

PAN-AFRICANISM AS AN ideology, is a higher philosophy of a New Afrika. It is a blue-print of a giant monolithic State of Afrika — the glorious Union of African States. Discussing the future of Afrika in his book, *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, George Padmore observed that :

“there is a growing feeling among politically conscious Africans throughout the Continent that their destiny is one, that what happens in one part of Africa to Africans, must affect Africans living in other parts”.

We honour Ghana as the first Independent State in modern Africa which, under the courageous leadership of the Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah — Africa's Number One Liberator — has written in her Constitution a clause providing for the Union of African States which entails the surrendering of her sovereignty. We Pan-Africanists regard this vision of a democratic Union of African States as the sacred duty of every African State to strive for ceaselessly, unselfishly and energetically, for the creation of a Union of Afrika, stretching from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Malagasy. The days of small independent countries are gone.

OBSTACLES TO FORMATION OF UNION OF AFRICAN STATES

What its nature and structure will be; what its role and task, have not yet been determined. Many, perhaps, think of the Union of Afrika as a “Black Power”, and with Paul Robeson would “like to go to Ghana or Tanganyika just to sit there for a few days and observe this black power”. Before I give an outline of Pan-Africanism we envisage, I should like to treat briefly the obstacles we are bound to come across.

Let us be certain then, that by 1973 the African people shall have entered through the glittering gates of a giant monolithic State of Afrika — the Union of African States — and every part of the continent freed from foreign domination. In some parts the change-over will have been comparatively peacefully achieved, while in others freedom will have been achieved after bitter bloody fighting which will leave in its wake a legacy of destruction and hate. In the latter States, particularly, the first five or ten years will be years of readjustment and feverish reconstruction and planning. There will be plenty of work to be done, and the capital for that will be forthcoming from both the East and the West, because there can be no greater guarantee against both political and economic instability than the final recognition of the supremacy of African interests in Afrika. This era of African Nationalism shall have been

POTLAKO K. LEBALLO, former national secretary of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, recently completed a two-year term of imprisonment for incitement, was deported to Basutoland and is at present in New York appearing before the UN Committee on Colonialism.

shifted to the background for safekeeping in case of a re-emergence of foreign danger. Pan-Africanism shall have fully emerged in its post-reconstruction period. The African Independent States will at that time be faced with the danger of Neo-colonialism.

By that time, of course, those African States that had achieved independence earlier, would presumably be more advanced politically, economically and socially than the newly emerged states. The older states would have passed through the first two of the four stages :

- (a) the attainment of freedom and independence;
- (b) the consolidation of that freedom and independence;
- (c) the creation of unity and community between the free African states; and
- (d) the economic and social reconstruction of Afrika.

By virtue of their experience and development, these states will probably claim and be accorded the right to act as big brothers to the younger states.

CHICANERY OF SOME LEADERS

Of course, we will have recalcitrants. I am quite certain that some of the leaders of African states who are “great” for personal power or fame or either because the Press has built and made them so, or because they are one-eyed dwarfs in a land of blind dwarfs, will advance a number of excuses and, under the cloak of “realism”, will attempt to put off the complete unification of the African continent for the fear of losing their “greatness” — which they undoubtedly will — in a greater Afrika where much more talent will be available. Some leaders, again, while paying lip-service to the concept of Pan-Africanism, will nonetheless demand autonomy for each state in order that they may remain in the public eye. Such obstacles we must be prepared for, and must vigorously put forward before the masses with intensity the ideas of Pan-Africanism as a higher philosophy of a New Afrika. The goals of our ideological outlook on Pan-Africanism *must* be thoroughly hammered and kept in view at all times in the minds of the people in order to overcome the hesitant leaders.

WHO ARE AFRICAN NATIONALISTS ?

For us, fortunately, all African Nationalist leaders on the continent are Pan-Africanists, and are not likely to allow personal ambition to hamper the cause for which they laboured and suffered so long.

In fact, we in South Africa shall have no hesitancy whatsoever to announce or declare the surrender of the sovereignty of our independence to the Union of African States on the very first day of our freedom or take over.

Furthermore, not only are the leaders committed to Pan-Africanism, but that is also the goal on which they have riveted the eyes of their followers and the latter will not allow them to deviate. Should they do so, they

In a trio of Pan-Africanist studies, Potlako K. Leballo follows E. L. Ntloedibe ("Race and Nationhood", September) and will be succeeded by Joe Molefi on "African Socialism" (December).

will lose their following, and young and more determined African Nationalist leaders will take over and with the support of the older states as well as that of other African nationalist parties on the continent, will destroy tribal and religious factionalism, assert the free independent African Personality, and lead their states triumphantly into the free, democratic Union of African States. I am positively certain that in every African state the political party that will triumph will be one wholly committed to Pan-Africanism precisely because of the overwhelming desire of the African people to have formal expression of their oneness.

FRAMEWORK OF THE UNION OF AFRICAN STATES

There would appear to be no clear agreement yet among African Nationalists on the constitutional structure of the Union of African States. At the Accra All African Peoples' Conference in 1958, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah stressed the necessity for such communion of our own to give expression to the blossom of African Personality — when Pan-Africanism as a space-vehicle of our blue-print, shall have scaled heights unscaled and reached the summit, the pinnacle of a New Afrika. In fact, this is our uncompromising irrevocable stand which entails the ideal of *Afrika for the Africans*, which means the democratic rule of an African majority — government of the Africans by the Africans for the Africans with everybody who owes his or her loyalty only to Afrika and who accepts unequivocally the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African. We guarantee no minority rights. We think in terms of individuals, not groups. The conference in Accra adopted this view regardless of the constitutional framework in which it will ultimately find expression. In other words, the Conference adopted George Padmore's outline of an initial federation of States on regional basis, finally merging into federal United States of Afrika.

The Pan-Africanists in South Africa, though they have adopted the same outline, are, however, not enamoured of federations for the reason that they entail compromise — sometimes on very vital issues. They militate against effective unity because inherent in them is the idea of "trial for a period" and the threat of ultimate secession by one state or another. The shortcomings of a federal structure have been amply demonstrated, in recent years, in the United States of America, and one notes that the trend there to-day is towards effective centralisation of power towards a unitary constitution. And it is a unitary constitution that the Pan-Africanists envisage for the Union of African States, with all power vested in a central government freely elected by the whole continent on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

MENACE OF ARTIFICIAL TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES

Such elections, we know, will be a colossal task. But they are inevitable. The removal of the territorial boundaries created by the imperialist powers will result in a more equitable distribution of the population while facilitating the delimitation of the continent for purposes of elections. In such a set-up, only continent-wide parties, committed to a continental programme and cutting across sectional ties and interests, whether of a tribal or of a religious nature, are possible. This will, in turn, promote the idea of African Unity and the concept of a free and independent African personality.

ECONOMIC ASPECT OF A NEW AFRIKA

On the economic plane, the advantages to be derived from a giant Pan-Africanist State are but too obvious. The potential wealth of Afrika in minerals, oil, hydro-electric power, etc., is immense. Afrika is a rich continent, with a variety of products. By cutting out waste, through systematic planning, a central government having at its disposal the combined wealth of the continent can bring about the most rapid development of every part of the state. The prosperity of Nyasaland, for instance, which at present appears bound up with the R57 million Shirè valley project could be guaranteed at much less cost under a central government which would, by exploiting the immense hydro-electric potentials of the Congo River, supply Nyasaland with the power which would

"stimulate industrial development, in addition to improving water communication and freeing a large area of fertile land in the lower part of the Valley from the menace of floods".

By the end of the century the standard of living of masses of the people will undoubtedly have risen dramatically under the Pan-Africanist Socialist Government which will be using wealth of the country precisely for that purpose. Subsistence farming will have disappeared, and a huge internal market will absorb a very large percentage of the industrial and agricultural products of the continent.

FOREIGN POLICY

There is no doubt that with liquidation of Western imperialism and colonialism Afrika will become the happy-hunting ground of adventuristic capital. There will be again a scramble for Afrika and both the Soviet Union and America will be trying to win the loyalty of the Union of African States. Afrika would be wooed with more ardour than she had ever been. There would be a lot of flirting going on, of course, some Africans flirting with the Soviet Camp, and others with the American Camp. In some cases the courtship would reach a stage where parties would be going out together; and they would probably hold hands in the dark, but nowhere would it ever reach a stage where the parties could kiss in public without blushing. *Hence, therefore, we adhere to our Positive Neutrality excepting nothing that affects the destiny of Afrika*, rather than change one master (Western imperialism) for another (Soviet hegemony). The Africans would choose starvation in freedom above opulence in bondage.

It is, of course, well known that all African Nationalist parties on the continent are committed to the total destruction of ungodly imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and sadistic white-supremacist-boer savagery. In a Union of African States, therefore, there will be no "racial" groups and, I am certain, that with the freedom of movement, from Cape to Cairo, Morocco to Malagasy, that will result from the breakdown of the territorial boundaries, the concentration of so-called "minority groups" will disappear and this will facilitate their assimilation into the one and indivisible African Nation, rich in culture and talent, materially and spiritually prosperous. Then, indeed, there will be neither Jew nor Gentile, neither circumcised nor uncircumcised, but all will be Sons and Daughters of Afrika, owing their loyalty only to Afrika, each contributing according to his ability to the welfare of the new African Socialist Community in the full knowledge that his contribution is appreciated and is worth while.

MERGING OF SONGS

In conclusion I wish to state that it is my belief that Afrika's contribution to the welfare of mankind will not only be in the material sphere and in the field of human relations, important though these are: Afrika will also make the signal contribution of merging the song of the industrial machine with the song from human throats, singing this time, not to drown sorrow but to give expression to the joy of achievement and thus teach the world that production can go on at a fast rate without the tension that characterises modern industrialisation. That will be a New Afrika, in the year 1973. ●

AFRICANA

Send contributions to *Africana*, P.O. Box 2068, Cape Town. One prize of R1 will be awarded for the best item each month and two of 50c for runners-up.

- "The Black man will have his own territory where he can aspire to political leadership. He cannot be given any political rights in a White South Africa," said Mr. Schoeman. "We will never change course for the sake of our children."—*Cape Argus* [G.B.]
- "Fresh" eggs always on sale—notice in East London supermarket.
- Coloured folk in the main oppose the Group Areas Act because the Government, hitherto, has failed to protect them against social mixture with the Bantu, with the result that the Coloured group is being bastardised and unwittingly unites with the Bantu in anti-White activities—letter in *Cape Argus* [D.P.K.]
- Mr. Waring: Don't imagine there are no millionaires in India and Pakistan, but people are dying in the streets of starvation.

Voice: And in South Africa, too.

Mr. Waring: That's a lie. That's a lie. That's a lie. The person who said that is a liar. You're a liar. You're a liar. You're a liar.—*Sunday Times*.

A Release of Energy

Nigeria, the Arts and Mbari

LEWIS NKOSI

THE MBARI WRITERS' and Artists' Club at Ibadan, the centre of the literary life of the young Nigerian writers, is a crumbly rundown building with a cemented yard, an open air theatre, and a library of Negro books. The club is behind a busy dirty street where bare-bosomed women sit plying their wares, anything from wrist-watches to underwear.

Around the club, all day long, there is the tremendous din of trade, anguished haggling over prices; for Nigerian cities are like vast market-places where everybody is trying to sell something to everybody else. Sometimes, while sitting on the veranda of the club, you can hear the sound of drums rolling steadily through the noonday heat; or a catchy highlife tune enthusiastically celebrating the vast fortunes of tropical love.

As you walk through the gate to the Mbari Club, as likely as not you will come across a huge German in wrinkled pants and Nigerian shirt lolling in a chair, drowsy and unshaven; in fact, he is probably thinking of the next exhibition the club might put on, or some new writing that Mbari might publish. He is Ulli Beier, lecturer in the extra-mural department of Ibadan University, editor of *Black Orpheus*, a literary journal publishing much of the new writing by Africans, and author of *Art in Nigeria*.

"When I came to Nigeria eleven years ago," Ulli Beier wrote, "Nigeria had no contemporary literature. Today there is enough new writing in Nigeria and other West African countries to make the creation of a new school curriculum, 'West African Literature', a serious proposition."

Nigeria has released a tremendous energy in the arts. At Mbari the painters and sculptors share breathing space with poets and playwrights—mostly young and under thirty; many of them are graduates holding English degrees from Ibadan University College. They know one another personally, read each others' works, and they deliver themselves freely of literary judgments on one another with an absolute lack of sentimentality.

Mbari is now almost synonymous with the names of three leading young Nigerian poets: Christopher Okigbo, who intensely admires and has been influenced by Ezra Pound; John Pepper Clark, who writes verse plays which have the sombre weight of Grecian tragedy; and Wole Soyinka, whose play, *A Dance in the Forest*,

LEWIS NKOSI left South Africa on an exit permit in 1960 and, after studying at Harvard, moved to London, where he is working as a journalist. The article on this page was written for, and has appeared in, *The Guardian*, London, for whose co-operation we are grateful.