

To the Mali Minister of Planning the organisational answer to these problems was that of the one-party system. Dr. Kouyaté said: "We thus consider as an absolute preamble to development the liquidation of colonial and feudal structures so that man, all men, freed from interdicts, from fears, from sterilising protectors perceive Independence as a reality heralding the hour of total Responsibility. Among the means at our disposal for this enterprise of creation, education and demystification the political organisation is the most safe and the most efficient. In fact the political organisation has been the melting-pot in which the peasant and the townsman have found each other again. It has drawn the farmer out of his isolation, cured the latter of his contempt for the bush and realised in practise that national unity, of which it drew its strength. Thus the gulf existing between town and land has been filled and the various strata of the population have been united in one current oriented towards political objectives."

THE AFRICAN ONE-PARTY SYSTEM, so eloquently advocated by Presidents Sékou Touré of Guinea and Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, certainly represents a challenge to the Westerner, in particular to a democratic Socialist. A challenge to his democratic conscience? Or to his comprehensions?

Of course popular consent is not in itself a sufficient indicator of democracy. The world has seen dictatorships of an initial popular following. But what about criticism? Can it make itself heard inside the African one-party system? What about revisions, modifications of ends and means? Can they be carried through in the context of the one-party system, if need be?

Judging from the Guinean experience — and isn't Guinea the African one-party state that has inspired most anxiety, rightly or wrongly, in Western circles? — judging from that Guinean example I would say that the answer to the above questions may well be positive, that it must be admitted that criteria for African democracy and representative government may in some cases be found in a multi-party system, whereas in other cases they should be sought within the framework of the one and only political party.

We are not confronted with a categorical either-or kind of choice, but will have to take into consideration local historical, psychological and practical conditions weighing in favour of one or the other of the two systems. Dr. Kouyaté spoke in Dakar for the one-party system. President Senghor used the term "the dominant party" — and in fact a single opposition member takes his seat beside the overwhelming majority of UPS deputies in the Senegalese National Assembly, when the affairs of the nation are under debate — and Jacques Rabemananjara, Malagasy Minister of State in charge of economic planning, maintained in a contribution seasoned with humour that the concept of the one-party state was incompatible with the mentality of the Malagasy people, a declaration which immediately made the two British Labour MPs, the late John Strachey and James Callaghan, feel an affinity between the insular peoples of Madagascar and Great Britain,

a theme which the conference did not, however, further develop.

FROM VARIETY BACK TO IDENTITY. Whether multi-party or one-party, all African states are faced with the same principal problem of economic development which was thus summarised by the French economist, Professor André Philip: "... their essential effort is not so much a matter of distributing better as of producing more." To which Gabriel d'Arboussier — former Senegalese Minister of Justice and now Ambassador to France — replied with his usual vivacity: "We don't expect this increase in production to come from either the market mechanisms or the delivering revolution of history. Maybe because Africans more than anybody else have been dependent, do they have a more alive conscience of the necessity to take their destiny in their own hands. They think that it is up to them to organise the destiny of Africa and to create a type of new man responding to that vocation."

SEVERAL SPEAKERS SPOKE in favour of a better inter-African co-operation in the economic field, thus Father Lebrét — the French economist who is also the father of the Senegalese Plan — reminded his audience that an enlargement of the economic space through the association of African states is an indispensable condition to African development. Such an enlargement would also permit their common affirmation vis-à-vis the rest of the world.

Mohamed El Moktar Marouf, Mauritanian Minister of Planning, evoked the example of his country which had

## COMMENT

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THERE IS NOT ONE ideology or philosophy which has been called so many names as has African Nationalism. It has been, and still is called racialism, chauvinism and dictatorship, but nevertheless it is a dynamic philosophy aiming at race-consciousness and Black Solidarity.

Its significance is that it brings to the indigenous people, who have been lethargic throughout history, a new dynamism, the first understanding of their right to human dignity, to greater equality of opportunity, to a share in the administration of their own destiny.

Nationalism is the democratic state's ideology for integration. Even democracy needed the nationalist ideology as an instrument for the point when it had to impose unity through terror.

An on-looker or a person who is not prepared to

like Ethiopia hardly been under colonial domination and was therefore ignoring its benefits and misdeeds alike. In fact the infrastructure and basic equipment of Mauritania can only debouch into industrialisation by the creation of an African Common Market capable of absorbing the raw materials produced in Mauritania.

The Tunisian delegate, Abdelmajed Chaker, also stressed the immediate advantages of a better inter-African co-ordination in the economic field, by saying: "The harmonising of our politics of development permits in a first phase to temper by successive adaptations the competitive aspects of our economies and to make complementary economies out of them."

But even an increased inter-African co-operation will not suffice to meet the demands of the actual situation. This was clearly recognised by the Senegalese president in his opening speech at the conference. Senghor said: "The agricultural and industrial expansion demands, in becoming, a *commercial expansion*, that is the organisation on a new level of the exchange, to be very precise, a stable balance between products manufactured in Europe and tropical raw materials. I think personally that only an international conference on world trade will be able to bring us a satisfactory solution on this cardinal point."

OTHER ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL co-operation were brought into the debate. The Ethiopian delegate Asséfa Demisse, Deputy Minister of Finance, broached the question of foreign investments. He underlined that such investments would always be in the nature of a partner-

ship. Foreign investors would be entitled to a reasonable profit but all foreign investments would on the other hand have to fit into and serve the purpose of the national plan of the African country.

Several participants including Professor Carlo Schmid, Social-Democratic Vice-President of the West German Parliament, and Peter Weiss of the USA, raised the problems of technical assistance to Africa. Although there was full agreement on the desirability of such assistance, it is noteworthy that the African participants rejected every notion of "reparations" in this connection. Gabriel d'Arboussier was particularly severe in his criticism of any such attitude. "Expressions of romanticism," he called it. Equality, not morality is what Africa is looking for, and Dr. S. C. Biobaku, pro-vice-chancellor of the Nigerian University of Ife, Ibadan branch, had a most fortunate phrasing of the need for international co-operation, speaking of "our world in which prosperity, like peace, has become indivisible".

Africa is in the centre of world attention these days, and expectations as well as misgivings about her future are running high. The British veteran Socialist, Fenner Brockway, went to one extreme in Dakar exclaiming with enthusiasm: "I believe that Africa is going to provide the dynamism which will lead to world socialism!"

Even if less successful, Africa may still do well, and indeed participation in the *Dakar Colloquium on Politics of Development and Different African Ways to Socialism* strengthened the conviction of this particular writer that Africa is not doing too badly in politics already, compared with the rest of the world and in terms of socialism. ●

and fairer justice but of being amenable only to their traditional law, not of having a better administration but of having their own administration. They prefer their crude and expeditious justice, pronounced in accordance with their customs to the refined jurisprudence of the magistrates even if the latter had been trained in Bologna.

AFRICAN NATIONALISM must be recognised thus: In its internal action, African Nationalism is a terrorist ideology which imposes conformity of thought and feeling on the people whose loyalty it demands and wages a relentless war against any particular group, which escapes from or resists integration. It demands African people to think, feel and react nationally.

Nothing is more characteristic of this ideology than such an expression as un-national or un-African, which lays down that the absence of the national hump is monstrous or criminal. Ultimately, any particularism, individualism or cosmopolitanism, any non-national, pre-national or supra-national loyalty must be extirpated.

I am obliged to quote these few-words to show that African Nationalism is not and shall not be racialism.

*Preserve me, heart, from all hatred  
do not turn me into a man of hate  
whom I shall hate  
For in order to emerge into this unique nation  
You know my world-wide love,  
Know it is not hatred against other races*

**Black Solidarity  
is not Racialism**

understand can without scrutiny call African Nationalism xenophobia, which is totally wrong after one has scrutinised the essence of this ideology. There is not one project in it which incites the Africans to hate foreigners but it gives them the consciousness which makes it possible for their nationalism to create a nation. However constituted, a group of people becomes a nation by glorifying their nationalism. It is a national feeling which forms a nation, in other words not any observable quality but an adherence which is ultimately rational in nature.

According to the African Nationalist's concept, the nation is a transcendent personality which is essentially distinct from the rest of humanity but internally coherent, endowed with its own soul, conscience and will, with its own mission. It is not a question of obtaining a higher

that turns me into the cultivator of this Nation.  
For what I want arises from infinite hunger  
From infinite thirst,  
Finally to demand them to be free  
Freely in their secluded soul  
to creat the ripening fruit.

#### WHAT OF PAN-AFRICANISM?

It has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that African Nationalism is an invulnerable and indispensable liberatory weapon to overthrow Colonialism, Imperialism, White Supremacy and this misleading Calvinistic doctrine known as herrenvolkism. It is a weapon no enemy can destroy. It alone in Africa due to many small and big states will not do us very much good. So the African Nationalists have thought it wise to apply another dynamic philosophy - Pan-Africanism.

Pan-Africanism is aimed at fighting neo-colonialism and the Balkanisation of the African Independent State. So that they can be economically dependent.

Divided as we are the neo-imperialists will cunningly arm one African State against another so that there should be chaos, brothers fighting their brothers. By that the neo-imperialists may find the happiest hunting grounds to continue exploiting the African people.

Therefore Pan-Africanism is a paragon of Unity, it is an indispensable philosophy if Africans mean real unity not a sentimental desire to be united. For there is a difference between real unity and a desire to be united.

Pan-Africanism is a wing wherewith we will fly to that giant monolithic union of *African states*.

#### THE PRINCIPLES OF PAN-AFRICANISM

##### 1. *The Principle of African Personality*

African people want to be really themselves: they want to gain human dignity as a people. They all see the Temple of Freedom where they shall promote their Personality. This Personality has a capacity of development, of translating itself from its present self to a future and higher self, and can be said to be a *Moral Personality*.

##### 2. *Non-Alignment*

It goes without saying that if Africans want to contribute towards mankind they should not align themselves with any of the two power blocs. They should be prepared to promote, maintain and establish any ideology or social life which is of African-Orientedness.

This does not mean that the Africans will leave even good things because they are not of African-Orientedness. Africans will take whatever they see to be of good for them and then Africanise it.

African people will not be changed to suit a certain ideology or any philosophy but it is an ideology which will be changed to suit the African people.

##### 3. *United States of Africa*

Pan-Africanism means the *oneness* of the African continent. Africa should be politically, economically and militarily united.

##### 4. *No guarantee of minority rights*

The Pan-Africanists recognise no minority rights. When giving freedom to the African People they are giving freedom to everyone. The Pan-Africanists do not recognise any sectional group but everybody will be ruled individually.

SIPHO SHABALALA ●

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# The Sondela Cup

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M. J. D. FRANCIS

THIS IS THE STORY of the historic association football tournament at Matatiele some Sundays ago.

When Mr. Connolly, one of the organisers, invited me, a newcomer from Cape Town, to represent the Aces in the tournament, everything sounded fine except the starting time of 8.30 a.m. At first he asked me to be at the ground at 8.15, but I protested. Apart from the question of sleep, on Sundays my hotel only begins to serve breakfast at 8.30. Eventually Mr. Connolly disclosed confidentially that, in asking the players to be ready by 8.15, the organisers were merely acting on the trusty old principle that, in order to start punctually, it is necessary to announce the starting time as an hour earlier than the actual starting time. After solemnly undertaking not to be late, a concession was made, namely, that it would be in order for me to arrive at the less rigorous hour of 9.15.

I AWOKE ON THE DAY feeling a little stiff from the previous afternoon's game of rugby, but pleased to see that the rain had stopped and that the sun was shining. However the cold air and the view of the snow-capped Drakensberg prevented me leaving bed until the gong went for breakfast. It was 9.20 before I left the hotel for the football field and a guilty conscience caused me to run most of the way. The effort was unnecessary: the football field was like Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village'. Ten minutes elapsed before the next arrival, Mr. Connolly, relieved the solitude.

During the next half hour of patient waiting I learned more about the teams taking part. There were twelve altogether. The local teams were Aces 'A', Aces 'B', Cornish Lads 'A', Cornish Lads 'B', All Blacks and Starlights. One of the latter two was to supply a 'B' team as well. The other participants were Cedarville 'A', Cedarville 'B', Qacha's Nek 'A', Qacha's Nek 'B' and Mariazell. Cedarville were the holders but Mariazell, who had not taken part when Cedarville had won the trophy, were the favourites. To quote Mr. Connolly, Mariazell were "... fit and fast. Not fit for nothing and fast asleep. They play good football."

Abrahams and van Schoor of the Cornish Lads arrived almost simultaneously with a car, containing Messrs. Nguza, Ncengu, Hlengwa and Balangeni, officials of the All Blacks and Starlights, and a bus. At the same time a

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