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EDITORIAL

SOCIALIST PARTIES IN AFRICA

(7)

AFRICA is living in an intensely revolutionary era with two revolutions—the national and the socialist revolutions—telescoped into one. We have to break down the colonial foundations of our immediate past, erect and consolidate the structure of national independence and upon this lay the foundations of a socialist society.

Three distinct trends are today battling for supremacy in independent Africa. First, the colonialists and the reactionaries inside our society are out to set-up and sustain a neo-colonialist regime. Secondly, some nationalists fight for a system of national capitalism, which seeks to replace foreign with indigenous exploiters. Thirdly, other nationalists and progressives are eager to build a society basically socialist. Each of these three trends tries to convince the ordinary people that their interests are best served by it. And the tussle between these three sets of conflicting ideas constitutes the ideological life of independent Africa today.

In this crucial conflict, socialist intellectuals have a major role to play; for they are the standard bearers of the socialist army in this war of ideas.

Where the socialist movement is struggling for power, these intellectuals have the two-fold task of expounding socialist ideology for the edification of the masses and of carrying out a devastating critique of the foundations of the old society. While simplifying, without vulgarising, socialist teachings for the people to assimilate, socialist intellectuals must direct withering fire on the philosophical and economic foundations of colonialism, of neo-colonialism and of national capitalism.

Where the socialist party has attained political power, our socialist intellectuals have even more work to do in order to consolidate

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THE U.S. NEGRO AND AFRICA

IN the March 11, 1963 issue of CHICAGO DEFENDER—an outstanding Afro-American newspaper in the United States of America—a popular columnist attempted to answer why American negroes are not coming to Africa.

He says "though the American negroes have African ancestral roots, it should not be forgotten that family trees have roots, shooting off into different directions. Many American negro ancestral roots go back to Europe. The African connection was severed completely long ago, and about all American negroes have learned about Africa is what they read in newspapers and books".



MR. PAUL ROBESON, the outstanding Afro-American singer was 65 years old two days ago.

Paul is the grandson of a hero of the American independence movement. His father William Robeson was born a slave on the plantations in the American South. As a young man, he fled to get himself an education and so became a clergyman in a small negro church.

Robeson's career as an actor began with his role in the famous play "Emperor Jones" and reached its height when he played the title role in Shakespeare's "Othello". Today Paul is recognised as one of the leading Shakespeare interpreters of our time.

Yet however great his success as an actor was, he never for a moment forgot the struggle of his people, the black race, for their freedom. Thus in his great book "Here I Stand" Robeson writes: "When, during the war, I had the opportunity to play the leading role in a Shakespearean play before an American audience (fifteen years after my first appearance in London), I was deeply satisfied in the knowledge, that I had rendered a great service to the negro race and to the whole world."

It is largely to his credit that a great many revolutionary songs of workers and negroes have been preserved for posterity. It is due to him that really militant negro music has become known and loved throughout the world. His art, deeply rooted in the life of the people, draws its preservative power from their struggle and expresses all that is

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The columnist, boasts that "The American negro enjoys the highest standard of living of any of the coloured races of the world, excepting none...The American negroes are not going to leave a high standard of living country to live in another country with very low living standards."

He concludes that "another real discouragement is that improving civil rights, better employment opportunities, wider integration in education and elsewhere are producing a strong counter-attraction to any African attraction that might exist."

About a year ago, nationalists in Portuguese colonies made a charge that Afro-American writers and journalists in America were being used by the Portuguese Government in a heavily-financed publicity scheme to foist off a distorted picture of conditions existing in Angola.

Later on, it was revealed that the Government of Portugal had engaged the George Keanbody Agency in New York to peddle its handouts. Last year, the overseas companies of Portugal raised over a million dollars for an enormous propaganda campaign for which they hired the firm of Selvage and Lee, a Washington (D.C.) public relations organisation run by Afro-Americans.

CHARACTER ASSASSINATION CAMPAIGN

Dr. Max Yergam, the Afro-American, former chairman of the U.S. American Committee on Africa, has written several articles in support of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. One of these articles appeared in the Reader's Digest. Mr. George S. Schuyter, the noted Afro-American journalist, has been defending Portuguese colonialism in the Pittsburgh Courier, one of the leading negro weeklies in U.S.A.

It has come to light that there are several negro organisations brought together under the guidance of the American Committee on Africa with the sole purpose of attracting African countries for the U.S. Government.

When President Kennedy took over he made it quite clear that he was going to use the negroes of the United States for his missions in Africa. Falling in line with that declaration, a hand-picked group of negroes called upon the U.S. President to solicit appointment of negroes to the U.S. diplomatic missions in Africa. Some of these negroes have since been appointed. What is behind their mission to Africa is becoming clear.

Hiding under their colour these negro diplomats and 'helpers' are doing their worst to betray the struggle of the African people. They openly support propaganda which tend to beguile the struggle of the 20 million negroes who have not yet found a place in the United States.

They start off by giving the impression that because they are black they are necessarily involved in the African revolution. Then they take the next step by giving the impression that because they come from a developed country they are better in all respects than the African.

KENNEDY AND AMERICAN NEGROES

They sell out American culture which is 'superior' to the African. They play down Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, who stands out not only as a dean of American letters, but as a man whose 95 years represent every phase of the struggle of the American negro. They spread the American Government's propaganda lies against Paul Robeson.

They openly join in character assassination campaigns against militant African leaders. In almost every case they are made to say what the American Government finds it difficult to say. They have changed the Peace Corps into a seductive Corp under which cover they collect information for the U.S. Government and spread American propaganda among our unsuspecting people.

These negroes use their fortunate positions, which not more than half a million negroes enjoy, to defend distastefully wicked racial conflicts as the one against Meredith. Instead of looking at the negro fight as a general struggle to uplift the negro politically and economically, they gloat about the extension of civil rights. They seek their own personal advantages by selling the negro movement.

The realisation of this has been, to say the least,

most disheartening to African nationalists. For if there is any section of the American community to which Africa looks for support in her struggle against the oppressive forces of U.S. imperialism it is the Afro-Americans.

What with the identical background of exploitation, economic inferiority and dependence, social ostracism, which have characterised the policy of whites to Africans both in Africa and America? Is it too much to expect Afro-Americans to give their full support to the African revolution and to the determination of African politicians to improve their social and economic standing?

PROGRESSIVE AFRO-AMERICANS

One point must be made clear. There are negroes in America and Africa who understand the African revolution and know that the struggle in the United States is intricately connected

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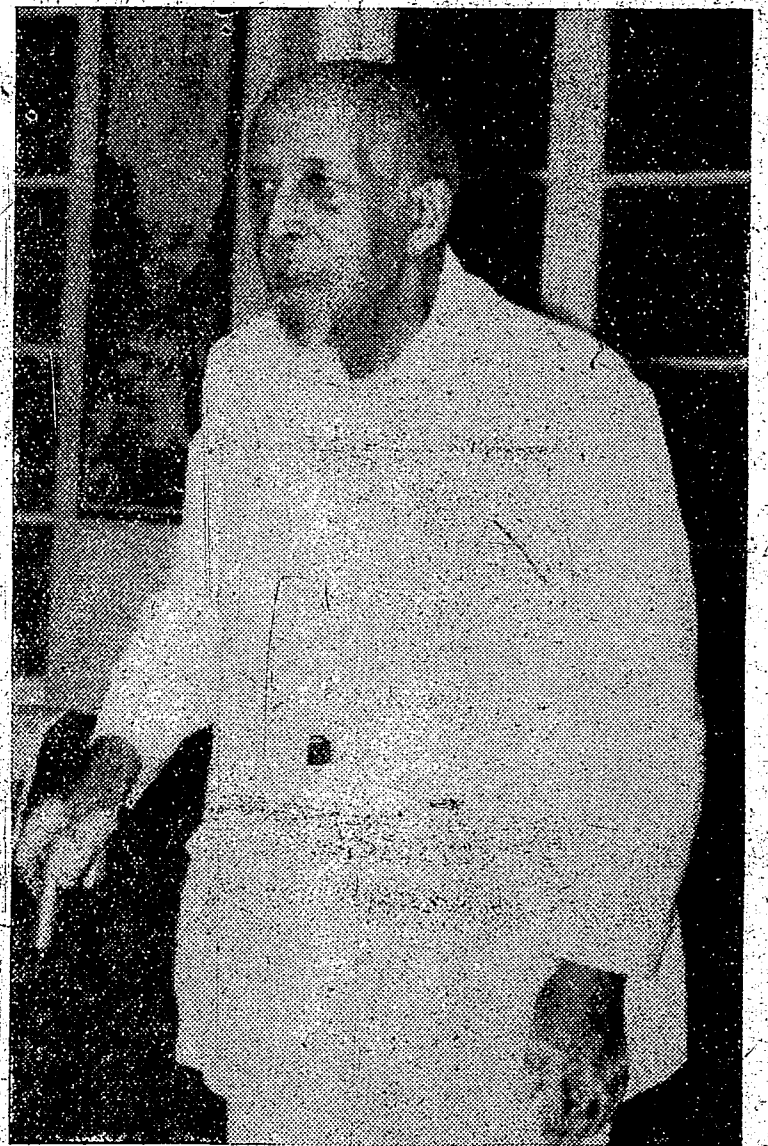
with the struggle of all oppressed peoples in the world.

There are negroes in America who cling to the belief that if the real facts are presented to the American people they will act. These negroes are ready to be included in mass deportations of progressives to Ellis Island.

Just two days ago in Greenwood, Mississippi, nineteen negroes were arrested as they marched to the court house to exercise their constitutional right to register as voters.

Police and helmeted volunteers with riot clubs grabbed the negroes and pushed them into a school bus.

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DR. WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT DU BOIS until recently an Afro-American. He is now a Ghanaian. Dr. Du Bois is one of the world's foremost scholars. He has pioneered in historical anthropological and sociological research. His novels, poetry, and books of collected essays are permanent additions to world literature. Behind his works of fiction, the discerning reader perceives the powerful ingredients of reality and a fierce devotion to justice.

DOCUMENT :

Africa for the Africans

Bakary Djibo, who was the head of the first free Government in Niger and who is now directing the Sawaba Party, has sent us a political document signed by three African parties who are fighting for the real independence of all African countries from every foreign influence.

On presenting this document to our readers we take the liberty of drawing to it the attention of those who, especially from the heights of their ministerial or parliamentary benches, look towards Africa with an ill-concealed sense of nostalgia, while they are still unable to distinguish, amid the mass of false or biased reports propagated by the centres of European neo-colonialism, the new forces in Africa from those that are new only in appearance and which, as such, leave themselves open to the poisoned arrows of African patriots who are fighting for the real liberation of their countries and their continent from every form of colonialism.

(Ed.'s note)

Joint Statement by PAI-Sawaba-UPC

WE, the representatives of:

The Central Committee of the African Independent Party (P.A.I.)—Senegal;

The Political Bureau of the Sawaba Party (Niger);

The Revolutionary Committee of the Cameroon People's Union (Kameroun)

have met to exchange views on the struggle being conducted by our various organisations and the peoples of our respective States against the imperialists and the neo-colonialists, and to analyse the situation in Africa and the world.

We note with satisfaction that everywhere the struggle of our peoples is developing, in spite of the difficulties of the neo-colonialist period and the intrigues of the imperialists and their African stooges; whose aim is to sow the seeds of division.

Our feudal barons as well as the parliamentary and bureaucratic bourgeois members of our society, are growing richer day by day,

as a result of the crumbs from the imperialists' table. And yet these crumbs are only a very tiny portion of the scandalous surplus profits the colonial monopolies extract from our States through the sweat of our peoples still held in subjection.

POWERFUL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Our analysis points to the fact that the present balance of forces in the world is on the side of those peoples who are struggling to improve their lot morally and materially, and achieve genuine independence, democracy, progress and peace. This change has come about as the result of the existence of the powerful socialist camp, the tremendous development of the National Liberation Movement in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Action of all the other forces making for peace and progress in the world.

In these new circumstances, we stoutly reaffirm our

unshakeable faith in final victory for the struggle our several peoples are making towards the total independence and unity of Africa.

Our study of the situation in our respective States has revealed the following facts.

Senegal

The formal granting of independence has resulted in a general strengthening of neo-colonialist domination, particularly of the French type. In actual fact this has turned the Senegal into the largest base from which the imperialists can initiate action and plan reaction in West Africa.

The reorientation by the Senegalese government of agreement, made under the now defunct Mali Federation, and since repudiated by the Republic of Mali, has extended the neo-colonialist stranglehold to all the key sectors of the country's existence, with the result that the Senegal remains the only one of the former French West African territories that is still a member of the Gaullist Community.

These agreements by ensuring the maintenance and reinforcement of French military bases, have made

it possible to establish on Senegalese soil one of the most important deployments of the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in Africa. This situation is a menace to peace not only in Africa, but also in the world.

As far as the country's economic structures are concerned, the reforms undertaken by the government in actual practice keep the colonial structures intact, and worsen the living conditions of the working masses to an unprecedented degree.

The failure of the economic organisations which have been set up, the fact that trade is entirely in the hands of foreign companies, that the country's economic sectors are in the grip of high French finance, the ineffective, negligent character of such reforms as the Groundnut Marketing Board and the Senegalese Development Bank, all attest to the fact that the policy implemented by the Government of Senegal is against the interests of the nation.

IMPERIALIST FORCES

The country's economic dependence is further aggravated by the institution of long term fiscal systems and conventions governing establishment, all of which are in favour only of foreign private capital, and this strengthens its hold over Senegal's economy.

However, although as a result of the foregoing, French imperialism still holds the reins of domination in Senegal as it did in the past, the Senegal is also the point on which the neo-colonialists' economic designs are envisaged by the combined imperialist forces in Africa converge.

This statement is abundantly confirmed by the fact that Senegal was the first of the African States to join the Common Market, and also by the invasion of the Senegalese economy by imperialists from America, Western Germany and even Israel, at one and the same time.

From the social standpoint, the dissolution by the Senegalese Government of the parties and mass organisations fighting for genuine independence (the P.A.I., U.G.T.A.N., Youth Council, R.J.D.J., the Students' Association, the Senegalese Women's Union) is sufficiently indicative of the anti-democratic direction in which that government is moving.

Further confirmation of this is to be found in the institution of the Special Tribunal, the unduly prolonged existence of state of emergency, the introduction of greater measures of repression against the nationalists, the many restrictions on the rights of workers, the adoption of a new reactionary code of work, the application in the rural areas of certain practices current in the old colonial days.

SOLID BASTION OF IMPERIALISM

This grave situation has brought the country to an

Dr. Felix Moumie, an Ardent African Freedom Fighter who was poisoned by Imperialist Agents in Geneva, Switzerland.



acute state of political, economic and social crisis which whittles away national unity, worsens our underdevelopment and closes the door to any quick, peaceful solution. Every social class, every stratum of society is exploited and persecuted by the neo-colonialists and their stooges who are to be found among the parliamentary and bureaucratic bourgeois members of the Senegalese community.

The Senegal which is the first country in West Africa to have suffered colonial domination, thus remains one of the most solid bastions of imperialism in this part of the Continent.

Niger

In the Niger, the characteristic feature of the political situation is the fact that the Government in power was imposed upon, the people by the French colonialist forces, after the legally constituted Government was thrown out, the Niger Assembly of 48 elected Sawaba Party members as against 18 pro-French ones dissolved and a reign of terror instituted against the peasants and workers, following the de Gaulle Referendum of the 28th September, 1958.

Two years after these shock tactics, organised and directed by the French Governor, Mr. Colombani, in order to prevent the country from attaining independence, the Niger found itself in August 1960 the beneficiary of a form of independence which in effect represents French imperialism in the fullness of its might.

MILITARY OCCUPATION

For instance, all the Ministers' offices including the Presidents, are directed by French civil servants who are for the most part Corsicans. All the departments, especially the police, the army and the gendarmerie are in the hands of these French civil servants.

A little over a year ago, co-operative agreements were signed, which sealed the power exercised by the French over the Niger's domestic and foreign policy and the country's economy, and at the same time set the stamp of legality upon

its military occupation. In the Niger the question is not one of bases, but of freedom for the French occupation forces to have the territory at their full disposal in a military sense.

Moreover France has arrogated to herself the right to 2/3 of the territory placed under the authority of the Joint Sahara Region Organisation (O.C.R.S.—French initials) with exclusive rights of prospection, exploitation and administration.

The puppet Government of the Niger has in addition granted 533,000 square kilometres to the American Company known as Shell.

Socially, the ruling features are a peasantry subjected to the worst forms of exaction, subjected to pressure, and spoliation and in addition, reduced to a degree of want and misery such as our country has never known.

In the towns, the vast majority of able-bodied persons are unemployed. In many areas, there is famine and great havoc is caused by epidemics. The mass imprisonments have not quelled the peoples' resistance. Teams trained in measures of repression comb the country, harassing and torturing the peasants.

In the cities, police raids are the daily rule. Concentration camps have been opened on the Sahara side of the Niger, and it is there that political and Trade Union leaders, urban councillors, and peasants are interned.

CHAPTER OF CRIMES

Frightened by the consequences of its own acts, the puppet government of the Niger is vainly endeavouring to discover new forms of repression. With the assassination of the Niger youth leader, Daouds Arday, it has opened a new chapter in its long list of crimes against our people, the chapter of political assassination.

Nevertheless, four years of arbitrary rule, oppression, repression and exploitation carried out by a usurper government imposed upon the Niger under the protection of the French occupation forces have succeeded in welding the people together as one man against the neo-colonialist stooges governing the country.

This sense of unanimity on the part of the people has steadily grown in spite of violent measures of repression which to this day have been the only method of government employed by the stooges in the Niger.

At the present moment, the people of the Niger are almost a hundred per cent opposed to the clique centred around Diiori Hamani and Boubou-Hama.

Kameroun

In the Kameroun which in the words of President Kennedy is "the heart of the West in Africa," neo-colonialists make no secret any longer of the fact that neo-colonialism is a collective imperialist enterprise of an aggressive kind directed against the people.

LIKE A GAG

Politically Ahidjo's puppet regime, which was openly set up as everyone knows against the will of the Kameroun people, distinguished itself a few days after it was created by signing what were in fact trusteeship agreements with France "legalising" the military occupation of the country, granting bases, allowing its foreign policy and diplomacy to be supervised by the French Government and fully guaranteeing the depredations of the trusts.

For upwards of four years the democratic freedoms have been swept away by a series of Acts and Ordinances (May 1959, May 1960...). After forbidding meetings of more than three persons, the government proclaimed it an offence for any citizen to pass comment on political news.

Under this law which is like a gag stifling the slightest sign of opposition from members of parliament by imprisoning them as in the case of Charles Okala, Matip Mayi, Eyidi Bebey and Andre Mbida, the government hopes to impose upon the people of the Kameroun a "single party" with undisguised fascist tendencies, whose party card is as good as an identity document or a worker's card.

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Ruben Um Nyobe, a Cameroon nationalist leader who was assassinated.

The Role of the Academically Trained Person in the Community

by Prof. W.E. Abraham

(University of Ghana)

BY an academically trained person, I shall understand someone who has undergone the kind of training available in a university. It is quite deliberately that I do not insist on his having been trained in a university or even in an institution enjoying the same order of seriousness and stringent standards as a university.

I do not say this, just because there are academically trained persons who received their training outside the walls of a university. It is obvious that the academic standards attained by them could equal anything found in any university.

My second reason is that with the creation of the Institute of Public Education which will serve all university institutions in Ghana, there will be produced in large numbers, graduates who have worked for their degrees either with part-time tuition or even with no tuition at all. What we say about academically trained persons will be vitiated if we do not take them into account.

At the same time, I do not wish to leave the impression that university institutions are only incidental to the existence of academically trained persons. Without university institutions there would not be such persons. It is, indeed, these institutions which create and maintain standards of academic training.

It is the universities which by their growing instruction and constant researches mould and sustain those criteria by reference to which some people are deemed to have been academically trained.

Since then it is the existence of university institutions which make it possible for people to be referred to as having been academically trained, it will not be possible to discuss the role of such persons, without saying something about one's conception of the nature of a university institution. But this is not something that we need pursue immediately.

GENERAL DUTIES OF CITIZENSHIP

I shall make a few comments about the notion of a role. The title definitely suggests that the academically trained person has a special role in his community, for he is being singled out from the community. It is not his general role as a member of his community which is being here discussed, but a role over and above that.

I am not suggesting that the academically trained person does not share a role in the community with other persons who are not so trained. Indeed, the general duties of Citizenship are binding upon him as they are binding upon everyone else. These are his first duties and the first role of every member of the community howsoever trained, is to discharge those general duties to the best of his ability. Those are duties which are inalienable for duties as well as rights can be inalienable.

It is essential to stress this, for it is both natural

and easy for someone who has special abilities to think that he has a role to play so special that he is to be exempted from the common obligations of citizenship. Nothing could be more pernicious than this idea. Whatever special roles anyone can acquire must be roles which are additional to the basic ones, they cannot be roles which are exclusive of them.

This idea is an important one, and its significance will emerge more fully when we come to discuss the nature of a university institution.

What I am rather anxious to say at the moment is that the logic of a role also requires that the person upon whom it is imposed should be capable of fulfilling it. To clarify this, it is helpful to conceive the individual who plays a role as an instrument of achieving something. If a doctor for example has a therapeutic role to play in a community then he might be viewed as an instrument for preserving the health of the people. But then it becomes immediately obvious that not everyone can be such an instrument.

If you wish to knock in a nail, you use a hammer, you do not use a railway line, nor do you use a flower. The general rule which we can gather from this is that whatever can be an instrument of achieving a desired end must have characteristics which fit it for that purpose.

GENERAL IDEA BEHIND THIS

If this is applied to academically trained persons, we quickly realise that their training is being said to fit them for the pursuit of whatever role is attributed to them. But this is not enough.

To bring out another feature of roles or functions, we may fall back again on the nail which we wish to knock in. Though one cannot use a railway line or a flower or a cocoa pod in knocking in our nail, it still does not follow that one must use a hammer so designated.

One does not have to be a Young Pioneer to know that a piece of rock or even wood will do. But then this is a chance. Pieces of rock or wood are not especially fitted for that function, though one may chance upon one which will do.

We say whether we are Young Pioneers or not that this piece of rock will do or this piece of wood will do. But we do not say that a hammer will do. If you are stuck for something with which to knock your nail in, you say that a piece of rock will do. It would be wrong to say that a hammer will do. The general

idea standing behind this, is that you do not say of something which is specially fitted for fulfilling a certain function merely that it will do. Thus, if you wish to look at something you don't say that your eyes will do. If you wish to listen to something you don't say that your ears will do. You can only say that of items which are not especially fitted for the function or role.

Let us return to our academically trained person again. If we say that there is a role which he has in a community, we are saying not only that he has characteristics which fit him for that role but also that he is as it were designed for that role, that he should be best fitted for fulfilling that role.

If we take stock of our results as regards the academically trained person, we have four conclusions on our hands: first, that he has a special role attributed to him; second, that whatever this special role may be, it must be additional to his basic role as an ordinary citizen.

THE CHARACTERISTICS

Special roles cannot be posed against the ordinary role of citizenship; third, if the academically trained person has a special role in his community, then he must be fitted for this by his characteristics, and fourth if the role is his role then he must be best fitted for the role by his characteristics.

Please note that the characteristics which fit him for the role are precisely the same characteristics which fit him best for that role. Those characteristics of a hammer which fit it for knocking in a nail are precisely those characteristics which fit it best for knocking in a nail. Hammers are designed with their possible role in mind.

With the four results settled, we are now in a position to carry the enquiry a little further, we are now in a position to seek just that role which we say belongs to the academically trained person. We have said that this role ensues from his special characteristics.

The characteristics must be special to the academically trained person for if they were not special to him, they could not fit him above all others for discharging certain functions. Hence we can enquire about the role by tracking down the special characteristics.

ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE

But since the role is attributed to him on the ground of his being academically trained, we must seek the characteristics themselves in his training. You remember that it was said that no one could be held to be academically trained if there were no universities. Our task is now clear and delimited. We must seek the role through those characteristics with which a university kind of training endows one.

So what may we say about a university? Not everything that is true of a university is here relevant. But I shall say that a university institution is intimately connected with the acquisition of knowledge and its objective and honest dissemination. Academically trained persons are by their very training oriented towards the objective and honest acquisition of knowledge.

I stress objectivity and honesty because they are connected with truth. Without them, the discovery of truth may take place, but not on a large scale. To use a picture which one philosopher introduced: if you seek gold, you do not wander around streets, look in dustbins and scavenge gutters. Indeed if you do that you may possibly chance upon a little, but that is not a method which is geared by design to the discovery of gold.

What you should do is to familiarise yourself with methods of prospecting and mining, etc. In the same way, if you seek truth you do not just entertain a number of sentences, but you familiarise yourself with scientific and methodical procedures, with argument, with experiment, with tests. That way, if there is any truth to discover you will find it.

These are procedures which are public procedures, procedures which several people can be trained to follow, and procedures which outline a way of a public checking of our conclusions. They do not depend for their validity on our wishes or on our individuality. They are objective.

We require honesty too, the courage to follow the objective procedures faithfully, and the courage to be prepared to be proved wrong. Skill in these procedures is a major part of any academic training. Skill in these procedures is even more important than all those propositions which we learn in a university. Many of them are largely useless, and are useful only to the extent that they give us exercise.

RATIONAL METHODS

The university because it devotes itself to the perfection of these procedures and to the pursuit of knowledge is in consequence given the right to decide who shall teach, what can be taught, and how best to teach. It is given the right to seek knowledge, and, when it is found, to disseminate it. These rights are not natural rights. They are objective rights which spring from the starting aptitudes of the universities themselves.

I have said that a university concerns itself with

knowledge and with rational methods of obtaining it.

This must be the source of the role of the academically trained person in his country.

There are of course two broad possibilities. I suggested a moment ago that much of what is learnt in the university in the way of propositions is in a definite sense essentially useless, and that nevertheless a university is justified in carrying on like that. But of course much of what is learnt in a university again in the way of propositions is directly useful.

In any university where engineering or agriculture or medicine is taught, students and researchers acquire knowledge which is directly applicable. This kind of knowledge could of course be applied directly to the benefit of a community.

The man who has been academically trained in these disciplines thereby acquires a role, for there are needs of society which he is best fitted to satisfy by the content and form of his training. But this is the obvious case. The not so obvious case is that of the academically trained person whose knowledge in its content is not capable of application; what has such a person which can fit him above others for serving his community in specific ways?

My answer is a very simple one. This training is not the acquisition of propositions but the acquisition of skill. It is a learning how to do things; what can such a person do for his community which he can do better than others? But first what has he learnt to do?

TWO KINDS OF PULL

I have suggested that he has only learnt how to seek knowledge with objectivity and honesty. He has therefore become familiar, one hopes, with standards of reasonableness. Where conclusive knowledge is not attainable, he will at least be capable of forming responsible opinions.

It is in this way that he is specially fitted to serve his community. Progress in every community depends on objectivity. If progress is to be deliberately brought about, then it is necessary that we should know what is possible, select from among possible goals that which the community wishes to adopt, and devise in a rational way the best (that is, the most efficient) way of securing it in the given circumstances. These are all tasks which call for an objective and an honest approach. They are therefore tasks to whose accomplishment the academically trained person can significantly contribute.

Here however, there is something that needs watching, for while an academically trained person who has left academic pursuits can bring the whole force of his training to bear on national tasks, the university itself which provides such useful training should not impair its ability to continue to provide such training or pursue knowledge.

What needs watching is that academically trained persons still in university institutions are subject to two kinds of pull. First, there is the pull involved in the idea that intellectualism is universal, and not national. But second, they are also subject to the pull of the particular demands of the nation to which they belong. To the extent that they yield to the second pull they may be said to be nationalistic.

This duality in the pulls to which they are subject opens the way for a possible conflict in their role. One can find academically trained persons who emphasise the universal aspect of their business.

That there is indeed such an aspect is beyond all doubt. This is above all involved in the objectivity of academic procedures. Objective procedures are public and are open to all. They are not tied for their validity to particular individuals or particular nations.

On the other hand, one also finds academically trained persons who emphasise the nationalistic aspects of their qualities. Academically trained persons in developing countries rightly emphasise the nationalistic aspects of their qualities, for if they can contribute to progress at all then the need for their contribution is greater in a developing society than in an already highly developed society. Herein lies one of the dangers of merely copying others, for if the academically trained person in a developing country copied his contemporary in a highly developed country, he would feel entitled to insulate himself from the great changes which surround him, and so rob his nation of that which might have enriched it.

SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS

In highly developed communities, we behold the spectacle of academically trained persons who affect a callous unconcern for the needs and travails of their societies. In a society where there is no serious shortage of such persons the consequences of a few of them

affecting this unconcern need not be grave.

They could even be beneficial, for while others are sincerely and effectively contributing to the national progress, he too carries on that academic research which could raise the quality of training offered to succeeding generations of students. Thus, even though seeming to ignore the needs of his community, such a person in spite of himself contributes to their fulfilment.

But I am saying that this is without serious adverse effects only where there is no marked shortage of others actually contributing in a direct way to the progress of their community.

The picture is different when we come to a developing society. For here we cannot say, that we have a sufficiency of academically trained persons. To affect a callous unconcern for the needs of society would therefore here be anti-social.

In a developing society, in addition to contributing to the solution of economic and political problems, academically trained persons need also to foster by education that climate of thought and opinion which makes it natural for others as for himself to contribute seriously to the progress of his country.

NAPOLEONIC UNIVERSITIES

There can be no justification for not contributing or seeking to contribute to the attainment of goals admitted to be national. Neither a university nor the people it trains live on a desert island. They live in society, and without the understructure and the direct nurture which society makes available to them, they will perish.

Indeed university institutions have at all times respected these needs in one way or another. The early university institutions of Europe paid the greatest attention to letters and divinity, because the theological concern was held to be the primary concern of life. They were even told and accepted guidance on what texts to use. Thus they were all under obligation to teach Galen.

Under Napoleon, the primary concerns of life became more practical and more socialistic. The Napoleonic Universities were therefore given a new circulation to meet the more practical conception of the necessities of life. This is true also of the civic universities of Britain, and will become true no doubt of our own university institutions.

In this way, the intellectual skills which an academically trained person acquires are bent to the needs of society. In this way, they can come to acquire an extra-mural role.

'Africa, South of the Sahara'

by Our Special Correspondent

AMONG the many terms and phrases that are very much in vogue now is that of 'Africa South of the Sahara.' This is seen in many a U.N. publication; it features in diplomatic exchanges and international meetings, and even now history books are appearing under the title, 'The History of Africa South of the Sahara.'

This title could be allowed to go unchallenged but for its implications. The title implies, to most people, that the Sahara serves or should serve as an iron-curtain between the so-called 'Arab and Black Africa.'

Many friends of mine, British, American and especially Israeli, have often asked me what there is in common between the West African independent states and the North African states. Indeed most of them argue that the Sahara has always been a barrier. Even those who are not prepared to go so far have described it as a 'bridge.'

An International Conciliation publication has just appeared under the title, "The Sahara—bridge or barrier." Does the Sahara really divide Africa into two such rigid zones? Has it in fact ever proved a barrier between North or Arab and Western or so-called Black Africa? Can the Sahara be really spoken of as a bridge? These are the questions that I shall try to answer.

Let me dispose of the last one first. I do admit that those who talk of the Sahara in terms of a bridge do so metaphorically. But I want to submit that it is a very misleading metaphor. A bridge implies a narrow link over a gap of some sort between two areas, districts, banks etc. Secondly, a bridge is not usually the permanent abode of human beings.

WORLD'S LARGEST DESERT

The Sahara is the world's largest desert. It extends 2,500 miles from east to west along the Tropic of Cancer and varies in breadth between 800 and 1,200 miles from north to south. It occupies an area, then, roughly of 3 million square miles (over twice as big as all Europe West of the Russian border, including Great Britain and Denmark.) Furthermore, the Sahara is not just a monotonously flat landscape of sand and sand dunes incapable of supporting human habitation. Indeed, it is the home today of at least 2,500,000 people.

Considering the area of the Sahara and the population it permanently harbours, it is exceedingly misleading—if not indeed wrong—to talk of it even figuratively in terms of a bridge.

And now to the first two questions. Does the Sahara in fact divide Africa into two?

Those who answer this question affirmatively imply that culturally, ethnically and linguistically, the

two parts of the continent are entirely different while each of the two forms a whole.

But this is, surely, not borne out by the available evidence. 8,109,000 of the total population of 16,913,000 of the former French West Africa (now Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Niger, Dahomey), 11,661,000 of the 16,835,000 people of Northern Nigeria, about 200,000 of 6.7 million people of Ghana, like about 80 per cent of the inhabitants of North Africa and the Sahara, subscribe to the Mohammedan faith.

And it must be emphasised that this faith was disseminated from North Africa and across the Sahara into West Africa and the Guinea Coast, a process which began in about the ninth century and has been continuing ever since.

Linguistically, Arabic, is as much of a literacy and religious language in North Africa as it is among the Muslims of West and East Africa. And in any case, Africa South of the Sahara, does not form a linguistic unit that can be separated from North Africa.

SONGHAÏ EMPIRE

Hamitic, Semitic, and Nilo-Hamitic, Semiticised and Hamiticised, Negro and Non-negro and even European languages are spoken in Africa, South of the Sahara, and some of the languages of North Africa e.g. Arabic belong to some of these groups (Semitic). Hausa, a very widespread West African language, is spoken as far north in the Sahara as Ghat, Ghadames and Fezzan.

Ethnically the Sahara is not divided. Most of the agricultural centres of Southern half of the Sahara are still peopled by negroid peoples collectively called the Haratin. In the same, some Arab tribes e.g. the Shuwa Arabs have been living in Bornu throughout the centuries while the Armas, the descendants of the Moroccan forces sent in 1590 to conquer the Songhai Empire as well as some Tharag peoples live in the regions of Timbuctu and the Niger bend. It is clear then that culturally, ethnically and linguistically, West Africa, the Sahara and North Africa do form a single unit.

The evidence of Clio, one of the nine daughters of Zeus and, of course, the Muse of History, even further completely demonstrates that the term 'Africa South of the Sahara' is essentially a 20th century term and has absolutely no historical justification. For according to Clio, at no time in history has the Sahara been a barrier to intercourse, political, cultural and commercial, between North Africa and Western and Southern Africa. Let us examine her weighty evidence.

In the first place, Clio is fully convinced that about 10,000 years ago the Sahara did not exist. The whole area was a jungle with rivers and lakes. Archaeological finds such as stone implements scattered in great profusion all over the desert, fish hooks and harpoons bear dumb but clear testimony not only to this

but also to the fact that the area was very thickly populated and fishing was quite a widespread occupation.

Indeed, recent excavations have proved that perhaps as recently as 3,000 to 4,000 years ago, much of the area was still fertile and well-watered. It was not until about 2,500 years ago that, mainly as a result of geographical factors, the Sahara came into existence. And there is evidence that contact between the Sahara and the Sudan began as early as about 5,000 years ago when the neo-lithic culture, i.e. a culture characterised by the domestication of animals, sedentary agriculture and the use of pottery, was introduced into the southern and central Sahara by Negroes who came from the Sudan.

CHARIOTS

As the desert became dried, the Negroes some of whom had intermingled with the Non-negro peoples they met in these areas, retreated into the steadily shrinking fertile areas, the oases of today.

It was to facilitate movement in these increasingly drying-up areas that chariots drawn by horses were introduced into the Sahara probably from Egypt about 2,500 years ago. Herodotus, writing in the fifth century before Christ, describes how the Garamantes of Fezzan used to chase the Troglodytes, the inhabitants further south in chariots similar to those of his day.

All this is proved beyond all reasonable doubt by the rock paintings and engravings that have been discovered in the Sahara. These paintings depict horse-drawn or cattle-drawn chariots and people with clear negro features.

Indeed, plotting these paintings and engravings of horse-drawn chariots on the map, both Mauny and Lhote have come to the conclusion that as early as 1,000 B.C. chariots were being drawn across the Sahara to the Sudan along two main routes: a western route from Morocco through Zemmour and Adrar to the banks of the Senegal and the Niger, and a central route from Tripoli through Ghadames (Cydamus of the Romans) Ghat and Hoggar to Gao on the Niger.

BEAST OF BURDEN

The Carthaginians appear to have developed this trade and by the fifth century, they are said to have been doing lucrative business with the Sudan regions of the lake Chad via the old Garamantian route mainly in animals such as monkeys and lions, in slaves, and in precious stones like carbuncles, emeralds and chalcidony.

However, as the Sahara became drier and slowly but steadily assumed the features that typify it today, the traffic across it became increasingly difficult and it probably would have ceased altogether but for the introduction of the camel into Tripoli by the Romans

probably in the first century A.D. This singularly endowed beast of burden is capable of coping with the aridity of the desert.

The spread of the camel throughout Barbary and into the Sahara and beyond was begun by the Arabs during their swift sweep across North Africa in the eighth century. The process seemed to have gathered momentum and reached its climax during the Hilalian invasions in the second half of the eleventh century.

As a result of the use of this beast of burden, a complicated network of caravan routes across the Sahara had come into existence by the end of the eleventh century. By means of these routes, commercial, religious and cultural contacts were established and maintained between the Mediterranean and the Guinea Coasts right till the period when colonialism reared its ugly head in Africa signified by the reckless partition of the continent by the European powers.

Let us take a brief look at the main routes across the Sahara, and the commodities involved in the traffic. There were seven principal routes. The most western routes ran from Fez and Mogador in Morocco through Tighaza, Wadan and Tishit in Mauritania into Arguin the Senegal and Bamako, Segu and Jenne in modern Mali.

THE ROUTES

The main route started from the Oasis of Taflet (with its capital Sijilmasa) through Adrar in Algeria and Tacedeni to Timbuctu in Mali. The third was from Laghouat and Wargle through Tuat, all in Algeria and through Mabruk and Arawa to Timbuctu and Gao in Mali.

The fourth was from Tunisia through Ghadames and Ghat in Libya, to Agadez and Zinder in Niger to Katsina and Kano in Northern Nigeria. The fifth ran from Tripoli through Fezzan in Libya, Bilma in Niger to Birni in Northern Nigeria and Ngornu in the Cameroons.

The sixth commenced from Cyrenaica in Libya, through Aujila and Tibesti in Libya, to Wara and Abeche in Chad. And finally, the seventh route started part from Egypt, up the Nile into the Sudan.

It must be pointed out that from the southern termini of these routes—Jenne, Timbuctu, Gao, Kano, Ngornu, Wara and Abeche—beyond which the camel never went for geographical reasons, further routes radiated southwards into the states of the Guinea forests and the Atlantic Ocean.

For example, from Bamako, a route ran southwards to Tangreia in Guinea; from Jenne and Segu radiated the important route through Kong in Ivory Coast to Wa and Kintampo in northern Ghana. From Timbuctu and Gao ran a

route which passed through Wagadugu in Upper Volta to Bawku and Yendi in Northern Ghana. Finally, Kano and Katsina were connected with Salaga, Kuma, Elmina and Cape Coast in Ghana, and with Abomey and Whydah and Badagry in Dahomey by a route which went through Bussa and Nikki.

IMPORTS

The commodities that were involved in the traffic are, thanks to Arabic scholars and travellers like Ibn Battuta and El Hassan Ibn Mohammed (better known as Leo Africanus) both of whom actually used the second route in 1352-3 and 1510 respectively to visit Timbuctu and Gao and to European explorers like Lyon and Barth, very well known.

Exports from the Mediterranean states into the Sahara and western Africa included bleached and unbleached calicoes and cotton prints of various colours mainly from Britain, silk used for embroidery, muslin and linen from France; beads mainly from Italy, sword blades from England and Germany, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, snuff boxes, scissors, lanwies and trinkets from most of the European countries.

Exports from Barbary and Egypt were shirts and bournuses from Morocco; red caps, sashes and trousers from Egypt and Tunis, long striped carpets from Turkey, coarse silk and horses from Tripoli; religious books, spices, perfumes and cowries.

It is clear from Leo Africanus' evidence that books were in particularly great demand. "There is a big demand for goods in manuscript, imported from Barbary", he wrote of Timbuctu, "more profit is made from the book trade than from any other line of business." Cowries were used as currency throughout western Sudan excluding the kingdom Bornu and it is interesting to note, throughout the Guinea Coast.

The Sahara also sent its own exports into the Sudan. These included tobacco from Tuat and Wadi Dra, dates and horses from Fezzan, and the most important and most traditional of all the exports into western Africa, salt from Taodeni and Taghaza in the west and Bilma in the east.

EXPORTS

The importance of salt to the western Africans is evident from the fact that it was worth its own weight in gold. Thousands of camels were sent every year from Timbuctu, Jenne and Agadez to convey this invaluable commodity for sale in the regions as far south as Ashanti in Ghana and Kong in Ivory Coast. It is interesting to note that the Sahara salt mines are being worked.

In return western Sudan and western Africa exported to the Sahara, Barbary, and Europe cloth from Kano and Nupe, hides and leather goods such as saddles, bags and sandals, ostrich feathers, ivory, gun and above all, gold, slaves and kola nuts.

It is important to note that most of these exports came from the regions to the south of the termini of the trans-Saharan routes. Gold, the celebrated mainstay of the caravan trade until the eighteenth century was obtained mainly from Bambuk and Bure in southern Mali and Guinea.

Kola nuts, which by the nineteenth century had probably become the second important export from western Sudan came mainly from Ashanti. Described by the nineteenth century European travellers as the 'coffee of the negroes' and considered as a great delicacy by the western Sudanese as well as the inhabitants of the Sahara, it was and still is in very great demand. In 1818, Lyon saw 4 kola nuts being sold in the market of Muruk, the capital of Fezzan, for five shillings!

This trade across the Sahara continued through the centuries and reached its peak in the sixteenth century when Songhai Empire under the Askias and the Bornu Empire under the Sefuwas established peace and order in the regions of southern Sahara and the western Sudan that has been never known ever since.

TRADE DWINDLED

After that century, however, mainly as a result of the anarchy and instability that followed the overthrow of the Songhai Empire by the forces of the Sultan of Morocco in the 1590's, the trade began to dwindle. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, traffic had become concentrated on four main routes—Morocco-Taodeni-Timbuctu, the Ghadames Air-Kano, the Tripoli-Fezzan-Bornu and the Cyrenaica-Kufra-Wadai routes.

Along these routes, the time hallowed camel caravans continued to move as the nineteenth century European explorers discovered until the German, British, French and Italian occupation of western Africa, the Sahara and North Africa by 1910 completely brought the caravan traffic to a standstill.

It should be obvious from this account then that even before the Christian era and certainly with the introduction of the camel, the Mediterranean and Guinea coasts were bound together by a complicated network of channels through which not only commercial but also cultural (Islamic religion and learning) currents flowed.

SUDANESE EMPIRES

I do not want to leave the impression that contacts between northern and western Africa were confined only to the commercial and cultural fields. Clio again does provide clear evidence of empires that had stretched right across the western Sudan and the Sahara. The

first three Sudanese empires—Ghana, Guinea and Mali—owed their birth partly to their being accessible to the 'gold and kola caravans from the south and the 'salt and textile' caravans from the north.

Indeed, in areas, all these empires were as much Saharan as they were western Sudanese empires. The capital of old Ghana, assuming it was Kumbi Saleh, was situated in the desert—in Mauritania of today. And the important Sahara salt districts of Taghaza and Taodeni were all part of the Songhai Empire.

The people that dealt the first stunning blow to the Ghana Empire, the Almoravids, founded another one which stretched from modern Senegal to Morocco and even across the Mediterranean to Spain. For a relatively brief spell of time, between 1590 and 1660, this Almoravid Empire excluding Spain was revived by Ahmed al Mansur, the Sultan of Morocco.

To the east, the Bornu Empire stretched as far north as Fezzan and as far west as Kano and Katsina during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, the Empire of the Jihadi leader Seku Ahmadu extended from Bamako to Timbuctu.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE

And finally, during the first half of the twentieth century, large sections of western Africa, the Sahara and north Africa were all painted green, the colour symbol of the French colonial empire in Africa.

From the evidence of Clio, then, as well as from a survey of present-day cultural, linguistic and ethnographical evidence, it should be palpably clear that the concept of 'Africa South of the Sahara' cannot be justified on any grounds.

At no time in history has the Sahara been a barrier either to the movement of ideas, to trade or to political activities. At no time in history has the Sahara been just an endless stretch of barrenness devoid of human habitation.

If ever the Sahara is going to lose its inhabitants, the Tibu, the Tuareg, the Moors, the Berbers and the Haratin numbering about 2½ million, it will be the result mainly of the stupid French atomic tests. On the other hand, if the French would give up these inhuman and scientifically useless tests, and if the huge mineral deposits now discovered in many parts of the Sahara—phosphates, oil, gas—can be exploited, railways and motor roads will replace the ancient caravan routes and the Sahara will once more rise to occupy the place it did in neolithic times.

But whether this hope materialises or not, Sahara even with its desiccated and rugged look has never been a barrier nor a bridge. It has been the home of thousands of people, and a composite part of the continent of Africa, part of the continent's geography, its history, and its culture.

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN AFRICA

AFRICA

By Our Special Correspondent

TO this day the overwhelming majority of Africans are engaged in agriculture. The predominance of this industry over the other branches of material production may be assessed from the share of agricultural output in the gross national product and in the export of African countries.

According to some estimates, agriculture accounted for 51.3 per cent of Ghana's gross national product (in 1957) and 66.7 per cent of her exports, in Nigeria (1956/1957) 62 and 91.3 per cent respectively, in Tanganyika (1958) 59.1 and 84.5 per cent, in Sudan (1955/1956) 62 and 99 per cent, etc.

Despite the fact, however, that agriculture constitutes the main sphere of activity of the indigenous population, African countries are still incapable of fully meeting their food requirements. A substantial part of Africans are regularly underfed.

This ostensible paradox results from the very poor development of the productive forces of the African countryside, which, in its turn, is a consequence of colonialism. In the years of colonial rule, the so-called traditional (African) sector, on which the very existence of the overwhelming part of the population depended, did not receive any attention of the authorities.

Moreover, by imposing heavy taxes on the peasants, subjecting the villagers to all kinds of forced labour and ignoring the chieftains' misdeeds, the colonial rulers were instrumental in the degradation of this sector.

In many colonies African land was seized, at any rate, the best of it. African peasants were turned into helots toiling on Europeans' farms and plantations and in mines.

It is quite clear that under such conditions the Africans' attempts to achieve any progress in their agriculture could avail of no results.

ENORMOUS POTENTIAL RESERVES

According to FOA, the index of agricultural produce in Africa rose from 72 before World War II to 108 in 1960/1961 (the average figures for the period from 1952/1953 to 1956/1957 are assumed to equal 100). But the per capita production of foodstuffs in Africa decreased. In 1960/1961, its index amounted to 97 (the average figures for the period 1952/1953 and 1956/1957 are assumed, as above, to equal 100).

And yet Africa possesses vast potentialities for increasing the output of foodstuffs and export crops. In 1959, various crops occupied but 236 million hectares on the African continent whose total area amounts to 3,025 million hectares; meadows and pastures occupied 592 million hectares.

Nearly 1,500 thousand million hectares are wasteland or are covered with forests. Assuming that half of the land is non-arable, the remaining half is more than double the area of the currently cultivated land.

Enormous potential reserves lie in raising the yield of food and export crops and increasing the productivity of livestock.

The upswing and modernisation of agriculture is of especially great importance for the young African states which undertake now to build the foundations of an independent economy. Without resolving this task, they will be unable to do away with starvation, provide the emerging indus-

tries with raw materials and increase their exports.

There arises the question: what is the proper approach to the solution of this problem. The answer is not so simple. The point is that agricultural production in African countries has many specific features which cannot be ignored when embarking upon its transformation.

ITS OWN SOCIAL TRADITIONS

This is what Sekou Toure, President of the Guinean Republic said about these peculiarities: Agriculture of the Republic (this is also true of many other African states.—N.G.) rather means the way of life of the population than a profession. Tilling the soil and harvesting is most frequently done by groups of people: separate families, several families and villages, and, less frequently, by individuals.

Agriculture has its own customs and uses its own agricultural techniques developed in the course of centuries; it has its own social traditions. Any change in the economy of agriculture, any change in the practical ways already formed involves the solution of social problems, not only of technical problems.

One of such social problems consists in finding the form of labour organisation, most economical and suitable for African conditions.

In independent African countries there is a widespread conviction that elimination of backwardness of agriculture in the nearest future is possible only along co-operatives lines. Organisation of farm type agriculture cannot produce the proper effect in the majority of Africa's areas.

Because of the low level of labour productivity and their small size, African farmers would not be in a position to buy agricultural machinery, fertilizers, high-grade seeds, etc. Owing to the lack of sufficient material resources, the governments of the young African states would not be able to render help to each farmer individually. To give up the use of modern achievements of science and engineering means that Africa's agriculture would be doomed to backwardness and misery.

MAJOR FACTOR

Things are quite different in a co-operative economy. It is by far easier to acquaint the peasants with the methods of advanced agricultural techniques and to apply such methods in practice. Co-operatives open up before the peasants the prospects of jointly purchasing the required agricultural machinery and of gainfully operating it.

The setting up of co-operatives is facilitated by the fact that in many African countries the indigenous population is still unaware of the pattern of private land ownership and in most

cases the African village is but slightly differentiated: a considerable part of the rural population still lives as "big families" whose members jointly cultivate the "family field."

The habits of collective work, along with the absence of private property of the land, are a major factor in the development of a co-operative movement. In African countries the co-operatives are destined to play an important role in increasing the output of agricultural produce, which will help to consolidate the foundations of a national economy.

Not without reason did a decree of the Republic of the Mali government state that successful activities of the rural co-operatives are the indispensable condition for victory in the struggle for economic independence.

But despite all the above arguments in favour of co-operation, still not everyone, and above all in the

West, believes that the transformation of agriculture of the young African states should follow the line of setting up vigorous, viable co-operatives. The opponents of the co-operative movement favour a dismemberment of the communities and the promotion of private land ownership.

INDIVIDUAL LAND OWNERSHIP

Quite recently the authorities in French, British and Belgian colonies strove to enforce such a policy. The enforcement of private land back as the twenties and thirties with issuing the decrees to enforce such a policy. The enforcement of private land continued down to the collapse of the French colonial empire (1958-1959). In British colonies attention has been riveted on this problem since 1952, after the "Royal Commission" which had studied the land problem in East African countries, recommended the introduction of "individual land ownership" and the giving up of the "traditional policy of agricultural reservations".

The special commission which functioned in the Belgian Congo in 1956 presented a report envisaging measures to enforce private land ownership among the "aborigines."

The attempts of the colonial rulers to do away with the communities and to promote private land ownership were aimed at involving on a larger scale African peasantry in the production of export commodities needed by the metropolitan countries, as well as at assisting the formation of a so-called middle class in which the colonisers contemplated to find their social support.

The colonial authorities failed, however, to score appreciable success in enforcing private land ownership in Tropical Africa. A thin layer of the middle class has to this day been formed in but a few areas of Africa.

In view of the fact that open propaganda in favour of developing the agriculture of African countries on a farm basis has a small chance of success, the advocates of private land

ownership are changing their tactics. By word of mouth they agree to the idea of co-operation, but they recommend the Africans to set up only such co-operatives, which would essentially lead to the development of capitalist relations and a differentiation of the peasantry.

ISRAEL EXPERIMENT

Of interest in this case is the propaganda of the "Israel experiment," widespread in recent years.

Let us consider to what extent the "Israel experiment" can be applied under the concrete conditions of Tropical Africa and whether the co-operatives of the Israel type are the most feasible form of organising labour in African agriculture.

For example, co-operatives of the "kibbutz" type are quite widespread in Israel. Collective ownership of the means of production has been established there and "equality" of their members proclaimed. The co-operative provides each member with food and clothing. In addition, he or she is given yearly a small sum of money which may be spent at one's own discretion (as a rule the sums are spent on recreation).

On the face of it, such a "commune" is highly democratic. But on closer analysis it is not difficult to perceive that the democratic shop window serves as a camouflage for cruel exploitation of the kibbutz members by merchant and money-lending capital.

The kibbutzim are over head and ears in debt. In the old kibbutzim 86 per cent of the capital is borrowed money, while in the new co-operatives, formed in the past ten years, all the capital is borrowed.

The loans are granted at a high interest, sometimes reaching 20 to 30 per cent. This is a heavy burden on the budget of the kibbutzim. The Israel press admits that the kibbutzim are in desperate need of capital, machinery and seeds.

The kibbutzim are joined by wretched paupers, people deprived of any kind of property. They are compelled to work at these co-operatives only because they are unable to find any work elsewhere. The living standards of the kibbutz members are very low. No wonder that in recent years there is ever increasing shortage of labour in the kibbutzim. People do not want to work there.

Continued on Page 6.

AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS

Continued from page 2

This kind of independence can only lay the country open to economic plunder just as the Reunification proclaimed in October 1961 was to prepare the Kameroun to bring it to accept the collective colonialism of the European Common Market Member States.

Even before Yaounde was raised to the status of Headquarters of the African branch of the European Common Market (and with good reason), the United States of America, the vindictive German government in Bonn and Israel increased the burden of misery that already weighed upon the people of the Kameroun.

The workers, peasants, petty traders and junior civil servants in the Kameroun continued to be exploited even more than they were before, by Mr. Ahidjo's "economic twenty year plan" which followed the lines of the colonial economic pattern.

SPECIAL TAX STAMP

As regards agricultural production, the big trusts together with the puppet government lower the price of cocoa per kilo every season, and sometimes even go so far as to steal the entire cargo of the banana boats.

The wealth hidden under the sub-soil continues to be actively but secretly removed and joint plans are worked out for the exploitation of new open-cast mineral deposits, such as the Garona Bauxite deposits, the most important in the world.

The puppets in the government and the trusts are so much in league to plunder the people of the Kameroun that the citizens are obliged to buy special tax

stamps which are affixed to the bills for every item of purchase.

But just as the imperialists are determined to keep the Ahidjo puppet government in power and consolidate its position, so also the people of the Kameroun are determined to win their armed struggle for liberation, because they are convinced that in this neo-colonialist phase of the fight, the imperialists are playing their last card in the Kameroun, and will not give up until they are driven out.

The neo-colonialist war in the Kameroun which began with contingent of the French army swollen by the addition of mercenaries from the "Community," is now assuming the shape of a coalition war against the stout-hearted people of the Kameroun as a result of the participation of legionaries from West Germany, and the supply of equipment and "technicians" from America.

WAR OF GENOCIDE

However, it is clear that the imperialists are under an illusion, confronted, as they are, with the dogged determination of the Kameroun people. When one recalls the mass repression organised by Roland Pre in 1955, one is sure that the campaigns of encirclement carried out by General Briand; in which more than 100,000 men are now mobilised, will not weaken the resistance of the Kameroun people. The state of emergency proclaimed throughout the territory provides eloquent testimony of the dismay of the forces of reconquest.

The social consequences of neo-colonialist exploitation and the war of genocide are that the vast majority of the youth have been thrown out of work and the lot of women have sunk to a tragically low ebb.

The rural proletariat, the poor or ruined peasants, the workers in towns and the youth we have just mentioned, faced with no other choice but a slow death in "regroupment camps," "prison tombs," "death trains," misery in shanty towns or battle against the intruder and exploiter, are flocking to the maquis swelling the ranks of the Resistance Movement.

CONCLUSIONS

From this analysis we have been led to the following conclusions:

1. Our respective countries, which are members of the African and Malagasy Union (U.A.M.), are integrated in the group of African States upon which the imperialists in general and the French imperialists in particular, exercise a tremendous influence.

2. The policy carried out by the governments in power in our respective countries, a policy of national surrender and social misery with its vast array of repressive fascist laws, leading to the suppression of every form of democratic freedom, is contrary to our peoples' deep aspirations towards genuine independence, true democracy and social progress.

3. These governments, in order to safeguard their power, have made common cause in order to hamstring their own people. Hence they have made to sign military and legal agreements, draw up plans for joint concentration camps, and navy and army of 25,000 men quite obviously to foil the aspirations of our peoples by the shedding of blood.

4. By so doing the governments in power in our respective countries who have thus become agents of French imperialism, and have accepted all the colonial troops withdrawn from other African States that are really independent, are in fact carrying out a neo-colonialist policy and endorsing the gravest decisions of the French imperialists: lending support even to nuclear tests in the Sahara and more or less openly boycotting the struggle of peoples still under foreign domination.

RESOLUTIONS

Unable to control and halt the struggle of our peoples, they have resorted to the worst forms of exaction and violence, mass imprisonment, summary execution and political assassination, a sorry method commonly used by the neo-colonialists as in the Congo, the Kameroun, Senegal and now in the Niger.

Conscious of the fact that we represent the legitimate aspirations of our peoples towards independence, democracy and progress, conscious of the fact that in our respective countries we represent the genuine African revolution, we have decided to assume the responsibilities that history places upon us.

To this end, we denounce with all the strength at our command to desperate efforts the imperialists and their lackeys are making to foist upon our countries a fictitious independence which they hold up to them as the genuine article, though in fact this independence, such as it is, was won at the cost of countless sacrifices by our struggling masses.

We denounce every effort and intrigue that tends to secure success and long lease of life for the infamous neo-colonialist experiment.

We denounce all provocative acts and criminal

plots by the imperialists, which aim at liquidating the African Liberation Movement, as well as any anti-neo-colonialist States or Governments supporting them.

We affirm that African Unity cannot be achieved unless it is cemented by a genuine anti-imperialist struggle, which by a natural corollary is also anti-neo-colonialist with a view to attaining genuine political and effective economic independence. It is only by liquidating foreign bases and troops now on our soil, directing our foreign policies along the line of positive neutrality, and ourselves taking control of the key sectors of our underdeveloped economy that we shall achieve this objective.

We solemnly request all progressive and revolutionary-minded organisations within the U.A.M. States to join in with us.

We request all the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist forces to demonstrate greater solidarity in action.

We launch a strong appeal to all the forces of progress and peace in the world to sustain unflinchingly the just struggle of our peoples and to afford help to those who are being inevitably urged forward by the fair winds of history.

We have made a solemn pledge to mobilise for the triumph of our just struggle.

Consequently we have decided that it is necessary to exchange views regularly, and strengthen our ties in the struggle our various organisations and peoples are waging against the imperialists, the neo-colonialists and the puppet governments, in their devotion to see the dawn of genuine independence and the building-up of African Unity.

African Independence Party (P.A.I.)

Kameroun Peoples Union (U.P.C.)

Sawaba Party.

AFRICAN DIARY

2ND APRIL TO 8TH APRIL

TUESDAY 2nd APRIL

EGYPT: Strange incident in Cairo, where the Tanganyikan Vice-President, R. Kawawa, collapses in a car.

NIGERIA: The Federal Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa, announces that he is to appoint an ambassador to the European Common Market; he intends to start negotiations with E.C.A. —The new budget provides for increase of taxes.

SOUTH AFRICA: Appearing before a U.N.O. subsidiary committee, the U.N.O. General Secretary, U Thant, expresses concern about the South African problem.

ALGERIA: In Algiers, 69 hotels have been seized.

PORTUGUESE-DOMINATED AFRICA: The fascist Portuguese government makes a strange and hypocritical proposal: to conclude "non-aggression" pact with the African countries neighbouring its colonies.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: It is learnt that the white-settler racist government has asked officially the British cabinet to grant him "independence", in order to go on with minority rule and exploitation of African workers.

WEDNESDAY 3rd APRIL

ALGERIA: 2 important speeches of President Ben Bella. He states that the Evian agreements cannot prevail on ethics and national interest. He re-asserts the determination of his government to seize the big estates. At the same time, he defines his policy as being a "socialism specifically Algerian."

GHANA: The Special Division of High Court reserves its judgment until further notice in the treason trial of the bomb-throwers and their accomplices.

THURSDAY 4th APRIL:

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Huge demonstration to greet Kenneth Kaunda just back home.

SOUTH AFRICA: Again, new arrests, police swoops, arbitrary verdicts against Africans.

SENEGAL: President Senghor in a broadcast to the nation discloses publicly that financial and economic situation is very serious (production stagnating, trade deficit reaching \$12 million). He has decided to cancel all over-time payments.

EGYPT: France is to renew diplomatic relations with Egypt.

They had been interrupted since the 1956 Suez aggression.

CONGO (Leopoldville): A French mission for technical help arrives in Leopoldville.

PORTUGUESE-DOMINATED TERRITORIES: 13 U.N.O. delegations ask immediate sanctions against Portugal, in view of her stubbornness in retaining under her domination African countries.

FRIDAY 5th APRIL:

SOMALI: Somalian M.P.'s in Moscow and Soviet M.P.'s publish a joint statement on world peace, abolition of colonialism, the Somalian determination to make Africa "an atom-free zone".

SOUTH AFRICA: A British conservative newspaper discloses that U.K. intends to sign a defence pact with the racist South African government.

SATURDAY 6th APRIL:

GHANA: President Nkrumah addresses the nation in a broadcast opening the Peace Week... "The issue of world peace is regarded as the concern of every individual."

SUNDAY 7th APRIL:

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Big rally in Lusaka to mark the end of the "Federation".

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: It is learnt that the nationalist movements are to launch a campaign of signatures to a petition opposing the granting of independence to the white racist Field government.

MONDAY 8th APRIL:

TOGO: In the evening, a plot aiming at overthrowing the Grunitzky government is unmasked. Some plotters are arrested, including one minister, N. Kukului.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: It is reported that Welensky is going to disband his own party (likely in order to strengthen tie with his former rival, Field).

NIGERIA: It is reported that the Nigerian United Labour Congress has withdrawn from I.C.F.T.U.

IVORY COAST: Trial of '85 Ivorians, charged with "subversive activities" is to start in Yamassokro.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The U.N.O. General Secretary is to convene this day his consultative committee on Congolese affairs to discuss the help to be given to Congo for reorganising her army.

Editorial

that political power as a condition for the advance towards a socialist society.

The first requirement is to destroy the concept that intellectuals constitute a privileged class detached from the people but at the same time possessing the God-given right to rule the people. These men of letters must leave their "ivory towers," descend from "Mount Olympus" and live with the people. For it is only by living with the people, by sharing their fears and aspirations that the socialist intellectuals can understand the people and correctly chart and illumine the path of socialist advance.

Where the task is the construction of socialism, the intellectuals have three sets of duties to perform.

In the first place, research must be conducted into African psychology, customs and institutions with the purpose of finding out the institutional forms best suited to the building of socialism. This search arises from the fact that while the principles of the socialist doctrine are universally valid, their applications will have to accommodate the peculiarities of history and social traditions in each African country.

In the second place, socialist intellectuals must conduct ruthless war on those ideas which threaten to choke or supplant socialism. They must subject the theoretical foundations of rival socio-economic systems to withering criticism. They must be on guard against the infiltration of capitalism through the distortion of socialist ideas on property, religion and individual liberty.

They must quickly spotlight and destroy any attempt to revise or even deny some fundamentals of socialism under the guise of creating an "African socialism". In particular, they must wage unrelenting war against the view that there are no classes in Africa. For classes do exist in Africa both in the sense of economic

groups occupying different positions in the production system (that is as employers, self-employed, workers, etc.) and in the sense of different income groups. An added reason is that the denial of the existence of these classes in African society is ultimately a denial of the need for socialism in Africa.

Socialist intellectuals must seek out and debunk those views which call for some sort of modified capitalism for Africa. One of such notions is the welfare state. Its protagonists claim that it creates social services for all out of the proceeds of private industry. However they conveniently forget that Africa today has not got a private indigenous industry that can sustain these social services for the entire population.

Again, socialist intellectuals must wage a determined war against the tactics of using the administrative blunders and temporary hardships in socialist countries to discredit socialism as a way of life.

The third set of duties for our socialist intellectuals is that they must actively set about the job of creating a national literature which will feed our cinemas, televisions, theatres and radios with ideas that kindle pride in our pre-colonial past and arouse enthusiasm for the new socialist order. We need a new national art that will keep the ideals of the socialist society constantly before the public mind and portray the new man and woman demanded by our advance to socialism.

While our intellectuals adjust themselves to the requirements of the national and socialist revolutions now sweeping across Africa, the socialist party and its government should issue comprehensive new directives on the curricula, syllabuses, staffing and life in our secondary schools and universities. The aim must be to create institutions of learning which, in fact, can rear a new crop of socialist intellectuals.

AFRICA DAY



APRIL 15, is Africa Day. In Ghana it will be marked by demonstrations against colonialism. Official postage stamps have been issued.

It is just about a decade since the whole continent of Africa started to march for its total liberation. The liberation movement has spread rapidly over many regions on the continent in the course of these few years.

In a number of countries after a relatively long break the struggle has assumed a most militant character. In the Rhodesias and Nyasaland the nationalist forces have won many victories and they are still determined to meet the ob-

stinacy and violence of the British colonialism.

In South Africa huge demonstrations of the African people are sweeping through cities and rural areas all over the country, expressing their angry repudiation of the policy of apartheid being pursued by the Verwoerd government.

Despite all inhuman and unimaginable cruelties the nationalist forces in Portuguese dominated Angola, Mozambique and Guinea are launching nation-wide struggle against the Portuguese colonialists.

The emergence of a large number of independent African states, is greatly ac-

celerating the struggle. Some of these independent states have become centres for the anti-colonial fight, rendering their great assistance.

But we must not delude ourselves by thinking that the exciting advance of so many colonial countries to independence is enough to save Africa. There are bigger issues and bigger conflicts facing us. Our survival and final victory over neo-colonialism lie in united action by all Africans.

The call on Africa Day is: From Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Malagasy, we must all unite NOW, to promote and protect the freedom and independence of Africa.

THE U. S. NEGRO AND AFRICA

(Continued from page 1)

The marchers were walking in twos to the courthouse when police blocked their path and ordered them to disperse. They stood their ground. One negro girl told the police: "We will not disperse". City Commissioner B. H.

Hammond announced the negroes would be taken to jail if they kept up their marches.

We all know of the clubbing and beating of negroes. We have read of frantic attacks on automobiles carrying negroes.

These are so universally the mood of white police behaviour in relation to any sort of negro protests against racism that they can be considered the natural and ordinary role of the police in the United States.

Co-operative Movement

(Continued from Page 5)

As pointed out in an official UNO publication, the special merits of the kibbutzim should be attributed to their social features, and not to any economic advantages. The meaning of these words is that the kibbutzim have helped and are helping to absorb the "surplus" of the non-propertied population which would otherwise become unemployed. It is hardly advisable to set upon African soil the kibbutzim which, in essence, are labour camps. Co-operatives of the "moshav" type are of a dif-

ferent nature. Generally a moshav consists of some families, each leasing a plot of land from the state. Members of the moshav do no communal farming. Their "co-operation" is expressed only in their collaborating with one another in electing local authorities, in implementing village projects and in organising a system of marketing. Hence it is not a production co-operative, but rather a co-operative intended for marketing, with a limited number of participants.

The moshav members are forbidden to use hired labour, but this is done not so much with the object of maintaining "equality" among them, as with the aim of drawing the maximum number of village inhabitants into the sphere of production.

EXPROPRIATION AND SERVITUDE

Like the kibbutzim, the moshavim are exploited by big capital and usurers.

Application of up-to-date techniques on the small farms of the moshav members is either difficult or simply impossible. This fact

alone reveals that there are no prospects for such co-operatives.

It is quite evident that to imitate the Israel experiment in organising co-operatives of the moshav type would not either be justified in the case of African countries.

Co-operatives of the moshav type are ill-received by African peasantry. Recently the Western Nigeria authorities met with resistance on the part of peasant communities in their attempt to divide collectively-used land.

Not only does the enforcement of private land

ownership run counter the Africans' ideas of tilling the soil and of joint labour; it also dooms most of the peasants to decades of expropriation and servitude.

It will inevitably lead to the development of, primarily, more gainful export crops to the detriment of staple foodstuffs. Such is the nature of the private sector that its efforts are directed only to spheres profitable for it. As has been justly noted by the magazine "Communautes et Continents", such a tendency on the part of the private sector does not always conform to national interest.

(To be Continued)

PAUL ROBESON

(Continued from page 1)

lasting in the culture which the joyous, music-loving, yet nevertheless unhappy negro people, have created over the centuries.

During the Spanish Civil War, Paul went to Spain to fight against facism. He was deeply drawn into the anti-colonial struggle.

He is a great fighter for peace. In April 1949 at the World Peace Council in Paris, he said: "It is unthinkable that American negroes could go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations against the Soviet Union which in one generation has raised our people to full human dignity."

For almost 10 years, the United States Government confiscated Paul Robeson's passport. But in June 1958, the State Department returned his passport.

Paul has since toured several European countries. He is now in London and he may visit us here in Ghana.

On the occasion of Paul's 65th birthday, one can only say of him as Professor Albert Norden of Germany said of him on the day he received his honorary degree of doctor of philosophy of the Humboldt University, Berlin: "You, Paul Robeson, as a fighter, an artist and a scholar give all people, including us Germans, the spiritual food in our struggle for freedom, equality and fraternity of all peoples and races... We honour therefore the man who keeps on hammering at the chains that still bind 20 million negroes in the United States and millions of others in Africa."