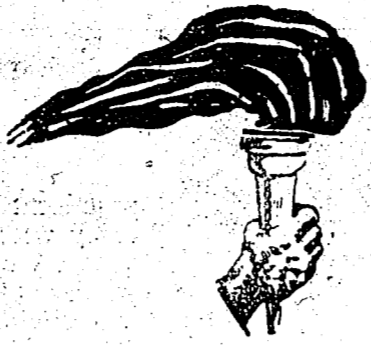


THE SPARK



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2d.

A WEEKLY OF AFRICAN NEWS AND VIEWS

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1963

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"Dr. Du Bois is a Phenomenon"

—Osagyefo's Tribute

WE mourn the death of Dr. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, a great son of Africa.

Dr. Du Bois, in a long life-span of 96 years, achieved distinction as a poet, historian and sociologist. He was an undaunted fighter for the emancipation of colonial and oppressed people, and pursued this objective throughout his life.

The fields of literature and science were enriched by his profound and searching scholarship, a brilliant literary talent, and a keen and penetrating mind. The essential quality of Dr. Du Bois' life and achievement can be summed up in a single phrase: "intellectual honesty and integrity."

Dr. Du Bois was a distinguished figure in the pioneering days of the Pan African Movement in the Western World. He was the Secretary of the first Pan African Congress held in London in 1900. In 1919 he organised another Pan African Congress in Paris which coincided with the Paris Peace Conference. When George Padmore and I organised the Fifth Pan African Congress in 1945 at Manchester, we invited Dr. Du Bois, then already 78 years of age, to chair that Congress. I knew him in the United States and even spoke on the same platform with him. It was however at this Conference in Manchester that I was drawn closely to him. Since then he has been personally a real friend and father to me.

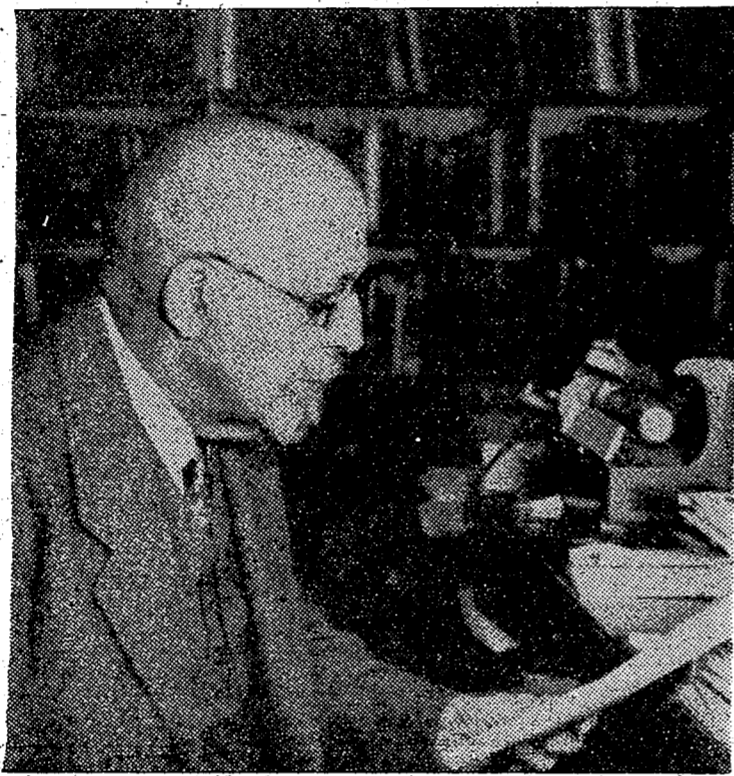
Dr. Du Bois was a life-long fighter against all forms of racial inequality, discrimination and injustice. He helped to establish the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, and was the first editor of its fighting organ, "The Crisis". Concerning the struggle for the improvement of the status of the Negro in America, he once said:

"We will not be satisfied to take one jot or tittle less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every single right that belongs to a free-born American: political, civil and social; and until we get these rights, we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but all true Americans."

AN OBITUARY

WILLIAM EDWARD BURKHARDT DU BOIS

by the Editor



"... the venerated and almost legendary thinker and fighter"

DEATH has laid its icy hands on W. E. B. Du Bois, one of the world's foremost scholars, who is fondly referred to as Father of Pan-Africanism.

He was born on February 23, 1868—three years after the end of the American Civil War—in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, U.S.A. He was a great, great grandson of an African slave, Tom Burghardt, who was taken from the West Coast of Africa and sold as a slave in the State of New York.

Another ancestor by name Jacques Du Bois, a French Huguenot, migrated from Flanders to New York. His great-grand-father fought in George Washington's army for the independence of the United States of America.

Dr Du Bois was educated in the public elementary schools of Massachusetts. While in high school he showed a keen concern for the development of the black race. At the age of fifteen, he was a correspondent of the *New York Globe*, and in this position he conceived his duty to push his race forward through capsuled lectures. In 1885, Du Bois completed his high school. His senior oration was an account of Wendell Phillips, the anti-slave writer. Through a reverend minister and

four Connecticut churches, he received scholarship to study at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, USA. Enrolling at the University, Du Bois found "people of my own colour: who it seemed were bound to me by new and exciting and eternal ties" (Dr. Du Bois: *Dusk of Dawn*, page 24).

RACE PROBLEM

At Fisk, he received large doses of Latin, Greek and philosophy. During his three years as a university student in the South of the

can: political, civil and social; and until we get these rights, we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America. The battle we wage is not for ourselves alone, but all true Americans."

It was the late George Padmore who described Dr. Du Bois as the greatest scholar the Negro race has produced, and one who always upheld the right of Africans to govern themselves.

I asked Dr. Du Bois to come to Ghana to pass the evening of his life with us and also to spend his remaining years in compiling an *Encyclopaedia Africana*, a project which is part of his whole intellectual life.

We mourn his death. May he live in our memory not only as a distinguished scholar, but a great African Patriot. Dr. Du Bois is a phenomenon. May He Rest in Peace.

Some men with swords may reap the field
And plant fresh laurels where they kill;
But their strong nerves at last must yield;
They tame but one another still:
Early or late
They stoop to fate
And must give up their murmuring breath
When they, pale captives,
creep to death.

J. Shirley.

United States, his comprehension of the race problem became clearer and sharper, and he resolved to fight the colour bar in a forthright way. He graduated from Fisk in 1888 and wrote a thesis on Von Bismark, whom he admired as a statesman who united a divided Germany.

Du Bois enrolled in Harvard University where, as he wrote later, he received intellectual stimulation from psychologist William James and philosopher George Santayana. Under the guidance of other professors, his interest in history, economics, and sociology was expanded; however, a half century later, he remembered Harvard as reactionary in economics and conventional in politics.

Du Bois graduated from Harvard in 1890 (at the age of 22) and was made a fellow in the Harvard Graduate School.

From 1892 to 1894, he studied and travelled in Europe on a grant from the Slater Fund. At the University of Berlin he studied economics, history, and sociology under such figures as Adolf Wagner, Heinrich Von Treitschke, and Marx Weber.

In 1896, Dr Du Bois was offered a special fellowship by the University of Pennsylvania to conduct a research project in Philadelphia's Seventh Ward Slums. In 1899 he published *Philadelphia, Negro: A social Study*. In it he was concerned that the Negro "aristocracy" did not push the black race forward; fearing they might be mistaken for the masses they isolated themselves from. The book was widely reviewed. *The Yale Review* termed the book "a credit to American scholarship and a distinct and valuable addition to the world's stock of knowledge concerning an

important but obscure theme"

In 1897, W. E. B. Du Bois was employed in Atlanta University to supervise the sociology programme and to direct a series of conferences on Negroes. His first report, *Some Efforts of Negroes for Their Own Social Betterment* was completed in 1898. From 1899 to 1909 he indulged in extensive academic work.

UNIVERSALLY HONOURED

By 1910 academicians on every continent paid homage to him as Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Literature; Doctor of the Humanities and Doctor of Historical Science.

In 1910 he left Atlanta University and went to New York where he helped organise the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) whose purpose was to fight for Negro rights. For twenty years that followed, Dr. Du Bois was concerned with the Negro fight. As Editor of *The Crisis* and a spokesman for the Negro, his vigorous voice was heard from the platform and his writings were eagerly read throughout the world.

His Negro nationalist aspirations sent him to Europe in 1919 to convene the Pan-African Congress. It was the same feeling which led him to chair the Pan-African Congress in Manchester, 1945.

During the McCarthy witch-hunt in the United States, when the cold war was at its apex, Dr. Du Bois became active in the cause of peace. He saw that "peace today, if it means anything, means the stopping of the slaughter of the weaker by the stronger in the name of Christianity and culture"

The modern lust for land and slaves in Africa, Asia and the South Seas is the greatest and almost the only cause of war between the so-called civilised people."

HUMILIATION

He was honoured with an International Peace Prize in 1952. But the United States Government had other ideas about his work for peace. As chairman of American Peace Information Centre, he was indicted as "an unregistered foreign agent" and was arraigned before Court on February 16, 1951.

It was a calculated humiliation based on race when 83 year-old Dr Du Bois was herded into an iron-cage chute with human derelicts "... Outside the barred room, hard-boiled Newsmen looked grim... seasoned attorneys swore

audibly while Shirley Graham (Mrs. Du Bois) wept bitterly... (This was how *The Afro-American* described it. The trial took place nine months later. Dr. Du Bois described it: "I have faced during my life many unpleasant experiences: the growls of a mob, the personal threat of murder. But nothing has so concerned me as that day... when I took my seat in a Washington courtroom as an indicted criminal accused of a felony and liable to be sentenced to five years of imprisonment, a fine of 10,000 dollars and loss of my civil and political rights as a citizen, representing five generations of Americans." He was acquitted. In 1959, at the age of 91 he was awarded the Lenin International Peace Prize

ENCYCLOPAEDIST

In 1961, he accepted an invitation from Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to direct the publication of the first *Encyclopaedia Africana*. Dr. Du Bois's death is a great loss to all Africanists who are anxiously waiting for the publication of the encyclopaedia. Dr O'Brien, Vice-Chancellor of University of Ghana, said in an opening address at the plenary session of the conference on the *Encyclopaedia Africana*:

"The rising generation will not have to look outside the circle of the encyclopaedists for the example which it needs; an example of toil, of per-

sonal courage, of integrity and intellectual force and daring. These qualities—the qualities of the scholar who is in the full sense a free man—are incarnated in the person of the venerated and almost legendary thinker and fighter who presides over the genesis of this encyclopaedia. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois: With the example of Dr. Du Bois before them, the rising African historians have a hard, but a glorious path, to tread"

Edward William Burghardt Du Bois's death is a loss to the whole movement for the liberation of the black race. For sixty-five years he had been in the forefront of the struggle of the black race. He was known, loved and respected by millions and deeply respected even by his bitterest opponents. He typified all that was most staunch and true of all great fighters—indomitable determination to battle for the emancipation of his people, unflinching faith in the cause of socialism and undying hatred for all forms of exploitation and oppression.

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.

Continued on page 6

IN THIS ISSUE

- A Tribute to Dr. Du Bois by B. D. G. Folsom 2
- West Germany and Portugal Against Africa by Obotan Awuku 2
- Black Orpheus 3 & 4
- On Socialism by Dr. Du Bois 6

Last Message of Dr. Du Bois to the World

IT is much more difficult in theory than actually to say the last goodbye to one's loved ones and friends and to all the familiar things of this life. I am going to take a long, deep and endless sleep. This is not a punishment but a privilege to which I have looked forward for years. I have loved my work, I have loved people and my play but always I have been uplifted by the thought that what I have done well will live long and justify my life: that what I have done ill or never finished can now be handed on to others for endless days to be finished, perhaps better than I could have done. And that peace will be my applause.

One thing alone I charge you as you live and believe in life. Always human beings will live and progress to greater, broader and fuller life. The only possible death is to lose belief in this truth simply because the great end comes slowly: because time is long. Goodbye.

(Signed) W. E. B. Du Bois.
June 26, 1957.

W.E.B. DU BOIS

"THEY die young whom the gods love". That like all proverbs, this one is only a half-truth is proved by the death of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois at the advanced age of 96. For he was certainly loved by the gods. He fought selflessly for what may perhaps be regarded as the noblest cause of the twentieth century: he devoted his whole life to the fight for racial equality and especially for the dignity of the American Negro and the African.

Ever since the Emancipation Proclamation by Lincoln, white Americans, in general, had been steadfast in clinging to the substance of slavery though they had been compelled by Lincoln and the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to give up the form.

In 1895 the most eminent American Negro at the time, Booker T. Washington, had capitulated to white America with his famous Atlanta Exposition. Racial segregation was to be resignedly accepted by the Negro, co-operation between white and Negro was to be limited to "things essential to material progress." It was an insidious compromise, easily capable of engendering in the Negro a permanent feeling of inferiority to the white man.

Dr. Du Bois first came to into prominence by challenging this famous doctrine. To the Atlanta Compromise he opposed, in 1903, the doctrine that the Negro must fight for first-class, not second-class, citizenship. "By every civilised and peaceful method we must strive for the rights which the world accords to men" by clinging to the words of the great Declaration of Independence about the equality of men and their inalienable rights. This was the authentic

voice of the new Negro, the revolutionary challenge of the Negro determined to vindicate his rights. At once the radical voices among the Negroes began to gather around Du Bois and the Niagara Movement was born, dedicated to the realisation of full citizenship for the Negro and the achievement of "every single right that belongs to a free-born American, political, civil and social."

N. A. A. C. P.

Nowadays we have all come to accept as a matter of course that the organisation that keeps watch over the interests and rights of the Negro in America is the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. Dr. Du Bois was the original inspirer and one of the founding members of this Association, for it was originally a coalition between the Niagara Movement and white liberals, and its aims are still the same as the aims of the Niagara Movement: to achieve first-class citizenship for all Americans. For over forty years, Dr. Du Bois remained prominent in the N.A.A.C.P. and exercised profound influence over its thought and activities.

In all this Dr. Du Bois showed no traces of racialism. Indeed, before the

By
B.D.G. Folsom

B.Sc., B.Litt., Lecturer in
Political Science, University
of Ghana.

NAACP could be put on its feet properly he had to fight and destroy another famous Negro who in the 1920 exercised an even greater influence over the minds and actions of the lower classes among the Negroes. This was Marcus Garvey who founded his Back-to-Africa Movement in 1920 that can be summed up in his slogan "Africa for Africans, at home and abroad."

His idea was that all Negroes should be repatriated back to Africa where they were to establish their own independent country. Du Bois knew this was chimerical and was merely diverting attention from the true fight. He was completely averse to it.

But an even more insidious policy of Garvey which Du Bois fought with greater determination was what George Padmore called his "demagogic racialism". Garvey believed in racial purity; he was completely opposed to miscegenation and looked down with contempt on the negroes with mixed blood, like Du Bois. As he himself once said, he was the first Fascist. The Black Zionism of Garvey however collapsed after a relatively short time and it is the ideas of Du Bois which, embodied in the NAACP, have lasted to this day. It is an irony of history that he

died a day before the great march on Washington to publicize and gain worldwide recognition for these ideas.

PAN-AFRICANISM

Du Bois was not satisfied merely with vindicating the rights of Afro-Americans; he very soon turned also to the vindication of the rights of the Africans themselves. This he did through the series of Pan-African Congress which started in London in 1900 and ended in Manchester in 1945, whence Pan-Africanism was transferred to Africa itself.

True, the first Pan-African Congress was mooted by the Jamaican lawyer, Henry Sylvester Williams, but the whole idea had been anticipated by Du Bois when he predicted in 1897 that it would be through Pan-Negro movement that the Negro would be a factor in world history. That, essentially, is still the basis of Pan-Africanism.

Through these Congresses, especially the 1919 one held in Paris, the rights of the colonized races were brought to the attention of the world and redress of their grievances vigorously demanded. The sixth Congress in 1945 indeed was a veritable declaration of war on colonialism and imperialism and through it several of the

prominent leaders of Africa today were galvanized into action. We in Africa today, who are the beneficiaries of African independence, owe a debt of gratitude to Du Bois for taking up the cudgels on our behalf in the days when we could scarcely make our voices heard.

But had Du Bois never taken a leading part in Negro and Pan-Africanist activities he would still be remembered today as a great scholar. Educated at the Universities of Fisk, Harvard and Berlin, he occupied many a professorial chair, wrote many distinguished books and articles in learned journals, was showered with many honorary degrees—including one by Legon—and was elected member of distinguished academic societies. Novelist, sociologist, historian and poet, he had a restless mind that never stopped enquiring and a pen that never stopped writing. Yet his last love was Pan-Africa. In November last he wrote:

*I went to Moscow;
Ignorance grown wise
taught me Wisdom;
I went to Peking;
Poverty grown rich
Showed me the wealth
of Works.
I came to Accra.
Here at last, I looked
back on my Dream;
I heard the Voice that
loosed
The long-locked dun-
geons of my soul
I sensed that Africa had
come
Not up from Hell, but
from the sum of
Heaven's glory
And Africa leads on:
Pan Africa!*

It is one of our signal honours that Dr. Du Bois died in Ghana a Ghanaian.

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West Germany & Portugal Against Africa

"THE wind of change" which began in Africa in 1957 with Ghana's independence has developed into a "hurricane of change" which has brought freedom to 24 other African countries bringing the total of independent African states to 32. The map of Africa is all but changed. The blots which once defaced Africa have, with a sweep of the freedom torch, almost been wiped out.

Nevertheless, there are some ramparts which have withstood the onslaught of the storms and flames of freedom. The southern and richest tip of Africa yet remains to be free. The question is what constitutes this rampart which has for so long and so strongly weathered the storm? The answer is obvious. These are areas of vested interest to white supremacists and their imperialist godfathers.

IMPERIALIST SUPPORT

There is no question that but for the support of Western imperialists South Africa could not have treated with such utter disdain the just demands of Africans for justice and

by *Obotan Awuku*

equality. Nor could Portugal dam the tide of nationalism in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea up-to-date without sustenance from Western imperialism.

Foremost among NATO supporters of Portugal and South Africa in their fight against the African Revolution is Western Germany, that new offshoot of Nazism. Knowing their history, it is not surprising that West Germany should find in the fascist dictatorship of Portugal, an "entirely harmless" authoritarian regime.

The centuries of Portuguese colonial history in Africa are stained with the blood and tears of millions of Africans. The appearance of Portugal on the African scene was the beginning of the end of African civilization. It meant the destruction of Kilwa.

Zimbabwe, Malindi and all those fair cities of the east where trade and commerce flourished before white men ever set foot on African soil. It meant the destruction of everything African. It meant the beginning of a long period of atrocious crimes against the African peoples by European hordes. It meant slavery on an unprecedented scale. It meant colonialism and imperialism on

a colossal scale hitherto unknown in all the annals of human history.

DARK CONTINENT?

It is from this darkness brought about by the billions of white greed and vandalism that we are now emerging. The scathing irony is that Africa should be called the "Dark Continent" by these same whites who extinguished her light.

It is a bitter fate that Portugal which was the first to start the destruction of African civilization should be the last and the most reluctant to leave her hold on her. Since 1961 when the tide of nationalism began to engulf the Portuguese territory of Angola, Portugal has embarked upon armed suppression of the just demands of the Angolan peoples for self-determination.

Unspeakable atrocities have been perpetrated by Portuguese in Angola and elsewhere: murders, massacres of innocent women and children, burning and pillaging—these have become things of daily occurrence. The terrors of Portuguese brutalities assumed frightening proportions soon after the struggle for emancipation began. Africans suspected of sympathising with the liberation movement suddenly dis-

appear. Mostly, these unfortunates are thrown into the sea out of an aircraft or tortured to death in barrels spiked with nails.

This is the totalitarian regime which Dr. Jaeger, Christian Socialist Vice-President of the Federal Parliament of West Germany describes as "entirely harmless". It is no wonder that a Nazi should see no harm in such inhumanities. Even the extermination of the Jews was to Nazis an imperious necessity for the preservation of civilization and the advancement of man!

It is little wonder that West Germany should give military aid to Portugal. West Germany finds it a "harmless" policy for her War Minister Strauss to negotiate with the Portuguese Government on the stationing of West German troops in Portugal, an arrangement which guaranteed internal security for the unpopular dictatorship of Salazar and enabled him to send his own troops to Portuguese territories to murder freedom fighters. None should wonder that the suppression of freedom to a renescent Nazi Government is an "entirely harmless" policy.

MILITARY AID

Early during the outbreak of hostilities between Portuguese oppressors and the freedom fighters in the colonies, the Bonn Govern-

ment sent quick-firing artillery to Angola and Mozambique for the use of the Portuguese colonial armies. In addition the Portuguese army received from West Germany fighter aircraft with rocket-firing devices of the DC27 type. Again, the British newspaper, "New Statesman" published reports about the delivery of trucks and other military equipment from West Germany for the Portuguese colonial forces.

The capitalist regime of West Germany finds it necessary to guarantee the continuance of Portuguese colonialism in Africa because, her monopolies, especially Krupp, the DEMAG and Rhein Stahl, have profitable concerns in these territories. Cheap African labour ensures colossal profits for these monopolies.

SLAVE TRADE

Slave trade and slave labour are still customary today in Angola and Mozambique. About a hundred Africans from Mozambique are daily sold to the South African Republic to work in the mines there. For each person the Portuguese authorities receive seven pounds sterling! A similar arrangement exists between the Portuguese authorities and Northern Rhodesian authorities for the supply of labour to the copper mines in the latter country. In return for these favours to her neighbours, the Portuguese Government of Mozambique handles at the port of Lourenço Marques 47.5 per cent of the industrial exports of the sur-

rounding areas.

It is for the maintenance of these conditions of affairs that the West German Government is co-operating with the Portuguese by offers of aid, military and economic. An example of West German economic aid to Portugal is afforded in the transmission by Herr Erhard, West German Economic Minister, of a credit amounting to 150 million marks to Dictator Salazar in furtherance of his colonial policy.

West German onslaught against the struggle of the peoples of Africa for freedom, justice and equality is on all fronts: military, economic and moral. In the face of Portuguese atrocities, the West German press could have the nerve to discredit the liberation movement in Angola. A typical example of the propaganda in West Germany against the struggle for liberty is seen in the statement by "Freies Wort" which described Angolan patriots as "vicious murder-gangs, which turned the peaceful paradise, Angola, into an inferno".

None but a Nazi press could call the slave labour camps at Angola as "peaceful paradise". Surely the Nazi conception of paradise is the labouring of African slaves for the enjoyment of white exploiters!

It is becoming increasingly evident that apart from American imperialism, the greatest single danger to the African Revolution is the resurrected Nazi regime of West Germany.

B.A.A. on Dr. Du Bois

BY the death of Dr. William Edward du Bois a great world figure has passed away and Africa has been robbed of one of her priciest gems. By his death the *Bureau of African Affairs* has lost a devoted father who planted the tree of African liberty and personality which we are still watering. And with the birth of Organisation of African Unity we have no doubt that the memorable tree will grow to great heights. As a great pioneer of Pan-Africanism, Dr. Du Bois was an inspirer to those who have faith in the African race. Our deep sympathies go to Mrs. du Bois and Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who have lost a life long friend whose place will be difficult to fill in our life time.

Although born an Afro-American, Dr. du Bois's naturalization as a citizen of Ghana on the 17th of February this year shows his pride and faith in the African race. His high scholastic attainment, acknowledged by renowned universities in both East and West and by men of learning all the world over is an ocular demonstration of the fact that the brain of the negro race is in no way inferior to any other race. We mourn the death of William du Bois but we shall keep burning ever brightly the flame of African personality to which he dedicated his life.

BLACK ORPHEUS (5)

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

It was during the centuries of slavery that the Negro drained the cup of bitterness to the dregs; and slavery is a thing of the past, which none of the authors in this anthology, nor indeed their parents, directly experienced. But it is also a tremendous nightmare, from which even the youngest among them are not quite sure they have recovered.

From one end of the earth to the other, the Negro people, divided by the language, politics and history of their colonizers, have a collective memory in common. This is not surprising when one remembers that French peasants in 1789 were still aware of panic terrors whose origin went back to the Hundred Years War. And so, as the Negro looks back upon his basic experience, he sees it in two dimensions.

It is at once an intuitive apprehension of the human setting, and a memory all-too-fresh of a historic past. And here I think of Pascal, who never wearied of repeating that man was an irrational compound of metaphysics and history, whose greatness could not be explained when we consider that he was formed of the dust of the earth, nor his misery accounted for, when we think of him as having been fashioned in the image of God.

THE FORBIDDEN TREE

A rational explanation of the riddle can be found only if we reckon with the irreducible fact of "man's first disobedience and the fruit of that forbidden tree". It is in the same sense that Cesaire calls his race the "fallen race". And to some extent I can see the possibility of a comparison between the Negro and the Christian conscience. The iron law of slavery evokes the law of the Old Testa-

ment, which tells of the consequences of Adam's sin. The abolition of slavery recalls that other historical fact that goes by the name of the Redemption.

There is a certain degree of resemblance between the glib paternalism of the Westerner after 1848, and that of the God of Christianity after the Passion. The only difference is that the inexpiable crime the Negro discovers deep buried in his memory is not his own, but that of white

folk. The fact that stands in the forefront of Negro history is indeed a fact of original sin, of which however the Negro is not the perpetrator, but the innocent victim. This explains why his conception of suffering is, poles apart from the white man's view of sorrow. If the poems in this anthology are generally speaking violently anti-Christian, it is because the Negro sees the religion of white folk, more clearly even than the European proletariat, as something mystifying.

BLACK MAN'S BURDEN

That religion endeavours to induce him to accept and share responsibility for a crime of which he is the victim. The many instances of kidnapping, massacre,

rape and torture that have stained the pages of Africa's history, are presented by Christianity as a just and lawful chastisement, a test well worth the passing.

Would you say that, as against this, the Christian religion proclaims the equal-

ity of all men in the sight of God? Yes it does, IN THE SIGHT OF GOD. Only yesterday I read the following passage from a correspondent in Madagascar, writing in the periodical entitled "Esprit".

"I am as convinced as

And this:

"For five long centuries you have carried arms, And, taught the race of men who tread you down, To value truly what it means

The Negro's contribution to the evolution of mankind is no longer just a flavouring, an ingredient, a taste, a rhythm, an authentic mode, a posy of primitive instincts. It is an event that can be historically verified, a gradual build-up, a future. A moment ago, the Negro based his claim to a place in the sun on qualities of race. Now, he bases his right to live upon his mission, which in just the same way as that of the white working classes, stems from his place in history. Because he has suffered more than most from capitalist domination, he has acquired more thoroughly than most the sense of revolt and the love of liberty.

A NEW DISPENSATION

And since he is more oppressed than anyone else, when he labours for his own deliverance, he inevitably seeks emancipation for all mankind.

"Black harbinger of hope,

To whom no song in all the world is strange,

Not even those the boatmen of the Nile once sang

In days of yore."

Can we now still believe that Negritude possesses an inner unity? And how shall we describe it? At one moment it is a lost innocence which existed only in a distant past, at another a hope that can be fulfilled only under a new dispensation. Now it contracts into a moment of pantheistic fusion with Nature, now it expands until it embraces the whole history of man.

Sometimes it is an attitude to life, at other times a conglomerate of the objective facts of age-old African tradition, as it obtains south of the Sahara. Is it capable of discovery or creation? It is a quality shared by Negroes who "co-operate"; and, in point of fact, Senghor, in his prefatory notices to each of the works of the poets here represented, seems to distinguish varying degrees of Negritude.

THE BURNING QUESTIONS

Does the bard who proclaims the good tidings of Negritude to his Negro brothers invite them to hug this creed more closely to their breasts, or does he by a sort of poetic psychoanalysis, reveal them to themselves for what they are? Is it necessity or free will? Do the urges that condition conduct in the genuine Negro stem from the intrinsic essence of his being, as results flow from a principle, or does the Negro act like the faithful votary of a creed, experiencing fear and trembling, a painful sense of anguish and the constant remorse that comes of falling short of his true measure, time and time again? Is it a stubborn fact or an assessed value, the object of an empirical intuition or a moral concept? Is it something that comes as a result of reflection? And supposing it is allergic to reason, never real and genuine except when it is spontaneous and intuitive, does it provide a systematic explanation of the Negro soul, or is it a Platonic prototype towards which one may draw indefinitely nearer, without ever really reaching it? Is it to Negroes what the European's practical good sense is to him, the gift most freely given to man? Or is it vouchsafed to a few like an efficient grace, choosing its own elect?

Continued on page 4

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

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

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

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

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

—EDITOR

you are that the soul of a Madagascan is as valuable as that of a European, in exactly the same way as a child's soul in the sight of God is equal to its father's. But there is this difference, that you do not allow your car (assuming you have one), to be driven by your children."

It would be hard to reconcile Christianity and colonialism in more elegant terms. The Negro rebuts these sophistries by probing deep into his memory for recollections of what slavery must have been, and asserts that though suffering is the common lot of man, it is none the less unmerited.

BLISS OF SADNESS

He repudiates with horror the patient endurance of suffering enjoined by Christian teaching, the voluptuous bliss of sadness, the pain of self-inflicted meekness, and all the precepts that counsel resignation. He sees the absurd fact of suffering in all its stark and naked horror, as something unjust and quite superfluous. And thus, he discerns a truth hid from Christians or else dissembled by them, namely, that suffering implies the repudiation of itself. Suffering is in essence a refusal to admit suffering.

It is the dark side of negativity, beckoning to freedom and revolt. As his intuitive sense of suffering invests him with a collective past and assigns him a goal in the future, the Negro assumes a historical role. He leaps into history. One moment past he was a pure fount of immemorial instincts, a genuine expression of Nature's ceaseless, unremitting, universal task of pure repletion round earth's naked shores. But now he strikes a vastly different note, as he sounds the call to action:

"You are a Negro moving with revolt
From place to place, like a roving bagman.
And ever since the days when you were sold in Guinea,
There is no spot on earth, but what your feet have trod."

To burn with passion for Freedom's sweet embrace."

FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Already there exists a Negro Epic. First, the Golden Age of Africa, followed in turn by periods of dispersion and captivity, conscious awakening, the heroism of the great rebellions of Toussaint Louverture and other stalwarts of Negro history, with inevitable moments of gloom, the abolition of slavery—an "unforgettable metamorphosis" as Cesaire puts it—and the struggle for liberation:

"You wait expectantly for the call to arms,

The call that must needs come at any moment now;

For your own fight has been a truce,

A long unending truce with battle never joined.

Your blood has flowed on every soil,

Your colour vilified in every tognue.

You smile and sing, Black Boy,

You dance and minister comfort

To every generation, even to those as yet unborn;

Those who must surely rise upon the brow of toil and sweat,

And some day soon, storm the entrenchments of oppression,

Raising up future bastions of support,

Writing in every tongue, On the clear page of every sky,

The declaration of the rights of man

Denied to you for five long centuries of time."

LOVE OF LIBERTY

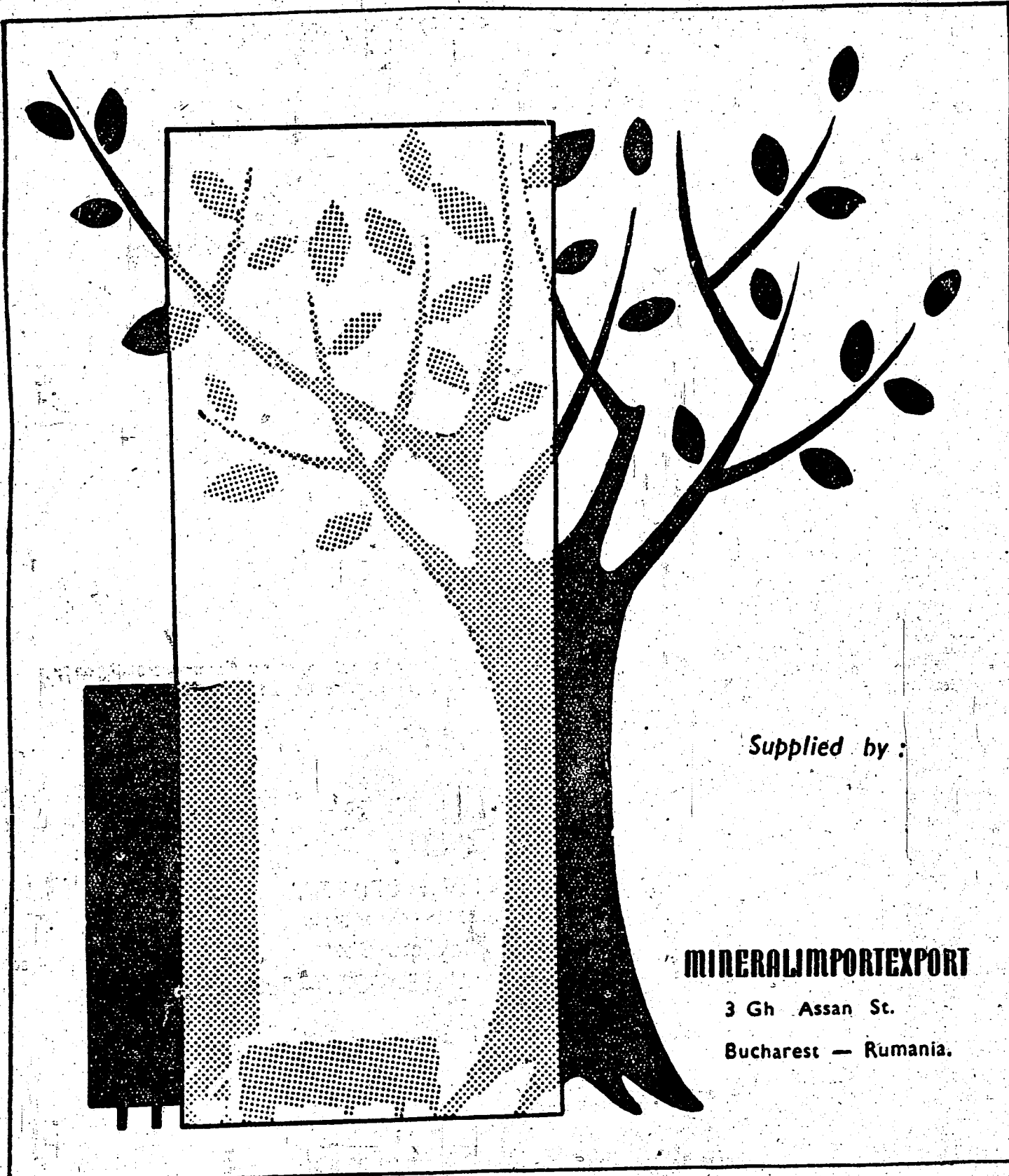
Strange, decisive turning point! The race takes on a historical texture. It has become part of history. The present moment of Negro history has exploded, and is fixed in time. Negritude with its Past and Future takes its place in the history of the world. It is no longer a state or even an attitude to life. It is a progress towards a better future.

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BLACK ORPHEUS

(Continued from page 3)

No doubt it will be asserted that it is all this and much more. I would not raise demur. Like all anthropological ideas, Negritude is a shifting scene between what is and what might be. It shapes you and in turn is shaped by you. It is at once a vow and a passionate yearning. But there is something even graver than this. We have said that the Negro creates for himself a form of racialism that is anti-racial.

He has no desire to dominate the world. He wishes to see privileges of race abolished, wherever they may be found, and expresses his solidarity with all oppressed peoples, whatever the colour of their skin. At once the idea of Negritude as a subjective, ethnic notion of life "passes", to use Hegel's term, into the realm of the objective, positive, exact idea so characteristic of the Western proletariat. As far as Césaire is concerned, says Senghor, the "white man" stands as the symbol of capital, in just the same way as the Negro represents work. As the Negro chronicles the story of the men of his race, he hymns the struggle of the proletariat as a whole.

MILITANT MARXISTS

This is more easily said than imagined. And, surely, it is not by accident that the most ardent bards of Negritude are also militant marxists. This does not, however, prevent the idea of race from being distinct from that of class. The idea of race is concrete and individual, that of class is universal and abstract. The one is related to what Jas-

pers calls comprehension, the other to intellectuality. The first is the product of a psycho-biological syncretism, the second a systematic theory built up from experience.

In actual fact, Negritude appears as the weak link in a dialectical chain of progression. The assertion of the white man's supremacy in theory and practice is the theme, whereas the place that Negritude occupies as a contrasting value is the moment of negativity. But this is not sufficient in itself, and the Negroes who avail themselves of it, are well aware of this.

NO BARRIERS OF RACE

They know that its aim is to achieve a synthesis or realisation of what is humane in a society that knows no barriers of race. And so Negritude is doomed to self-destruction. It is a means to an end, not an end in itself. At the very moment when the black Orpheuses clutch Eurydice closest to their bosom, they feel her melting away and vanishing from their embrace. A poem by Jacques Roumain, a Negro communist, provides the most moving testimony in regard to this new equivocation.

"Oh Africa, whose memory I have treasured! You are embedded in my flesh,

Like a splinter in a wound, Or a fetish grove in the centre of a village.

Use me as a pellet for your sling;

Take my lips and let them lave your wounds.

Take my knees and let them serve as broken pillars

To uphold your outraged dignity.

Yet would I claim kinship with no other race than yours.

The toiling race of peasants; wherever they may be."

INEXORABLE SEAL

With what sadness he still clings for a brief moment to the things he would abandon. With what pride in man he is prepared to sacrifice his pride as a Negro, on behalf of other men! The person who says in the same breath that Africa is embedded in his flesh "like a splinter in a wound", and shuns kinship with any but the universal race of the oppressed, such a person is still under the sway of an unhappy conscience. One further step, and Negritude disappears utterly. The Negro himself has turned the strange and potent impulses of his ancestral soul into an accident of geography, into the slender product of a universal fatality.

"So is it climate, size and space,

That fashion tribes and clans and nations?

Is it these elements that impart to men

Their own distinctive shade?

Creating darlings of the gods

And stamping us with seal inexorable?"

However, the poet lacks the courage to pursue the rationalisation of the racial concept on its own account. He confines himself to asking questions. Beneath his steadfast desire for union, there is a note of bitter regret. It is a strange path to tread. Humiliated and offended, the Negroes probe their inmost depths to discover the very thing with which they would not part.

SPIRIT OF REVOLT

Yet when at last they find it, their pride begins to waver. By a supreme effort of generosity they abandon it, as Philoctetes surrendered his bow and arrows to Neoptolemes. And so, Césaire, rebel though he is, discerns in the deaths of his heart the secret that accounts for his spirit of revolt. He is of royal lineage.

"Tis true that there is something in you—I know not what—that could never bow to submission. Call it anger, desire, sadness, impatience, contempt, violence, if you will. The fact is there is blue blood in your veins; you are no man of common clay; pride is your portion, not subservience, for you were once a King"

But immediately he wards off that temptation:

"One law I have to keep, that I should wear a flawless chain, until the day when having reached the point at which the fiery floods commingle, I am transformed into a vapour pure, and the hot flames release me from my prism of adulterated gold. Perish I surely must, but I shall perish whole, intact"

It is perhaps this ultimate nakedness of man that has led the Negro to cast off the white man's trappings that masked his frame, leading now to the disintegration and repudiation of the frame itself. It is perhaps just this pure, unadulterated nakedness that best symbo-

lises Negritude, for Negritude is not a state. It is a pure transcendent love. It discovers itself in renunciation, finds gain in the acceptance of loss. It is perhaps required of none else but the members of the Negro race to renounce pride in the colour of the skin. The Negro is a man who walks on a ridge between the particularism of the past he has just subdued, and the universalism of the future he has yet to conquer, when Negritude will suffer twilight, if not eclipse; a man who lives out the particularism of the past to the bitter end, that thereby he may discover the dawn of the universal.

And no doubt the white worker too becomes conscious of his class only to deny it, since he seeks to hasten the day when there will be a classless society. But once again the white man's definition of class is objective. It merely epitomises the conditions of his alienation, whereas the Negro discovers race in the depth of his heart, and it is this very heart that he must tear from his bosom.

PAINFUL MYTH

Negritude is thus a dialectic. It is not only nor primarily the unfolding of atavistic instincts. It pre-

sents the picture of free men transcending the limits of a situation, which in the freedom of their consciences, they have themselves defined. A painful myth, yet full of hope, Negritude is born of Evil but pregnant with future Good. Living like a woman born to die, and haunted by the thought of death even in life's most luscious moments, it is rest that knows no rest, an explosive immobility, a self-renouncing pride, an absolute conscious of its transience.

For although it heralds its own birth and agony, it still remains the attitude to life that free men have chosen to live by absolutely, to the end. Because it is in fact a tension between a nostalgic past into which the Negro cannot fully enter, and a future when it needs must be superseded by new values, Negritude is clothed with a tragic beauty to which utterance can be given only in poetic numbers.

DAZZLING BEAUTY OF POETRY

Because it is a vital unity, a dialectical unity, forged out of many contraries, a complex thing defying analysis, it can find tongue only through the composite entity of a song and the dazzling beauty of poetry which, to use Breton's words, is a "fixed exploding".

Since any attempt to picture its various aspects would inevitably lead to a demonstration of their rela-

tivity, whereas in fact it is experienced absolutely by kingly consciences; and since a poem is an absolute, poetry is the one true medium whereby its unconditional aspect can be mirrored.

Since it is a subjective phenomenon that moves in an objective plane, Negritude must find fulfilment in a poem, in order words, in subjectivity objectively portrayed. As it is a prototype and a value, it will find its clearest expression in esthetic norms. Inasmuch as it is an appeal, a gift, it cannot sound its note or make oblation of itself, save through a work of art, which intrinsically is an appeal to the liberty of the spectator, and a paragon of generosity. Negritude is the content of a poem.

It is, in fact, a poem viewed as facet of the word, mysterious, candid undecipherable, suggestive.

It is the poet himself. But we must not stop at this. Negritude, because it is the triumph of narcissism and the suicide of Narcissus, a tension of the soul transcending culture, words and psychic data, the luminous darkness of unknowing, the deliberate choice of the impossible and what Bataille describes as "torture", the intuitive acceptance of the world and its rejection out of respect for the "law of the heart", the postulate of two contradictory terms, a recantation which even while recanting states its claim, generosity in expanding measure, because it is all this, Negritude is the

quintessence of Poetry. For once at least, a genuine programme of revolution and poetry in its purest form, spring from the same source.

What if some day the sacrifice should be consummated? What if the Negro, discarding Negritude in favour of the Revolution, should insist on being regarded simply as a proletarian? What if he were to refuse to accept any definition of himself except in terms of objectivity? Supposing he should bring himself to assimilate the white man's techniques, in order to combat the white man's capitalism? Would this quench the springs of Poetry, or would the great stream of Negro poetry, in spite of the odds, stain the white radiance of the sea into which it flowed? It hardly matters.

Every age has its own poetry. In every age the circumstances of history elect a nation, a race or class to bear the torch, by creating situations that can find voice or transcend their limits, only through the magic force of poetic numbers. Sometimes the poetic inspiration synchronises with the revolutionary surge. At other times these two elements diverge. But now at least, let us pay homage to the signal chance afforded to the members of the Negro race to "shout the great cry of the Negroes with such a mighty shout, that the foundations of the world shall rock". (1)

(1) Césaire: *Miraculous Weapon* p. 156.

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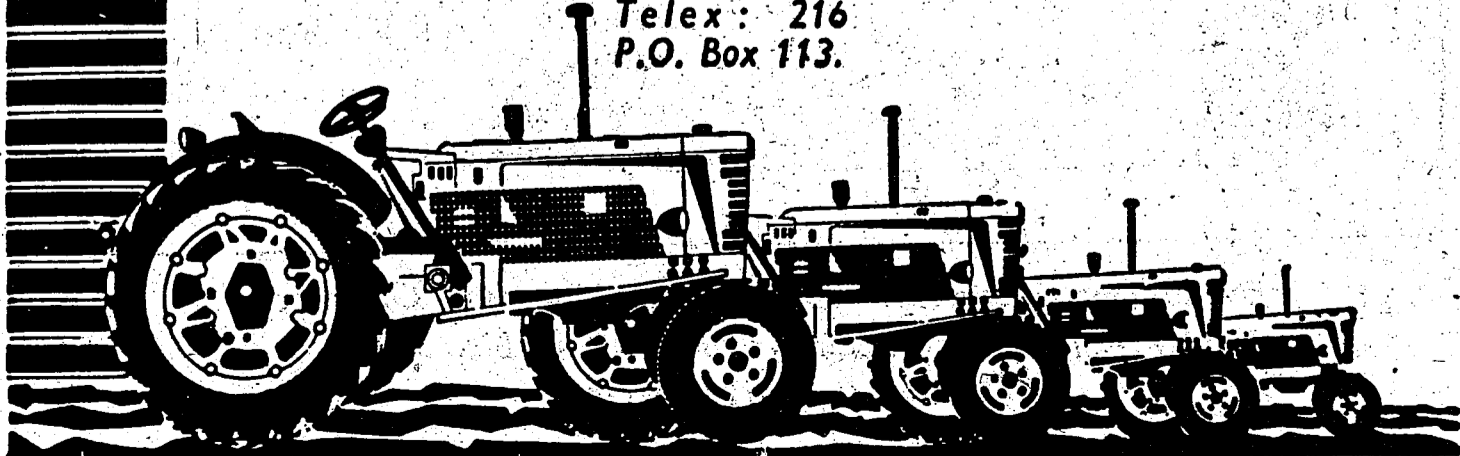
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(During the past years, Du Bois had published many short pieces in such places as New Africa, the National Guardian and Harlem Quarterly.)

AFRICAN DIARY

16th AUGUST, FRIDAY:

MOROCCO A total of 104 members of the Moroccan Socialist Opposition National Union of Popular Forces, who were involved in a plot to overthrow King Hassan II, regime have been formally charged with "threatening internal state security".

ALGERIA: Leaders of the National Liberation Front have issued a statement attacking Mr. Ferhat Abbas, who resigned as Speaker of the National Assembly, as the "flagbearer of the interests of some privileged people".

* The Government of Algeria has recognised the Angolan Nationalist Government in exile under Mr. Roberto Holden.

CONGO (Brazzaville): A Provisional Government to replace the ex-Abbe Fulbert Youlou regime has been set up in Brazzaville under the former Congolese Speaker Mr. Alphonse Massamba-Debat.

17th AUGUST, SATURDAY:

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Eleven out of twenty-two schools in Kitwe have been closed down as a result of a strike called by the Teachers Union.

The teachers have asked for better security and protection against "intimidation" of recent attacks on their homes.

They also want the resignation of Mr. Harry Nkumbula as a Minister of Education.

GHANA: Dr. Laubach, Professor of Journalism at the University of Syracuse, U.S.A. and an expert in adult literacy, now visiting Ghana praises efforts being made by the Ghana Government to improve the living standards of the people.

He expresses the hope that with his father's adult teaching method, "the Laubach techniques" as the medium of instruction in the country's literacy drive, all illiterates in Ghana will soon be able to read and write.

GUINEA: The Guinean President Sekou Toure expresses his opposition to the continued operation of the Afro-Malagasy Union (U.A.M.) as it is not a regional economic grouping, but political.

GAMBIA: Mr. David Jawara, Prime Minister of Gambia, says on his arrival in London that he agrees with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana that the whole Africa "must swim or sink together".

KENYA: Invitations have been sent to the people living in Kenya's coastal strip by the Kenya Government for discussions about their future when Kenya becomes independent.

19th AUGUST, MONDAY:

LIBERIA: President William Tubman of Liberia warns against the intervention of French troops in Senegal and Brazzaville.

TOGOLAND: Togolese judges are to be issued with personal identity cards establishing their professions as a result of a decree issued by the Cabinet. The cards are to be strictly personal; renewable every three years.

CONGO (Leopoldville): The Congo hopes by 1965 to raise its output of tin to 12,000 tons a year which will compare with a current extracting rate of about 8,000 tons.

KENYA: At a biennial conference of the Kenya Federation of Labour in Nairobi, Mr. Tom Mboya, Minister of Justice, announces his wish to resign his post as secretary of the Federation.

SIERRA LEONE: The Sierra Leone All-Party Congress Party objects to the proposed visit to France of their Premier Sir Milton Margai. The party says it will be most inexpedient and contrary to the spirit of the Addis Ababa Summit Conference for Sir Milton Margai to visit France.

20th AUGUST, TUESDAY:

GHANA: The Ghana Railway and Harbours Administration makes a total profit of £2,485,826 on its combined operations for the financial year which ended on September 30, 1962. This huge profit exceeds the previous year's by £861,765.

TANGANYIKA: President Julius Nyerere suggests one national anthem and one flag for a United Africa.

* The President warns senior officials in the Tanganyika civil services that "drastic action" will be taken if the "very serious" allegations of nepotism in the service can be proved.

RHODESIA: Police use tear-gas to break a procession of more than 2,000 Africans after a mass meeting addressed by Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union.

21st AUGUST, WEDNESDAY:

SENEGAL: After seeing President Leopold Senghor, now holidaying in France, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Doudou Thiame, currently acting President of the Republic has given instructions for house arrest of a number of people in the wake of the mounting tension sparked off in the country by the recent successful overthrow of the pro-French Abbe Youlou regime in the Congo (Brazzaville).

NORTHERN RHODESIA: Recent census in Northern Rhodesia shows that there are nearly one million more Africans in the territory than the previous estimate.

The present figure is 3,410,000 as against the previous one which was 2,490,000.

SOUTH AFRICA: Eight affiliates of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and South Africa (PAFMECSA) protests against the "alleged" kidnapping of Dr. Kenneth Abrahams in Bechuanaland by the South African Police.

22nd AUGUST, THURSDAY:

SOUTH AFRICA: In an opening speech of the annual Transvaal Congress of the United Party Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff (its leader) declares that South Africa is on the brink of critical dangers and perhaps very serious disaster. He continues, "The Government's policy of apartheid is not solving anything—it is merely feeding the flames of African nationalism".

LIBYA: The Libyan Foreign Minister announces the banning of South African planes flying over Libya. The banning by Libya will affect South African planes flying over North Africa to Europe.

Similar actions have been enforced by Mauritania, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia.

GHANA: Mr. Daniel Adjere, zoo keeper at Flagstaff House (official residence of President Nkrumah) takes delivery of a Lion, Hippopotamus and a Leopard at Takoradi harbour. These animals are special gifts from President Tubman of Liberia for Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's zoo at Flagstaff House.

23rd AUGUST, FRIDAY:

CAMEROON: The conference of Ministers of Public Health from Equatorial Africa agrees to establish a permanent secretariat in Yaounde to fight against endemic disease.

GHANA: Thirty-two African countries will attend the second conference of the Pan-African Union of Journalists due to be held in Accra from November 4th to 8th. Each country will be represented by three candidates.

* Mr. Mongi Slim, Tunisia Foreign Minister on a visit to Tema praises Ghana's achievements in industrial promotion and Governmental management within so short a time

AFRICA, ancient Africa, has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! Africa has no choice between private capitalism and socialism. The whole world, including capitalist countries, is moving toward socialism, inevitably. You can choose between blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union; you cannot choose between socialism and private capitalism because private capitalism is doomed!

But what is socialism? It is a disciplined economy and political organisation in which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seized wealth and power. No! The mass of workers with hand and brain are ones whose collective destiny is the chief object of all effort.

TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM

Gradually, every state is coming to this concept of its aim. The great Communist states like the Soviet Union and China have surrendered completely to this idea. The Scandinavian states have yielded partially; Britain has yielded in some respects, France in part, and even the United States once adopted the New Deal, though today American socialism is held at bay by sixty great groups of corporations who control individual capitalists and trade union leaders.

On the other hand, the African tribe, whence all of you sprung, was communistic in its beginnings. No tribesman was free. All were servants of the tribe of whom the chief was father and voice.

After independence, he says, "African states have a lot to learn from Ghana's rich experience" and he expresses the hope that the bond of friendship that binds his country with Ghana will be strengthened.

24th AUGUST, SATURDAY:

TANGANYIKA: Dr. Edwards Mondlane, President of the Mozambique Liberation Front, speaking at a press conference in Dar-es-Salaam, says Portugal still enjoys the support of a number of major Western Powers, who seem to share in the exploitation of Africa. He says, the position taken by Britain, the United States and France in the recent United Nations Security Council debate on Portugal gives "the clearest indication" that these three nations are in complicity in the oppressive Portuguese policy in Africa.

MALI: The Mali Government signs the Moscow Treaty on Nuclear Tests Ban.

President Modibo Keita describes the treaty as "a step towards the victory of the forces of peace throughout the world". The Mali President continues that his Government hopes the treaty will facilitate discussions on the evacuation of foreign military bases, "an important cause of international tension".

NORTHERN RHODESIA: A Government statement says elections are to be held next January under the "new constitution" but it gives no details of this new constitution.

GHANA: Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana opens a £2 million soap factory of Lever Brothers at Tema. He declares that the Ghana Government has decided to institute the Order of the Black Star of Labour as a tribute to the importance of Labour in the development of Ghana.

* Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Prime Minister of Nyasaland, pays a goodwill visit to Ghana.

DR. DU BOIS ON SOCIALISM

borrowed funds; or will you sacrifice your present comfort and the chance to shine before your neighbours, in order to educate your children, develop such industry that best serves the great mass of people and make your country strong in ability, self-support and self-defence? Such union of effort for strength calls for sacrifice and self-denial; while the capital offered you at high price by the colonial powers like France, Britain, Holland, Belgium and the U.S.A. will prolong fatal colonial imperialism, from which you have suffered slavery, serfdom and colonialism.

You are not helpless. You are the buyers and to continue existence as sellers of capital, these great nations, former owners of the world, must sell or face bankruptcy. You are not compelled to buy all they offer now. You can wait. You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great

heritage for a mess of Western capitalist pottage. You cannot only beat down the price of capital as offered by the united and monopolized Western private capitalists, but at last, today, you can compare their offers with those of socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China, which with infinite sacrifice and pouring of blood and tears, are at last able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the West.

BLACK CAPITALISTS

The supply which socialist nations can at present spare is small as compared with that of the bloated monopolies of the West, but it is large and rapidly growing. Its acceptance involves no bonds which a free Africa may not safely assume. It certainly does not involve slavery and colonial control which the West has demanded and still demands. Today she offers a com-

promise, but one of which you must beware:

She offers to let some of your smarter and less scrupulous leaders become fellow capitalists with the white exploiters if in turn they induce the nation's masses to pay the awful cost. This has happened in the West Indies, and in South America. This may yet happen in the Middle East and Eastern Asia. Strive against it with every fibre of your bodies and souls. A body of local private capitalists, even if they are black, can never free Africa; they will simply sell it into new slavery to old masters overseas.

Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion! Reject the weakness of missionaries who teach neither love nor brotherhood, but chiefly the virtues of private profit from capital, stolen from your land and labour. Africa awake! Put on the beautiful robes of socialism.

DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS

Continued from page 1

He has left behind him, a genius and a great fighter, Kwame Nkrumah, who will continue to lead the calamitous, present away from the past towards a future of one Africa, where the captive aspirations to those vast liberties for which Dr. Du Bois fought for his descendants shall

sparkle like gems in all the glory of the oncoming African age. In such an Africa, all those who died for the revolution will scintillate in the firmament of history like distant suns, enthroned in wondrous splendour.

Till then, and not till then, we can never express the debt we owe to our great comrade Du Bois.

We can only endeavour to repay it by continuing his work.

Yesterday

"Slowly and sadly we laid him down, From the field of his fame fresh and glories; We carved not a line, and we raised not a stone, But we left him alone with his glory."

A Citation read by Dr. C.C. O'Brien, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana on the occasion when Dr. Du Bois was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Letters

YOU come before us, on this your ninetyfifth birthday, to receive, not by any means your first honorary degree, but your first such honour from an African University. It is altogether fitting that this African honour should come to you in Ghana.

In the great movement of ideas which has led to the resurgence of Africa, to the emerging of independent African States, and to the growth of African Universities, you have played a leading part.

Our Chancellor, the President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, recognising in you one of the great proponents of African freedom and unity, and in your work an inspiration for Africa, has authorised me to confer on you, on behalf of the University of Ghana, the degree of Doctor of Letters.

On that day when you were born, February 23, 1868, it was only five years since Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation, only four years since Lincoln himself paid the penalty, at the hands of the assassin, for his signature to that proclamation.

You yourself had behind you a long heritage of freedom and of the fight for freedom. Your great-grandfather had fought in Washington's army for the independence of the United States of America. You had no sooner come to manhood when, as scholar, writer, and speaker, you joined that still continuing battle, first on behalf of men and women of African origin in America, later also on behalf of Africa itself. The very titles of your works are eloquent.

I can only cite a few of them here. *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 1896; *Philadelphia Negro*, 1899; *John Brown*, 1909; *The Negro*, 1915; *Black Reconstruction* 1936; *The World and Africa*, 1947. In the cause of freedom and of Africa you have fought not only with courage and profound inner integrity

but also with grace, serenity and an enduring edge of irony. In the course of such a long and creative life as is not given to many, you have accumulated some honours, degrees, citations and awards, than I could easily recite.

You have also earned—and this, too, I know

you regard as a deserved honour—the anger and the obloquy of people in many lands who feared the ideas for which you stood, and feared your qualities of mind and character in the service of these ideas. Most important of all, you have earned the love and admiration of millions, not only in the land of your birth, America, and in Ghana, the land of your adoption, but also throughout the world.

You have become, indeed—I think not altogether to your pleasure, for you are a modest and a humble man—a symbol, for millions, of the struggle for freedom. Those young men and women who have just received their degrees at this ceremony, are about the same age as you were when in 1888, you took your first degree at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

When they, too, reach an advanced age, they will be able to astonish newer generations with the word that they received their degree at the same time with the great William Edward Burkhardt Du Bois. Some of them there must be also, I think, who may be able to add then that they have modelled some part of their lives on your example.

If they do, their task will not be an easy one, for the thought of your example brings involuntarily to mind the great words with which Jonathan Swift still challenges us in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: 'Abi Viator et imitare si poteris strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicem'—'Go, traveller, and imitate, if you can, one who did a man's share in the cause of liberty'. William Edward Burkhardt Du Bois, we shall imitate you, if we can."