Trujillo in Santo Domingo were openly supported by the United States.

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# THREE-CORNERED FIGHT IN DAKAR

by the Editor

IMMEDIATELY after the Addis Ababa Summit, the semi-official French newspaper, 'Le Monde', in concluding a feature article on the African Charter, advised that we should wait till the Dakar Conference of African Foreign Ministers had ended to see in what direction—anti-imperialist or anti-African revolution—the African Charter would be used.

A columnist in THE SPARK warned that "Most certainly the policy-makers in Paris hoped to complete some behind-the-scene manoeuvres with some African governments before the Dakar Conference takes place...."

In the light of this, African states must make a re-appraisal of their connections with the imperialist powers. They must see to it that their policies and actions from now on are not influenced or teleguided by the imperialist powers."

The Dakar Conference of Foreign Ministers is over. We came to know where we are and whither we are heading so we could better know what to do and how to do it.

If the history of the African revolution is going to be set down with that accuracy and faithfulness of detail which will allow its use as a measuring rod and guide-post for the future of Africa, the truth must be told. And shall we not best guide humanity by telling the truth? It will help us discover ourselves. It will sharpen our vision. It will clear away the fog so we can face the world we share with all humanity.

Right from the word "go" the Conference struck a discordant note. Under the strain of multiple problems, the victorious Addis

Ababa, all regional groupings should be dissolved immediately. The Charter should be the sole valid basis for the creation of any regional co-operative organisation and the aim of any such organisation should be the co-ordination of specific economic, social and cultural activities of the states concerned. Statutes of any regional co-operative organisation should be submitted in advance for the approval of the OAU before coming into force. In short, the question was posed: Should the U.A.M. and other groupings of its kind exist in Africa after the Addis Ababa Charter?

### FOUR GROUPINGS

The obvious deduction from the wording of the message was that from the beginning of the conference the French Government had to break down Africa under four headings—French-Orientated Africa, Western Orientated Africa, Eastern Orientated Africa and Fiercely Independent Africa. The telex message instructed Lucas to work along the four lines.

It is very significant to note that to France, her interests in Africa are different from those of the West.

Those who chose to look beneath the surface saw a three-cornered fight at Dakar: French interests represented by the U.A.M., American interests represented by those who, through very subtle ways, advocated the OAS type of African unity and radical African nationalism represented by those who took the stand that Africa should follow her own independent line of evolution.

### THREE TASKS OF THE CONFERENCE

The 92 delegates and 27 conference officials (19 of them French), crammed in a small conference Hall of the Ministry of Foreign Af-

fairs, Dakar, were faced with three main tasks:—

1. Should a permanent headquarters and a secretary-general be selected for the approval of the heads of state?
2. In the spirit of Addis Ababa, all regional groupings should be dissolved immediately. The Charter should be the sole valid basis for the creation of any regional co-operative organisation and the aim of any such organisation should be the co-ordination of specific economic, social and cultural activities of the states concerned. Statutes of any regional co-operative organisation should be submitted in advance for the approval of the OAU before coming into force. In short, the question was posed: Should the U.A.M. and other groupings of its kind exist in Africa after the Addis Ababa Charter?
3. In the determination of the leaders of Africa to achieve as quickly as possible the aspirations of the people of Africa for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences, should the Council of Ministers instruct the Provisional Secretariat to work out, as a matter of urgency, for the consideration of the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, a machinery for a more effective central direction in order to give full meaning to the burning desire of achieving one organic and dynamic unity, composed of vigorous sovereign states, working harmoniously within the framework of the Addis Ababa Charter?

These questions confronted the Council of Foreign Ministers for 7 days.

On the first one it was apparent that Senegal and Ethiopia were interested in getting the headquarters.

Congo (Leopoldville) which originally rejected the offer, joined them later. "There must be a criterion for citing the headquarters!" Nigeria's Jaja Wachuku de-asserted. Ghana's Kojo Botsio continued: "The headquarters must always be a symbol of the stability and dynamism of the OAU and a constant source of its inspiration. Its location must be most carefully considered. This conference therefore, cannot, in fairness to ourselves, consider it. There are relevant facts needed for examination, and they are not available right now."

The fourteen U.A.M. voices strengthened by those of Guinea and Ethiopia insisted on choosing a headquarters.

### NATO MILITARY BASES IN SENEGAL

Should Senegal be considered as the headquarters of an anti-imperialist organisation? To any casual visitor to Senegal the answer stirs in his face. The NATO maintains military bases in Thies and Dakar—Cape Verde.

General Coligny, a French, maintains a powerful contingent of Air and Naval forces in Senegal.

Whether we like it or not, most French habits, tastes and institutions have been eventually imported into Senegal. Thus the frightening processes evolved and applied by French politicians are having an increasing effect upon their victims in Senegal. One must be frightened about the behaviour where by some Senegalese strive to line up to the French in order to maintain and improve their status. It is uncomfortably easy to see the growth in Senegal of the esthete aristocratic snobishness of France. It is an undeniable fact that Dakar demonstrates the effect of "collective colonialism" on an emerging nation—and shows that the winning of political independence does not mean that imperialism is dead.

On the third day of the Conference, Senegal was eliminated. Ethiopia stood alone. A Guinean was put up for the Secretary-Generalship. The decision was dropped because it was later discovered that it did not fall within the rights of the Council of Ministers to consider the vital issue. The issue has been deferred to the Heads of State meeting next year.

### REGIONAL GROUPINGS

The question of regional groupings brought hectic discussions inside and outside the conference.

Just before discussion on a Guinean resolution on the subject, President Dacko issued a statement from Bangui warning that only members of the U.A.M. could ask for its dissolution. Mr. Apedo Amah, Togo Foreign Minister, whose country joined the U.A.M. after the Addis Ababa Summit, issued a statement to the pro-French newspaper, *Dakar-Matin*, that the U.A.M. should exist side by side with the OAU. The semi-official French newspaper, *Le Monde*, jumped to the scene: "President Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana, President Sekou Toure's Guinea and Nigeria are enemies of the U.A.M. the Arab states, especially Egypt and Algeria are opponents of the U.A.M. in varying degrees. It is only natural that all these states should gang up against the U.A.M. because its cohesion has grown from strength to strength during the last two years, while the Casablanca Group tended to disintegrate."

The pro-French Catholic *Afrique Nouvelle*, published in Dakar, said "there is nothing in the O.A.U. Charter against the plan for setting up regional groupings."

### NEW FORMULA?

Upper Volta deflected from the U.A.M. and supported the move but asked that the word "immediately" in the text should be deleted. Mali and Nigeria spoke in favour of dissolution. In supporting the spirit of the Guinean resolution, Ghana's Kojo Botsio said there should be no linguistic and political groupings. Ghana observed that "the existing groupings have served their purpose, by giving exercise in unity, and should dissolve in favour of O.A.U."

"The exercise in unity given by existing groups are all half-way measures and it would be better if we match forward to the complete thing—of all Africa."

The question of regional groupings appeared to be of the most throbbing importance at Dakar.

President Leopold Senghor who opened the Conference in a hurry because he was going to France on holidays, harped on the subject in his opening address. He said he was going to peddle a form of geographical groupings as from January next year. The pro-French Senegalese Government journal, *Unité Africain*, reported two days before the opening of the conference that

## IN THIS ISSUE

Realities in Angola's Struggle

by Julius Sago

West Germany and Apartheid

The Fallacy of White Supremacy

by Obotian Awuku

Black Orpheus

"President Senghor has got a new formula. He proposes to reorganise West Africa into geographical groups—River Senegal Union embracing Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal, and Benin Union embracing Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, Nigeria and Camerouns and a third group could embrace all the rest." Observers believe that the President hopes to propose the formula at the January 1964 conference of the U.A.M. which will be held in Dakar.

Mr. Leopold Senghor's formula appears to be in line with General de Gaulle's move to break-up Africa into Micro-Unions.

The issue came up at the recent Dahomey conference of the U.A.M. *Afrique Nouvelle* reports that at the conference "it was clear that it had become necessary to study a perfect structural pattern for Africa, taking no account



M. Thiam, Senegal's Minister responsible for Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Conference.

of the 'moderate' or the 'sages', as they have been called."

The Senegalese President's view falls in line with the Dahomey line which emerged after the U.A.M. conference.

Continued on Page 8.



M. Mungo Slim, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

NOTICE  
AUG 19 1963  
AFRICANA

# FACING REALITIES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR ANGOLA'S FREEDOM

by  
**Julius Sago**

THE photographs published on this page are of a brand of cork-tipped cigarettes sold openly in the shops of Conakry, Guinea. The whole episode raises one major question: How realistic are we in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Africa?

The "Avenida" cigarettes, sold openly in Conakry, are manufactured in Luanda, capital of Angola, out of tobacco grown by Portuguese colonialist settlers using African slave labour. (Angola exported 1,768 metric tons of tobacco in 1960). To dispel all doubts about this, the cigarette package carries the inscription "EMPRESSO DOS TABACOS DE ANGOLA". The cork tips are proudly announced as of American origin—"CIGARROS TIPO AMERICANO".

## MEASURES AGAINST PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA

At the Addis Ababa conference last May President Sekou Toure joined in a vehement condemnation of Portuguese colonialism. In an all-out denunciation of Portuguese colonialism, the Addis Ababa resolution contains the following significant points:—

boycott of the foreign trade of Portugal and South Africa by

- (a) prohibiting the import of goods from these two countries;
- (b) closing African ports and airports to their ships and planes;
- (c) forbidding the planes of these two countries to overfly the territories of all African states."

"Demands the breaking off of diplomatic and consular relations between all African states and the governments of Portugal and South Africa so long as they persist in their present attitudes towards decolonisation.

The Addis Ababa Conference was right in deciding that the foreign trade of Portugal must be disrupted. For this is a major source for financing poor Portugal's oppressive regimes in Africa. Therefore

position next door to Angola, unilaterally recognised Holden Roberto's Provisional Government in exile. This was done at a time when U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, for African Affairs, G. Mennen Williams, was last in the Congo Republic and on the eve of the first meeting of the Dar-es-Salaam Committee.

The Dar-es-Salaam Committee was pressured into accepting Holden Roberto's government in exile and all other freedom fighters in Angola were asked to serve under it. The Angolan Po-

openly displayed on the counters of Conakry shops?

The cigarette incident, like the presence of Portuguese and South African goods in Dakar shops, proves one or other of two things. Either that we are not serious in our condemnation of Portuguese colonialism. Or that we have failed to approach the problem of fighting it realisti-

cally. The strategy of negotiated self-government which uses the U.S.A., Portugal's partner both in trade and in NATO, as the mediator will inevitably end in failure. Independence will either not come or, when it comes, will lack any real substance.

The architects of the strategy of negotiated self-government in Angola must

be told that their approach to the problem will at best lead to neo-colonialism in Angola. Furthermore, it will help Verwoerd's apartheid regime to exist for a much longer time than should be the case because Angola is a "front door" to South Africa.

There is need for a reappraisal of our present strategy for winning independence for downtrodden Angola, where out of a possible school population of over one million, only 115,000 children are attending school of all sorts; and where there are only two teacher training institutions though there are as many as eight ecclesiastical colleges.

Indeed, there is need for sincerity, for realism and for a thorough understanding of the forces at work on the part of all African states committed to fighting Portuguese colonialism.

those countries that have trade links with Angola must be seen as contributors to the success of dictator Salazar's policies.

Angola's foreign trade pattern has shown no major change since 1960 when last official figures are available. The position is borne out by the following table:

ANGOLAN FOREIGN TRADE  
(in escudos; 80.20 escudos=£1)

COUNTRY	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
Portugal and Portuguese territories	1,804,818,000	1,013,809,000
Congo (Leopoldville)	21,348,000	64,496,000
European Common Market Countries	700,628,000	946,995,000
South Africa	55,307,000	15,670,000
U. K.	390,636,000	535,739,000
U. S. A.	346,133,000	674,406,000

In terms of percentages, Angola's foreign trade reveals the following pattern:—

COUNTRY	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
Portugal and Portuguese territories	50 per cent	30 per cent
European Common Market Countries	25 per cent	30 per cent
Congo (Brazzaville)	1 per cent	1½ per cent
South Africa	2 per cent	½ per cent
U. K.	11 per cent	18 per cent
U. S. A.	10 per cent	20 per cent

This trade pattern, taken together with the appearance of Portuguese cigarettes in Conakry shops and many more Portuguese goods and citizens in Dakar, throws some light on some significant developments in the struggle for Angola's freedom. Firstly, the U.S.A. has now assumed the role of negotiator between the liberation movement in Angola and Portugal. It is clear that because of her trade with Angola and Portugal's membership of NATO, the U.S.A. must seek a solution that will leave Portugal's economy unimpaired. And such a solution is neo-colonialism, that is self-government which leaves economic control in hands of Portugal and her imperialist allies.

Secondly, and in order to enable the strategy of negotiated independence to succeed, the radical wing of the Angolan liberation movement must be broken. Congo (Leopoldville), exploiting her geographical

## PORTUGUESE CIGARETTES IN GUINEA

Did the cigarettes get to Guinea legally or were they smuggled? If it is the former, then we must conclude that the Guinea Government engages in trade directly or indirectly with Portugal and her colonial territories. If it is the latter, then we must ask why the cigarettes are

## HOLDEN'S GOVERNMENT

Secondly, and in order to enable the strategy of negotiated independence to succeed, the radical wing of the Angolan liberation movement must be broken. Congo (Leopoldville), exploiting her geographical

## NKRUMAISM

WE published in Nos. 27, 28, 29, 31 and 32 issues of the SPARK, series on the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah.

We believe we have embraced every aspect of the teachings of Kwame Nkrumah as far as the African revolution is concerned. We intend publishing the series into a pamphlet in order to stimulate discussion on what, to our mind, is Nkrumaism.

We appeal to our readers and all who are interested in the subject to send their views to us. The pages of "The Spark" are open to all contributors on this subject.

—EDITOR.

## Letter to The Editor

# On Peace

I HAVE read attentively the article in your newspaper which is called "Africa and the Moscow Treaty".

It must be said that indeed amazing are the views of its author (it was signed X-ray) who in contradiction with majority of the public opinion of the world makes an attempt to treat with disdain the efforts of the advocates of peace and their achievements and thus to disorientate the people and sow disbelief in their ability to prevent the war. How can the people be inspired by such concept of hopelessness.

Apparently the author cannot but feel how unpopular is the negative position on problems of strengthening of peace. That is why he is trying to pretend to advocate peace but at the same time he is trying to prove that the Treaty is nothing and that "we are back to precisely where we were before the Moscow Treaty".

Of course, a treaty banning nuclear tests, even if it extended to underground tests, is only a partial measure, only a step in the direction of disarmament, providing more favourable conditions for it.

The main question which can arise in this connection is: does it facilitate or impede the solution of the main task of the mankind, the task of disarmament. One can feel that this Treaty has a significance of principle from the view point of continuing the search for ways to settle the outstanding issues that divide the world. It means that a practical step was taken and good beginning was made in settling international problems in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

And more than that it puts an end to radioactive pollution of the atmosphere and water. What is the opinion of the author about that?

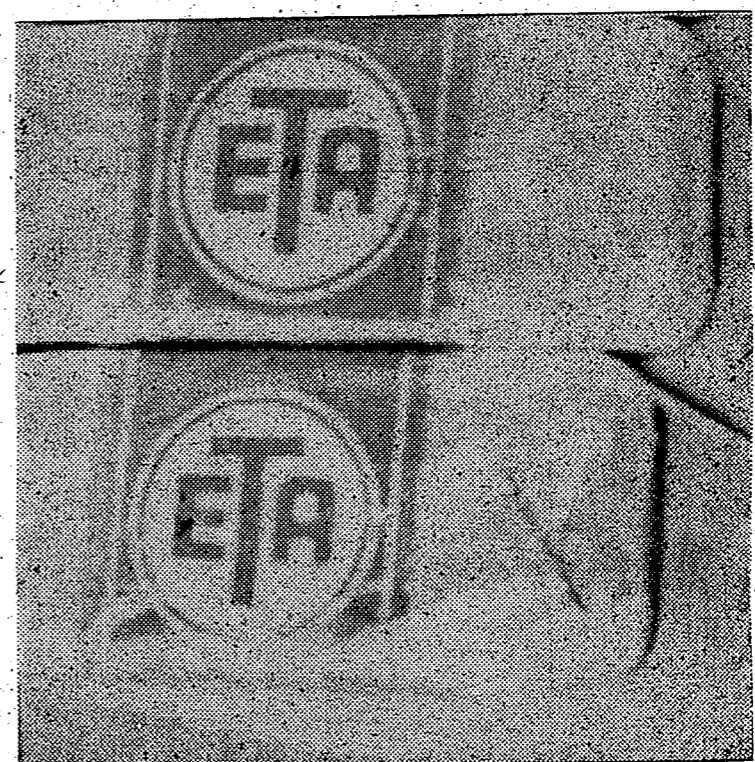
The fact that unfortunately there are some opponents to this Treaty should not dishearten the peace-loving peoples since the overwhelming majority of the countries (about 90) of the world agreed to sign the Treaty and more than half of them have already signed it.

It goes without saying that all positively-minded persons would consider it better to do a part than to do nothing. If in the present moment it is not yet possible to solve the problem of disarmament at once in its entirety, the only reasonable way out is to solve it step by step. It means that all the peace-loving peoples of the world will continue their efforts to safeguard peace encouraged by this first successful step. If so all the progressive mankind should welcome such a Treaty as it welcomes it.

I am sorry for the author of the above mentioned article who proves not to understand that. And the most strange seems his suggestion that in order to prevent war every country should possess nuclear data and nuclear weapons. This absurd statement speaks for itself. It is in contradiction to the hopes of the mankind who is looking forward to ease the international tension in order to reduce the arms race the grave burden of which weighs down on them.

In conclusion it is a pleasure to note that the broad public circles of the whole world including countries of Africa, Asia and Latin-America do appear to appraise the real significance of the Moscow test ban Treaty.

## PORTUGUESE CIGARETTES ON SALE IN GUINEA



# WEST GERMAN WEDLOCK WITH APARTHEID

**NEWS** of the huge financial aid by the German Federal Republic to the Republic of South Africa comes as a rude shock to all African countries and to all nations of the world which are sympathetic to the African struggle, which pay no lip-service to the United Nations Charter and which have respect for human dignity and equality.

Some sources put this aid at £66,000,000, but it is learnt from authoritative sources that the figure is as high as £650,000,000 extending over ten years. This fantastic aid is but of all proportion to any prior grants made by the West German Government to any African country. Her highest before this had not exceeded £30,000,000.

## AID TO TYRANNY

We ask, is this an aid to freedom or to tyranny? At a time when all Africa, with the help of other progressive nations, is demanding the exclusion of this satanic regime from the councils of decent men, such aid to South Africa is nothing but a vicious stab in the back. It is "the most unkindest cut of all".

On what grounds does the West German Government justify this treacherous deed? On sympathy?—is it then, to the defrauded, impoverished, enslaved, starving masses or to the savage, brutish, murderous oppressors of South Africa whose callous inhumanities the world condemns "in unison"?

On grounds of loyalty? That is the answer. To a Nazi regime betrayal is not to the course of liberty, but to the course of oppression, the course of genocide! Who can expect morality from a depraved person, virtue from a criminal mind, the love of freedom from a government crammed with people whose lives have been devoted to the destruc-

tion of freedom? To the Government of West Germany, controlled as it is by Hitler's aides, deprivation, starvation, enslavement and murder are counted as nothing. They have gassed thousands and mowed down millions.

This is the logical wedlock of the two Nazisms: a marriage of the renescent Nazism of the north and the neo-Nazism of the south!

This aid is ostensibly for economic development. But who can doubt its true purpose? Shortly after the Addis Ababa Conference,

Surely this is but a camouflage, an inept attempt to throw dust into our eyes. Who can doubt that this aid is a covert move to arm South Africa against possible opposition from the rest of Africa?

## ARMS RUSE

This makes utter nonsense of America's proposal to discontinue arm shipments to that devil's own land of South Africa. But it is no surprise to those who know the chicaneries and stratagems of imperialism. Whatever arms NATO des-

## ARMS FOR PORTUGAL

In their unremitting vigilance and militant struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa, nationalists have been paying far too little attention to the new gestation of Nazism in its ancient and fertile soil of West Germany. Yet this regenerated regime has been carrying on nefarious activities on our fatherland.

A recent despatch from Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, stated, inter alia, that a Portuguese pilot, Mr. Jacinto Soares Velozo, had said that West Germany and Israel had been giving military aids to Portugal to suppress the nationalist struggle in Angola and Mozambique.

The report continued that one hundred Angolan nationalists had recently been executed in electric chairs at concentration camps on the Cape Verde Islands. It added that the number of Angolan nationalists who had fled the country since 1961 was estimated at 80,000.

Mr. Velozo as well as Mr. Joan Ferreira, a former medical salesman in Mozambique who arrived in Dar-es-Salaam on March 12, 1963, from Angola has been granted political asylum by the Tanganyikan Government.

With supplies of arms coming from all sides, it is little wonder that Salazar can have the nerve to challenge the united might of all Africa. But for NATO arms could Salazar have ever dared to croak that "Portugal will defend her territories to the limit of our human elements and of our resources if the African states think it fit to turn their threats into acts of war?" One wonders what those "human elements and resources" are, except those of West Germany and the other NATO powers.

## A THREAT TO PEACE

Thus the danger presented by West Germany to Africa

# APARTHEID

is grave in the extreme. But West Germany is not only a threat to African freedom and unity, she is also a threat to world peace and to man's continued existence on this planet.

Far from being hyperbolic, this is a true statement of facts ascertainable from the pages of history and from the policies being followed by this new Nazi regime. The present West German military aids to Portugal and South Africa are the result of a calculated policy.

Firstly, West Germany hopes through this means to share in the exploitation of Africa. Secondly, she

hopes to win South Africa and Portugal as allies in the event of a Third World War.

The tenability of the second contention becomes evident when we examine the terrific rate at which West Germany has been arming. Billiards of marks have been spent, by the Bonn Government in piling up armaments. Since 1961 the tempo has been constantly accelerating. Armament expenditure in 1962 alone was 1.3 milliard marks—a sum which could have been used to build 1,300 modern hospitals. It was three times the expenditure in 1961. This year's arms expenditure by the

new Nazi regime has been further stepped up to 1.6 milliard marks.

With the increasing crescendo of a stocking of arms by belligerent West Germany and her characteristically crass and crude endeavours to share—also characteristically belatedly—in the new moves for another rape of Africa, we see before us a re-enactment of the events that have been the preludes to two successive global wars.

Thus unless the danger is realised and quickly nibbed in the bud, West Germany will again plunge the whole world into a holocaust.



Dr. Adenauer... Enemy of African Revolution

West Germany announced military aids to eleven African countries, Nigeria getting the greatest worth £22,000,000.

But how absurd—military aids to African countries which stand in great need of economic aid, and economic aid of £650,000,000 extending over ten years to South Africa which is in dire need of military aid!

troys with one hand, it rebuilds with another.

The much advertised intended stoppage of arms shipment to South Africa by America is a mere ruse. There is much reason to believe that there is collusion and conspiracy within the NATO camp to arm South Africa secretly in order to safeguard their own interests.

# The Sale of Africa

**THE** invitation of Dr. Milton Magai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, by President Charles de Gaulle of France and the former's acceptance opens another scene (or is it an act?) in the farcical drama being staged by France and her opponents in connection with spheres of influence in Africa.

Always watching with the hawk's eyes over her interests in Africa, France has been viewing with displeasure, British overtures to French-speaking African countries. Britain, for some time now, has been inviting the heads of state in some of these countries. To most of the invitees she has been offering British honours.

This, to France, is quite odd, and she has therefore been suspicious, and quite

understandably, too. France, moreover, thinks that like the dollar-beggar she is, Britain has not been acting on her own initiative; that, in fact, she has been acting under the direction of America.

France does not consider it expedient perhaps to bulley her wards into refusing these invitations and honours. To counteract this Anglo-American infiltration into her spheres of influence, France has now adopted the method of extending invitations, too, to former British territories. Sierra Leone is the first on the list.

## GRAVE CONSEQUENCES

Funny as this farce may seem, as all farces are, the consequences are far from amusing to Africa. The moves and countermoves may tickle our sense of hu-

mour but the purposes behind them are very grave.

The success of any one of these imperialist powers in this struggle for control means the success of neo-colonialism in Africa. It means the stunting of the economic growth of Africa, the deadening of the drive for freedom and equality, the subjugation of African interests for European or American interests, the perpetuation of foreign domination over Africa and the eventual re-enslavement of our dear land in perpetuity.

Surely, is this not a hideous price to pay for empty British honours or for a sip of French wine or a mess of potatoes from the tables of imperialists?

Realising the enormity of the risks we run, it is disarming and heartrending that so-called African leaders should make themselves such manageable puppets in the hands of heartless imperialists in this tragic farce, which, in fact, is a bitter struggle to re-enslave Africa.

# Home-Coming

Friends tell me I never grow up  
Meaning when shall I begin to covet my car-ful, fridge-ful and house-ful neighbour

Meaning when shall I embrace their philosophy of money, money and more money

What my friends simply don't understand  
Is that I am not anti-social  
That I do not hate progress  
That I do not dislike the good things of this life  
But that I firmly believe in the cardinal principle of socialism

That the free development of each should be a condition for the free development of all

This, sorry, gentlemen, is my definition of love  
This, comrades, is my philosophy of life  
They further tell me—  
That you really are nuts  
For you still are not disillusioned with socialism after your Balkan experience

But what my friends fail to understand  
Is that socialism is based upon the recognition of the law of contradiction in nature

That there is always a constant struggle in nature  
Between the weak and the strong

Between the young and the old  
That the old order is always changing yielding place to the new

That for that matter nothing (including our most cherished values) is static

For everything is fluid  
That socialists are not outside the operation of this law  
And so a little lover's tiff here and there.  
Is healthy and quite in order

Will my friends now understand?  
I doubt if they will

Swallowed up as they are in the current rat race  
But until they me understand

I shall have to continue my lonely, forlorn existence  
Marooned on my desert island in the sea of grab

Still daydreaming of the coming of my socialist paradise  
A stranger in my own country

No mean partisan in the current war of ideas  
And very hopeful that I am on the winning side.

By Tetteh Tawiah  
Accra  
May 1963

# Discrimination in the Cemetery

I WENT through life  
Victim of all kinds of discriminations.

However, my head I bowed  
not in shame

Confident that when death  
finally beats the daylights  
out of us

All of one size  
Six foot of earth will make  
us

But, alas, a completely  
sheltered life I had led

For even in death  
Man cheated nature  
For right there in the  
cemetery

I saw discrimination  
Yonder there on a marker  
On the edge of a demarcated  
zone

Was scribbled "Pagans"  
Close by was the "Pagans  
Infants" section

Whilst mid-field  
Were our redoubtable  
Christians

As usual battling it out  
among themselves  
"Presbyterians", "Methodists",  
"Catholics", the  
lot

And did I see  
Perpetually buzzing them  
Their centuries-old enemies  
The Moslems.

I wonder where they put

the atom maniacs  
But that is a political  
question I forget

Nothing religious.  
A real final resting place  
Free from religious strife  
and discrimination

I would wish  
For my carcass  
And spirit, if any, I shall  
have.

So, buddy, when I die  
Don't dump me in that  
strife-torn piece of earth

My carcass put in acid  
And pour me down the  
drain

For if you cremate me  
Some fool might still dump  
my ashes in that  
cemetery

Man they say proposes  
Whilst God disposes  
However, from the cradle  
to the grave

Man, my tormentor, I've  
seen, not only proposes  
But also disposes

So, God, excuse me  
If I dispose of my earthly  
remains

Whilst you take over in  
the hereafter.

By  
Tetteh Tawiah  
Kumasi, 30th July, 1963.

# My Cause

I look young  
Because my cause is social-  
ism

I look young  
Because socialism means  
love

I feel young  
Because perpetually young  
is love

Therefore, I am young  
Because love means bro-  
therhood

Therefore, I am young  
Because love means selfless-  
ness and therefore happi-  
ness

Therefore, I am young  
Because before Abraham  
was love is

Therefore, I am young  
Because love was, is and  
ever shall be.

Therefore, I feel young  
Because my cause is still  
young

And I really do feel young  
Because I am as old as my  
cause.

By Tetteh Tawiah  
Accra  
May 1963

# The Fallacy of White Supremacy (3) APARTHEID

AS the most abhorrent form of racial discrimination extant, Apartheid deserves more than passing remark in the present discourse. Worse than the Nazi parody at theorising, more ludicrous and yet far more dangerous is the farcical attempt by apartheid doctrinaires to propound a theory based on religion.

The ecclesiastical apologists of this satanic policy are the theologians of the Dutch Reformed Churches who in 1954 published in the Round Table their theory under the title "Apartheid and the Scriptures".

Below are extracts culled from the *Documents of Political Theory*:

## MAKER OF SEPARATIONS?

"We know God the Creator in Scripture as Hammabdil, as the Maker of Separations. To create a cosmos God separated things: light from darkness, waters above the firmament from waters under the firmament, dry land from the sea.

"From the very beginning it was the intention of the Lord that mankind should live in separate nations. St. Paul said that God made out of one blood all the nations of men (Act XVII 26). In his sinful self-conceit man wished to frustrate this intention as much as to say: 'Let us not part, let us remain together. Let us build a tower to reach into heaven'.

"And then God came as the Maker of Separation and said: 'Behold the people is one and they have all one language... Go to, let us go down and there confound their language—So the Lord scattered them abroad' (Ge. XV 6-8)

"Mankind desired a unity that was sinful in the eyes of the Lord; the Lord intervened and caused an increase in peoples which, according to Scripture, must continue until the completion of all things, and possibly even after.

"The rise and continuance of separate peoples and

nations is, according to Scripture, in accordance with the Will of God. Attempts at unification, the equalitarian idea, are a revival of the Babylonian spirit. God willed the separate existence of nations.

"It is not only for practical reasons that the Dutch Reformed Churches in their mission policy aim at the establishment of separate non-white Churches which must finally become completely independent. It is claimed that the mission policy of these Churches rests on Scriptural grounds.

## UNITY IS SINFUL?

"The Christian Churches must be careful not to deprive the whole of Africa's Nativedom of the privilege to make its own contributions to the development of the Christian truths. There is first the possibility that the truths of Christian religion can be used to build an artificial, unnatural, sinful unity out of all sorts of heterogeneous elements.

"This would be equivalent to the building of a Tower of Babel and the characteristic of such unity may be best described by the words in Rev. XVII 13, 'They have one mind...'

This way holds the one possibility that man, and even the Church, however well-meaning, will convert the natural order, the cosmos willed and brought into being by God in such diversity, into a chaos and interfusion of species and

types where no order can any longer exist.

"The other possibility is, to respect God's handiwork, to pay heed to all natural distinctions and to strive to come to the oneness of the Spirit of Christ. This, the much more difficult fact, is aimed at by the Dutch Reformed Churches.

"The primary duty of the Churches is to bring the gospel to the black man, to help him to build his own Churches, self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating. Unity in Christ is not to be confused with unity as a human ideal.

"They are not the truly oecumenical Christians who blur the differences or fancifully glide over them but on the contrary those who, each for himself in his church, are quite concretely a church"

## CHILDISH PHILOSOPHY

The childishness or even eccentricity in this so-called theory is so obvious that one is tempted to write it off as unworthy of any serious consideration. Nevertheless, remembering the havoc that religious bigotry and misconception have wreaked in history, and considering the inhumanities now being perpetrated in South Africa in the pursuit of this policy of apartheid, it seems very necessary to examine the validity of the grounds upon which it is supposed to be based. And we should remember too in

Obotan  
by  
Awuku

our impatience at this childishness that it finds a place in the study of political theories. Furthermore, this theological travesty is only an attempt to clothe in religious robes, the accredited philosophy of life of the white populace in South Africa.

In fairness to the protagonists of this theory, any genuine analysis should begin from the scriptural premises upon which it is supposed to be built.

## INAPPROPRIATE QUOTATIONS

One cannot help smiling at the inappropriateness of the quotations given by the learned theologians. If for instance, "St. Paul said that God made out of one blood all nations of men", it stands to reason that all men are children of God and therefore brethren. If Paul was a mouthpiece of God, so was David, and God through him said: "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity".

Paul expressly speaks in Ephesians 4: 6 of "one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all." Earlier he talks of the brethren "forebearing one another in love". Besides these there are innumerable instances in the Bible of all men being the children of God and of injunctions for all to dwell together in love and unity, ministering unto each other, and bearing each other's burdens.

The quotation from Revelations is equally inappropriate. It refers to people "having one mind" to do evil, not to living together in peace and unity.

## FABLES

Failing to pin-point any appropriate quotation to uphold this obnoxious theory, it is not surprising that the evil theologians resorted to fables for support. For though the Bible, many will agree, does contain some truths, many will agree too that it does contain some fables also. In this category can be classed the stories of creation, of Noah's ark, and of the Tower of Babel.

The practical impossibility of Noah collecting all the animal species in the world into his ark is quite obvious. As an entomologist has remarked in this connection, Noah would have spent his whole life time collecting insects alone, for there are over a million of them. And may we not indulge ourselves a little in the puerile speculation of picturing the enormity of the ark which could carry all the different species of giraffes, camels, lions, elephants etc.?

Moreover, a reasonable person naturally wonders why God stopped the building of the Tower of Babel and desisted from preventing the building of the pyramids. The purpose was essentially the same in each case—the quest for immortality. Incidentally one must also wonder why God has never stepped in to stop the building of machines, aeroplanes, rockets and satel-

lites, not to talk of atom bombs. If anything, they are worse than the Babylonian tower.

Obviously these are simple tales which in the primitive ages in which they were told were quite satisfactory. They have outlived their usefulness and should be taken for what they are worth.

But it is upon such fables that the exponents of apartheid have formulated their theory. Supposing therefore, that we accept the account of creation cited in the above theory as true, does apartheid then stand on firm grounds? Not by any means.

## WHITE SETTLERS MUST GO

In the first place we observe that the separation was between different and not the same substances:—light from darkness, dry land from the sea, etc.

It is therefore, untenable to base racial separation on this ground, for "God made out of one blood all the nations of men."

In the second place, following the logic of this childish theory that God willed the separate existence of nations, we come to the conclusion that all white people have grievous-



Dr. Verwoerd, arch racist Premier of the South African Government.

ly sinned against the Lord. From this consideration the purpose of the seas and oceans becomes clear. They are meant to separate the nations from one another. By the logic of the theory, white men were intended to confine themselves to Europe, black men to Africa, the yellow and brown to Asia, the red to the Americas, the Australoids to Australia and the Tasmanians to Tasmania.

The scattering of white men to all parts of the world is therefore sinful and the presence of the whites in South Africa indefensible. Judging from the pious protestations of the Dutch Reformed Churches, one should expect them to atone for their misdeeds and desist from continuing in the sins of their fathers. They should, in short, return to Europe! Such is the stark logic of their theory.

From this alone, the farcical and hypocritical nature of the theory becomes evident.

Again, while the white community in South Africa is so pharasaically concerned about doing the "will of the Lord" by scrupulously separating all the races, dividing the Coloureds into Indians, Chinese, Malays, and mixed blooded Africans, and even dividing the African community into different tribal groups, they themselves associate and commune together, thus committing the very sin they are out to prevent.

For the white community



Nelson Mandela, an ardent South African Freedom Fighter who is languishing behind prison bars, detained by the Racist Government of South Africa.

in South Africa is far from homogeneous. It consists of the Dutch, the English, the Jew and the French. In fact the antagonisms between the two dominant groups, English and Dutch, have only recently subsided with the political ascendancy of the Dutch, and the concerted effort of the whole white race to dominate other races.

## SEPARATION IMPRACTICABLE

Another absurdity of this farce is that while these devils are afraid lest they "convert the natural order; the cosmos willed and brought into being by God in such diversity, into a chaos and interfusion of species and types where no order can any longer exist", they by no means dispense with the services of the coloured man.

In fact, the economic separation of the African will spell the doom of the whole economy of South Africa. It is conceded by the most bigoted racist that the services of the African can never be dispensed with. In 1950, Dr. Malan, the then Prime Minister of South Africa and chief apostle of apartheid, admitted that total separation was impracticable.

In 1946 Africans formed 29 per cent of the total number of people employed in commerce, 33 per cent of those employed in transport and communications, 47 per cent in manufacturing industries and 89 per cent in mining and quarrying. Besides there is hardly any house of a white man in South Africa which has not its "Native" or African quarters attached in which the domestic servants of the white "masters" live. The non-European does all the menial jobs in the country.

Furthermore, Mr. Anthony H. Richmond writes: "Over two-and-a-half million Africans, men and women, are employed on European farms where they outnumber the Europeans by five to one. Under supervision, the African does all the labour, skilled and unskilled"

## STOP PREACHING

Finally, it must be mentioned that by the logic of this doctrine of separation, Hammabdil must definitely have willed the "rise and continuance of separate" ideas and doctrines too. The

scriptures, the Dutch Reformed Churches dare not deny, assert that the spirit is of superior value than the flesh. If therefore, the physical relationships between man and man is odious to the Maker of Separations, how much more will He abhor the interfusion of ideas and doctrines.

"This way holds the one possibility that man, and even the Church, however well-meaning, will convert the natural order, the cosmos willed and brought into being by God in such diversity, into a chaos and interfusion of species and types where no order can any longer exist."

The logical conclusion to be drawn from this doctrine is that neither Christianity, nor any religion nor any ideology for that matter must be propagated. We must "pay heed" to indigenous ideas, doctrines and religions. Africa can "make its own contributions to the development" of universal truths by not being converted to Christianity or to any religion or doctrine!

This then is the crux of the matter. Apartheid is defensible on no premise whatever; neither on the grounds of logic, nor of morality, nor of history nor of economics nor even of religion whose authority the hypocritical theologians so vainly seek. The truth is that it is in the first place, an escapist and defeatist policy of self-preservation: a systematic policy of perpetuating white supremacy, in the second place; and in the third place, an inhuman device for ensuring a permanent, vast and inexhaustible pool of cheap labour to supply white farms, white mines, white factories and white kitchens.

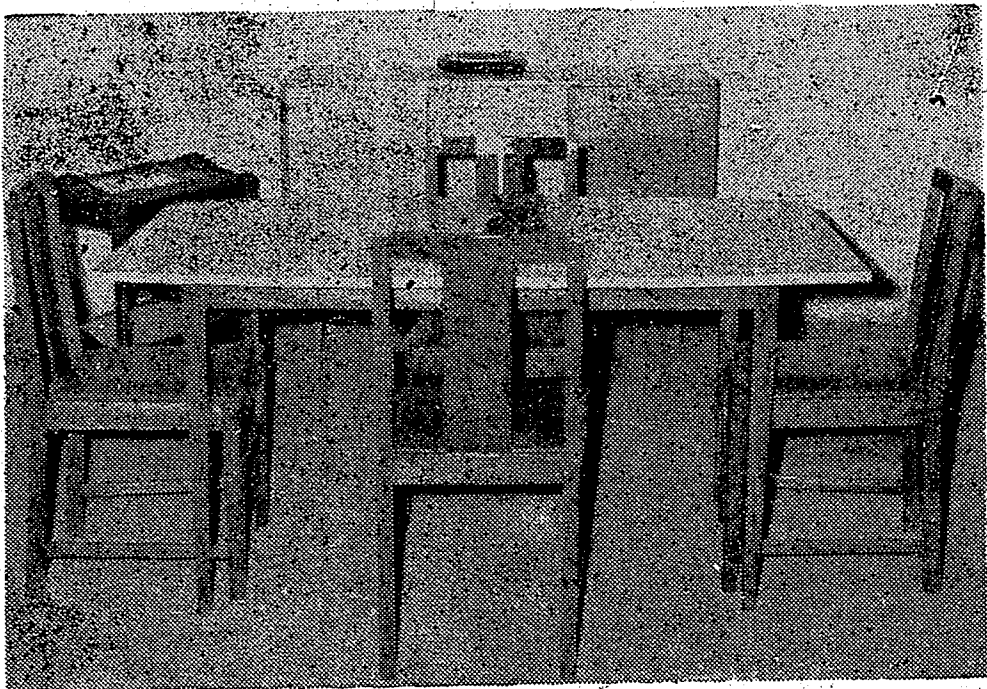
## ATROCITIES

The pursuit of this policy entails the perpetration of shuddering atrocities and one wonders upon what scriptural grounds the theologians of the Dutch Reformed Churches justify these. For the scripture they attempt to quote enjoins that if anything should cause an offence or constitute a stumbling block to a fellow that thing should be removed.

Paul says in I Cor. 8: 13 "Wherefore, if meat causeth my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh for evermore that I cause not

Continued on Page 5

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# APARTHEID

Continued from Page 4

my brother to stumble." Because Jesus had warned in Mat. 18:7: "Woe unto the world because of occasions of stumbling! for it must needs be that the occasions come; but woe to that man through whom the occasion cometh."

While their scriptural citations are quite inappropriate, the injunctions of the same scriptures regarding the crimes they are committing

are supposed to own the lands in the reserves where they are penned. But of the 60 million morgens of land in South Africa, they are given only 17½ million morgens. The remaining 42½ million morgens belong to the 670,000 whites. Proportionately each African gets an average of 6 morgens of land, while the average among whites is 60 morgens per head.

That is, the average white man gets ten times as much

land as the average black man. What is more, the reserves to which the Africans are confined have the poorest soil while large areas suffer from severe soil erosion. Considering this, the actual land received

## RUINOUS TAXES

But white cruelty does not stop at this. Various attempts are made to make the black man leave his land and work on land belonging to a white man. A favourite device in this respect is the enforcement of ruinous taxes.

The African has to pay a poll tax, a local or hut tax,

that is to get any cash at all, the African must hire his labours to a white man who employs him at a fantastically low wage rate on the grounds that he has other means of sustenance! Incidentally, no social securities are provided for the African for the same reason. Quite a substantial part of the wages too are paid in kind i.e. in the form of food or the right to graze cattle on land. Obviously this is a method that lends itself easily to cheating.

From the above no one will be surprised by the knowledge that there are concerted and calculated attempts to keep the African down economically and reserve all the wealth of that rich land in the hands of the Europeans. The national income is very unevenly divided among the races, as a result of a deliberate policy of denying the African adequate educational opportunities to improve himself and also of actual restrictions of the incomes of non-Europeans in general and the Africans in particular by discriminatory practices in industry.

In 1942 Europeans who constituted 20 per cent of the total population of South Africa earned 75 per cent of the national income while non-Europeans forming 80 per cent of the population received 25 per cent. It must be remembered always that in everything the African gets the worst and the least, except, of course, it is the greatest of what is bad. He is singled out as the special object for discrimination and injustice. The result is that most Africans are literary on the verge of starvation.

## LOW WAGES

The African may not be employed except in the lowest paid jobs. And he may not be given a certificate of proficiency in any skilled job however qualified he is. For that will entitle him to higher remuneration and good wages are not good for Africans.

All African workers in the Union, therefore, are classed unskilled and the wages received for such work are about 6.7% of the skilled wages. That is, if an average white man receives £100 a year, no African can receive more than £16 14/-. It must be remembered that all the best jobs are reserved for white men and very few, if any, receive the minimum upon which this calculation is based. Besides, in the divi-

sion of the national pie, the coloureds too must have their share before the African. He is only entitled to the crumbs that fall from the table.

From the pittance of an income which he receives, the African is expected to pay the host of direct taxes and the heavy indirect ones.

Needless to say the living conditions of the Africans are horrible. At the margins of the towns and cities they are hedged in shanties made of packing cases, sackings and such other odds and ends that they can lay hands on.

There is no provision of social amenities either in these areas or anywhere else. The most notorious example of this discrimination in the provision of amenities is observed on the railways, where the Reservation of Separate Amenities Bill, 1953, imposes penalties on any person found using a public premise or vehicle not reserved for the exclusive use of his class or race.

The law requires the offender to prove that he has the right to use the amenity in question, and it is no defence to show that inferior provision or no provision at all is provided for his race.

Through various acts the non-European is deprived of any rights to land or property he may have in an area not located in a reserve. No compensation is paid for such property when it is taken from him. If he is compelled to leave his home because it is in the wrong area, no alternative accommodation is provided for him.

## EDUCATION

Like everything else, education for the African in the Union is part of the systematic policy calculated to keep him perpetually subservient to the white man. To this end, the South African government has taken over almost all schools from the more humanitarian Churches and mission societies whose educational policies in the words of a Minister of Native Affairs "created wrong expectations on the part of the Native."

As in life the African is not expected to "dress above his or her station", so in the pursuit of knowledge he is not expected to learn more than is enough to enable him to say: "Yes, Baas". For in the words of Premier Verwoerd, "there is no place for the Native in European society above

certain forms of labour." It is not surprising then that while the number of children taught in primary schools, has about trebled in recent years, there has been no comparable expansion of secondary education. And, paradoxically, the cost of African education has decreased with the increase in numbers.

In 1954 the cost of educating an African pupil was about £9. By 1956, it had fallen to £7 4/-. Compare this with the £25 spent on each Asian or Coloured pupil and the £50 spent on each white pupil. Thus even in the primary schools, the education received by Africans falls far short of that given to other races.

## FORCED LABOUR

Like anything else, justice in the Union of South Africa is a travesty, a mocking device calculated to subjugate the African. In fact law in the Union is not only a means of perpetuating white supremacy but is also a method of obtaining forced labour for white farmers and industrialists. Gaols have been built at vantage points to supply white farmers and industrialists with prisoners who are hired out to them to work on the farms, railways, roads, at harbours and at mines.

The enforcement of the Pass Laws and other obnoxious legislations, therefore, serves more than one purpose. This explains why Africans are bundled out in their thousands into prisons, sometimes for very trivial or even for no offences at all. They go to supply cheap labour in the prisons.

The catalogue of the heinous crimes perpetrated by the whites in South Africa is by no means exhausted. But this is enough to show the satanic policy of apartheid advocated by the Dutch Reformed Churches and other philosophers of South Africa. It is enough to show the absurdity of the concept, the utter impracticability of it, and the staggering consequences of this mad idealism.

## TYRANNY AND GENOCIDE

In the words of James Cameron, "The apartheid laws carry colour bar to the final and possibly logical conclusion. They mean no vote for the African, no political standing of any kind, no right to work, to travel, to change his address, no recognised right to protest against anything.

They mean the reinforcement of old laws preventing Africans being trained as artisans."

They mean that "whenever the Governor-General (acting on the advice of the Minister of Native Affairs) in his unfettered discretion deems it fit to proclaim so, an African who has been required by Court Order to leave a certain area must do so—nor may any appeal or review stay or suspend such removal, even when it has been established beyond all doubt that the Order was intended for some other person and was served on him, in error."



Chief Albert Lutuli, a South African Nationalist leader. "Our people are reclaiming their land, their right to participate in government, their dignity as men, their nationhood."

The Laws of apartheid mean in fact that the African cannot live, except permitted by the white man to do so. He must have a pass to permit him to do every conceivable thing, even a pass to exempt him from carrying a pass! They mean tyranny, legalised robbery, arson, murder and final genocide.

This, and not miscegenation, is the sin of the Dutch Reformed Churches and of the white race in South Africa. For "segregation is not an Afrikaner invention" but the culmination of a consistent policy since the Act of Union. If there is any fear on the part of the Dutch Reformed Churches and the white segregationists, it must be for the just retribution that must necessarily follow their iniquities. For their crimes against humanity, the terrible day of reckoning shall come. And the gathering forces of African peoples shall see to it that it comes speedily.



A South African woman under arrest for breaking an apartheid law.

ing are clear and equivocal. The scriptures say: "Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's property etc., etc."

But we know of the mass slaughter of defenceless innocent people at Sharpville and Langa. We know of the atrocities committed against the African. We know of the intimidations, discriminations, deprivations, starvations and murders of the Africans of South Africa.

In every sphere of life, in land distribution, in employment and wages, in housing, in social services, in education, in the administration of law and even in church services, non-Europeans in general and Africans in particular are discriminated against and white supremacy enforced.

## LAND DISTRIBUTION

It is estimated that Africans form at least 68.8 per cent of the total population of South Africa. But this huge chunk of the population can only occupy at most 12 per cent of the whole area of South Africa. In areas that are classified rural, there are 6½ million Africans as compared with 670,000 Europeans. All these whites are owners of land, while 3½ million of the Africans are employed on the European owned farms under the most horrible conditions and with no hope of ever owning property.

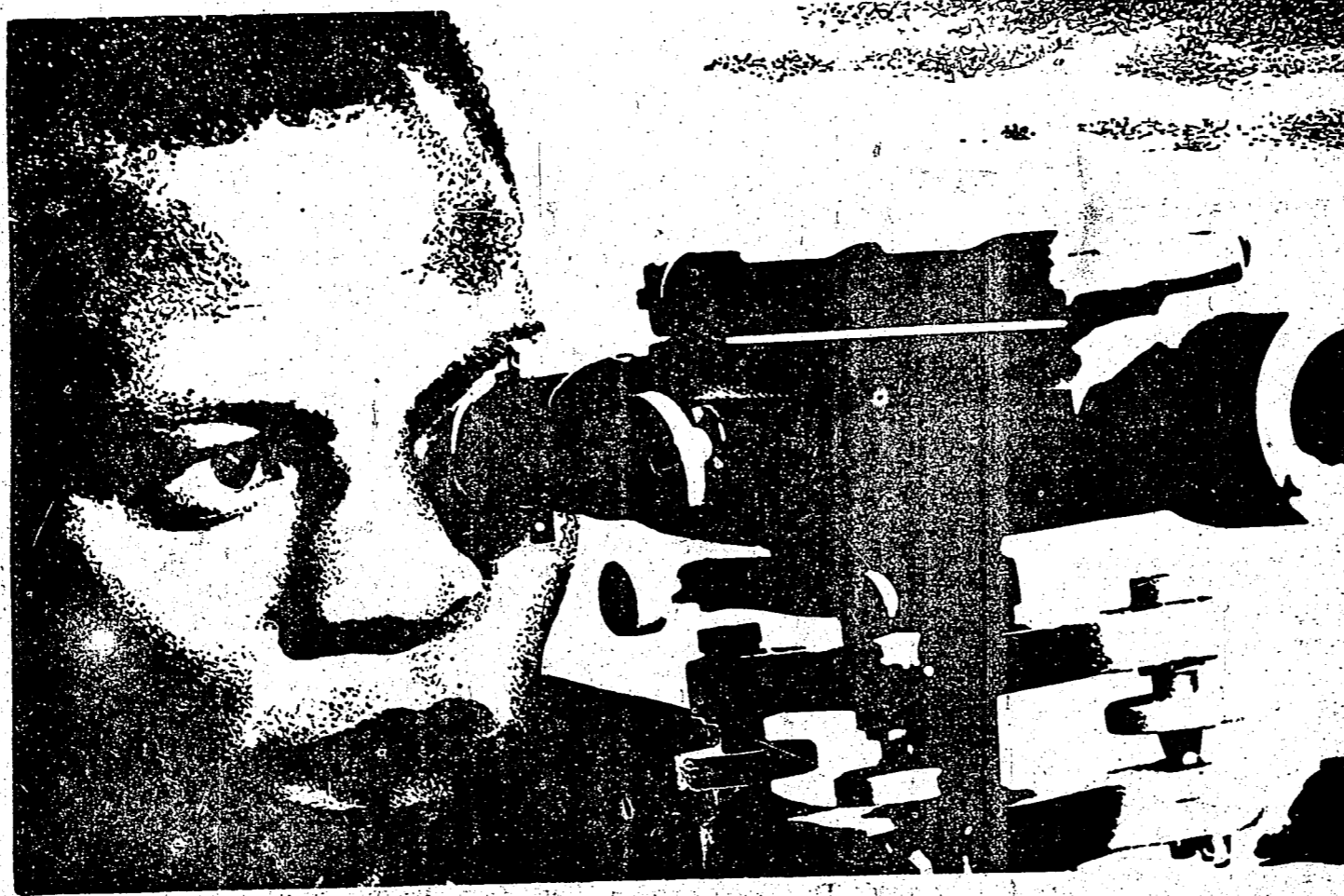
The remaining 3 millions

land as the average black man. What is more, the reserves to which the Africans are confined have the poorest soil while large areas suffer from severe soil erosion. Considering this, the actual land received

guirents, a provincial hospital tax and pass fee in addition to onerous taxes on such important items as blankets, clothes, sugar and tea which affect the poor grievously.

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# BLACK ORPHEUS (3)

(Translated by G. L. Patterson from the original by Jean-Paul Sartre)

"WITH tiny rain-drop caterpillar steps, With tiny steps like gulps of milk, With tiny rollen-bearing steps, With tiny, short, sharp, earthquake shocks, The tubers grow apace like starry constellations"

It is only when these words have divested themselves of whiteness that the Negro writers adopt them, turning the ruined tongue into a solemn, sacred, transcendental language called Poetry. By Poetry alone can the Negroes of Tananarive and Cayenne, Port-au-Prince and Saint Louis communicate without whiteness.

And since the French have no terms or concepts to define negritude, since negritude is silence, the Negroes will mirror the idea in "oblique, allusive words that reproduce a similar silence". This method may be described as a linguistic short-circuit; for behind the frantic dance of words, we catch a glimpse of a huge idol, black and still.

It is not merely the Negro's attempt at self-portraiture that strikes me as poetic, it is also his own peculiar method of using the media of expression at his disposal. He is forced to it by the nature of his situation. Even before he thinks of hymning himself in song, the light given off by the Westerners' words is refracted, polarised and attenuated.

## PROBLEM OF NEGRO POET

This is nowhere better exemplified than in the use he makes of the two terms taken together "black and white", denoting at one and the same time the great cosmic division into "day and night", and the conflict on the human plane between the native and the settler. But the marriage of "black and white" is based on a scale of values. The white teacher has been at pains to instil into his Negro pupil an adherence to the linguistic convention which gives pride of place to the term "white".

Thus Negroes will learn expressions like "white as snow", denoting innocence. They will speak of a "black look", a "dark soul" or a "black felony". The Negro has merely to open his mouth, and he stands self-accused, unless he strives to reverse the scale of values. To do so in French is to achieve poetry at a single bound.

You can hardly imagine the curious flavour attaching to such expressions as "the blackness of innocence" or the "darkness of virtue", as far as we are concerned. And it is just this we sense throughout the present anthology, in a poem like this one, for instance:

"Tonight, your full, round breasts, glistening like black satin,

The white of your eyes, like a smile  
Beaming from your ebony face,  
Arouse me; waking the muffled rhythms  
That set our nude, black sisters  
Down in Guinea, aflame with rapture.

Tonight they waken in me  
The memory of those tropic nights;  
Heavy with sensual bliss.  
Why sol Because this night, this very night,  
The heart of the Black Country

'Neath the ancestral shades  
Throbs and vibrates  
In the restless surge of energy flowing from your curving loins"

Throughout that poem the word "black" symbolizes colour or rather light. Our customary notions pale beneath its soft, diffusing rays. The Black Country where the ancestors of the Negro are now laid to rest is no Stygian cave of darkness. It is a land bathed in

IN the early fifties there were two intellectual age-groups in the French speaking countries of Africa. The first group was represented by Leopold Senghor, the great poet who is now the President of Senegal. The second group was represented by French speaking African students in Paris.

We are publishing series of articles on the views these two groups represent. The first three series are on Negritude. Though Leopold Senghor represents this ideology, Jean-Paul Sartre, the great French philosopher, in his Black Orpheus did a lot to introduce the subject to the intellectual world.

After the three series on Negritude, we shall publish criticism of the subject by the second group of intellectuals. In certain parts of the second series, we shall discover the links between the Intellectuals of English speaking Africa and their counterparts in French speaking Africa.

Apart from the fact that the series provoke an intellectual exercise and show the development of intellectual ferment in French speaking Africa during the early fifties, we have decided to publish these articles because two things show clearly:—

1. How "Towards Colonial Freedom" by Kwame Nkrumah and the struggle of Ghana influenced some of the leaders of thought in French speaking Africa and
2. How, in French-speaking Africa, culture forms the basis of all discussions.

—EDITOR

sunshine, and blinding light. On the other hand, the supremacy enjoyed by white over black, is not restricted to the settler's claims over the native.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF BLACK COLOUR

In a deeper sense, it expresses the universally accepted attitudes that cause man everywhere to adore the light of day, and shrink from the terrors of the night. In this sense the Negro

restores the scale of values they destroyed a moment past. They have no wish to be poets of the night, leading a vain revolt, a crusade of despair. They hail a fresh and gladsome morn:

"the shining dawn of a new day"

At once, by a stroke of their pen, the colour "black" resumes its fateful overtones.

One writes:  
"Negro, black like misery itself"

Another prays:  
"Deliver me from the dark thralldom of my blood"

Thus the word "black" is at once a composite of Good and Evil, denoting an almost intolerable tension set up by the two incongruous classifications of solar and racial supremacy. Consequently, it is charged with a rare degree of poetic flame, like those self-destroying objects that spring to life from the hands of Duchamp and the Surrealists. There is a hidden darkness in the colour white, as there is a hidden whiteness in the colour black, a steady flicker of being and absence of being, which is perhaps nowhere better expressed than in Césaire's poem:

"My great big statue with stone-bruised forehead,

My massive, carefree self studded with pitiless points of light,

My great big mass of flesh formed of darkness, flecked with light"

The poet will go further than this, and express himself as follows:

"Our faces comely as the real and vital power of negation"

## DARKNESS OF SKIN

Behind this abstract eloquence reminiscent of Lautréamont we can discern a very bold and subtle attempt to give meaning to the darkness of one's skin, and merge the aspects of night and day into a poetic synthesis. When David Diop describes the Negro as "black like misery itself", he presents darkness as pure absence of light.

But Césaire develops the picture, going far beneath the surface. Night no longer denotes absence, but refusal. Black is not a colour any more. It is the annihilation of the light borrowed from the white sun. The Negro revolutionary seeks negation, because he desires to be rid of borrowed trap-pings.

To build up his own City

of Truth, he must first tear down the one that others built. Black faces, like so many memories of night haunting our waking hours, represent the obscure workings of negativity, which patiently undermines the accepted concepts.

Thus by a curious process of reversion recalling the Negro's use of the expression "dirty nigger" to vindicate himself when insulted and humiliated, it is in the negative power of darkness that the Negro finds salvation. Liberty is stamped with the colour of the night.

In this general pattern of destruction, with its verbal holocausts, magical symbolism and ambivalence of concepts, is to be found the whole gamut of modern poetry in its negative aspect. But this is not a gratuitous playing with words.

The position in which the Negro finds himself, his original "wrench", the sense of alienation imposed upon him by an alien mode of thought implied in the term "assimilation", compelled him as in duty bound, to recapture his existential unity as a Negro or, if you prefer, the original purity of his intention by a progressive process of asceticism, beyond the realm of speech. Negritude, like freedom, is at once a starting point and a goal.

## INDIVIDUAL ENTITY

Its votaries must carry it through from the immediate to the stage of mediacy, in other words they must give it a theme. Thus what matters, so far as the Negro is concerned, is that he should eschew the whiteman's culture, in order to rediscover his Negro soul, as the Platonic philosopher abjures his body to attain to truth.

This dialectical, mystical return to the source, inevitably implies a method, which is not, however, to be found in a set of rules for the guidance of the mind. It is part of the warp and woof of its practitioner, and the Negro will in fact be led through negritude to the discovery of himself as an individual entity, by applying the dialectical law of successive change.

His business is not to acquire understanding or gain self-knowledge through the rapturous pangs of ecstasy, but to discover and at the same time mirror his essential qualities.

There are two convergent ways of acquiring this original simplicity of life. One

is objective, the other subjective. The poets represented in this anthology sometimes use the first method, at other times the second, and occasionally both at one and the same time. There is in actual fact an objective form of negritude which finds expression in the customs, arts, songs and dances of the African people.

The poet will indulge in the spiritual exercise of surrender to the primitive rhythms, and express his thought in the traditional forms of Negro poetry. Quite a few of the poems in this collection bear the little "tom-tom", because they are based upon the rhythmic clang of the night drummers, now sharp and regular, now breathless like pelting torrents of sound.

At such moments poetry becomes a dance of the soul. The poet gyrates like a dervish until he faints. He brings back the vanished age of his ancestors, plants it in his bosom, sensing the pulse of its rhythms in the peculiar motions of his dance. Through this rhythmic flow he hopes to rediscover himself. Nay, he strives, I think, to be possessed by the negritude of his race. He cherishes the hope that the echoes of the drum-beats will reawaken the immemorial instincts slumbering in the inmost recesses of his soul.

As you turn over the pages of this anthology, you gain the impression that the tom-tom is more or less representative of Negro poetry, in much the same way as the sonnet or the ode was typical of our own. Some of the Negro poets, like Rabemananjara, will derive inspiration from royal proclamations, others from the popular legends of the "hain-tenys".

## SOPHISTICATED POETRY

Amid this frenzied whirl of rhythms, songs and shrieks, Birage Diop's poetry, in its majestic simplicity, is like a haven of peace. It alone can claim repose, because it springs directly from the tales of the griots and the oral tradition of the race. Practically every other attempt at poetry here displays a convulsive quality, a tenseness and desperation, precisely because it seeks to rediscover the poetry of folk-lore, and does not spring naturally from it.

And yet, however far removed from "the Black Country where his ancestors are laid to rest", the Negro is nearer than we are to that great epoch when, as Mallarmé says, "one spake the word and Gods came forth". The poets of the West find it well-nigh impossible to forge a link with popular traditions.

They have been separated from them by ten centuries of highbrow, sophisticated poetry. Moreover, as far as folk-lore is concerned, the springs of inspiration have run dry. At most, we can but simulate its simple qualities in a superficial way. The African Negroes, on the contrary, are still in the great period of mythical proliferation, and those among them who use the medium of French, do not toy with those myths as we do with our songs.

## OBJECTIVE POETRY

They yield to their bewitching spell, with the result that when the incantation is over and Negritude is involved with a magnificent abandon, she stands revealed. This accounts for my application of the term "magic" or "charm" to this particular type of "objective poetry".

Continued on Page 7

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# Black Orpheus

Continued from Page 6

Césaire, on the other hand, has elected to probe his inner self, walking backwards. Because Eurydice would vanish into thin air if Black Orpheus were to look on her, he descends into the royal realms not of Pluto but of his soul, turning his back to the grotto, going beneath words and their significance—"in order to think of you, I've pawned all the words I possessed"—waiving the rules of ordinary daily life and the pattern of a "recurring experience", ignoring the first pitfalls of revolt, with his back turned and his eyes closed, until at last barefooted, he reaches the dark waters of remembrance and desire, plunging headlong into their suffusing depths. Then dreams and desires waken like angry waves lashing the shore, toss words about in mad confusion like flotsam and jetsam, landing them on the shore at last, battered and broken.

## SURREALIST METHOD

"Words strain themselves in a vain endeavour to reach out towards a heaven and an earth, whose height and depth defy approach. The world as we know it is no more; geographically, it has suffered change. But in a middle range of distance, there is an air that men can breathe. At the gaseous stage of solid and liquid forms, there is light and darkness, day and night."

You can recognise the old surrealist method, (for indeed automatic writing, like mysticism, is a method. It implies apprenticeship, practice and initiation). One

must go beneath the superficial crust of reality, common sense, and rational thought processes, to probe the depths of the soul and wake the immemorial forces of desire, which leads men to the full and tender espousal or the complete and total rejection of a cause; the type of desire that is an absolute negation of natural laws or the laws of probability, an appeal to the miraculous; the sort that through its boundless cosmic force throws human beings back upon the burning bosom of Nature, lifting them at one and the same time above her, through the assertion of their right to be dissatisfied.

## TABOOS

In any case, Césaire is not the first Negro to tread this path. Before him there was Etienne Lero, the founder of the review entitled "Legitimate Defence". Senghor has said that this was more than a review. It was a cultural movement. Analysing the society of the "Islands" on Marxist lines, he sees West Indians as the descendants of African Negro slaves, who for three centuries had been subjected to the degrading life of the proletariat. His conclusion is that only through a process of surrealism could they be rescued from taboos, and given the chance of full self-expression.

Actually, if you were to put Lero and Césaire side by side, you would certainly be struck by their differences. The comparison would enable you to determine the great gulf that separates European surrealism from the shape it assumes in the hands of a

Negro revolutionary. Lero was the forerunner. He invented the theory of the use of surrealism as a "miraculous weapon", an instrument of research, a sort of radar device, putting out feelers into the deepest recesses of the unseen. And yet, his poems are like schoolboy essays, mere imitations. They never outstrip themselves, never reach out beyond their own narrow limits. On the contrary, they close in upon themselves.

"The locks that once I knew,  
Burden the branches with  
the substance of the  
empty seas.  
Your form is but a memory  
hanging there,  
For spring to spread her  
fingered charms.

The spiral of your smile  
Diffused afar o'er dwellings  
we would shun".  
"The spiral of your smile",  
"spring spreading  
forth her fingered charms"! We recognise in those expressions the preciosity, the gratuitous character of the surrealist imagery, the eternal process that consists in juxtaposing the most incongruous terms, hoping somehow that the "chance throw of the dice" will reveal some hidden aspect of the person or thing described. Neither in this poem, nor in the rest of his verse, do I receive the impression that Lero is claiming freedom for the Negro.

## DAZZLING WASTES

At most he demands absolute freedom for the mind. In his purely abstract use of terms, there is no combination of words that even remotely suggest a picture of Africa. If you were to remove his poems from this anthology without disclosing their author's name, I am almost certain anyone, white or black, would ascribe them to a European contributor writing in the "Surrealist Revolution" or "The Minotaur". The reason is that the surrealists aim at rediscovering through the red hot imagery of words, beyond race, circumstances or class, dazzling wastes of silent darkness which contrast with nothing, not even with light, because light and darkness, day and night, and every contrary thing fuse and are swallowed up in them. Well might we speak of surrealist verse being impassive and impersonal, just as we refer to the impassivity and impersonality of the Parnasian school of poets.

A poem by Césaire, on the other hand, explodes and turns on its own axis like a rocket. Suns spring forth from it, spin and explode, begetting other suns, each mightier than the one that went before. It is not a question of producing a gentle fusion of contrasts, but making one of the skins in the black and white pattern stiff, like hungry sex desire, and driving it into the other. The dense mass of words, thrown up in the air like stones from a volcano, represents negritude wrestling with Europe and colonisation. Césaire does not demolish culture as such, only the culture of the whites. He does not turn the spotlight on indiscriminate desire, but on the revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed Negro. He probes the depths of his being not to discover the soul, but a particular form of humanity, which is concrete and clearly determined. Thus we may, without demur, refer to it as a kind of automatic writing, definitely

aligned and even directed, not because it is imbued with conscious thought and reflection, but because the words and images invariably portray the same torrid obsession. In the depths of his being, the European surrealist finds release.

## HAZARDOUS COMPARISON

Césaire discerns, as he plumbs his own most secret depths, the fixed unbending sense of vindication and resentment. Lero constructs sentences languidly, decompresses his words, and handles broad, imprecise themes with scant regard for logical connection. Césaire's words are piled up one against another, and held fast by the author's impassioned vein. Between the most hazardous comparisons and the most disparate terms, there is a secret thread of hate and hope. Just compare, for example, "the spiral of your smile diffused afar" which is a product of the free play of imagination and an invitation to dream, with the following:

"And the radium mines  
embedded in the deep  
abyss of my subconscious self,

Will burst like beads of  
grain in the feeding  
troughs of birds,

And the jagotts gathered  
from the alluvial seams  
That hymn the night,

shall all without exception

Bear the name of starry constellations",

where the "disjecta membra" of the vocabulary come together, suggesting the existence of a distinctive Negro version of "Ars Poetica".

Or again:  
"Our faces comely as the  
real and vital power of  
negation".

And yet again:  
"The seas where islands  
pullulate like vermin,  
and crackle as the fingers  
of the flame-throwing  
roses touch  
them, while my frame  
though struck by lightning,  
stands intact".

## ENSLAVED PRINCESS

Here we have the idealised image of the vermin that fret the Negro in his suffering, skipping about in the watery tresses, light-bespangled islets, crackling beneath the cleansing fingers of the radiant sky, the rosy-fingered dawn of Greek and Mediterranean culture, filched by a Negro from the sacred poems of Homer, whose finger nails like those of an enslaved princess, are suddenly pressed into service by a Toussaint Louverture, to pluck and crack the triumphant parasites of the Negro sea, the dawn that suddenly rebels and changes into tempest, shedding flame like the savage

weapon of the whites, a bolt of flame, an ingenious weapon, an executioner's axe, smiting the big black Titan with a refulgent flash of flame.

But the Titan rises intact, always at hand to storm the citadels of Europe and assail the skies. With Césaire, the great surrealist tradition reaches its culminating point, takes final shape, and compasses its own destruction.

Surrealism, which started as a poetic movement in Europe, has been filched from Europeans by a Negro, who turns it against its originators and gives it a strictly defined role. I have pointed out elsewhere how the proletariat as a whole shut itself off from this type of poetry which destroys Reason.

## WORLD REVOLUTION

In Europe surrealism languished and grew pale, for want of patronage by those who might have infused fresh blood into it, and given it a new vitality. But at the very moment when it lost contact with the Revolution (in the West), it was grafted in the West Indies on to a branch

of the World Revolution, and burgeoned into a lush flower of sombre hue.

Césaire's originality lies in this that he has succeeded in asserting his narrow but powerfully absorbing preoccupation as an oppressed but militant Negro, through a form of poetry second to none so far as freedom of expression, iconoclastic tendencies and metaphysical speculation are concerned, at the very moment when Eluard and Aragon failed to give a political content to their verse.

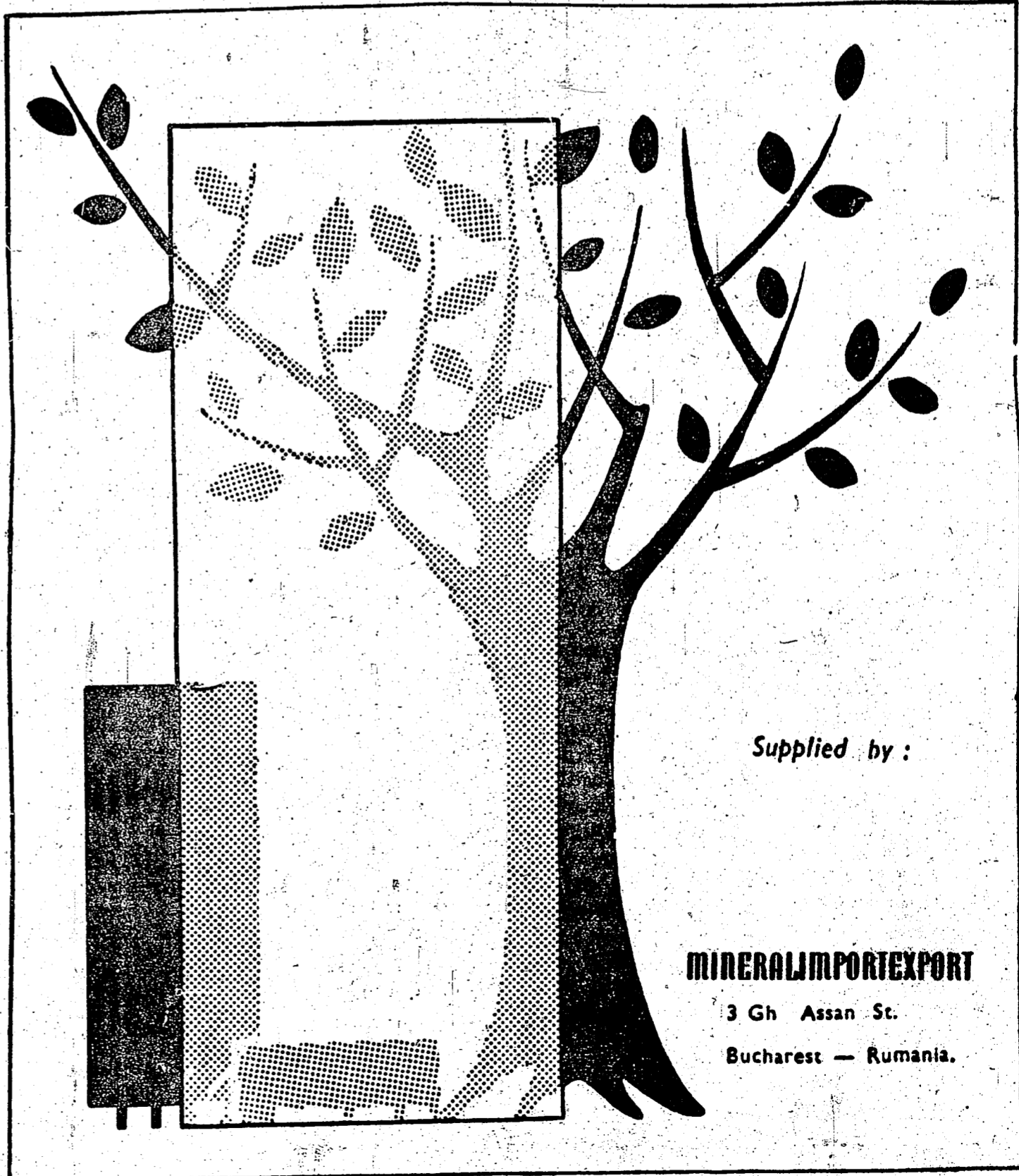
Finally, there emerges from Césaire like a cry of grief, love or hate, an objective image of negritude. Here again he follows the surrealist tradition which requires that poetry should produce objective forms. The words Césaire uses do not describe, depict or reproduce negritude externally, as a painter does from a model. They create it, bringing it to life before our very eyes, so that it becomes a thing that can be seen and apprehended.

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# AFRICAN DIARY

22nd JULY MONDAY:

**GHANA:** Work starts in Accra on the first stage of a national television net work for Ghana. Construction of two main studios and an additional smaller one started in April this year and is expected to be completed by the middle of next year.

**KENYA:** The Kenya Prime Minister, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, declares at a rally held at Kisumu on the shores of Lake Victoria that his government will not tolerate any section of the community advocating autonomy or secession for certain regions of Kenya.

**NIGERIA:** The Federal Government of Nigeria bans public meetings and processions in Lagos for two months. The ban, however, allows public meetings and processions connected with religion and certain sport meetings to take place with special authority.

23rd JULY, TUESDAY:

**UGANDA:** Mr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, commenting on a letter received from the United States remarks: "the United States cannot make us forget racial discrimination in America by giving us dollars".

**GHANA:** The Ghana government has authorised its missions and embassies abroad to issue, on application, visas to cover tourists and businessmen visiting Ghana.

**U.A.R.:** President Nasser declares to thousands of cheering people at Republic Square, Cairo, that Egypt is not prepared to unite with treacherous Baathist Government of Syria. President Nasser further declares that the present Syrian Government has committed treason to the proposed Federal Union of Syria, Iraq and Egypt.

24th JULY, WEDNESDAY:

**KENYA:** A KANU member of Parliament, Mr. G. F. Oduya, pleads with the Kenya Government to give top jobs in Kenya Government to former Mau Mau Field Marshals and Generals, because of their "high qualifications" for organisation.

**ALGERIA:** A communique issued by the Angolan National Liberation Front (FLN) says Portuguese planes have bombed Angolan freedom fighters positions around Munda with American made "napalm-bombs". In other bombing raids by the Portuguese thugs "a considerable number of women, children and old men fleeing North Angola to the Congo border" have been killed.

**ANGOLA:** Three African freedom fighters have been sentenced to 14 years imprisonment each by a military tribunal after being charged with crimes against the external security of the state.

**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** James Kapako, 22 year-old Northern Rhodesia United National Independence Party's Youth Secretary goes to jail after being sentenced to three years hard labour for uttering subversive statements. He intends to lodge an appeal.

**25th JULY, THURSDAY:**  
**NIGERIA:** The all-Nigerian Parties' Conference starts in Lagos this morning to plan for a Republican Constitution for her 40 million people.

**CONGO:** Mr. Casaire Kajemba Sisu, 32, a former chief of state in the Congo Ministry of Mines, is named Secretary of State for Justice under Presidential Ordinance.

**BECHUANALAND:** A representative of the Pan-African Congress (PAC) and a former refugee from South Africa, Mr. Matthews Nkoana has been or-

dered to leave Bechuanaland by August 2nd.

**EGYPT:** Five ice factories in Alexandria have been requisitioned by the Government. Dr. Kamal Ramzy Stino, Supply Minister, says the five factories are not coping with the city's requirements.

**NIGERIA:** Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Nigeria's Governor-General and also Nigeria's National Chief Scout, intends to set up a committee to plan a scout's jamboree to be held in Nigeria in 1965.

26th JULY, FRIDAY:

**KENYA:** The Kenya Opposition Party (KADU) is determined to demand complete autonomy for all regions so long as the present Kenya Government continues to advocate scrapping the Regional Constitution which has provision for Regional Authorities.

**LIBERIA:** President William Tubman, President of the Republic of Liberia, declares at a Press Conference that it may be preferable to suspend South Africa and Portugal from the U.N. membership as an initial move rather than to expel them entirely as suggested by Ghana's representative at the U.N.

**NORTHERN RHODESIA:** A Government Gazette published at Ndola now permits Africans to marry whites. Formerly, the law prohibited Africans from marrying whites.

**TANGANYIKA:** Mr. A. L. Adu, Ghana's Secretary-General of the East African Common Service Organisation, says that President Nyerere's decision to continue to participate in the work of the Organisation with his East African neighbours after Tanganyika's attainment of Independence in 1961 is an act of faith.

27th JULY, SATURDAY:

**SENEGAL:** President Leopold Senghor of Senegal has confirmed that he will not attend the meetings of the Afro-Malagasy Union's heads of State Conference in Cotonou, Dahomey. Rather he will stay to prepare for a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the African Unity Organisation.

**SOMALIA:** Top leaders of nationalist organisations and trade unions have been arrested by the colonial authorities. The majority of those arrested are leaders of the Popular Movement of French Somaliland who are struggling for the country's independence.

**UPPER VOLTA:** The Upper Volta National Assembly approves of 22 Bills at its closing session before its summer recess. The Bills include the creation of a National Pharmacy Building and a Television Broadcasting Station.

**29th JULY, MONDAY:**  
**GHANA:** A message from President Nkrumah of Ghana has been read to thousands of football fans by Foreign Minister Kojo Botsio on the occasion of a football match between two local teams, Ashanti Kotoko and Ghana Real Republicans. President Nkrumah charges the sporting youth of Africa to establish as a matter of urgency a Pan-African Sports Organisation that will think and plan in terms of the whole continent.

**ALGERIA:** On his last three-day visit to Algeria, President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, at a Press Conference in Algiers states: "If South Africans continue to consider non-whites as human pigs then we will have to fight. Africans are now concerned with three issues: the problem of the achievement of independence of the whole of Africa; the unity of Africa;

# The Three-Cornered Fight in Dakar

Mr Zinson, the Dahomey Foreign Minister, says "the final objective of the U.A.M. is to regroup the whole of Africa."

But it appears the UAM itself is in trouble. Gabon did not attend the Dahomey Conference in protest against the appointment of a successor to the late Bertrand Dagnon. Although the Head of the Dahomey State is the person to appoint the Secretary-General of the UAM, Gabon felt the person must not necessarily be a national of Dahomey.

Two of the UAM's wealthiest members seem to be having second thoughts about the whole thing. These members are Senegal and Ivory Coast who refused to attend the Cotonou Conference.

## DISAFFECTION TOWARDS UAM

Peter Bianes of the influential Paris newspaper, *Le Monde*, writes: "If there is any threat to the existence of the U.A.M. it is rather from the disaffection displayed towards it by some of its members, especially the two most important ones, the Ivory Coast and Senegal."

According to this correspondent, writing in *Le Monde* of Saturday, August 10, Ivory Coast "has always opposed the existence of highly organised units which impose obligations upon her far beyond the benefits they confer."

This same author holds the view that although Senegal has "constantly sought to secure a place for herself in a wider unit for reasons both economic and political," she prefers to team up with Mali, Mauritania and Guinea than with the U.A.M. countries which are flung right across Africa.

Senegal, Peter Bianes claims, would be more at home in the U.A.M. if her neighbours—Guinea and Mali—also became members.

The third task at Dakar was shouldered by Ghana. The Ghana resolution read:

"HAVING studied the Report of the Provisional Administrative Secretary-General dealing with, *inter alia*, political and diplomatic co-operation;

"NOTING that recent African initiatives in these fields since the signing of

the Charter of Unity are concrete examples of achieving greater unity;

"CONVINCED that these actions by African states could have been more successful if they had been directed from one source;

"REAFFIRMING the words of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity that all African states should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of their peoples can be assured;

"DETERMINED to achieve as quickly as possible the aspirations of our people for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences;

"The Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity

"INSTRUCTS the Provisional Secretariat to work

out, as a matter of urgency, for the consideration of the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, a machinery for a more effective central direction in order to give full meaning to the burning desire of achieving one organic and dynamic unity, composed of vigorous sovereign states working harmoniously within the framework of the Addis Ababa Charter."

The issue came up three times at the conference but attempts were made by some of the African states to shelve it.

The U.A.M. group took a negative stand and O.A.S

orientated group, though advocating the dissolution of all regional groups, stuck to the idea of a confederate unit on the pattern of the Organisation of American States.

Discussions on de-colonisation came up as well.

## CRUX OF THE MATTER

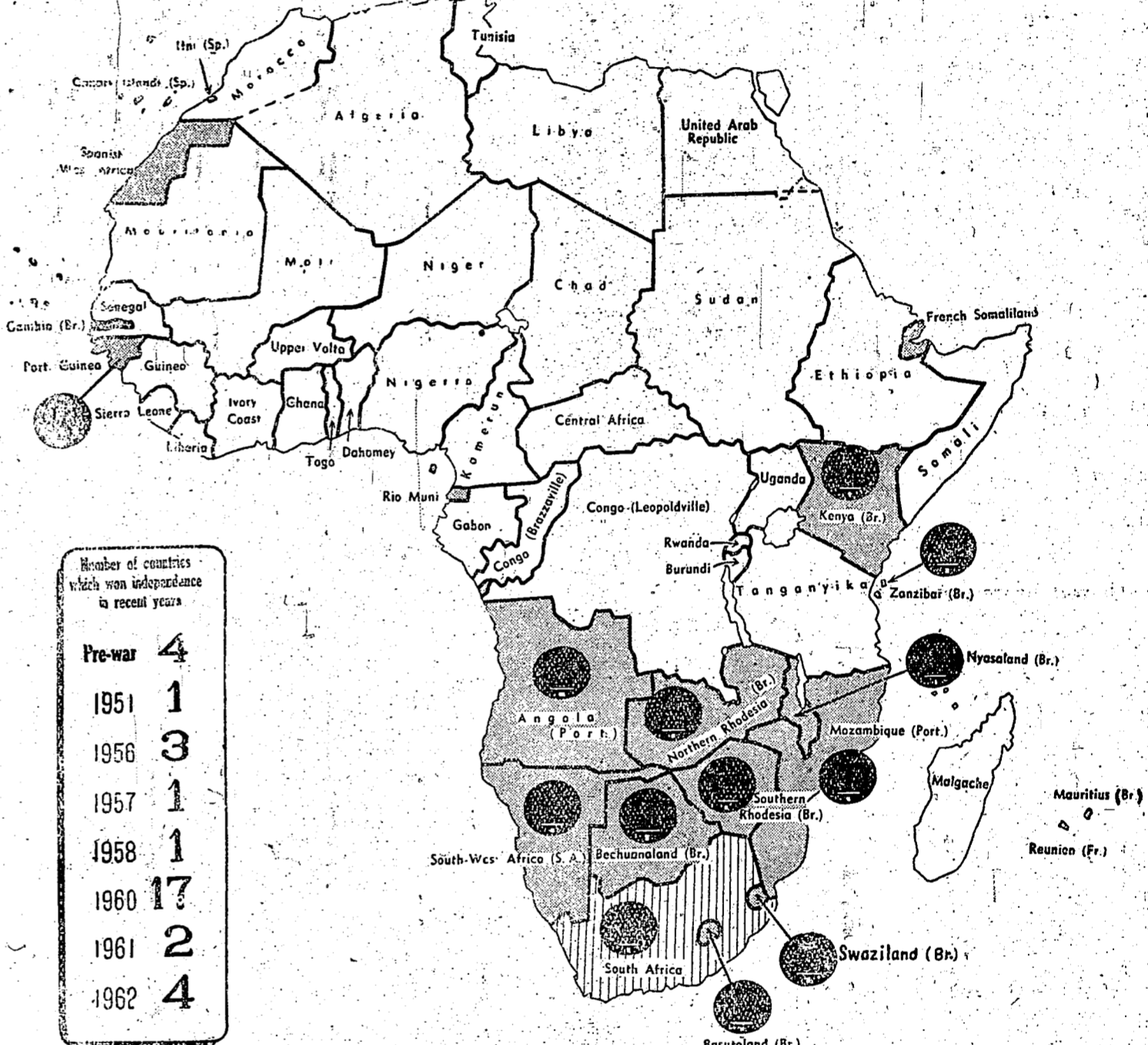
The most important question we must ask now is:—What has the first ministerial council of the organisation of African Unity produced?

To any objective observer it has forcibly brought forward the realities of the African revolution. We

must all give objective analysis to situations in Africa and assess our gains on what we have achieved and not on what we hope to achieve.

The struggle for one continent of one people with one destiny and the fight for full independence are the chief movements of our time, which have been called "the winds of change". These winds of change have got to blow together. And this, one should conclude is the major lesson of what took place at Dakar.

We must say that the condition of success for the African Revolution from now on is that the masses of Africa must be welded into a mighty continental movement with a continental strategy against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations.



Countries and regions still under colonial rule  
Countries under the rule of the white colonialists  
Countries where mass struggles (including armed struggle) against colonial rule and for independence are making vigorous advance

## EDITORIAL

Continued from Page 1

At the tenth inter-American Conference in Caracas, the U.S. used the O.A.S. to pass a resolution permitting aggression against Guatemala. At the Punta del Este Conference, the U.S. used 20,000 million dollars as a bait to get the O.A.S. to agree on economic sanctions against Cuba.

In Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay and El Salvador, the fascist military dictatorships are utterly servile to U.S. imperialism. In Argentina, Honduras, Peru, Venezuela and Chile, the formal trappings of constitutional democracies

which are moving generally to the right, are under the thumbs of the United States. Colombia is the most active agent of President Kennedy's anti-Cuban policies. In Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador and Mexico, where there are tendencies towards independence in relation to the U.S., there is a good deal of subservience to American imperialism. In Santo Domingo the U.S. Ambassador helped in selecting the present ruler while U.S. gunboats stood by.

Latin America is now an outstanding example of the neo-colonialist policy of U.S. imperialism.

Africa has learnt this history. Africa believes that despite differences in language and even in pattern of rule and cultural affinities, the similarities in the distortion of our economies, the common history of our struggle against colonialism, and modern imperialism, and our single common enemy today, are enough factors which can link together the mass struggle of our people for full independence and one Africa.

The U.S. must be told that the temporary success of the O.A.S. in Latin America is sure to come to an end in the course of the revolution of our time. In the light of this, it should be made plain to the U.S. that Africa is fortified in spirit, common purpose and experience to stand against her bedeviling neo-colonialism.