AFRICA SPEAKS



Orizu
Awakened
America

A. A. NWAFOR ORIZU

AFRICA

SPEAKS!

By Dr. Nwafor Orizu

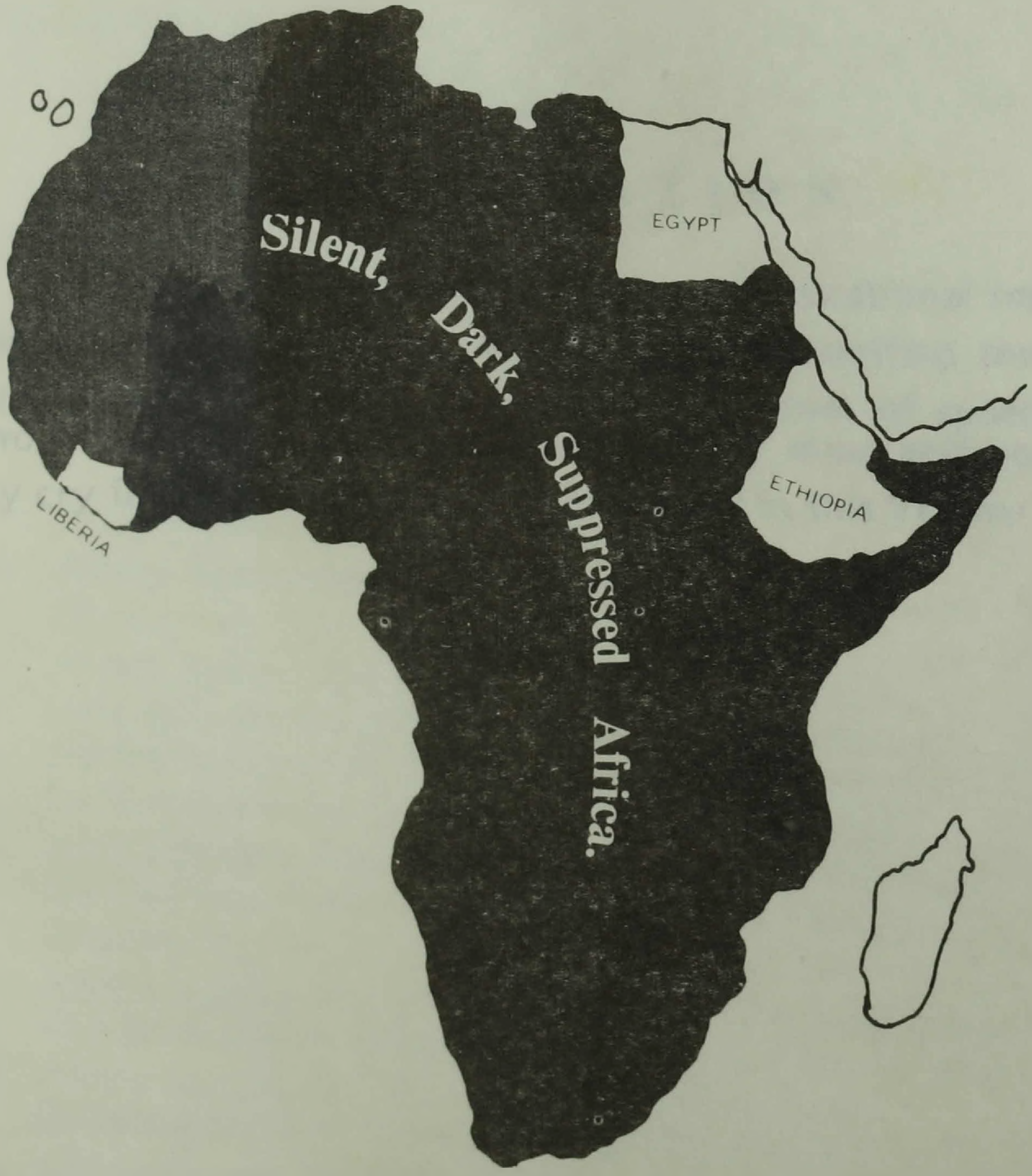
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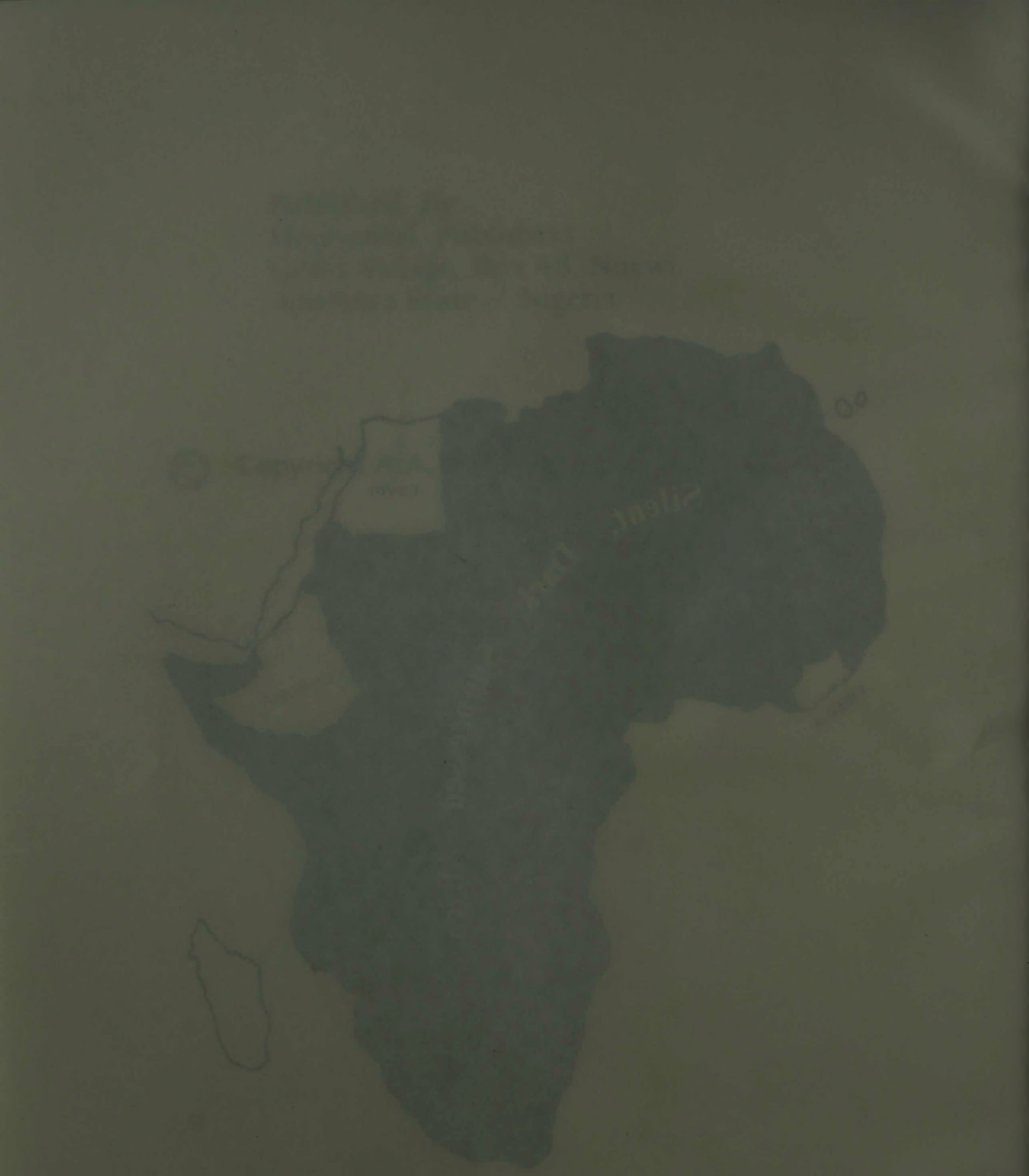
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Africa of 1940s. It was for this dark, silent and suppressed Africa that the promoters of African freedom of 1940s cried out. Orizu was one of the promoters and expressed his own in "Africa Speaks" column. It was then that he had the courage to declare that the silent Africa Spoke.



D E D I C A T I O N

I dedicate this book to all American Educational Institutions and the American News Media which personified the greatest Arsernels of Academic freedom and freedom of speech. These two institutions respectively nurtured my mind and popularised my cry for African Freedom as expressed in this Volume.

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The word Negro as used in the text is in context of 1940 America as American of African descent are now refered to as Afro-Americans.



The Rt. Hon. Dr. Prince Akweke Abyssinia Nwafor Orizu was a President of the Nigerian Senate during the First Republic and later the Acting President and Commander-in-chief of Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, who handed over power to the first military government in Nigeria, after the January 15, 1966 coup. He was a Chancellor of the University of Jos, Nigeria.

Author of:

Horizontal Education (1943)
Without Bitterness (New York 1944)
The leadership We Want (1959)
Give Me A Black Man (1981)
Education And Moral Excellence (1983)
Insight Into Nigeria (1983)
Man's Unconquerable Mind (1986)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My appreciation goes to the people of Ohio State and the Ohio State University who first introduced my mission to American society in various ways including affording me the first opportunity to broadcast that mission to America through the radio at W.L.W. Cincinatte Station on August 16, 1942.

My immense gratitude to Mrs. Shlan of the Columbia University Book store, who by the frequency with which I bought books from the store and the seriousness of purpose she said I exhibited, got interested in me and introduced me to Mrs, Ieleen J. Garrat proprietress of the Creative Age press, the publishing house that gave me the opportunity to speak to the world about Africa by publishing my first Book "Without Bitterness". And to all American News media for their review of the book "Without Bitterness" and their constant presentation of my struggle while I was in America, particularly Library Journal, Chicago Daily Law Bulletin, San Francisco Chronicle, New York Times, Hartford Times, Chicago Sun, Culumbus Dispatch, New York Herald Tribune, The New Yorker Magazine, Negro Digest, The New Republic, Chicago Defender, Christian Science Monitor, The New York post, Afro American Weekly Dorothy Canfield, Dorothy Norman of New York post and then to Michael Kaplan of Crestoak Corporation.

My deep gratitude to the National Association for the Advancement of coloured people (N.A.A.C.P.) which through the able hands of Walter White and Roy Wilkins afforded me the opportunity to speak about Africa in all their forums. I shall not forget Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick of the Riverside Church New York, Reverend C. F. Jenkins of second Baptist Church Columbus Ohio, Dr. Don. R. Falkenberg of the New York. Bible Meditation League and his family who gave me opportunity to speak to Christian Organisations where I was able to appeal to the Christian spirit of American people.

My profound thanks to the then President of the U.S.A. and his wife (Mr. & Mrs Roosevelt), the then Vice President Mr. Henry Aggard Wallace, and American Congress men and women. It was during their era of democracy that Colonial peoples including Students in their midst were encouraged to seek cultural relations that eventually enabled them to establish their freedom.

My sincere appreciation goes to Mr. George Schuyler and Mr. Pratis of blessed memory of the Pittsburgh Courier through whom I was introduced as editorial columnist of that important News Paper.

My Profound thanks go to Dr. Chukwuemeka Ebo, Associate Professor, Political Science Dept., University of Nigeria Nsukka, for his most useful discussions and contributions.

Between 1940s and 1980s most of these documents were scartered and forgotten, some misplaced during the Nigerian civil war. But it was through dedication, Loyalty and research of the following members of my family that those documents were preserved, organised, and corelated to enable me write this book — my beloved wife, Lady Odoziaku and my daughters Ejeagwu Obianuju (Librarian) Udunna Jaannamma (Reasearch) and Oziora Nkiru (Typist).

INTRODUCTION
"A GRIM GRAVE WARNING LEVELED AT THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE AND AMERICA, AT THE LEADERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS"

New York Times Book Review, April 1944

On March 21, 1990, Namibia became independent. This dream-like event closed the chapter of colonialism on the African Continent. While Africans especially the freedom fighters and all lovers of freedom, the world over rejoice for a battle won, it is proper to recall the long web of variegated activities that led to this victory.

It will be necessary to look back to one of the sources of power which gave undying impetus to original African promoters of freedom during and after the second world war. One of these sources is American.

The purpose of this book therefore is to compel history to take note of the role of America in the destiny of African Freedom in the 20th century particularly during and after the second world war.

The second world war ended in 1945 and from 1945 to present which is 45 years, 54 African countries are sovereign whereas in 1945 they were only three. I believe that this is one of the greatest epochs in African history for the past thousand years And I believe also that this epoch was signalled by the tenets of American philosophy of inalienable rights of man and her antipathy to colonialism. This book carries only a part of my own personal experience in swimming in the river of American liberty which enabled me to dive deep and swim atop the waves of social and economic hindrances in my humble attempt to join the ablest African patriots in the struggle for human freedom in the then dark continent.

The title of the book "Africa Speaks" derives its name from my editorial column containing series of articles I contributed in the Pittsburg Courier (1945-46), a weekly News Paper which was and is still published in Pittsburg Pennsylvania in the United States of America and which I was told had an estimated weekly circulation of three hundred to five hundred thousand copies.

When I talk about America's role in Africa, it is not intended that this book should be an information centre to catalogue the details of American contributions to the cause of freedom in Africa or else where. I simply want to make some observations on my personal acquaintance with American mind, and what role that acqaintance has played in political, educational and economic advancement of my Africa after the second world war.

The content of the columns of "Africa Speaks" as a matter

of fact, was a follow-up of the message in my book "Without Bitterness" and the reader here may not understand the message of "Africa Speaks" without having a bird's eye view of what Americans of 1944 said about "Without Bitterness". This book was started when I was at the Ohio State University and completed when I was at Columbia University in New York. It was published by the Creative Age Press in the spring of 1944 in New York, with a cry for freedom for the African Continent. The spirit of America welcomed my lonely voice with a surprising appraisal and unreserved acceptance.

What then did Americans say about the book "Without Bitterness".

* "Important book was written by a native Nigerian who knows England and America as well as his own land. . . . conspicuously fair in its tone. . . . a revealing and constantly interesting book, it deserves a place in every public library".

----------ERNESTINE ROSE, Library Journal

* "Never before have we been reached with such a powerful appeal to realize the potentialities of that enormous mass of humanity which lives on the Dark Continent". ----------

----------DOROTHY CANFIELD

* "One of the few things published in America about modern Africa and the best I have ever read. . . . . Orizu has a mind brilliantly cut, a mind widely informed by the best from many cultures of the East and West. . . . . he has a vigorous scintilating style, beautiful diction. . . . wonderful command of ideas and sources". ---------Chicago Daily Law Bulletin.

* "Expresses the native African's view of the history of his Continent and the influence of European nations with surprising erudition and comprehensiveness. . . . essentially objective and dispassionate. . . presents a wealth of information about Africa which no one concerned with that continent or its problems can afford to ignore. . . . a significant contribution to understanding a country which occupies one of the key strategic positions of the coming air age ----------

----------San Francisco Chronicle

* "The publisher deserves our thanks and recommendation for having presented us this book of a Nigerian Prince and for having given him an opportunity of raising his voice for the independence of Nigeria and the other British colonies in Africa in the postwar world." ---------Dallas Times Herald

* "A grim grave warning leveled at the peoples of Europe and America, at the leaders of the United Nations." ----------
----------N.Y. Times Book Review

* "Read this powerful book by a Nigerian and ask yourself, "what are the aims of our warlords?" .....STERLING NORTH
Chicago Sun

* "This book contains not only a candid history, but one of the most brilliant and lucid of postwar proposals." .....

----------Hartford Times

* "Carefully done, well organised book,. . . . offers much fascinating material on Africa. . . . . delves deeply into that continent's pre-colonial history". ----------Columbus Dispatch

* "An unusual book written by an African for readers in America and written with far more understanding of both Africa and world problems than such writers usually exhibit"

----------W.E.B. DUBOIS, N.Y., Herald Tribune

* "A sincere and interesting book. . . . about Africa, the state of its civilization, its past, its future. . . .. . by an intelligent young son of a Nigerian ruling house, who must be the most literate prince alive today"----------The New Yorker

* "An exciting expose of some distorted notions of Americans about Africa by a Nigerian Prince." ----------Negro Digest

* "One of those rare statements by a native of a colonial possession which not only presents the native point of view, but presents it vigorously, judiciously and without rancour, and with full comprehension of its setting in world history, and politics. . . . For most persons, his book will reveal a new

approach to the colonial problems. Certainly it should be read by all who are concerned with long-range questions of establishing and maintaining world peace". ----------

---------DR. MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS,
The New Republic

"No thinking American can afford to miss "Without Bitterness" by Dr. A.A. Nwafor Orizu-----Michael Kaplan, Crestoak Products Corporation

These excerpts are but a selected few out of numerous reviewers' commentaries, all over the United States showing how a great nation like America was awakened by this single book at that juncture of African transitional history. This was one of the historic beginnings of the foundations of African freedom. No one pillar can become the foundation of an edifice. The edifice of African freedom must have rested upon many foundations a good many much earlier than this. The foundations of International Awareness generated through the publication of "Without Bitterness" and the editorial columns of the Pittsburgh Courier 'Africa Speaks' during and after world war II constituted a distinctive historic feature. They also gave birth to the precipitation of youth movements in Africa which evoked political awareness, pursuit for higher education and philosophy that demanded freedom. A new consciousness was awakened among the Americans of African Origin; the long dreaded and rejected American education by misinformed Africans became an object of great excitement and admiration among the African youths. The mass movement from Africa particularly Nigeria to the United States of America during this period from mid 1940s to 1950s upwards, were too eloquent a testimony of a cultural revolution which time cannot obliterate.

That is why we consider it necessary that we present this book for readers and scholars of African history to enable them trace one of the historic trends among other important trends on the long road of the struggle for African freedom in the twentieth century.

AFRICA SPEAKS

PROLOGUE

AFRICA SPEAKS
(PROLOGUE)

"Africa Speaks" as I have already mentioned, is the title of the editorial Column containing series of articles I contributed in the Pittsburg Courier, a weekly newspaper which was and is still published in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in the United States of America between 1945 and 1946.

My invitation to write this Column was sequel to the publication of my book "Without Bitterness" and its popular review and acceptance by the reading public of the United States of America. Mr. George Schuyler who was then the Dean of Afro-American Editors and a special executive branch representative of the Pittsburg Courier in New York City, organized a special reception for me in his residence at 270 Convent Avenue. Here the editors of many important newspapers black and white, gathered in my honour as the author of "Without Bitterness". His only daughter Phillipa Duke Schuyler the world wide famous pianist, played piano in my honour during the occasion. After this occasion, George Schuyler surprised me with the offer of an appointment as one of the editorial columnists of the Pittsburg Courier which he told me was the largest circulating Afro-American Newspaper in the whole nation. Although choked with my already self-imposed responsibilities in the establishment of the American Council on African Education (A.C.A.E.) and the urgencies of the African Students Association of the United States and Canada of which I was then the president, and the promotion of its Magazine, the African Interpreter, I accepted Schuyler's offer with alacrity for two reasons firstly, it was an unusual and rare opportunity to bring African problems directly into the homes of thousands of Americans every week. Nothing could have been more inspiring. Secondly, it was an opportunity to collect some dollars to enhance the administrative expenses of the American Council on African Education.

To help us obtain a correct and rounded appreciation of the grounds for the selection of the topics of the articles, it seems appropriate to present a short but useful summary of the conditions in Africa before and during the appearance of the series called 'Africa Speaks', and to look into the social status of the black population of the United States of America and how ignorant the majority of Americans were about Africa during the period.

At the material period, most of the equatorial areas boasted of high soil fertility. Crops grown for both subsistence and for export included peanuts, wheat, millet, Indian maize, rice, tubers and a variety of vegetables. In the North, Olives, grapes, and

citrus fruits were the chief crops. Export crops from South Africa included cereals and live-stocks. On the West Coast, grain, garden vegetables, yams, cassava, bananas, cocoa, coffee, rubber, kola, cotton, beniseed, and ginger were raised in large quantities.

The mineral wealth of Africa was well known and acclaimed at the time. Gold was known to exist in great abundance in South Africa; and also in Ghana (formally the Gold Coast) and Nigeria, Diamond were found in Katanga in the then Belgian Congo (now Zaire), and Sierra Leone where there was also copper. Platinum and tin were found in Nigeria and South Africa. Ghana and Nigeria had manganese ore. Oil Deposits were being exploited in Egypt, and there were indications that some oil could be found in South Eastern Nigeria. Phosphate existed in Morocco and Algeria, while radium was known to abound in Belgian Congo (now Zaire).

In those days the map of Africa was studded with the colonial territories or dependencies of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Italy and Spain. Only three African Countries were independent and autonomous. Two of them were ancient kingdoms - Egypt and Ethiopia, while the third, Liberia, was a Presidential Republic constructed on the model of the constitution of the United States of America.

The impact of World War II on the attitude and tastes of the colonial peoples of Africa was already beginning to tell at the beginning of 1945 as already mentioned. The sacrifices the colonial peoples made toward the war effort and victory of the allied powers who fought and defeated the fascist triumvirate of Germany, Italy and Japan had opened their eyes to the fact that they were entitled to a destiny vastly better than that of international economic servants and cultural inferiors and consumers of crumbles from the imperialist dining table. Their sons had gone to the war fronts in Europe and the Far East and had absorbed new experiences and widened outlook on life which rendered the status quo in their colonial homelands unsatisfying and obsolete in their eyes. The great war had laid the ferment for change in many of the colonies in Africa, especially in Anglophone and Francophone territories. In Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, the Gambia and in the French West African territories, political movements appeared to spearhead the nationalist drive for freedom. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons founded in 1944, and the United Gold Coast Convention founded in 1947 in Ghana, were examples of such nationalist forces that were spearheading the quest for freedom in their several countries. Nationalist leaders like Nnamdi Azikiwe in Nigeria, Dr. Danquah in Ghana and I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson in Sierra Leone were becoming vocal in their demand that the Atlantic

Charter signed by President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill in 1944 which proclaimed "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live", be applied to Africa.

In the United States of America where I arrived in 1939, the social status enjoyed by blacks was essentially that of an underdog, hence the opportunities for self-expression and fulfilment available to them was severely restricted by strict racial prejudice and discrimination. Schools were organized along racial lines and the educational facilities for blacks were blatantly inferior to those enjoyed by their white neighbours. Residential segregation was also well entrenched and universal. The black communities were usually isolated and this was particularly true in the Southern States. Seats on trains, buses and other public transportation systems were equally governed by race.

As for my original personal experience, all the whites I met while in Pennsylvania were friendly. And as a matter of fact, I was the first black African to register with the Ohio State University in Columbus early in 1940. I did not experience the slightest discrimination in the university. Besides, it was not more than a week after my arrival in Columbus, that a white couple Dr. and Mrs. R. Falkenberg visited me voluntarily and offered me parental care throughout my stay in Columbus. But in the summer of 1940 when I was travelling to Norfolk Virginia in the Southern States, I had this experience of Racial discrimination for the first time. I was sharing a seat with the late Mbonu Ojike. Hardly had we started our journey from Columbus when three white men came to our seat, looked disdainfully at us while we chatted away on the scenery that fleeted past us through the window. They told us to get up from our seats. We ignored them and when they persisted, a scuffle ensued between us and them. Unable to resist our fists, they bolted away only to return with the train guard. On learning that we were Nigerians, the guard warned them to leave us alone, but asked us not to feel offended because normally "coloured people are not supposed to stay in this coach with the whites". I did not know that I was coloured since, white, pink and black were all colours. I was then unable to follow why I was considered coloured when I thought that everybody was coloured. This same pattern of discrimination prevailed in jobs and contracts. The mean, dirty and low-paid jobs, demanding little or no skills were reserved for blacks. It was highly difficult for a well-educated black to get a job befitting his qualification. Always, he was compelled to take employment within the limits open to his caste. It was an anathema to see the picture of a black man in white newspapers. In the northern states, these conditions existed subtly and not as flagrantly as displayed in the South - below the

Mason-Dixon Line. Indeed, in some of the states and localities in the southern states, discrimination against blacks was supported by legislation so that a person could be lawfully punished for breaking them. Institutionalisation of discrimination was propped up not only by legislation but also by secret organisations the sole purpose of which was to intimidate blacks into acquiescence with their harsh and degrading lot. The Ku Klux Klan was one of such secret terrorist organisations that did not hesitate to take the law into their hands by lynching any black unlucky to fall into their clutches.

During this period Americans, both white and black, knew little about Africa. But I was inspired by my knowledge of certain Americans of African descent, like Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey and others who had already started the crusade of diseminating information about Africa in America. There was however less real knowledge and understanding of Africa and its people than of any other continent on the globe. Many believed that Africa was a single country and that it was in Asia. If you were introduced as a student from Nigeria, your audience might retort "where is that? In the West Indies?' The typical image of Africa which the average American carried in him in those days was a land of jungle, inhabited by wild animals like tigers and elephants only. Africans, it was widely held, had not passed the stage of semi-barbarians. Some would even ask you whether you lived in houses or on trees. The popular stereotype of the Africans was that they were bush men, head hunters and cannibals, who were yet to emerge from stoneage civilisation. This stereotype was influenced by the Tarzan film series whose scenario portrayed Africa and Africans as primitive, benighted and living semi-naked in jungle fastness. With this presentation so ugly, so sub-human, so babaric and dark, a good many sons and daughters of African descent in America had no choice than to deny their origin openly and without regrets. "I have lost nothing over there" one of them told me once in Chicago. I was dumbfounded and embarrassed.

Most Americans then tended to think of Africans they met in terms of the metropolitan European countries occupying those particular territories in Africa. They did not ask whether you were from Nigeria, Uganda, the Gold Coast, Kenya, Mozambique. They always asked; "Are you an Englishman, French or what?" Thus to them the African had lost his biological honour, cultural identity, and political sovereignty.

The deep ignorance about Africa and Africans coupled with the open discrimination of Americans of African descent to sympathize and identify with Africa can explain the treatment of Marcus Garvey who preached the Gospel of "Africa for the

Africans". This Marcus Garvey concept to many Americans, white and black was a mixture of hallucination and melancholia, generated by frustration of oppressed mind. His programme right or wrong, was nipped in the bud. The theory of white and black keys of the piano enunciated by kwegyir Aggrey is another thing that influenced my thinking at the initial stage of my planning for Africa. I do not believe that there is any virtue in racial bitterness or ethnic antagonism as a principle in nationalistic philosophy of any leader. I therefore vowed from the beginning to seek the co-operation of all racial groups in America whose attitude and sympathies underscore the brotherhood of man. And to do this, I must constrain myself to fight the evils of imperialism without bitterness.

Based on these facts, I developed certain ideas which eventually used me and enabled me to carry out my programme for Africa. One of such ideas concerned the desire to do all within my power to be instrumental in the introduction of state-controlled schools to offer education free to Nigerian citizens. I saw that a child born in America had free education from primary to secondary school level, while in Nigeria, his parents, rich or poor, had to cater for his education from the beginning. Another driving idea that obsessed me derived from my visit to the grave of Patrick Henry in Virginia whose flaming motto "Liberty or Death" became etched in my mind. But the incident of racial bigotry which I experienced on the train enroute to Virginia made me vow to remember that while fighting for African liberty, that members of my race in Virginia and other Jim Crow States were languishing under humiliation and abuse.

The ideal of reformed "economic democracy" was instilled into me in the course of my contacts with certain business circles. This concept simply means that workers who produce the goods and other amenities of life should have the means to enjoy the good things of life through the mechanism of mass production and a policy of adequate compensation for their labour. To do this, the worker must have appropriate education to maximise productivity which will justify his reward. I yearned to see this humane and constructive system brought home to Africa so that the workers would no longer be paid starvation wages and be able to raise their standard of living.

On the campus of the Ohio State University, I was a member of the Ohio Union and the Y.M.C.A. During the summer of 1940 I was one of the representatives of the University Youth's Association to attend the Lake Geneva Conference in Wisconsin. American Youths representing other universities attended. Camp life was a welcome escape from cloistered urban environment. It was exciting, jovial and simple and something as natural as my

Nnewi Village life in Africa.

Eminent professors headed several panels for discussion on current issues of the world. I participated in several of those panels. In one panel, we discussed what that professor termed "The vision of Progress". He began by describing the human mind as a"dynamic conception!" He dismissed John Stuart Mill who said that the mind was simply a "mysterious something which thinks and feels." He challenged the view that the mind is just a separate dictator which controls the action of the body. He rejected the idea that "man is a mere plastic mechanism - a vulgar vessel of clay" - as the medieval theologians would let us believe. Rather, "the human body is a chemical organ which is always in motion. It is irritable and changeable and yet functions harmoniously." The body and the brain developed first, marital activity followed as a natural sequence. That brought about the acquiring of the mind. The mind erected human civilization.

Mind, in other words, "is a condition of becoming aware of environment, and the utilization of that awareness." That is knowledge. When knowledge is extended we say that the mind is increased. Mind is neither a mystery nor an immobile entity. It is the result of the activity of a finished chemical complex of the body upon its environment. That is the basis of progress. The mind grows more and more as the unified complex of the physical body develops into greater efficiency, harmony and coordination. That is why,with the body, the mind grows indefinitely. And that is why human civilization is anticipated to grow indefinitely to a higher and better order. That is the logic of those who believe in the "Vision of Progress," said the professor.

This concept started with man's implicit confidence in science as opposed to religion. Man shifted his interest from the "Kingdom of God" to the "kingdom of man." Montaigne, Bacon and Descartes helped to repudiate orthodox christian objectives. They emphasised that the purpose of life is to learn how to live successfully on this earth rather than how to die poor in order to enjoy the unknown paradise. They rejected the notion that the wisdom of the ancients was infallible. Blaise Pascal declared with Bacon "that the latest generation is the most ancient." Those whom we call the ancients were indeed new to everything; whereas we, who have added to their accumulated knowledge and experiences should claim the right to maturity which we inadvertently rever in them. The latest date on earth, the latest born are the oldest in existence. The earliest date with the earliest men constitute the babies of time and children of civilization. To think differently is to suffer from the illusions of time.

I asked the professor: "In Africa, we generally believe that original men were born with superior frame of mind, longer life, higher ethical standard. How can I reconcile this notion with this

new theory? The professor asked me: "Do you not agree with Perrult who said; "nothing is more unreasonable, or even more ridiculous, than to suppose that nature is no longer capable of producing men as great as those of former centuries? The lions and tigers which rove the deserts of Africa today are quite as proud and as cruel as those of the time of Alexander or Augustus; our roses are as deep a crimson as those of the golden age; why should men be exempted from this general rule?

I asked another question: "How can this theory of progress be applied to Africa?" The professor answered sharply: The progress of man as man shall continue despite international inequalities, racialism and imperialism. What happened in Ethiopia or Manchuria, for example, cannot arrest the general progressive trend of human civilization in Africa or Asia. It may delay it, but after a short delay there may be a faster stride than ever before. Imperialism is not a special experience of the Africans or the Indians."

Another young student asked: "Are we to believe from what you have said, that man can eventually attain perfection through the process of continual progress? He answered: "Perfection is the attribute of the gods. By progress we do not mean perfectibility. We simply mean that human mind is peculiarly adapted to express the faculty of being continually made better and therefore susceptible to constant improvement. Besides, there are those who quarrel with the word "change." To them, "change" (and not "progress") is inevitable.

My mind wondered over these things. I wondered how our moral mind has improved better than that of the ancients. I could not imagine what ethical principle the modern man could develop that surpassed those embodied in the sermon on the Mount. There would have been no First and Second World Wars if we understood the ideals of Platonic love. In the field of science, I admitted that we were more ancient than our fathers. I associated myself with those who disagreed with the theological view of the universe. Theology was different from morality. Moral laws established by the ancients could stand the attacks of science and the test of time.

I grasped the ideal that Africa could not defend itself against domination by others unless its people were ready to repudiate certain ideas of the universe and cosmic phenomena. They must believe in the infinite capacity of the human mind and the mechanical complex of the body. The principle of EVOLUTION AND ALL ITS IMPLICATIONS must be placed side by side with the idea of fatherhood of God. Most Africans have not come to the realization that our body is a simple machine which vegetates and dies without special intervention of the gods. To most Africans,

any man who died must have done something wrong to the gods or to his fellow men. If Herbert Macauley died at the age of eighty years, some Africans would attribute the cause of his death to his political sins. If Chief Bode Thomas died at a youthful age of thirty-six years, well, he was "killed" by the magnetic spell of the atmospheric wizards. The old idea that everything was fated was wrong. Nature's gift to man to control his environment was in itself a fate. To achieve anything on earth man must use his own god-given faculty. Nature obeys its own laws even when administered by man. That is fate. It is not a repudiation of God. It is a vision of progress. *To reach and stimulate the human mind in Africa through education, to make it believe in the vision of progress became one of the ideas which possessed and used me.*

Acquaintance with the work and achievement of Marcus Garvey lit a burning fire in me. His crusade for inspiring self-pride and identity in the black race caught my imagination. He implored black men and women not to grovel and cringe before their white neighbours but to stand tall and proud. His campaign to awaken the commitment of American blacks to their African roots was an eye opener to me and blazed a trail which I was resolved to strengthen and develop into a two-way communication channel. And his slogan "Africa for Africans" crystalized in me the desire to do my utmost to see that Africa should be controlled, developed, and governed by Africans. And I could see no more effective means of doing so than through education.

In the meantime, since my arrival in the United States and enrolment at Lincoln University in 1939, I had nurtured the idea of helping to start a body to group all African students in the United States. There were not many of us at that time. For instance, at Lincoln University, there were only about eleven African students, and this was the largest concentration in the whole of the United States, followed by those at Hampton Institute. One thing that struck me most forcefully was that there was no organization of African students where they could come together and speak with one voice. I proposed a meeting of all African students at Lincoln. The idea was supported by most students but opposed by the late Kwame Nkrumah who felt that the meeting should be postponed till later date. Because he was the eldest and the most senior African student, his opinion was respected. But this lack of collective action by African students in the United States of America was one of the things that continued to haunt me until I transfered to The Ohio State University, Columbus Ohio. It was here that the idea of an African students organization resurfaced in my mind and I was deter-

mined again to do something for its fulfilment. I soon met Mr. John Kareffa Smart of Sierra Leone at Columbus. He was a student at Oberlin College, Ohio. The son of a Chief in Sierra Leone, he later became the first foreign minister of Sierra Leone. We talked about the war then raging and especially the lamentable fact that Africa was not being mentioned in discussions of post-war plans. This fact challenged both of us to do something to articulate Africa's case before the world audience. At this time, I was a first year undergraduate having matriculated from Lincoln University, but John had already obtained B. Sc. degree. Having invited John to my residence in Columbus Ohio, I recalled how my earlier attempt to forge an organization of African students in the United States at Lincoln University had been delayed, and now resolved to try again. I brought up the proposal to form such a body during this my discussion with John and he welcomed it. We then decided to initiate joint action in order to bring the scheme to fruition. Both of us found money, and on June 7, 1940, we sent the following letter to all African students inviting them to a meeting.

June 7, 1940

Dear Sir

These are momentous days, in which we find ourselves engaged in the pursuit of knowledge so far away from the land of our birth. The importance of the events which are transpiring across the sea naturally constitutes a challenge to our thinking and action. Moreover, the challenge also presents an opportunity, for this, we believe, is a "tide in the affairs of men" (and nations) which we must take at its flood.

It is in order that we shall be ready with one voice to proclaim "The New Africa", and to present a united programme for her nurture and development that we, the undersigned, take this opportunity to invite you to share with the rest of us the duty and responsibility of preparing for the leadership of The New Africa.

In the first place, we believe that we must stress the urgency of a real consciousness of the role which Africa has played, is now playing, and is destined to play in the Affairs of the nations. We must get rid of all artificiality in our concepts of our race and our great motherland, and we must develop genuine pride in our past and a worthy sense of our mission to the future. While the present, in whose exploiting grip we are held powerless, is tottering about us, we must be ready to rise with one voice and one strength, to build out of its ruins The New Africa, which, as Nnamdi Azikiwe so ably describes her,. will be characterized by Spiritual Balance, Social Regeneration, Economic Determinism,

Mental Emancipation, and Political Resurgence.

In the second place, we are forced to act together. We see the fate of the small nations - even those whose national consciousness leaves nothing to be desired. This should constitute a grim reminder to us, of what might well continue to be our own fate if we remain disunited and unaware of our united strength. On the other hand the plight, equally sorry, of the imperial democracies reveals that the dawn of new relationships between these nations and our Africa cannot long be postponed. But the establishment of these new relationships depends entirely on how ready we, the sons of Emergent Africa, shall be, when the time comes, to demand our rightful place in the "Commonwealth of peoples of the world".

Finally, ours is not an isolated challenge and opportunity. If the little sea to the east of our continent was no barrier when the great prophet of freedom, Mohandas K. Gandhi came and received on our soil the birth of his life-long devotion to the cause of freedom, let us not now regard it as a barrier to keep us from uniting, with one voice and resources, with our Indian brothers, in the cause to which they have pledged themselves.

In view of the above considerations, we, therefore, the undersigned, shall regard it as a token of your willingness to co-operate in united thinking and planning if you respond as soon as you can with suggestions and constructive criticisms. We hope to be able to arrange for a meeting at some convenient central place this summer and will eagerly await your immediate suggestions as to when and where. We shall be counting on you.

Yours for the New Africa,
/Sgd.
John Kareffa Smart, B.A. B.Sc.
(Sierra Leonian)

/Sgd
C. Nwafor Orizu (Nigerian)

P.S. Address to:
C.N. Orizu
c/o Mr. A.D. Gaither
251 N. 20th Street, Columbus, Ohio.

The response to this invitation was highly encouraging. The meeting assembled in New York City on August 18th and 19th, 1940. I addressed the assembled students on the value of having such a body which was to provide a platform upon which we could speak with a united and more effective voice about the liberation of Africa. My idea was applauded, I suggested that the

meeting could proceed to elect officers and allocate responsibilities. Once again, Kwame Nkrumah raised the point of order that an organization of that nature was already in existence. After much disputation, the meeting resolved to give Nkrumah six months within which to revive the organization which he mentioned as existing, failing which, anybody was free to plan for a new organization.

When six months elapsed nothing was heard from Nkrumah. I therefore invited the late Mbonu Ojike at the University of Illinois, K.O. Mbadiwe at New York University to my residence at 186 Hamilton Avenue Columbus Ohio in 1941. I wanted the three of us to review the original constitution, which I drafted, of what later became known as the first constitution of the African Students Association of The United States and Canada, popularly known as The Ohio Constitution to establish an organization of African students and to invite other African students to join us in the crusade to publicise the conditions in Africa which were badly misrepresented and distorted by the Western media and to articulate her aspirations for freedom in the post-war era. After the review and approval of the draft constitution was completed, a task which took us three days, we decided, to take protem offices to get the body off the ground. I moved that Ojike and Mbadiwe take the post of President and Secretary respectively. I chose to be the Information officer. During the summer of 1942 we summoned a meeting of African students in New York City and laid before them the fruits of our labour in Columbus Ohio.

They accepted everything we did including the Ohio Constitution, except that new officers may have to be elected by the full house. During the election of officers, Nkrumah became President, J.L.C. Nsima became the Secretary, Ako Ajei became the Information secretary, and I was elected the Vice President. It was decided that meetings of the organization should be held in my residence at 411 International House. The name of the organization was changed from African Students Union to African Students Association of the United States and Canada. Later, I became the President of the organization.

After the organizational difficulties were overcome, difficulty of another kind presented itself. This had to do with the political strategy to adopt in restoring sovereignty to African countries. Two conflicting schools emerged. I shall call them **inside-out** and **outside-in** political methods. I led the **inside-out school** while Nkrumah headed the **outside-in** group. I coined the concept of **"Inside-out"**[1] to refer to the policy of seeking African unity through the voluntary co-operation of independent

1. **Without Bitterness by A.A. Nwafor Orizu (Creative Age Press, New**

African States. The opposite concept of "outside in" expressed the policy of achieving African integration at once, from unorganised African territories united under one government in Africa. It was a direct legacy of Marcus Garvey's dream of creating an African government of which he would be the President. Nkrumah had that Marcus Garvey dream. Besides, being bitter with imperialism practiced by democratic countries, he appeared to be communist inclined, which in my opinion was not going to be a fertile ground for the founding fathers of the New Africa to plough upon. We had enough job on our hands than to enter into ideological warfare of Europe and America. This cleavage continued to engage our minds in the process of the struggle for freedom. Interestingly,, this episode anticipated the conflict on a wide continental area. About 17 years afterwards, Nkrumah resurrected his "out-side in" strategy for building a supra-national body embracing all African States.

In 1961, leaders of some independent states of United Arab Republic, Guinea, Mali, and Libya met in Casablanca. The Algerian nationalists were also represented. At the end of the conference, the King of Morocco, and Presidents Nasser, Toure, Kaite and Nkrumah signed an African Charter, and invited Independent African states to associate themselves with this Charter. This Charter called for an African Consultative Assembly, equipped with all the paraphernalia of a sovereign entity, including a Joint African High Command. In 1962, a counter bloc who believed in my "Inside-out" philosophy, the Monrovia group, comprising Nigeria and other independent countries, was formed. This group believed that Africa could be united through gradual means and by functional co-operation among sovereign states. Members of this group disagreed with the notion of "Outside-in" philosophy, that is the formation of a single African government at once and believed instead in a process of effective, practical and functional approach to African unity. And this was the fore-runner of The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) at present.

At the moment (1990 on), it is my settled conviction that the time has come for a type of African Defence Command to be considered. This will be supported by collective sovereign African Nations but not necessarily under one ecumenical political structure which will be superimposed. This African Defence Command may fall in line with the concept of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). African Continental Government may be a wonderful ideal, but not yet a practical demonstration of strategic intelligence, economically and politically. Kwame Nkrumah in my opinion is an embodiment of African Continental patriotism. He was a very affable, courageous and dogged fighter for whatever he believed in. His dream of an African Continental Government, which was an utopia at

that time, is something for all Africans to look forward to, but in the remote future.

Quite apart from the problems emanating from the African students Association working in collaboration with West African Students Union in London under the secretaryship of Dr. Udo Udoma with whom I corresponded, I determined to go ahead with my central purpose in bringing African students to study in American colleges and universities. I was aware that citizens of other Asiatic, South American and European countries were taking advantage of the rich facilities and privileges in the United States, and I did not see any reason why Africans should be denied the same opportunities. If only I could get those Africans who were prepared to pay the prize of hard work while on the campus as I did. I began to plan an international organization for this purpose. This plan bore fruit on April 18, 1943 when the American Council on African Education was Incorporated in the City of New York.

I must summarise here for the benefit of the readers of this work what were the aims of the organization as were introduced to American public:

(1) To promote and enrich culture and intellectual understanding between Africa and America through education .
(2) To generate a fund in America and in Africa for the management and execution of the programme.
(3) To secure scholarships for African students in various disciplines. These students should, on completion of their studies, return to their home lands to help in the gigantic work of construction and reconstruction that needed to be done there.
(4) To encourage educational and anthropological research as a means of promoting cultural understanding between Africa and America. Other points dealt with the need to establish a hostel in America where the African students could feel at home during their stay in the United States and the desirability of subsidizing a library and science laboratory in Nigeria for the promotion of Technical and technological education and research. The formulation of the purposes also made it clear that initially the central office of the Council would be in Nigeria to serve other African countries until conditions would be expedient for expansion. This was only a temporary constraint imposed by prevailing circumstances and complications insepera-ble from the colonial status in which most of Africa was sunk at that time.

The Council had the honour of probably being the first such corporate body founded by an African in the Western world independently. The novelty was challenging. The response to the public appeal for support of and adherence to the Council was successful. Eminent and distinguished Americans encouraged us morally.

I undertook extensive speaking tours to solicit for scholarships from important educational institutions. In the course of these exertions, I was received at the White House by President Roosevelt and on other two occasions by Mrs. Roosevelt at her residence, No. 1 Washington Square, New York. But an event which greatly paved my way to the acquaintanceship and close collaboration of a vast array of important names in American society was as already mentioned, the publication of my book "Without Bitterness" in 1944. I kept on warning in my lecture tours, the rest of the democratic and allied nations of the world that Africa was awake and was indignant at the gross neglect of her interests. Unless this was drastically changed, and post-war Africa shown better treatment, there would inevitably be an explosion in that continent. But I also appealed to Africans to shun bitterness and hate because two wrongs do not make a right. Africa had been abused and exploited it was true, but European imperialism has introduced some good things of mechanical civilization - railways, telephones, automobiles etc. Africa, I held, must not train the coming generation to hate the white man because of the evils imperialism wrought in the past. I maintained that our fight must be for principles and not against peoples.[1]

My mission was enhanced when I was invited to become one of the editorial columnists in the Pittsburgh Courier. I used this column as a platform for continuation of my mission of presenting Africa to the Western world as originated in "Without Bitterness", (in the words of Dr. Herskovits, famous professor of anthropology, "judiciously and without rancour"). I also used the column to launch my fervent plea for closer understanding and co-operation between Africans and people of African descent in the United States. The column was named "Africa Speaks". When Mr. Prattis, the then executive editor of Pittsburgh Courier gave this title to this column, I felt flattered and humbled and immediately remembered what Zik said to me in 1937, the first day I met him in my life. He addressed me as follows:— "To my friend Christopher Orizu. Do not lose hope, Africa needs you". I was then a pupil teacher in Onitsha. Eight years afterwards, a new voice in America said to me "Speak for Africa so that when I spoke, I felt the message of mother Africa was

1. **Without Bitterness, A.A. Nwafor Orizu, (Creative Age Press New York 1944) 377 p.**

being relayed. It was Africa's message not my own.

This book is therefore arranged in parts 1 to 3:—

Part One — Africa Speaks to Americans through the Press:— This constitutes the 30 original articles as they appeared in the editorial column of the Courier: They have been arranged under four thematic rubrics:—

Part One:-

1. The Road to Freedom
2. Relations Between Africans and Afro-Americans
3. Education for Freedom
4. Nigeria's struggle mirrored in America.

Part Two:— Africa Speaks To Americans Through the Radio:— This constitutes 2 selected Radio Broadcasts namely:—

1. The text of speech broadcasts to the United States of America on Station WLW, Cincinnati Ohio, Sunday August 16, 1942 at 5.00 p.m.

2 The text of interview of A.A. Nwafor Orizu by Miss Nancy Craig in Woman of Tomorrow Program on inter-state broadcasting company at WQX R Station New York City, New York, September 14, 1944.

Part Three:— Africa Speaks to Americans Through Addresses.— This constitutes 3 selected addresses to American Audiences on Philosophy and Ideology of Action:—

1. "Horizontal Education for Africa"-delivered at Schomburgh Collection, 104 W 136 Street New York City.
2. "African Irredentism"- an Address to business and religious leaders of thought in Chicago.
3. Harvard University Speech.

These articles are presented as they were published and I have not attempted to edit or change any of them. Their topics encompass the range of issues that obsessed me and formed part of the ideas and goals to which I had committed my energies and attention between 1939 when I arrived in the United States of America with only £8 Sterling in my possession, and 1945 when I returned to Nigeria with over 150 scholarships to establish the American Council on African Education and put in motion its programme of bringing students from Nigeria and Africa to study in colleges and universities in the United States of America.

Imperfectly done, incompletely accomplished, disappointed many, annoyed some, but it made only these conquests:

1. To challenge and banish the concept of Perpendicular Education in Africa.
2. To remove the fear of poverty in acquiring University education, and
3. To expose in a large scope, the hidden African youths to the possibilities and pragmatic romanticism of American Education.

AFRICA SPEAKS

PART ONE

AFRICA SPEAKS TO AMERICANS THROUGH THE PRESS

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION ONE
THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

The nine articles falling under the rubric of the Road to Freedom deal with the various major issues that concern the yearnings for freedom and independence on the part of the colonial peoples in the immediate post-war period of 1945-46. The passing away of the U.S. President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was a gigantic blow to the aspirations of the colonial peoples He was a courageous and unflinching champion of the "forgotten man". Franklin Roosevelt would have died in vain if the world leaders who gathered in San Francisco in April 1945 turned their backs on the great ideas and ideals he lived for. World peace was very precarious and nothing made it more so in the post-world war II than the continued existence of master-slave relations among the peoples and societies of the world. The failure to have representatives of Africa attend the United Nations Conference in San Francisco was a clear warning that some western nations wanted to perpetuate this unequal relationship. But Africa was awake and on the threshold of a new universal development.

But all hope was not lost for a change of attitude in leading western circles. The action of Harold Ickes, (the image of Roosevelt) Secretary of the Interior, asking the American delegation to San Francisco to change its stand and write into the Charter of the United Nations a pledge of independence to all colonial peoples, was a welcome and reassuring gesture. And this opened the gate way of the road to freedom in the black world. But in the last analysis, when all is said and done, only education and determination and sacrifice of Africans can save Africa and that we pursued under God's guidance. Only 12 years afterwards freedom came to Ghana. 15 years later, Nigeria, the most populous and one of the richest of African countries became a sovereign nation.

WE MOURN FOR LATE PRESIDENT BECAUSE WE FEAR OUR OWN IMPERFECTIONS.

While men and women living all over the world are in uproar, turmoil and tears; while our hearts lament the eternal absence of the world's greatest liberal heart of the age; while we stand aghast wondering how the great and the strong has fallen into the hands of the almighty DEATH; while we think that the sting of death has won a victory over the mortal frame of America's great father; we must remember that Franklin Delanor Roosevelt has departed from this world triumphant. He has done his duty. It is not for him that we mourn, it is for us, the living.

We mourn for the imperfections and tragic weakness which may prevent us from living up to the standards that Mr. Roosevelt has set for us. We mourn because we are so afraid that other leaders may upset the courageous and noble work that Mr. Roosevelt almost brought to completion. We mourn that we are not so sure that his spirit of "freedom everywhere", which he so persistently advocated and vigorously worked for, could be equally cherished and carried out by our present leaders. - In other words, we are lamenting our shortcomings, and therefore preparing ourselves to meet the challenge of the rising tide of freedom and liberty everywhere.

Why was President Roosevelt so great? It is because he believed in Voltaire, who said "This world is warfare; I love to carry it on, it puts life into me". The life of Mr. Roosevelt was a series of constant, relentless and indefatigable warfare against insurmountable obstacles. He waged war against physical debility. He conquered. He waged war against social wreckage. He triumphed. He waged war against spiritual slumber. He won. He dauntlessly waged war against economic insecurity, racial bigotry, internationa! intolerance, and destructive Nazi doctrine. In all these he emerged victorious. Mr. Roosevelt fed the poor, led his Nation in its most crucial moment, built new assurance in the heart of humanity; with him, all that is America came to a new life.

The life that Franklin Delanor Roosevelt lived was the symbol of harmony of opposite qualities. He was born wealthy, yet his creed was the interest of the poor. He was made great, but he lived in simplicity and friendliness which charmed his friends and elevated his family. It is true, then, that "to all men he was all things" — A great liberal, bringing the more abundant life. Or a dangerous radical and power seeker. A business baiter,

out to soak the rich. Or a sensible regulator, imposing restrictions for the common good. A champion of the forgotten man. Or a canny politician, buying votes with public money. A wrecker of the Nation's economic structure. Or a builder towards more equitable distribution of wealth, A war hater who knew the fiction of isolation. Or an international meddler. Mr. Roosevelt was all these because he was great.

THE EULOGY of his brave life will not do us any good unless we translate it into a concrete way of living. We shall be-paying lip service to him - shading crocodile tears, if, in San Francisco, the world leaders turn their backs upon the principles of Mr. Roosevelt.

It was Mr. Roosevelt's belief that the principle of peace is inseparable from the recognition of the interest of all. He believed in human dignity and worth. He hated imperialism in all its manifestations. He substituted repression of the weak with his "Good Neighbour Policy". He challenged colonialism by insisting on unconditional independence of the Phillipines. He made friends of both small and great nations, and gave each due recognition. That was the life of a man possessed of harmonious qualities. Today, that life's symphony is finished.

THE LIVING leaders who will represent all nations in the San Francisco Conference this month should plan so that the life of President Roosevelt shall not have been sacrificed in vain. They must generate the spirit of courage, sincerity, tolerance and justice. They must elevate the moral standards of the twentieth century man to a new level. The leadership of all oppressed peoples in America and the world has much to learn from the life of our great champion fearlessness, courage and sacrifice. If we have no fear, we can turn the imposed handicaps of racial and national origins into an incentive. If we have courage, we can boldly map and execute our plans in spite of powerful oppositions. If we have the spirit, we can sacrifice even life itself to attain freedom and maintain a dignified place among other races and nations of the world.

THERE CAN BE NO PEACE AS LONG AS MASTER–SLAVE NATIONS EXIST IN THE WORLD

It was nearly ten years ago, that, one African king bent on his knees with calm and dignity before the "civilized" world in Europe pleading for the general security of the world. At that time he found himself almost drowned by the bloody flood of Italian nationalism which, under Mussolini, was flourishing beneath the fog of mendacities.

During this period, the chord of European social orchestra was playing death, ruin, chaos, and iniquity. The political maniacs of Europe gave sanction to this fantasy. They imagined that small nations could be used through political hypnotism as the birds of sacrifice to the evil shadows of imperialism. It was an implacable act, marked with scenes of tragedy - a meretricious tragedy. Looking at this with a sense of universal responsibility, Haile Selassie exclaimed to the effect that Ethiopia's defeat was only a prelude to universal destruction of the whole world, and requested that all nations should rally to stop Fascist aggression in Africa. If the white world refuse to take up the responsibility, it is not only Ethiopia, but "the West shall perish". HE WAS LAUGHED at. He is an African king. He has no physical force. Why bother about his useless prediction? So the madness in Europe was let loose. Imperialism went to work. The die was cast. One nation after another started to crumble from one continent to another. Then our France fell. Churchill wept. England was near her Ides of March. Brave men opened their large mouths, crying like women for "help" from everywhere, and some wanted that help even from the devil.

The conscience of the world was struck. America was awakened. Her weight was thrust against the forces of Fascism and Nazism. Japan opened her aggressive scene at the Pearl Harbor. Hitler jumped at the impossible Russia. Now the pendulum started to swing. England started to breathe again, feeling that at last she was going to escape the atrocities designed by German imperialism. Two great continents have come to rescue her. Africa supplied her with food, essential war materials, strategic bases, manpower and moral colaboration. America turned up with her phenomenal power of rapid and efficient production. Lend- lease was instituted. Let nothing be said of the contributions made by India, Canada, Australia and some others.

TODAY THAT European war is over. All the predictions of the African king, to whom the West would not listen, have come to a fulfilment. Again, a chance to understand that the security of the peoples of the world is only one condition of a permanent

security of individual nations whether small or big, is given us. There, in San Francisco, we have the rare opportunity to develop instrumentalities for the building of a new society of free men everywhere. But Alas! the monstrous imperialism is back again. Belgium has forgotten what Congo meant to her very existence not long ago. France is already absent-minded of the deeds of the African peoples during her darkest days. His Majesty's Government will now be too busy to remember what Africa has meant to the safety of almost abandoned England. These debtors have slapped their undeniable creditors with the palm of ingratitude. That is the brand of European morality. And we are looking for peace. . . . . eternal peace.

Let us summarize the plan European nations have for Africa:

(1) No African nation under these ruthless Europeans is represented at San Francisco.
(2) None of these European nations can fore-see a day of independence for any African country under them.
(3) Self-government is even a remote possibility which we shall expect to have when the master nations are in good humour to talk about it.
(4) By so doing, the African nations will still continue to remain economically abject beings, producing raw materials and living under slavery of General Smuts in South Africa.
(5) As for England, Nigeria will be congratulated after this war by confiscating the minerals of the citizens of Nigeria under the name of the British Crown who would assume an uninvited role of a custodian for the political and economic children in Nigeria. What a world. . . . . peace on earth!

I SIMPLY cannot understand why no African representative of nations under European domination was invited to the United Nations' Conference at San Francisco. It is the most unnatural ostraçism which nothing can ameliorate until something is definitely done about it.

We are talking about trusteeship. I guess that we really feel that the people of Africa have no idea of their own, quite separate from whatever decision the United Nations might make in their absence. The Principle of one nation holding another for anything, is an open sanction of slavery, only in a large scale. Nigeria belongs to England? The peoples or slaves of Nigeria may not move, transact, trade, talk or plan among the peoples of other so-called independent nations without the sanction of the slave masters in England: The final words from the master England must always direct the destiny of millions of Nigerians . The Congo market must be conducted according to what the rescued king of Belgium says. This kind of slavery is the freedom of Africa. It is a price for our lives and resources spent in the war. And gentlemen are talking about peace.

THERE WILL be no peace, and certainly Africa does not want peace at any price. We want peace only when we are first a free people to enjoy the peace in our own way. We want peace when the collective slavery called imperialism is finally and unconditionally surrendered by England, France, Belgium, Spain and others. We thank Russia and China for their championship of the cause of colonial peoples. We hope that America may not be systematically involved into believing that there could be peace when India, Nigeria and others are yet in the hands of our ally-England.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 8

NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE UNITED STATES TO CLING TO ICKES DICTUM ON COLONIES

THE New York Times reported on June 11, that "Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, has telegraphed a request to the American delegation (to San Francisco) to change its stand and try to write into the United Nations Charter a promise of Independence for all colonial peoples". Mr. Ickes argument was "that if the Americans failed to win incorporation of the principle of independence for people under colonial as well as mandate administration, this might be regarded as a reversal of traditional United States policies". This move of the Secretary of the Interior is especially significant. But we cannot quite appreciate his point of view unless we survey briefly what he has in mind when he said that failure to support independence for colonies "might be regarded as a reversal of United States policies".

THE UNITED STATES foreign policy has not been regular. It has been largely dictated by some major factors of her domestic problems and the prevailing international circumstances. We shall begin with the birth of the United States as a new nation. The founding fathers founded a government on the highest and noblest moral principles of which man was capable.

The revolution that gave birth to this concept of government was precipitated by certain inhumanities imposed upon the colonial Americans by King George III and his astigmatic ministers. Aside from the basic economic inequalities which were behind the whole struggle, America was born as a babe of a new philosophy of government based on Locke's political idea. John Locke wrote his "Two Treatise on Government" in 1690 with an aim to justify the bloodless revolution of 1688 in England. The American revolutionists used this philosophy as the instrument to destroy the British imperialism in North America.

Natural law, which prescribed human rights, was the axis around which the whole political argument revolved. It was contended that there are natural human rights which are beyond the authority of man-made laws and legislatures and crowns. These natural laws are synonymous with human liberty and no legislature can overrule them.

UNDER THE CANOPY of such political convictions, the young, almost imbecile, and yet ebulient America opened her early international policy. Certain things were characteristic of her. She was self-conscious, internationally. She was in favour of "away from Europeanisms". She recognized the need for territorial expansion here. Later, her policy was guarded by the Civil War psychology: safe-guarding the Union against foreigners,

reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine, and the expansion in the Pacific. This was followed by insistence on the 'Open Door'. It was also at this time that she challenged the European greed in China. And one cannot forget that while she was assigned a sum of $24,000.000.00 from the Boxer Indemnity which cost her only $11,000,000.00, the United States refused to take the whole money from China. Thirteen million dollars of this sum was given back to China, and it was alloted for the education of the Chinese in this country.

After the first World war, Woodrow Wilson reasserted the principles of the United States in the Fourteen Points. The Europeans blocked it. And the seed for a new war was thereby sown before the peace was concluded. After the peace, there emerged world-wide depression, which created unrest everywhere. Then Franklin Delano Roosevelt came to power. He came with the zeal of a Christian, a prophet, a savior, a visionary, a practical politician, and an internationalist.

In 1933 during his inaugural address, he said: "In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this nation to the policy of good neighbour - the neighbour who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others; the neighbour who respects his obligation and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbours". The good neighbour policy was tried in Haiti, in the recognition doctrine, in relation with Panama, in Latin - America, in the non-intervention principle and in Mexico. In all these, Mr. Roosevelt proved himself a great American who respects the rights of others as a natural counterpart of our human existence. This policy reached its most glorious peak in the question of Independence of the philippines.

Today in San Francisco, the leadership of America is at a great test — whether, in spite of her eagerness to keep good relations with the powers of Europe, she will be able to champion the cause that all the founding and subsequent fathers of America have cherished very dearly. The natural right of man to rule himself - right to independence is the traditional policy of the United States. America has grown great under this conviction. The world is anxiously waiting to see whether America shall really permit herself to be mixed up in the historically and morally thankless and inglorious undertaking of perpetuating the fallacy that there are other human beings who cannot govern themselves independently. We must listen to the voice of America, which echoed in the telegram of Harold L. Ickes. Or we must sing good-bye to the age-long noble principles of the United States.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 10

WISHES OF AFRICAN COLONIALS DO NOT COUNT— HIS MAJESTY PLANS THEIR FATE AND GOVERNMENT

In April, 1945, the African Students Association of the United States and Canada sent a memorandum to Oliver Stanley of the British Colonial Office. A part of the memorandum read: "The African Students Association, recognizing the enormous need for the political and economic development of non-sovereign African countries, earnestly and respectfully declares:—

1. That in order to speed up the pace of democracy and progress in all British-held African countries, it favours political independence for all such countries.
2. That the British Colonial Office now enter into agreement with the respective West African countries....specifying when and how Britain will liquidate her imperialism in each country.
3. That the date for the complete independence of Nigeria and Gold Coast be definitely set.
4. That in the interim, a responsible self-government be proclaimed in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and the Gambia.
5. That all non-Africans be prohibited by law from exercising the voting privilege and from holding public office in African countries except such offices as are necessitated by the plan of this interim or handing-over period.
6. That the British governors co-operate with the leaders of the various political parties in Nigeria and the Gold Coast to create a Constitutional Committee charged with the function of drafting a national constitution, which shall be ratified in 1949 and promulgated in 1950.

On June 11, the Colonial Office wrote to the President of the African Students Association as follows:—

"Colonel Stanley has read this memorandum and has taken note of the desires expressed by its authors regarding the political status of British Colonial territories in Africa.

As the authors of this memorandum are aware, it is the declared policy of His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom to foster the development of self-governing institutions in the colonies. Such development must, however, be a continuing process, and the stages in it cannot be prescribed in advance in a pre-arranged time table".

Democracy in England, is this your end? Is it British democracy that is saying to free-thinking Africans - "In a vital matter

of your own freedom, you must accept the declared policy of His Majesty's government in the United Kigdom to be your guiding light. Disregard your opinions, for you have none. The king of England, the Lion of the United Kingdom has decreed "Let no man challenge".

Compare this with the statement made by Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt. Both of them said in the Atlantic Charter. "They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live". Compare this with the Charter of United Nations of which England is one of the proponents: The charter was drawn; 'to affirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small.

England will make the greatest blunder of all times if she truly believes that "good boys" in Africa will continue to swallow all manner of political and economic filth with which we have been fed for nearly a century. The days of accepting the gospel of "His Majesty's policy" as God-sent, are gone.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 14

THE DESTINY OF AFRICA IS ON THE BALANCES AS NEW NATIONS RISE TO WORLD POWER

"No man of woman born, coward or brave, can shun his destiny", were the words of Homer. And once I asked in wonder: "And where is destiny? Is it an achieved end? Is it an accomplished fact? Is it colossal imaginations and dreams turned into reality? For instance, was Hitler destined to conquer, or was he a product of circumstance, and his achievements really the results of German enterprise? Was Napoleon a destined immortal of France, born to conquer and to be conquered, or was he an offspring of the French Revolution?" With these questions in mind, I continued to doubt:'is white man's supremacy in things material at this stage of our social evolution a destiny? Are the Africans destined to be colonial peoples and to be forever content with the share of a dog at the table of international harvest?"

To all these questions I answered:"'No! Destiny is an impertial god - it follows him who wills, attends him who must, joins him who can. There is no destiny if there is no enterprise, no destiny if there is no plan, and no destiny where there is no determined spirit"

TODAY, THE DESTINY of Africa is on the balances. The noisy world has awakened the sleeping giant. The sons and daughters of Africa are faced with blazing flames of the whole revolution in our time. Since destiny is parallel with resolution and readiness to act, it has an inherent element of either cataclysm or tranquility. If two opposing destinies collide, the result is cataclysmic; if they are channelled for a single purpose, there is a social equilibrium.

Samuel Grafton described the conditions of our own age as "a disorder without much history or precedent". But I think that the disorder of our own age has history. It may not have precedent.I refuse to call our age a disorderly time. Indeed, it is a new age of a New Order of Destiny - the destiny of man to understand himself and be whatever God has made him. Call it democracy. Call it Communism. Call it Socialism. Call it Zikism. It is all the forces of a new destiny. It is sweeping Europe clean. It attempts to silence the arrogant voices of Fascism and Toryism It undertakes to crush imperialism. It challenges racial absurdities. It is the champion of economic security for all.

IT IS ON THIS threshold of a new universal development that Africa finds herself. The grim struggle to set human energy free in Africa has started. It is bound to collide with the opposing forces of reaction and imperialism. But the reactionaries

will soon realize that they are confronted with a new social force which is pregnant with all the combustible social engines ever ready to devastate the ruins and dry woods of acrimonious edifice of man's inhumanity to man.

The symptoms of collective discontent are present all over Africa. The earthquake of people's destiny is shaking the Nigerian world today. The cure will come when the Europe which thinks that it knows all things and can control all things, will learn to respect the rights of man in Africa. Economic and political freedom are the essential bases for the working of the United Nations Charter. This is not the day when Britain would, if she could, manufacture and trade for all the World - England for all Britain - London for all England - and every Londoner for all London. New Nations are born. There is Russia. Here is the United States. There are South American countries. China is rising. All these have new destiny for the world. Their influence and sense of freedom will have a serious effect on Africa of today and tomorrow. Africa is bound to march with them, and unless the decaying Europe awakens to these facts, the whole world will leave her behind in oblivion. But the destiny of Africa will go marching on!!

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 16

HOW BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT CAN HAVE MEANING FOR AFRICA

A FRIEND of mine who knew that I was not feeling well about two weeks ago, wrote me a short letter saying: "I trust that you have recovered from your recent slight indisposition. The ousting of Churchill ought to make you feel good."

I do not know whether the ousting of Churchill as such would make me feel good, although I jumped out of my bed immediately the first radio announcement was made that Clement Attlee had become the King's Prime Minister to liquidate the British economic and political anachronisms at home and abroad. I have no quarrel with Mr. Churchill. I never did. I simply disagree with the philosophy of Churchill's age. I desagree with it because I am aware that it is a philosophy of a decadent past. I recognize that Churchill is not altogether responsible for his doings. He is a particular personality who symbolizes a different social order which is happily bidding good-bye to a new world of common men.

Churchill is a great Englishman because he loves England and has defended it. I honour him for that. But he knows now that the "eye sees not itself so well as by reflection". Public opinion in England has performed the function of a mirror, and I guess that Winnie knows now how the philosophy he reflects looks to the eyes of the people's mind.

WHAT ABOUT Labor Government in relation to Africa? Let there be no mistakes. There are changeless as well as changeable things in political affairs. English society like any other, is susceptible to all these. Mr. Attlee is not going to become a Jove. No magic is to be expected. But there are also certain points which the African mind must be concerned with. How would a socialist programe affect African countries? If socialism means nationalization of some basic industries to an Englishman, shall that be applauded by a Nigerian also? Such a programe, if carried out in England, will directly benefit the common Englishman who voted the Labor Party to office. But will that be true in African Countries?

Let us take Nigeria as an example. The British Governor in Nigeria is appointed by authorities in England. The people have no authority, not even a suggestive voice, as to who will be the Governor. The Governor in turn selects his cabinet or the so-called Executive Council, without consulting the people. All of these selectees are British, and British-appointed Africans. The legislature comprises Governor - nominated members, and not more than three Nigerians are elected by voters who must

meet property qualifications. The whole thing is a government by a dictator-Governor.

HOW CAN socialism, nationalization of basic industries, affect the common man in a country like that? The heads of departments are British. The unofficial members of the Legislature are the members of the British trading companies, British miners, merchants and stockholders. Africans thrive only because individuals have mining rights and can compete with the Europeans openly. Furthermore, Nigerians own all the vegetable products, though restricted as to the choice of their market prices in Nigeria. Since the United African company and others practically control the Nigerian Government officials in so many ways, there is no redress for their Nigerian competitors in any field, nor for the farmers and producers of other materials.

If all basic industries are nationalized under such government, the result will be that every aspect of Nigerian economic life would be completely put in the hands of a few British officials and their indirect masters - United African Company or lever Brothers. The results can be better imagined than said.

WHAT AFRICA expects of Attlee's Government is two kinds of socialism. A British socialism which will liberalise economy in England now, by their nationalization scheme. Then African socialism which will liberalize social and political tangles, thus abandoning the present colonial structure of government and handing over the administration of Nigeria and other African countries to the Africans. These, in turn, will introduce their own brand of socialism, which is condusive to African temperament and traditions.

We really have no reason to feel good because Churchill and his age is a past in the British history, unless practical changes are made in the British idea of freedom. Attlee must answer the question of all free minds today: "Is England awakened yet to appreciate that struggle between empire and freedom? And if so, which is the way of the British Labor Party?' We have every reason to have confidence in Harold J. Laski and his group, unless their words do not mean anything to them.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 18

H. A. B. JONES – QUARTEY, GOLD COAST, DISAGRESS WITH DR. RAYFORD LOGAN'S

DEDUCTIONS

The following letter from H.A.B. Jones-Quartey of the Gold Coast, and a student of Public Law and Government at Columbia University, is of great interest to me, and I think that my readers will be equally interested. The letter reads as follows:—

My dear Orizu: A friend has just shown me a copy of The Journal of negro Education for Spring, 1945, in which appears a review of your book, "Without Bitterness," by Dr. Rayford Logan of Howard University. I want to go on record with a few observations, and want you to see that record. Hence this letter. On the whole, Dr. Logan takes a sympathetic view of the colonial question. He pays you several handsome compliments and does not do it in that superior, indulgent, patronizing way characteristic of those who would humor children and dowager old ladies, with tongue in cheek. Moreover, he lines you up with the late Felix Eboue and with Lin Yutang, while at the the same time contrasting you, this time unfavourably, with Lord Hailey. True, when we come down to the facts, of which Dr. Logan can hardly be aware, you and I cannot possibly endorse all that Eboue stood for. Even so, better Eboue a thousand times than Hailey, for a political bedfellow.

And that is precisely the point at which I disagree with Dr. Logan. The juxtaposition of Hailey's "monumental African Survey" and his "The Future of Colonial Peoples" to 'Without Bitterness," in a comparative sense and for comparative purposes is very unfortunate - comparing incomparables - and distressed me not a little. Hailey monumental or Hailey miniature is the same thing, namely, Hailey Englishman making out a case slanted in favour of British imperialism. That he 'set before him,' according to Dr. Logan, 'the battle-ground on which will be fought the attempt to achieve independence' is a thing to be wondered at. 'Independence?' What kind, and for whom? with a lot of other persons placed at a similar vantage point of view, Dr. Logan ought even to have passed that stage at which it becomes necessary to beware of the Greeks, even when they bring gifts.

STILL MORE egregious and distressing, however, is Dr. Logan's error in his oft-repeated dictum about the effects on Africans of slavery and imperialism. Says Dr. Logan: "He (Orizu) thus falls into the same error that has been the pitfall of some American Negroes who demand the immediate independence of Africa. They seem to forget that four hundred years of the slave

trade and seventy-five years of imperialistic exploitation and denial of participation in government are not exactly the best training ground for immediate independence."

Now, is it possible that Dr. Logan is seriously equating the Slave Trade (of 1442 to the turn of the 20th century) with the capacity or non-capacity of Africans to rule themseves? What has an external fact like that got to do with the internal situation of indigenous government by a people, of and for themselves?. . . . . Didn't you show in your book that Nigerians had their own government long before and after all this slave trade? And didn't Raymond Lesile Buell, in "The Native Problem in Africa," tell us that the Baganda in the East Africa had ruled themselves under their Kabakas (Kings) for a thousand years before the British came to Uganda? Did the slave trade then untrain these people for self-government?

DOES DR. LOGAN mean government of, for, and by the people themselves? If so, then I must remind him that our contention is that Africans have had a system or systems of government of their own for thousands of years, even down to the present day. In this case, then, there has been no denial of participation in government, for seventy-five or any other number of years.

But apparently, Dr. Logan does not mean, and no doubt does not even recognize indigenous African government, whether ancient and pure or modern and adultrated. No doubt he means the British Government in Nigeria and other African countries. If so, then here again the learned professor has made indiscriminate and uninformed claims. . . . He does not seem even to realize that when the Africans complain or demand independence or representation in government, they make a careful difference between that superimposed body, maintained by force or the threat of force and a submerged system of government of their own, which they have handled themselves for ages and which is in many ways, so sound and effective as to be left practically intact by the new foreign power.

FINALLY, Dr. Logan's regret that you did not pay "adequate attention to certain economic problems such as the open door" and his insistence on the kind of "salient facts" Lord Hailey handles, seem to put him down as one of those who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Facts, facts, facts. What facts? Whose facts? Facts that are more important than the total problem of who has a natural and inalieniable right to what, and where? Facts that partisans compile to prove their case? Or facts from God?

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 25

AN AFRICAN STUDENT IN ENGLAND MEETS BRITISH 'CIVILIZATION'

On August 25, 1945, a letter was written to me by an African student in England. In the fifth paragraph of the letter, after some personal remarks, the student wrote: "Ever since I arrived in this country (England), I have always felt that life here is so artificial, so hypocritical, so unreal, and rather, an eye wash. I get so disgusted day by day. I find more and more the weaknesses of these people. It is after all, good to see what life is here and what an average Englishman thinks of the African." Then he continued: "Our college is back in London. We are left to find our own lodgings. At times the University Housing Officer tries to help. I have been out for ten days and now looking for a room to live. I have called and replied to several advertisements for rooms. On arrival, the fact that I am an African disqualifies me for the room. This is London for the moment. I rang up an address, and was asked to come. On arrival the lady said "I am sorry, a soldier has just come in and took it five minutes ago." At another place, I called, and when the landlady saw me, she banged the door at me and walked in. She did not even say a word."

AT THIS point of reading the letter, I could see the emotion of the writer shaking himself from the root. I could see a rebelious spirit shaking hands with the destiny of revenge. In fact, I felt awfully fearful of the ugly spirit of combativeness which is fast developing among the young Africans at their first sight of white man's hypocricy in a country like England. But I continued to read as he turns to the sobreity or rather restraint that is African when he wrote. "At the moment we do not regard these treatments as anything. It is so common that we simply slight it. However, the impression is there".

To understand the disappointment that attends this young African in England, we shall realize that in Africa, the Englishman spared no device to impress the Africans that English civilization is so wonderful that a visit to England would be just going into the paradise of the Most High in the land of His Majesty, the immaculate home of "Civilized" people as opposed to the "uncivilized" Africans and Africa. Some Africans are convinced about this, hence, some wanted to go see the civilized England.

IN WEST AFRICA, racial prejudice is not known as we understand it here. In a country like Nigeria, the population of the black to the white is about six thousand to one. Most of the white persons live on the coast. Inside the country some people see white faces at most once in a year. The two peoples never

meet in social life. And there is no desire. The African is very conservative when it comes to association with the white man whom he considers a pagan (in northern Nigeria), or as smelling, pale stuff (in other parts of West Africa.)

The African considers himself infinitely superior to the white man, and strongly believes that in a fight involving no weapons, the white man is not a match for him, considering it man-to-man How far these superior assumptions are true is another matter, but the feeling is there.

THIS FEELING, however, does not make the African forget his inherent hospitality and respect for strangers. I noticed that in America, the host of a dinner occupies the head of the table and largest dinner is served him. In Africa, the stranger is directed to the head of the table, and is served the best and the most. All this hospitality does not stop the African from his superior feeling. But he believes that superiority comes from the ability to give others plentifully and freely. A superior person is he who is sympathetic, hospitable and welcoming to a stranger.

With this background, a young African going to London to find landladies so rude as to slam doors at him without provocation, will be disappointed. But the story does not end there. The tragic aspect of it is the feeling that this ugly act was done because of one's race. An African who has no color prejudice in that sense, will now learn a bitter lesson, and start to mold his life for a revenge. Newton said that every action has equal and opposite reaction.

POOR OLD ENGLAND. She cannot feed herself. She cannot finance herself. She cannot save herself. She has to go out and help herself from the abundance of others. But she would not do it humbly. She is a master race with a master majesty to master the Africans who feed her.

She would not be honest enough to ask Africa to Lend-lease some of her abundance. No. She has to get it by falsification of facts in saying that the African cannot govern himself. And yet, when the Africans come to England, to find civilization, they bump into primitive barbarism and inhospitality. Just what shall we think?

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 32

IMPERIALISM A WHITED SEPULCHRE . FULL OF DEAD MEN'S BONES

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, in a New Year statement issued in India last week, again lashed out at the British and all their works in the Orient. He poured his indignation and contempt upon the British role in Indonesia where England has annointed herselt the saviour and restorer of Dutch sovereignty. Again he asked Britain - self-proclaimed bulwark ot Western "civilization" - to get out of India and give the Indians a chance to solve their own problems. The record of men like Gandhi and Nehru, in their life-long struggle against British imperialsim and exploitation, is among the most remarkable in the history of patriotism. Both high-caste Hindus, both, highly educated in the very England itself, Gandhi and Nehru could have chosen the line of least resistance, made themselves rich, fawned upon the British and basked in oriental splendour and luxury for the rest of their natural lives.

INSTEAD, they chose the exact opposite. Gandhi, through practical first-hand experience among the Indians of South Africa, and Nehru, chiefly through the exhaustive study of the history of nations, arrived at the same conclusion. And they decided to ask no other blessedness than the privilege of fighting the cause of their own oppressed country and people.

Since then, each of these men has been to political prison more times than he would care to remember, each has suffered physical and mental torture, on a plane unfamiliar to the commonplace minds of their torturers.

Has their heartbreaking burden crushed Gandhi and Nehru? Have imprisonment and other forms of supressions stilled their voices?.Far from it. If anything, Nehru is more vehement and uncompromising now in his demands on the British than ever before. If anything, the sage, wily Gandhi is a greater thorn in the flesh of British imperialism now than when he began his campaign more than a generation ago.

Why do the British want to remain in India and the other parts of the world in which they have so obviously everstayed their welcome - in which, indeed, they were never welcome? Why do they try to foist their "protection" upon people who do not want it - who, indeed, do not need it?

EXAMINED from which ever angle one chooses, imperialism of any kind, British, or otherwise, is at best a whited sepulchre, full of nothing but dead men's bones. It has no justification, and can make none but false claims. Do the imperialists claim altruism as the raison d'etre of their system? It falls by its own

falsehood. Centuries of poverty, disease, and 95 per cent illiteracy pass nowhere else in the world for philanthropy. Is imperialism then justified by reason of economic gain? But the imperialist themselves protest that far from being an economic asset to them their colonial "possessions' are a tremendous liability; that they even tax their own nationals at home to maintain some of the colonies.

If this is true, why the national Martyrdom? Why the insistence to play Santa Claus and god-father to children who are so ungrateful and unappreciative? Is such a role really possible in such a world as this? And if this claim is false, then the altruism-motivation is also false. Then imperialism is economically profitable, and, considered with the other features noted above, tantamount to a purely exploitative inhuman institution.

LET THOSE continue to bully others who have adopted the national philosophy that might is right. Let them continue to put their trust in the man-of-war, the gas shell, the atom bomb. But let them also make very sure to manipulate history, create social dynamics of their own specifications, and if necessary, hold human nature itself on a leash. Why? Because without making sure of these, they cannot continue to win indefinitely

AFRICA SPEAKS

PART ONE

SECTION TWO

RELATIONS BETWEEN AFRICANS & AFRO—AMERICANS

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION TWO

RELATIONS BETWEEN AFRICANS AND AFRO – AMERICANS

The theme of this section is the natural mutual interests that bind blacks in the United States and the peoples of Africa. The American blacks were instinctively conscious of the fact that what happened in Africa had a direct bearing on their status and conditions in the new world. This kind of mutual relationship was not enhanced by projects like that represented by the so-called Bilbo Plan which sought to send blacks en-masse back to Africa. What was requested instead was a closer exchange and understanding between the two black worlds. This was what Mrs. Robeson's book "Africa Journey" underscored. The book took as its fundamental premise the belief that black people in America must revive pride in their African origin as a prelude to their display of self-confidence which should be the starting point of their sense of identity and freedom. Such a fraternal spirit on the part of the American blacks was bound to generate a positive response from Africans. This was the message of Africa speaks to the American people of African descent as contained in this section.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 2

NEGROES AND AFRICANS MUST UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER FOR MUTUAL HELP

Questions have been asked here and there: "What is the best way the Negroes can help the Africans regain their independence?" The Negro is eager to know this, not only for sentimental reasons, but because of the blood relationship between the two peoples. Blood is thicker than water. We all agree. But there are deep and inevitable conditions that stimulate a continued interest among all peoples of African descent. It may be found in international psychology which in turn has national implications for Negroes everywhere.

During the Italo-Ethiopian war, the American Negro was aroused to militancy. Why? Again, during the San Francisco Conference, the Negro press and organizations moblised for the cause of Africa. Why?

The American Negro knows and has always known, when he stops to reflect, that what really happens to Africa has a direct bearing to his world and national status in America. If the Africans are independent people with strong governments of their own, the American Negro will be more respected by others. The white man will appreciate him more. He will be less discriminated against by other races. He will be more vocal and confident in action and thought. He will be himself. The African position is a definite psychological matter with the status of Negroes everywhere. Let Africa be free today, and you will see that the Negro will be a new man in his outlook. The world opinion about Negro inferiority will vanish overnight. His economic status will be changed. His political balance will be shifted.

FOR SIMILAR selfish reasons, the Africans have been seriously concerned with what happens to the Negro in America. This is a justified selfishness - or rather self-preservation attitude.

The fact that these two peoples have sought for a solution through which they can reach and understand each other; the fact that that solution, so far, has not been found; the fact that a solution must be found or we will remain forever doomed; the fact that it is only the Atricans and the Negroes who can formulate that solution, has made me restless. I feel it an obligation, therefore, to write a special series of articles specifically directed to the reasons why this relationship of mutuality has been so long left uncemented, and to make some suggestions as to the solution. To do this will require frank statements and I hope that no one will misunderstand my intentions when I become brutally truthful.

TO CEMENT our relationship, several things must be considered. First, the American Negro must abstain from entertaining

rumours and hearsays about the peoples of Africa - either those here in America or others at home. I would have mentioned several names but let me give only one example here. Among the so-called educated Negroes, some go out discrediting the honest efforts of the Africans who come to this country to study. Not very long ago, a Negro author and reporter visited the New York Times office. An important person in the Times, who wanted to help the educational programme for the encouragement of university training of Africans, asked this Negro whether the help was justified. Our author "advised" the white friend not to help the Africans and their programmes. He did not think it worthwhile!! As if he knew what he was talking about, he said that those men are not reliable and their organizations are no good. Remember, this man is supposed to be informed! That was why they asked him the question.

But it so happened that the New York Times friends have more direct and reliable information about the Africans he discussed so discreditably. They laughed and marvelled at the ignorance and stupidity of this Negro author. We were informed immediately about this traitor of our race. We did not take it as a personal injury. The collective Negro race is disgraced and betrayed. There are few others like that. And they are in the places where they can really do our race injury, were it not that the force of truth is stronger than the little tongues of little men.

SECOND, the Negro scholar in America must stop looking at Africa through the eyes of Englishmen, the French or the Dutch. It is only a force of cowardice, incompetence, laziness and lack of spiritual stability that will induce a black man with any education to accept the words or writings by a people of other races about Africans - his own forefathers - without reflective doubts. I wonder how many white scholars will even accept a "European History" or a "European Survey" written by a Negro scholar, and take his words for granted and quote therefrom as if from an Oracle of Delphi.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 3

THE AMERICAN NEGRO AT SAN FRANCISCO HAS SIGNIFICANCE FOR AFRICA, MAY 19, 1945

Americans of African descent have grown. It was Marcus Aurelius who said that "the true worth of a man is to be measured by the objects he pursues". This statement speaks well for the phenomenal transition which characterizes the growth of the Negro mind in America. We may classify the growth of the Negro mind into three main stages. During the first stage, the Negro mind was dazzled by the flashes of social atrocities of slavery. He was forced to bow down hopelessly to the culture of the Americans of European origin. He was forced to abandon his language, religion, mode of social intercourse, and everything that was inherent in him as an African. Consequently, the Negro started to trek between two worlds; a world of his own and an imposed world - one half destroyed, and the other ill-understood. The original African ideals and faith and hopes and desires were wrecked, the new was not yet born. The Negro personality became disorganized. His loyalties became unstable. It was a peculiar life - a life of double consciousness, a life which had no single soul. There developed a "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on with amused contempt and pity". This was the age of slavery.

THE SECOND stage was the age of emancipation. The Negro felt himself free. There developed two warring ideals. Some Negroes insisted on going back to African culture or the country. They saw no salvation in the "white world". Others felt that they lost nothing "over there".The former group believed that no civilization is good enough to be bought at the price of social and economic ostracism. The later group conceded the idea that the white man's civilization was so good that it is worth being bought at the price of any social ostractism. Still some held that the Negro simply had as much right here as any other, so why return to Africa? The latter reasoning is heroic.

It was during this stage of emancipation that the Negro made some wonderful and permanent gains in America's social life. Great educators, lawyers, statesmen, and religious leaders emerged. Their audacity, creativity, integrity and loyalty to a constitutional government commanded the attention and respect of the world. They gave the Americans of European descent a food for thought.

THE THIRD stage is a modified form of the second. It is essentially the age of reclamation. All Negro leaders of today have agreed directly and indirectly on reclaiming their pride in

descending from great and noble African Ancestors. As a result, they agree that Africa and its problems are the concern of American Negroes as much as Europe is a concern of the Americans of European origin. This theory of reclamation has been interpreted by Negroes in several ways depending on individual conception of what the African-Negro relationship should be. Some say: "We are first Americans, then we are also Africans because our fore-fathers belonged there. We shall not plan to go over there enmasse, but we ought to keep our eyes open to watch the interests of our brothers there". Others say: "There is no place for black man in America. The only remedy is to go back to Africa". There are so many other theories. To me, all theories are matters of detail. The major fact is that all groups of Negroes are no more ashamed as before in claiming that Africa is their business. Consciously or not, all subscribe to the slogan "Africa for Africans". This is true whether we believe in other aspects of Garvey theory or not.

The narrowness of the mind, the provincialism of the repressed personality, the indifference of the oppressed group, the resignation which typifies ostracized people have all left the Negro leaders. Their responsibility and social prestige in the scheme of human society is ever so clear to them now. The fulfilment of this trend of consciousness is manifested by the presence of such organizations as the NAACP, the National Council of Negro Women, the Garvey Movement, the West Indian Groups, and the Council on African Affairs, and other religious and social leaders now in San Francisco.

THEIR VOICES may not be sufficiently heard, But they are there to point out that European imperialism points dead arrows into the heart of African culture and intends to leave the poison thereof to deaden the blood; that jim-crowism in America is a social misfit which must be uprooted as one of the results of the war against German master race-ism.

These Negro leaders are not going to perform miracles in San Francisco. They are expected to perform their duty to our race and humanity in proportion to the facilities left at their disposal. But immediate results are not so very important as permanent trend of events. The main fact is that the objective of the Negro has changed totally. He is grown to demand his right with irresistible determination; He is grown to say: "although I am an American, I want to remain an American by right but I am proud that I descended from the noble Africans whom we shall no more stand by and see the European gangsters devour them". That is the significance of the Negro in San Francisco.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 5

THE BILBO PLAN WILL NOT SOLVE THE NEGRO PROBLEM HERE OR IN AFRICA

Letters have been pouring in here on my desk since the past week. Some of the correspondents expressed some desires, wishes and convictions about the idea of "Back to Africa," which Senator Bilbo advocates. "What do you think about this plan?" is the common question in all these letters I have received The question is not an easy one to answer.

In my last issue of May 19 in this column, I summarized (as far as the space permitted) the three major stages in the growth of the Negro mind in America. I stated various shades of opinion generally noted on the issue. We observed that some Negroes developed nationalism in terms of Africa; some advocated strict white Americanism in all things, others sanctioned a sort of American-African ideological and cultural amalgam as a healthy combination of the past and present attribute of Negro life. And then we noted that finally the total trend of the Negro mind culminated in an intelligent, deliberate and common sense inquiry into the affairs of the peoples of Africa.

TO ANSWER the present question, it may be necessary to distinguish between the salutary growth of the Negro mind and proposal of Senator Bilbo. The birth of a new and legitimate interest of the American Negro in Africa is a result of pride in one's origin, self-discovery and independent thinking arising out of new ducation, social vision, political maturity and the understanding of economic basis of our whole struggle. It is a new revelation - a new quest to redeem the liberty of the black man in a world that understands unity as the only basis for effective and enduring resistance. This is a matter of changing the objective. It is not a sign of resignation from American life. On the contrary, it is a way of strengthening and enriching the Negro life among other Americans.

The Bilbo plan of transporting the Negroes back to Africa en masse is something else. This plan is governed by a different motive. It has a different goal. It is based on an entirely divergent ideology from what prompts the Negroes' interest in Africa.

WE MUST GUIDE against becoming over-sensitive over this proposal. Our enemies wanted us to do that. Calm analysis of the whole question may enable us to direct our energies to a healthy constructive social action which will symbolize maturity. We must avoid all shoutings, calling of names and unnecessary headlines if we are going to achieve any internal unity which the Negro needs now to concretize the gains he has made

during this world conflict. If the newspapers will encourage any foolish bickerings among the masses, we shall not be prepared to face the greater battle of our society, which may come in the days of reaction which may follow the peace. The singleness of objective can demolish all evil designs of our officious friends.

First, the desire of some Negroes to go back and live in Africa is nothing abnormal. The Jews in America who may even be considered white even with all their better advantages over the Negroes in America, are also in quest of a new home. It is a natural human instinct for nationalism which has swept the world since the middle of the past century. We must understand and sympathize with this section of Negroes and distinguish them from those Negrophobic individuals who just want to see Negroes extinguished from here because of their prejudices. These Negro nationalists have no use for those whom we think that they rely upon to attain what they call their dreams for a glorious nationhood in the motherland. Out of this sympathy we shall start instantly to re-educate them in the nature and scope of the Negro in the world both here and in Africa.

WE SHALL MAKE the masses of Negroes think by putting these questions before them:

(1) "Will you like history to record that in the year 1945, the Negroes of America ran away from their white neighbours into Africa because they were not equal to live side by side with the white man?"

(2) "Will the Negro do more for Africa by staying here or by going over there en masse?"

(3) "Will the relationship between Africans and Negroes be better cemented by gradual intercourse and mutual aid or by spontaneous group immigration from America?"

(4) "Does Africa need all kinds of American Negroes for the improvement of her education, health, economy and technology?"

(5) "Why does not Mr. Bilbo present another bill requesting that himself and some others go back to Europe from which their ancestors came?" Such questions may help clear our minds if asked without rancour

As an African, I have always been in favour of an intelligent colaboration between Africans and the Negroes everywhere, not only those in America. I include Haiti, West Indian Islands, South America and others. I feel that much of miseducation has denied the Negro outside of Africa from appreciating the heritage of his ancestors. I also feel that interest in post-war Africa will enable the American Negro to grow more and more, economically. With economic freedom, the psychology of life will be changed and perspective will be widened. I do not think of this collaboration as something that should be imposed from the

outside. Nor do I think that it will be done more easily by undiscriminated mass immigration.

I HAVE ALREADY extended invitations to some of my intimate friends to be guests in my home when I go back to Nigeria. With such visits and gradual understanding we shall build a world consciousness of the unity of man on this little planet. This principle is consonant with Wilkie's idea of one World. It is the gospel of the universal brotherhood of man. It is the theme of the Zikist philosophy. It is the African way.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 9

THERE SHOULD BE CLOSER INTERCHANGE BETWEEN AFRICANS AND NEGROES

DR. DUBOIS' chief objective now is to get hold of the Africans through their legitimate leaders everywhere, and thereby get the first-hand information in relation to the true aspirations and obstacles confronting them. He hopes that through that method, the world will be in possession of the truth about Africans and peoples of African descent.

I think that his approach is sound. And there is no reason why the Pan-African Congress will not be enlarged in scope and intent for a greater purpose. I object however to the fact that the Pan-African congress is always held in European countries. There is no need for such procedure. I know that it may be difficult to hold such conferences in European dominated African countries, but what about Liberia, Ethiopia or Egypt? Why not request the Nigerian kings to permit the congress members to use a hall there? If the British Government in Nigeria refuses such a proposal (I do not believe they will) why not tell the world? Probably that may serve as an incentive to integrate the black peoples against a common enemy. Why not hold the meeting in Ashanti? Why not in Uganda? And if all this fail, why not in the United States, where we have a very large number of Negroes? We must stop Europeanizing our identity, and while we shall co-operate, let us distinguish our own handiwork from European identification. This is not racial isolationism. It is only a matter of self-identity and pride which other races have in abundance.

DR. MAX YERGAN has a very vital organization here under the presidency of Paul Robeson. The Council on African Affairs ought to attract the interest of all Negroes. And it may be one of the vehicles for the mutual understanding which we need.

Men like Dr. Dubois, Dr. Yergan, Walter White, George Schuyler, Ira Lewis, A.A. Spauiding, Mrs. Bethune and others should visit Africa and speak in forums and to large audiences there. Duke Ellington ought to play in the Mbadiwe Hotel in Kaduna Junction where the Eastern, Northern and Western Nigerian Railway lines meet. The dramatic Adam Powell ought to preach the word of God to the Yorubas in the Metropolis of Lagos. I am sure that Marian Anderson's century voice will ring more thrillingly in the clear atmosphere of the romantic and ever shining Africa. Brain trusts among the Negroes; the philosopher Alain Locke; the historian Charles Wesley; the orator Mordecia Johnson; the writer Richard Wright; the lawyer

and statesman Judge James Watson; the editor Carl Murphy and those of their ilk should make serious efforts to spend their next summer vacation in some districts in Africa. Young Negroes should be able to locate and account for places like Katanga, kano, Freetown, Ashanti, Bamangwato, Matabeles, Jos, or Monrovia. And I wonder how many Negroes know where and why-these mentioned historical places. They are all in Africa and they mean much to our past and future history.

IN EQUAL measure, and for the effective solidarity necessary the African should reciprocate in the matter of interviewing. Africans ought to know more about the Haitian struggle then and now. They should concern themselves with what happens in the West Indies. And more, they should be familiar with such names as Harlem, Mississipi, Daughters of the American Revolution, Crispus Attucks, Madam Walker, Father Divine (whatever that may mean); they should be acqainted with the historical development of Negroes in the United States both constitutionally and socially.

These things cannot be done overnight nor by impatient diagnostics. We must develop long-range view of our destiny. I have mentioned to a friend that we cannot grow to any magnitude by seeing nothing but what is quite close to us, abiding to the present moment only, taking appearance for reality, judging by sight, fighting with words, living by imitation, and preferring trifles to concretness, adequacy and power.

WE CANNOT abide with the silly and wanton idea that this world is so good that all we have to do is to grow without collective planning, Influence without inner solidarity, control without concentrated pressure, master and impress others without mastering and impressing our own selves. All that, is day dream and hallucination.

Negroes must integrate and co-operate. Sometimes the co-operation will take a spiritual form. In some cases, it will take a tangible manifestation to make it work. In others, it may require give and take. Whichever way you take it, there is a serious cry by nature all the world around, that a people under one God, born of the same flesh and originating from the same tree, should, in a decentralized-centralized method, learn more about each other, laugh together, work together, and when necessary, die together.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 20

MRS. ROBESON'S BOOK IS A CHALLENGE TO THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

THE dawn of a new era is here. Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson has written a book on Africa. . . . . her "Old Country" The book is by far more than a mere literary exercise. It is more than a story-telling device about a jolly trip, undertaken to satisfy the curiousity of a traveler from a "civilized world". It is not an attempt to create an impression of being an intellectual. Rather, the book is a conscious work that comes from the heart and long cogitation of a determined woman. Reading and understanding of the subject matter and the intent of the book will reveal a creative impulse, an inquiring mind, a revolting spirit of pride, a nostalgic quest for the childhood origins of one's ancestors, an excusable surrendering to the influence of a mother land long forgotten, and a warm acceptance of Africa as a worthy land to inspire pride in all men and women whose blood stream took its rise there.

"AFRICA JOURNEY" opens a new page in the history of the black man in America. Following the first world war, Marcus Garvey, from the West Indies, came with an unprecedented philosophy that moved black America like a hurricane. With his tantalizing personality, he infused a psychological tension into the minds of the Afro-Americans. He asked the somber but irresistible question: "Where is the black man's government? Where is his president, his country and his ambassadors his army, his navy and his men of big affairs?" He answered the question himself: "I could not find them and. . . . . I will help make them".

From such logic of mind, Marcus Garvey declared an immortal principle: "Africa for the Africans". He aroused millions of Americans of African descent. In spite of powerful opposition he fathered the greatest single organization ever launched by a black man in the West. He flourished but through some mistakes rooted in certain unsound theories and of general management, he failed. But his principle is not lost. His vision is a century prize to the black man. His audacity is something for reference in the days ahead. His aggressiveness, pomposity and dignity; his indefatigable spirit, all made up the elements of awe and majesty for which the downtrodden race was yearning.

GARVEY'S economic theory was correct and fundamental. He offered the most elevating psychology of survival and self-possession. But his "Back-to Africa" policy, if applied en masse, would be a mistaken ideology, because it is both undesirable

and impractical. I think that at the present no Negro opposes collaboration with Africa, even if that would involve some Negroes actually going to Africa to make use of any professional training. Africans are also eager to see such relationship expanded for good.

Now the spirit of Mrs. Robeson, in her "Africa Journey", has brought out clearly what I have always advocated. An African proverb says that "A child who has never travelled thinks his mother alone cooks good soup". The greatest obstacle to the mentality and the outlook of the Negro in America is his lack of spirit of adventure - to move out of the "American paradise" - to some other places on the earth. To travel is not the only thing. A traveler must also posses the quality of relative judgement of the things he sees and hears in other cultures and environments different from his own. He must be alert and sagacious in selecting for use, the source of information in the country he visits.

MRS. ROBESON has satisfied all these requirements. She and her little son alone traversed the continent of Africa. And no tiger, no elephant nor snakes swallowed them up. Young Pauli did not die of the "bad" African climate. Mrs. Robeson did not bow slavishly to the "authoritative" official information of European governments in Africa. She went to the Africans with a spirit of respect and brotherhood. They were courteous, generous, mellow human beings with a warm heart to receive friends and strangers. They did not cut their heads off and eat them. Rather, she came out with a new vision and a new interpretation of Africa. Only a Negro from America could have seen Africa that way. And only a Negro who has taken his time out to travel to Africa could have developed such a new outlook on a long-abused Africa.

If Mrs. Robeson's adventure and rebirth do not inspire other Negroes, God alone knows what else will. The white press recognizes this pride in Mrs. Robeson. They respect it. She insists that the Negro in America must take pride in his African origin as a beginning of self-confidence which is the starting point of outward freedom.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 27

LOVE FOR U. S. MAKES ONE ASHAMED IN BRAZIL, WHERE DEMOCRACY REIGNS

I WAS originally scheduled to leave LaGuardia Airport for Miami Flourida, November 13. That morning a group of friends and some of the African students in New York gathered in my apartment as early as 6 o'clock. They kindly packed all my essential things, and at 7.45 a.m. we drove to the airport. But the weather was bad, and we could not get out of New York that day. I am so accustomed to the heart-breaking disappointments of plane-trip cancellations that I simply took my hat, and went back to the city with my anxious friends. I had more time to do more shopping, see more friends, and spend one extra night in one of the greatest of the world's cities.

On November 14, I left the LaGuardia Airport at 9 a.m. for Miami. It was not easy for me to think of leaving New York City and the host of friends I have made here. Then my mind projected to the Midwest. I thought of my good old friends in Columbus, Ohio, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and other cities in the many states of the Union. I knew that my absence would be at most temporary. But the knowledge of separation by the expanse of massive land and unbounded seas was so clear to me. I thought about the origins of my journey. I had left my home and family behind in the early days of 1939. I left them in tears. I thought I may never have the chance of seeing them again. One of many things could have happened. Our ship could have gone to the bottom. The irregular American weather could have taken my life. But those thoughts did not stop me. Nor was I ever frightened by the awareness. Such retrospection gave me a new impetus to look forward to something more important than "fearing fear" itself.

MY MISSION has just begun. I dreamed of it in Africa, but my American education gave it the stamp of reality. My reflections on man, on the reason for our existence either as races or as nations, were not concretized until after a stormy six years of academic and practical wrestling with men's ideas and actions in the United States. To live in America was not easy. Emotional conflict was great. The pendulum of life there swings too fast and too inconstantly from one extreme to the other. Now life is all beautiful; then suddenly it turns too ugly to behold with human eyes. The imperfections of ethical man in the United States are counterbalanced by perfection in the mechanical realm. But the human mind cannot feed on mechanics. It reaches for something more sublime. The hallucinations of mechanical

grandeur cannot compel the moral man. However America is not all mechanics. It is also human, although it is limited in this quality when racial matters arise.

The mere sight of Brazil and its people makes one who loves the United States turn away his face in shame. Certainly, there are not attractive Radio Cities and Fifth Avenues here. But there is human democracy. A man is a man. . . . . I am ashamed to confess this because American life has so captured a part of me, that sometimes I almost think myself an American and its shame and pride have become mine.

OUR PLANE landed at Belem, the capital of the state of Bara in Brazil, at about five o'clock in the evening. After official formalities, we were driven to the Grand Hotel eleven miles away. The first person I saw there was an American from Pennsylvania. He was enjoying some beer and beckoned to me to join him in a drink. I did not drink, but sat down to talk with him. The first thing he said: "certainly, I hate to say this, but it is true, we ought to be ashamed of what happens in the States (U.S.A.). You know, over here you can do whatever you like, colour does not mean a thing to them. All they want is decency and conformity with their laws".

At this time I was not particularly interested in discussing race. Brazil is too busy and too human for that topic. I smiled and showed appreciation for my friend's courtesy, but I begged his leave, since I wanted to see more of Belem before retiring.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 28

I MET A NEGRO IN BRAZIL DETERMINED TO FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

I LEFT my Pennsylvania friend in the hotel at Natal, Brazil. I walked across the street to the Republic Park. The idea of freedom is very alive around here. They live it, they talk it, they act it. It is so deep in them that they are ready to give a visitor any concession to make him feel free in their land of freedom. I understood neither Spanish nor Portuguese. That was the first time I realized my defect in that respect. I tried to use some Latin words. In some cases it worked. But the people are kind and generous any way you go. They smile and give immediate response to your request as you walk around.

A block from the hotel, is the U.S. Army station. On walking down the street there, I met two Negro soldiers. One of them Lazile Naylor, from New York City, walked up to me and said: "Are you from the States?" I told him that I was at Ohio State University, then at Columbia, and that I was on a mission to get more Africans back to the United States for education. He beamed and said: "I recognized your face from the beginning. Aren't you the fellow who appeared in Times Magazine sometime ago?" Surprised, I said "yes". He called the other soldier and told him that he had found the man whose educational plans they were discussing when his picture appeared in the Time Magazine. We became friends.

NAYLOR, to all intents and purposes, is a race-conscious Negro. He is an engineer in the Army. He invited me to a drink, but I accepted only a glass of tomato juice, just to be able to enjoy a talk with him. He had something to say. Being an ordinary soldier is not very important may be, but you can always feel that experience in travelling has brought a new Negro into being. Naylor is one of them. With determination in his face, he confessed that he liked it better here in Brazil than in his country of origin.

This, to me, was a sad confession, to make. But it made sense because his reasons were so self-evident. He told me that he did not dream that it was ever possible in this world to find a great nation like Brazil practicing the ideals of a true democracy. He remarked rightly that:

(1) In Brazil, no one ever thinks of the colour of an individual, when considering him for anything.

(2) In hotels all that would be necessary was your ability to pay the bill and live according to the prescribed standards of the hotel in question. If you commit an offence, the Brazilian law has no place for special consideration of an individual in terms of race.

(3) If a girl loved a boy of any colour, there was no pointing of fingers at them by either race.
(4) The Brazilians simply do not understand race issues and do not want to be changed even by the Yanks.

AS HE SPOKE, Naylor became more indignant, more perturbed about the whole question of the war for freedom. He made a notable suggestion. "That Mr. Bilbo - particularly that Bilbo - should be forced by law to come down to Brazil and live for a month. He needs to be civilized over here. I gave a big laugh the way he said it. But I fully recognized the grim reality with which he was struggling in his mind. After this short encounter, we parted.

The thought of Mr. Naylor haunted my mind throughout my stay in Belem and in other Brazilian stations we stopped. I shall never forget the richness of his world experience, his determination to go home and start all over again to fight for democracy, after five years of hard struggle with Hitler.

IT IS VERY sad. How can a young Negro continue to feel keenly about his own country, as the leaders therein remain so cool. Do the American leaders understand this trend of accumulated malcontent, so great in the midst of a country just back from a war and ready to go in again?

South America's Brazil is more African than Anglo-Saxon and I shall list some facts about its potent background another time.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 30

NATIVE AFRICANS ARE JUBILANT WHEN THEY LEARN OF AMERICAN NEGRO INTEREST IN THEM

ONE of the greatest impressions I have gathered in Nigeria since my return from the United States is the unequivocal feeling of deep interest and understanding found among the peoples of this country about American Negroes. In a recent speech at Oguta, a town in Nigeria, I made myself very clear that without the untiring co-operation of the Americans - both white and black, my mission to obtain scholarships for our boys and girls would have been unsuccessful. I could not, I said, have founded the American Council on African Education single-handedly. I could not have swam the cross-currents of the American social sea with out help.

The truth of the matter was that in this particular speech, I did not even lay any special emphasis on the Negro Americans, in contradistinction, to the whites. It was my fellow Nigerians themselves who made the fine distinction.

IT HAPPENED this way. One Nigerian from the audience interrogated: "May I, please, ask whether I am right to think that most of the co-operation you have got from America came from our blood-brothers over there; whether their feeling for us is as genuine as our own for them; whether they are vitally interested in the affairs of the African; whether their interest may lead them to visit this country in good numbers and with a proper idea of our cultural back-ground; whether they are as good as the white man in matters affecting trade, commerce, industry, government, education and other things?"

These questions were as challenging as they were interesting. I replied by saying: "The co-operation of the black Americans in the programme of the American Council on African Education is invaluable, their feeling for us is genuine, their interest in us is deep, their wish to visit Nigeria needs no proof, and their mental and physical equality with the white man is something conclusive".

The anxious crowd clapped their hands in jubilation. Laughter and exclamations of joy, to say nothing of satisfaction, poured out from the hearts of men.

AFTER THE meeting there were further questions along the same and similar lines. I answered these with as much enthusiasm as they were asked. My eager countrymen asked me again and again to convey to our "brothers" and "Cousins" in the New World that they would welcome them to Africa as heartily as they had ever done in the past. They wanted, they said, all the

musicians, scientists, teachers, doctors, and technicians that could come over.

You can imagine my feelings of joy and gratification at this demonstration of remembrance and affection of one people for a part of themselves long seperated by distance, time and various circumstances. I remembered a passage in the Bible, and thought to myself: Truly, it is good for us to be here.

AFRICA SPEAKS

PART ONE

SECTION THREE

EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION THREE
EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM

The articles in this section deal with educational problems. This concerns the kind of education suited to the needs of Africa where and how to get it. Mass education is the most potent weapon for the mobilization of the people of Africa in their fight for political freedom, democratization, industrialization and unification. The problem can be tackled along two parallel lines:—
(1) by sending African youths abroad for higher education and (2) by establishing public schools in Africa to cater for the needs of children of school age and by launching adult education on a large scale. Setting up public schools is a responsibility that Africans must shoulder themselves. Facilities for higher education were not available, in Africa of 1940s. To tackle this issue of higher education was the mainspring of the American Council on African Education. It aimed at sending African youths to study in the United States of America through scholarships donated by U.S. colleges and universities. American education is more suited for African aspirations and development. It is by and large, more practical, more down-to-earth and more democratic. Functionalism and comprehensiveness constitute in the mission of American Educational system to the world.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 6

ONLY EDUCATION AND RESOLVE OF THE PEOPLE CAN REALLY FREE AFRICA

When we talk about freedom for Africa, we usually forget that freedom is a condition. It is not a matter of mere talking or of making long speeches alone. When the condition which will make freedom inevitable is provided, the people are free, no matter whether the empire belongs to England or Belgium.

The real truth is that we are living in a new world of unbridled industrialism. And only two conditions are necessary to make a nation relatively free. The nation must have the necessary resources. At least iron, coal, oil, rubber, steel, tin and wood. Manpower is as indispensable as the food supply, apart from the consideration of the geographical location. To possess these things would mean nothing unless there is the intelligence to utilize them in the direct interest of the people who own them. Intelligence implies leadership as well as general mass education. CAN AFRICA be free? Do the people of Africa possess these essentials to material freedom? If they do, is there trained leadership in the field of essential industries? Anyone with some knowledge of Africa knows the answers to these questions. Africa has abundant natural resources. It was not long ago this year that an important discovery was made in Sierra Leone, West Africa. The Imperial Institute discovered "A diamond the size of a hen's egg and weighing 770 carats". It was stated that this is the largest gem ever discovered in the alluvial deposit. The diamond, reported the Institute, "has an exceptionally fine colour and weighs 44 carats more than the Vargas found in Brazil in 1938, . . ." Take Nigeria as another example. Nigeria has a population more than Canada and Australia combined. It has an area four times as large as England. Outside of Bolivia, it has the largest tin depository in the world. Together with the Gold Coast it has produced about three fourths of the world's cocoa. Let nothing be said of its coal, iron, gold, rubber, manganese, silver, palm oil and natural oil. In spite of very bad agricultural methods, it has an abundant food supply.

DO WE NEED any more mathematical proof to convince anyone that Africa is not by nature poor? Or do we need any orator to impress upon us the fact that the fate of Africa is terrible today only because we have no trained leadership in all fields of industries and industrial management? No doubt, we have political leadership in Africa. Men and women of Roosevelt, Churchill or Madam Chiang Kai-shek calibre are all there in Africa. But they are on the top. The masses of humanity through

whom the wheel of industry can run are yet unawakened. They need education very badly.

I know that while I was in Nigeria, I never was counted among the brightest students of my class. The reason why I find myself in America is partly because I have the family that can pay my way. Probably the same thing is true of some other Africans who study here. The brightest students in Africa are always left behind. They grow and perish under the canopy of artificial poverty and want like the flowers which flourish unseen in the desert air. And I do not know how we can have any freedom without educating the men and women of the new generation who will build and hold the modern pillars of freedom. We must train Africans who can manage our electrical and water powers, transportation system, health programmes, new agricultural methods, manufacturing factories, banking operations, chemical appliances and other vital items that make an effective national life.

THE RATE of illiteracy in Africa is something too shameful to talk about. No part of Africa has more than ten per cent literacy. Most have less. Illiteracy is the cause of our poverty, ill-health, mal-nutrition, infant mortality, child-birth tragedies, and induced hunger.

Whenever I think of freedom, I think of the people. I never refer to the upper crust of the society who are always free- since to me, freedom is a condition of the mind. Africa is not free simply because the masses of humanity there are not mentally free. When the mental reservoir of the African masses is generated for activity, then only shall Africa be truly free. Shouting and swearing at the European imperialists cannot save Africa. The San Francisco Conference cannot do it. Making the world know about our culture and grievances cannot help us at present. The key to African redemption is the presence of intelligent leadership and enlightened masses. The combination of such factors can turn the natural resources of the continent into useful social purposes. No more, no less.

WE MAY BEAT about the bush for centuries yet to come; we may continue to look for up town train on the down town side of the street, but not until we realize that education is the only key to African freedom, shall we be able to direct our energies to one channel.

When the program of Russian redemption was inaugurated, the Russians did not begin by telling the world to recognize Russia. They did not do it by talking about Russian culture. They boiled down to the brass tack. They set up program to educate the Russian youth.

Life is a demonstration, it is a matter-of-fact, It is accomplishments; freedom is a condition, an attained social consciousness, a companion of mental emancipation; it is not a fruitless barking like dogs at the forces of reaction without any plans to remove the chains which bind the common man. We cannot talk imperialism out of Africa. We cannot petition it out. ONLY EDUCATION and RESOLVE of the PEOPLE can free Africa.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 7

AMERICAN COUNCIL HAS GOOD PROGRAM FOR EDUCATING AFRICANS

In my last week's column I prescribed what may be called necessary ingredients for freedom in Africa. My prescription was that EDUCATION is the most important instrument to be used in cutting off all the shackles of imperialism in any African country. The next question may be: What kind of education, where and how to get it?

The program of the American Council on African Education answers some aspects of these questions. This council was founded and incorporated here in New York City in April, 1944. It has two main related platforms:

(1) That education - mass education - is the most important thing to be tackled in the new process of African reconstruction, democratization and unification.

(2) That the educational problems will be solved through two simultaneous processes:

(a) by sending advanced students of Africa to other countries of the world for higher education

(b) by establishing public schools in Africa to accomodate all the children of school age and also introduce adult education on a universal scale. These will be strengthened by building higher institutions of learning.

THE ESTABLISHMENT of public schools in Africa - for there are none now - will be the sole responsibility of the Africans themselves. No outsider can really solve the problem. In a country like Nigeria where the Emirs and the Obis still exercise considerable influence over the treasuries of their respective state governments, the only task is to induce the rulers and their councils, to appropriate adequate funds for public education. The process is already taking some healthy form. I understand that the Emir of Kano (northern Nigeria) has recently introduced compulsory education for his state. That, of course, is an exception to the rule. Closely related to the task of the rulers, is the responsibility of the African tax payer. He must be enlightened to be willing to pay his taxes for the better education of the community. But to be able to pay taxes means to have access to a steady and comfortable income. The masses of Africa are essentially non-wage earners. Those of them who live by wages receive inconceivably small return.

This brings us directly to the question of our proposal to send advanced students to all important centres of learning everywhere in the world. They will have the opportunity to

acquire knowledge for leadership in essential fields of industry. Fair wages, development of the natural resources, and opening of larger employment opportunities can never be realized unless the Africans themselves become experts in handling the mechanical, monetry and civic aspects of the continent. And not until this is done can the tax payer be in a position to support public schools and universities on a large scale.

HIGHER EDUCATION for the masses of the people is not available in Africa. There are colleges here and there. Most of them are mission supported with limited scope and orthodox methods which are inadequate to answer the urgent questions of the whole masses, most of whom are not their converts and therefore, out of the fold. There are few schools founded by independent Africans such as Aggrey Memorial College, founded by Mr. Ikoku and also People's Institute, founded by Eyo Ita, both of Nigeria. But on the whole, universities as we know them here, are either completely absent or too expensive for the poor.

The American Council on African Education recognizes all these conditions and has set its purposes to meet some of these demands. Full information about our purposes and achievements may be obtained by writing to our national office at 55 West fourty-second street, New York City, or to our branch office at 5619 South State Street, Chicago, where H. John Johnson is the president of the branch. We intend to establish other branches in other central cities of the Nation.

THE PURPOSE of this council is to obtain scholarships from American Universities for qualified Africans who may not have enough money to come here otherwise. We have already obtained 150 such scholarship grants from leading white and Negro colleges. Among them are Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Boston, Ohio State, Wilberforce, Morehouse, Detroit, and many others. These scholarships cover tuition expenses only, although in a few instances, there has been a more generous offer.

The first country of our concentration is America. American education is more practical, more down-to-earth than the philosophical abracadabras of the decaying Europe. It is more democratic because it lays emphasis on personality and its development, in terms of the way of enjoying living, through individual effort and understanding of the mechanisms of progressive and creative life.

THE AMERICAN Council on African Education has a philosophy of independent action and African initiative. It, therefore, stands as a test of an ideal - whether we can for the first time find some men and women in Europe and America who will join us in a programme which we initiate for the emancipa-

tion of our own society. We are neither apologetic nor stubborn. We are looking for the genuine co-operation. In doing this we must endeavour to train the Africans in a most favourable independent atmosphere, so that they may grow with unfettered spirit and untramelled intelligence, consonant with democratic ideals and the spirit of world citizenship.

Next time we shall discuss the immediate task of this worthy programme.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 26

ORIZU RETURNS HOME STIRRED DEEPLY BY BOTH JOY AND GRIEF

En route to Africa: I am on my way back home- to Nigeria - to Africa. What a thrill! I have dreamed of this day for six long years, and now it has come true. In a matter of few days, I shall be in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria - probably Monday or Tuesday. In another day or two, I shall be on my way by road to Nnewi, my home, where I shall be reunited with my mother, friends and boyhood associates.

It is a very exciting prospect. However, my excitement and joy are tempered by a note of Tragedy. Two or three days before leaving the States, I received the shocking news of the death of a man who meant much to me. His name was Chief J. C. Ulasi, transport owner, general merchant, and in all one of the biggest business men in Nigeria, If not in the whole of West Africa. He was my guardian and had stood in loco parentis since the death of my father in 1924. In fact, he was to all effects, my father.

I was counting greatly upon his assistance and advice in all the plans of my life, both public and private. And now he is gone, without my having even a word with him personally again - after all he has done for me. Well, such is life and all its vicissitudes. But, as my esteemed countryman and friend, Nnamdi Azikiwe used to say, life still has its beauties. It is the beautiful aspect of life, including the struggle to make it better and more worthwhile for others, that we must pursue. Otherwise, we shall not live like men, but crawl around like mice.

As I look back now on life, in America, I remember with gratitude my many friends and what they did for me and the cause of African education. I remember the dinner they held for me at Essex House a few days before my departure. That was a complete picture and spectacle. The American whites and Negroes were there. My West Indian friends, were fully represented. My faithful African colleagues were also present. Those who could not come sent representatives, letters, or telegrams, expressing their unreserved interest and support.

I also remember with great pleasure the performances of the night's artists, Miss Ethyl Wise and young Miss Phillipa Schuyler. The former, a soprano, sang, a number from Verdi's opera, "La Traviata," and phillipa played her exciting composition, "Manhattan Nocturn." The gathering was as thrilled as I was with these selections. We all thanked the artists profusely at the end of the dinner.

BEST OF ALL, a good many of our friends there, as well as some absent ones, made donations to the council's funds, to help carry on the work during my absence. They gave something over $400 less than we needed, but on the whole encouraging under the condition of time element. It was a successful venture. I was satisfied as far as that went I know that our friends understand, and will not let the council down while I am away.

In my speech to the guests that night I expressed again my faith in American education. I repeated some of the imperative reasons why the council was founded to help the future African students come to America. I believe the Africans themselves will in turn understand these things and respond to the goodwill and generousity of theirs and my friends here.

And now, let me say thank you all again, and goodbye - until the spring.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 29

AMERICAN COLLEGES HAVE OFFERED GENEROUS GRANTS FOR WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS

BEFORE giving my friends in America the details of what am doing here in Nigeria in connection with the "Twenty five Students Plan" of the Council, I would first like to tell them something of the scholarships which we have to offer our students immediately. The names and numbers I am going to give here are not all that we have. I can only mention some, especially those immediately available. They form part of the list have brought with me to Nigeria. Here they are:

From the University of Cincinnati three tuition scholarships tenable in the Teachers College of that institution. These are good for 1946 - 47, and run for four years, the regular college period. Ohio State University, my alma mater, has offered us ten tuition scholarships "at one time' The University of Detroit, two tuition, "at any one time".

President Charles Wesley of Wilberforce, Ohio, has offered four full scholarships covering tuition, board, and room; plus two more tuition only. Western Reserve University has awarded one tuition scholarship of $300.00, according to the statement of President W G. Leutner, for "an experimental first year." Lincoln University, our first and real alma mater, has given us ten tuition scholarships, tenable at any one time also. I need not remind my readers of the great , paternal kindness of ex-President Walter L. Wright of Lincoln, or of Dean Frank T Wilson, who is now vice chairman of our Board of Directors.

Dean Lucy Wilson, of the famous women's college, Wellesley, has made available one tuition-and-part-maintainance grant, or one full scholarship, "if the need is real". This grant is tenable as from September 1946. Wellesley college does not appreciate mid-year registrations. The University of Pennsylvania offers one tuition-free scholarship for "a recommended student," and Fordham offers two, at $300 each, for graduates of good West African Roman Catholic Secondary Schools.

THE CASE of Willington College in Ohio is in a class by itself. Through the Council it has awarded a full scholarship and also chosen its own candidate already. This fortunate young man is U.U. Ekaham, teacher at the Methodist School in Opobo, Nigeria. The college is even willing to take care of Mr. Ekaham during vacations and in the summer by providing him with part-time work. They could accept him as early as February 1946.

Boston University has promised us three tuition scholarships, valued at $375 each year. Radcliffe College - by the grace of the

men, Harvard's co-ed division! — is willing to give us one scholarship, "if a Nigerian student is chosen from the group of applicants for scholarship." If awarded, this grant will become available for the regular four-year tenure in the fall of 1946.

THESE ARE the grants immediately available for the opening of our scholarship programme. It more than takes care of the "twenty-five Students Plan," which is the immediate object of my present return home to Nigeria. As indicated several times before, Nigeria is not the only country in Africa to benefit from this plan. Before returning to America, I intend to visit the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and if possible, the other countries of West Africa.

Our applicants come from all over the vast continent. We have letters here and in our New York headquarters office from the East, as well as South Africa. In fact, I have already indicated our wish and desire to sponsor west Indian students, too. Next time I shall give my readers some samples of these applications, and the temper, aspirations, and other drives of those who write them.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 31

NATIVES TELL WHY THEY WISH TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES FOR EDUCATION

LAST week I promised to give my readers some samples of the kinds of applications the American Council receives from Africa. The reason is that so many people in the States questioned me on this subject. They asked: "what do Africans think of American education? Are the students really anxious to come? How do they receive the plans of the Council? Would they be willing to go back and work among their people after they are through?...."

And many other such questions. Well, here are a few excerpts from some of the letters we receive. They are selected at random:

From a Ugandan (East Africa) student: "I am about to embark on a journey to England in search of education. . . . .I should like, when I get to England, to cross over to America. But as you can guess, I am entirely ignorant of the conditions that obtain in America. . . . . I am the headmaster of the above school (aggrey Memorial , Bunanwaye). . . . . "

H.O. Okoro of Ikot Ekpene, in the Ibibio area, writes: " . . . . . I am a Methodist Mission teacher of many years experience. The condition of service in this country is well known to you, especially in connection with missions. There is little or no prospect for mission teachers. It has always been my earnest desire to improve myself by obtaining higher education in order that I might be able to better serve my country and race - even as you do now - but the meagre salaries we are paid make it harder for me to bring my aspirations to fruition. . . ."

LAST WEEK I mentioned U.U. Ekaham and Wilmington College in Ohio. Here is an excerpt from Mr. Ekaham's most recent letter: "I need to be educated over there for qualifications for the kiind of leadership that modern Africa wants. You are in a position to help me work out my scheme if you will; and I believe deeply that you will do it.

Says K.K. Mercer, of Achimota College, Accra, Gold Coast; "It is only when a good many of us Africans have been educated in the right way that we can hope for any emancipation. . . . . The establishment of the American Council on African Education really marks the dawn of the liberation of Africa. Congratulations, Sir!!"

"It would certainly not be out of place," writes G.H. Bassey, of Apapa, Lagos, Nigeria, "If I further sieze this opportunity to give you some particulars about my aspiration. I am very keen on mechanical engineering in general, with special reference to automobiles. But in the absence of local facilities for instruction

in this branch of engineering, I had to enter the Marine Technical Institute - all that the Government has been able to offer the country for the instruction of students in the theory and practice of Marine engineering. It certainly is an eye-wash, and I venture to disclose that "we in there are very much dissatisfied with every thing about it."

From E.O. Otitoju, of Yaba Estate, Nigeria, came the following.

". . . .I am indeed very grateful to the entire constituency of the American Council on African Education for the great assurance given me, and I hope the time will soon come when the selection of students will find my hope translated into reality. . . . . Please convey our heartiest greetings and best wishes to the prominent promoters and keen supporters of the Council, and give them also our fervent prayer that all their wishes and proposals should meet with overwhelming success".

AN AFRICAN girl writes from London as follows: "I may mention, that I was educated in the United Kingdom at St. Mary's Hall, Brighton; the Cheltengham. Ladies College in Cheltengham, Glouscestershire; the University of Shefield, and in the Inns of Court, London. . . . . I desire to apply for. . . . any American scholarship which will enable me to study for one or two years at the Columbia University in New York City, in the school of Journalism".

These are all that I have space for. I hope the above excerpts satisfy the curiousity of the many people who have inquired about these things. In closing, I must not forget to wish all our friends a happy and prosperous New Year.

PART ONE

SECTION FOUR

NIGERIA'S STRUGGLE MIRRORED IN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION FOUR

NIGERIA'S STRUGGLE MIRRORED IN AMERICA

Major events in the political and constitutional development of Nigeria form the topics of this group of articles. These include the Minerals Ordinance; the Appointment and Deposition of Chiefs Ordinance, and the General strike of Nigerian workers. A new constitution - the Richards constitution, was introduced within this period. These unprecedented measures by the Nigerian Government and the new show of militancy by Nigerian workers produced crisis atmosphere in which the colonial government banned the publication of the newspapers belonging to the Zik's Press Limited. The proprietor, Dr. Azikiwe, declaring that attempts were being made to assassinate him, fled Lagos to Onitsha, his home town. Many individuals, groups and organizations demanded that Great Britain should grant Nigeria and other colonies self-government immediately and full independence in the not too distant future. This call came from the West African Students Union of London, the West African Press Delegation to London. These echoed the demand made by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe in "Political Blueprint for Nigeria". In my book "Without Bitterness" I proposed an immediate change of status for Nigeria from colony to a Republic. The people and kings of the Gold Coast also demanded complete independence from Great Britain after April 1944. These were brought to the knowledge of American populace, government and diplomats of nations by articles in this section of "Africa Speaks" Column.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 12

PASSING OF MINERALS ORDINANCE OF 1945 IN NIGERIA IS AN ABUSE OF TRUST

THE days of Cain's indifference are gone. Those countries which grow rotten rich in Africa because of the "privacy" of the "Dark Continent" are becoming aware of the fact that whatever they do nowadays in the remotest part of the world is clearly visible to the awakened humanity. The new day is the offspring of a new sun that reflects on all the concealed iniquities. The hidden caves of our social world have been blown open by the hurricane of science. War has accentuated the whole advance. What has happened in Africa today is not only thrown open to the knowledgeable world, but is invariably connected with the whole world scheme of America, Europe and Asia.

When the British first arrived in Nigeria, our forefathers greeted them with rebuff. But they told them with all the air of righteousness, that they were the messengers of goodwill - to bring love through Christianity, to establish legitimate trade in place of slave-trade, and to protect the Nigerians from the robbery of other Europeans. Nigerians were honest-to-God believers in hospitality and humanity. They mistakingly projected their inner life into others and, hence, took the words of the British on the face value.

IN 1885, the British stood before the tribunal of all nations meeting in Berlin, and with all flavor of humanitarianism, declared that Nigeria is being protected by England. The kings of individual states in Nigeria were made to understand that the British did not intend to take our land or anything therein from us, since our land system makes it impossible for anyone to sell his land as such to a stranger. The Niger Company (British) made some unilateral and highly questionable "agreements" with some of our rulers whereby some mining concessions were made in certain areas - not in all.

Under the title of "Protectorate' ' the majority of the Nigerians have been led to believe that here was one African country where the "Tragedy of Lobengalo did not repeat itself. The British appeared to have shown for the first time in Anglo-African relations a true spirit of treaty - making. I personally was intoxicated with this illusion. I have often maintained on American platforms that Nigeria, being a protectorate with the possibe and factually questionable exception of Lagos, is internally and economically free, except for the chains of ignorance of how to make use of our resources. I never thought or believed it possible, that the British had designs to prevent our economic growth. All this, because of my belief in the spirit of our protec-

torate status which gives us freedom to the ownership of our land which we have always enjoyed for centuries. I thought that with mass education, Nigeria would have nothing to fear by thinking that the British will place obstacles in the direction of our industrial development.

THE MINERALS ORDINANCE of 1945 introduced and forced upon the people through a controlled legislature in Nigeria is the most incredible assault upon the rights of man. A part of the bill reads: "The entire property in and control of all minerals and mineral oils in, under or upon any lands in Nigeria shall be vested in the Crown (BRITISH)".

The General Secretary of the Nigerian National Council said: "I say that the British Government in Nigeria has no such rights, not if Nigeria is a protectorate....." to vest the Nigerian mineral rights in their Crown. The Nigerian National Council is composed of one hundred and twenty separate unions with membership of seven million Nigerians. Its president is Herbert Macauley, and the general secretary is Nnamdi Azikiwe, editor and publisher of the Zik's Syndicate Dailies.

THIS ORDINANCE violated the land law of Nigeria. Nigeria is essentially composed of family-states. The law prescribes that the family or the state under a king which holds right to a piece of land has the sole right to its use. "No individual no collectivity has, then, actual property rights to the land of which he is not a proprietor. Our state-family system makes our land inalienable, and the right of investiture must not be in one person, even our kings. And yet, the British Government, which claims to bring law, order and justice to Nigeria has diabolically violated the most sacred law of our land. Be this recorded, that Nigerians consider this act as the highest treachery backed with physical force and political intimidation. It is neither friendly nor protective.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 13

ARREST OF AZIKIWE BRINGS TO HEAD DIFFERENCES IN NIGERIAN CONCEPTION OF BRITISH RELATIONS

THE shoes of British colonial fascism in Nigeria pinch acutely. The tightness of the squeeze has produced a social convulsion. The day of reckoning is dawning with compelling clearness. The insipid history of British imperialism is again on one of its cycles. The different conceptions of life which divide the Nigerian and the English worlds are being forced to the fore ground. Thanks to the bull-headed Governor, Arthur Richards. It may be that God has designated Governor Richards to quicken the time when the British and Nigerians will answer ultimate questions about the relations between the two countries.

Today, there is a general strike of 150,000. The workers wanted 60 cents daily wage, that is all. The British refused this. The British Government there, failed to appease the "good boys" in Nigeria by the niceties of "His Majesty's Policy". Several union leaders were imprisoned. That only inflamed the situation. Governor Richards decided to take revenge on Nnamdi Azikiwe, the editor, publisher of the West African Pilot and its Syndicates,and the General Secretary of the National Council of Nigeria which has about 7 million membership.

Azikiwe cabled to the world through London saying: "I have reason to believe that my life is in danger in view of the fact that all local high officials wrongly suspect,me to be at the bottom of present general strike because I am a journalist with strong views. It is obvious I cannot rely on official protection. I would have preferred being charged and tried in open court. I may be banished from Nigeria for supporting strikers demanding 60 cents daily wage. Should I be banished, such might create serious repercussions which neither myself nor any responsible Nigerian cherishes. . . . Appeal to American Negroes and progressive public opinions on my behalf, and cause of the workers".

TO KNOW fully who Azikiwe is, what he represents in Africa, we should read Section VI, chapter 17—21, of "Without Bitterness". There, a brief life history, philosophy, and the influence of Azikiwe were discussed as has never been done before.

Azikiwe is not a labour leader. He is the General Secretary of the Nigerian National Council, which is the largest and all-inclusive Nigerian and Camerouns organization. He owns four daily newspapers in Nigeria. Azikiwe is a spiritual leader of West Africa - a mass magnet of Nigeria. He is the symbol of the Nige-

rian mind, as opposed to all the things that negate freedom and liberty in Africa. Once he said: "I am a living spirit of an idea - the idea of a new Africa: I am a living spirit of an ideal - the ideal of man's humanity to man; I am a living spirit of an ideology - the ideology of the destruction of man's inhumanity to man"

To appreciate the spiritual depth of these words is understanding Azikiwe, whom the British Governor, Richards has suppressed, threatening his life and jeopardizing his property

WHY WERE all these things done when Azikiwe is neither a railway worker nor the labour leader? Why should a private citizen of Nigeria operating a private enterprise be threatened with banishment? Why will the British Government in Nigeria blame another man for a labour strike, of which he is not a part? Thoughtful Americans must understand the inside-out of the secret.

Underneath all the questions of the strike and the suppression of the press is the seething question of British-Nigerian relations which has been taking a bad turn since the coming of Governor Richards.

The most recent issues are the so-called New Constitution for Nigeria, the Minerals Ordinance, and the bill affecting the deposition of Nigerian Rulers at the will of the dictator-governor.

THESE BILLS and ordinances made it clear that Great Britain and Nigeria have cherished different notions of their relation to one another, and we are becoming conscious that unless this question is determined, then friendly connection will soon be destroyed. To a Nigerian, land and its vegetable and mineral products come as sacred property that is inseparable from individual and collective personality. Governor Richards has erroneously introduced a bill to alienate the mineral rights of Nigeria to the British Crown. A new constitution has been imposed upon us through a dominated legislature. Our masses are deprived of equitable wages for their Labour. Our kings have no power save as prescribed by foreign dictator at Lagos. Now, the freedom of speech is impaired. The life of a leader of 7 million people is threatened.

Nigerians are struggling now only to impress the Nigerian conception of law and justice upon the British Government. The British Government if tactful, should listen to our own interpretation of laws of life and society, while world opinion will judge between us in terms of all the fundamental freedoms for which the Allies said they fought Nazi Germany and Japan.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 13B

TERROR IN NIGERIA

The world was electrified last week when news leaked out that British imperialists were prepared to use the most extreme measures in putting down the strike of 150,000 Nigerian coal miners, railway workers, civil servants and others who are trying to get a minimum wage of sixty cents a day.

Presently, they are only getting fifty cents a day, a mere pittance when it is considered that prices have gone sky high for all the necessities of life in Nigeria as in other parts of the world.

The conditions under which these black workers toil are almost unbelievable, with children between nine and twelve years of age working twelve hours a day in tin and coal mines, carrying loads up to sixty-five pounds and coloured bus drivers and conductors getting one-third the wages paid European workers for similar tasks.

The workers in Nigeria are powerfully organized in sixty-four trade unions corresponding to the various industries and occupations and those unions are gathered into the Nigerian Trade Union Congress.

This organization, at its congress, in 1944, adopted resolutions demanding industrialization of the colony and nationalization of important industries. The workers also asked for unemployment and health insurance, and for improvement of housing conditions and educational facilities.

The intellectual leader of this movement is undoubtedly Nnamdi Azikiwe, Lincoln University Graduate and editor of the West African Pilot and the Daily Comet.

Unable to settle the strike without bloody repression, the British are now threatening to banish this militant African leader and suppress his two papers.

All this is going on while Prime Minister Churchill is meeting with President Truman and Premier Stalin for the perpetuation of peace and the building of a better world for the oppressed of the earth.

It would seem to any reasonable person that the establishment of a better world would logically begin in the areas controlled by British it self.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 15

NIGERIAN WORKERS SWEAR NEVER TO SURRENDER THEIR DEMANDS FROM GOVERNMENT

WITHOUT any comment, I am reproducing the general situation in Nigeria in this column for the interested readers. The extract is from the London Tribune, July 13, It runs as follows: "Last Saturday, thousands of angry Nigerian strikers, at a mass rally at Lagos swore "by Mother Africa and the departed spirits of our ancestors that we shall never surrender until the Government grants us our legitimate demands". During the past three weeks over 150,000 Nigerian employees went on strike for a minimum of 2s.6d (roughly 50 cents) a day to meet the rise in the cost of living.

"A recent appeal by the African Civil Servants Technical Workers' Union, addressed to the Governor, Arthur Richards, pointed out that, before the war, workers lived in families of three or four with children in rooms, some of which measured 10ft by 10ft. This was a direct result of the miserable wages paid by the Government. Today, the situation is aggravated by an abnormal rise in rents. Prices of food-stuffs and imported goods have soared, stocks are scarce, the health of the community is becoming impaired, victims of "TB" are increasing from day to day. The appeal ended: "Have we fought this war in order to be exterminated by starvation? We appeal to British sense of justice for timely redress".

"THE GOVERNOR ignored the workers' appeal and goaded into desperation, the leaders of the Trade Union Congress issued a strike call to all government employees. The response was immediate. Within three days thousands of workers organized into the following unions, were out; The Railway and Engineering Workshops, African Civil Servants Technical Workers, African Land and Survey Technical Workers, Nigerian Marine African Workers, Public works Union, African Locomotive Drivers, Government Sawmill Workers, Nigerian Union of Nurses, African Inspectors' Posts and Telegraphs, African Railway Topographical Workers, African Railway Station Master.

"Other non-Government Workers later joined in sympathy with the Government employees".

"Alarmed by these developments, certain of the African leaders attempted to call off the strike, but they were immediately repudiated by the workers and expelled from office. Among them was T.A. Bankole, the President of the Nigerian TUC, who represented the Nigerian labour movement at the World Trade Union Conference in London last February. He has

been replaced by A.O. Imoudu, a former president of the Railway workers Union, who like Wallace Johnson, of Sierra Leone, was held in detention for four years under the local Defence Regulation.

"HE WAS ONLY released from exile on June 2, when he returned to Lagos riding on a white horse and was publicly acclaimed by thousands of workers".

"When the strike started, the Governor was in London holding consultations with officials at the Colonial Office. He immediately flew back to West Africa to take charge of the situation".

"Sir Arthur Richards has the reputation of being a strong-handed Pro-Consul, and was responsible for restoring "law and order" in Jamaica during the labour riots in that island in 1938. "His first move was to issue a statement threatening to withhold the strikers' wages for June, and to cancel the pensions and gratuities of those Civil Servants entitled to such benefits.

WHEN THIS FAILED to intimidate the men, he ordered the arrest of four workers' leaders, charging them with participating in an illegal strike. They were later discharged. Then he tried appeasement, promising not to victimize the leaders if they appealed to the strikers to return to work. But the men refused. Then the Governor accused the workers of sabotage on the transport and communications system leading to the derailment of a train at a place called Oshodi and of cutting telephone lines connecting the capital with parts of the interior of the country.

"Arising out of this charge, ten strike leaders have been arrested, one was subsequently released, and the others will stand trial.

"THE GOVERNOR has imposed a rigid press censorship and reintroduced the wartime Defence Regulations which were rescinded after the end of the European war last May. Under these regulations constitutional government has been suspended and the Governor has assumed dictatorial powers. He now has the right to suppress any newspaper publishing news or criticisms which, in his opinion, would encourage discontent, ill-feeling, or disturb the tranquility of any section of Nigeria. Editors guilty of any of these offences will be fined 500 pounds or imprisonment for two years or both.

"As a protest against this suppression of free opinion, the West African Pilot and Daily Comet, two of the leading Nigerian dailies, appeared with their editorial pages blank. Now both these papers have been suppressed for criticizing certain union leaders who are advocating an approach to the Governor. The Government, on the other hand, issued a daily bulletin edited by the Public Relations Office, presenting the official point of view.

"AT THE MASS RALLY last Saturday, when the strikers swore their tribal oath not to resume work, they also reasserted their demands.

"First, they want the Government to pay them in full for the times they have been on strike. Second, the pensions and gratuities of African Civil Servants must be guaranteed. Third, the Government, must give an assurance not to victimize the men, especially their leaders. Fourth, all arrested leaders must be released, and last, but not least, the original demand for a 2s.6d wage increase must be granted.

"According to the latest information reaching London, the strike is spreading to workers in private European enterprises".

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 17

MILITANT PUBLISHER GETS ROYAL SUPPORT TO CONTINUE STRUGGLE

We are all familiar with the recent general strike of 200,000 Nigerians. And we have not forgotten the man Nnamdi Azikiwe, the publisher and editor of the West African Pilot. His life was threatened because he supported the working people in their demand for increased wages and better working conditions. The British Government in Nigeria, closed his press because he was vigilant in his editorial comments in support of the rights of the people.

The aftermath of all this was that the strike was called off after eight gloomy weeks. Azikiwe's press ban was lifted. The workers were granted some of their demands - not all. The British in Nigeria learned in a hard way that Nigeria and her people have changed their views. They inevitably became aware of the interest the world has grown to take in things that happen in Africa. The Africans themselves naturally discovered the strength of a concerted action of a united and resolute society.

THAT WAS not all. The Nigerian General Strike (as it is known) has resulted, though indirectly, in exodus of Nnamdi Azikiwe from Lagos, the seat of the British Government, to Onitsha, the seat of His Highness, the Obi (King) of Onitsha.

Nigeria is divided into two major divisions; the protectorates and the colony. The latter has about 350,000 population, with an area not more than one-tenth of the whole country. The rest is the protectorate. The colony is a municipal form of government patterned after the British cities. The real Nigerian ruler of the area does not count here. The administration is in the hands of a town council composed of Africans and Europeans. The protectorate, on the other hand, is essentially administered by the Nigerian kings, known as Emirs, Onis or Obis. The real interference of the British in the administration of these areas is less apparent and pronounced than in the colony, where there is no pretensions as to the authority of the British administrative methods. The states in the protectorates have their independent treasuries.

MEN BORN in the colony are supposed to be the British subjects. Others born in the protectorates are considered the subjects of Nigeria under their own kings and "protected" by the British Government by the terms of treaty.

Nnamdi Azikiwe is not a British subject. But all this time he lived in the colony. After the much hunting for his life, he decided to go home to Onitsha. His Highness, the Obi of Onitsha, sent a delegation of Onitsha aristocracy from among the king's

chiefs and cabinet members to welcome Azikiwe, the recognized champion of the rights of man. During their state visit of September 10, they carried the message of the king who advised Azikiwe "to stand fast and be honest and sincere in his endeavours. He should not be discouraged by the vagaries of the world because all would come to naught. . . . . ."

THIS IS significant. The rights of common man are now fully recognized by the so-called reactionary kings of Nigeria. Azikiwe is encouraged by his own natural ruler to champion the right cause of men without fear. This authorization came from the cream of the ruling class. Something beyond our imagination is going on from within the minds of our political leaders. I hope that other Nigerian kings will follow the example of the Obi of Onitsha. And when the kings support the cause of freedom, we shall not have anything else to fear but fear itself.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 19

BRITISH MUST SET A DEFINITE DATE FOR SELF–GOVERNMENT

THE people of Nigeria and the Gold Coast have made specific demands and proposals for freedom from the British. The West African Students Union of London demanded internal self-government now, and full-fledged equality with other nations in fifteen years. The West African Press Delegation to London demanded immediate abolition of the present colonial system, internal self-government now and Dominion Status in fifteen years. Nnamdi Azikiwe in his "Political Blueprint, for Nigeria" proposed a rapidly systematic Nigerianization of our institutions, political, social, and economic. That will result in Nigeria becoming free from and equal to the United Kingdom and any other nation in fifteen years. The people and kings of the Gold Coast demanded complete independence from England after April 1944. In my recently published book: "Without Bitterness", I proposed immediate change of relationship between England and Nigeria which will result in the formation of a new Nigerian Republic completely free from and friendly to Great Britain.

These demands and proposals are not just the result of this war alone. West Africans have been very consistent in demanding and not yielding their rights to any power from the outside. The two world wars have only accentuated that inherent attitude. The feeling for freedom in Nigeria and the Gold Coast is growing with infinite tempo and will grow stronger with every passing moment.

AS A RESULT, the British Government recently has proposed new constitutions for Nigeria and the Gold Coast, respectively. In substance, the new constitutions provided that there be African majorities in the legislatures of the two countries. The presiding officers would be British, with veto power, casting vote, and nominative power over certain members of the Assembly.

I shall discuss the new constitutions later. But the basic weaknesses of the whole set up are:

(1) The constitutions were drawn up by the British and not the Africans themselves. That alone renders them unconstitutional if African democracy is considered.

(2) The British officers will preside, have veto power and casting vote, and yet it is an African legislature on the African soil. That constitutes an insult to the sovereignty of the people and the integrity of the rulers of those countries. If such structure of legislature is endorsed it is another way of assuming that the Africans are yet incapable of governing

themselves. And we know that, that is old ineffective euphemism which has lost its appeal to the world. Our constitution must be drawn by us.

THE IMPORTANT THING is for the British to comply with the actual demands of the people. The common principle in all the people's demands in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, is the specification of the date for complete liberation, America has named freedom date for the Phillipines. Nigeria and Gold Coast are the two most logical places for the British to make a strategic start.

The San Francisco Conference must know what Nigeria and other West African countries want. They want the BRITISH TO NAME A FREEDOM DATE FOR NIGERIA, THE GOLD COAST AND OTHER WEST AFRICAN COUNTRIES. The same thing will be said of other powers in Africa. We in West Africa do not want condominium. We are tired of one master already, and do not want any joint-masters, no matter how well meaning We believe that we can, as we and our forefathers did, govern ourselves now, and no joint powers into us if it has not always been there. We believe in voluntary co-operation.

AFRICA SPEAKS NO. 23

NIGERIANS SAY: WORST SELF–GOVERNMENT BETTER THAN BEST FOREIGN RULE

IN the city of Lagos, the New York of Nigeria, an important debate was held between the alumni of two Eastern Nigerian colleges; Christ the King College and the Dennis Memoral Grammar School, The ex-students who held the debate are now men of responsibility; teachers, civil servants, and others. The subject was: "Is Foreign Domination better Than the Worst Form of Self-Government?" The chairman of the debate was H.O. Belonwu. G.C.I. Onwuegbuzia, a professor of mathematics led the Grammar School ex-students who said "NO" to the question. S.O. Odigbo led the Christ The King, who said "Yes".

According to the Nigerian Spokesman, "Mr. Onwuegbuzia, argued that self-government in its worst form was natural and good, while foreign domination in its best form is enslaving and imposing. Self-government. . . . . bore with it liberty, which is a fundamental right of man prescribed by the Creator Himself. The terms; subject race, protected persons, colonies, dependencies protectorates mandated territories, are sure traits of foreign domination, and no liberty-loving citizens would favour such terms. This colonial form of government is a device of overlords who control without the consent of the people . . . ."

MR. ONWUEGBUZIA continued seriously: "India and West Africa had subsequently demanded self-government. . . . sponsored by initiative, originality and self-assertion. History has revealed that man had always sought to govern himself. The American War of Independence is typical for an example. No self-governing people have ever fought to obtain foreign domination in whichever form".

The opponent to this argument said: ".....Governmental machinery exists for the sake of its citizens. . . . .Foreign domination sees to the regular supply of emoluments to their subjects which could not be enjoyed by the people under the worst form of self-rule".

THE MOTION was carried by a vote of 90 for, 37 against the proposition that the worst form of self-government is better than the foreign rule".

I am glad that the scales are fallen from the eyes of the Nigerian youth. I am glad that they see now, as our forefathers did, that no compensation (imaginery or otherwise) from Europe can satisfy our desire for independence under our own form of government.

SOME UNIFORMED, self-appointed African authorities in America may be sadly disappointed to learn that Africans at home (and not only in America) agree that we have our own forms of government, which we do not want to trade for whatever "charming" democracy which Europe has been trying to give to us for two centuries, and have not been able to do it. We realize that African governments are not excellent. But where is the excellent government? Where is a democratic government either in Europe or America? We Africans have not seen democracy either in Europe or America which is so wonderful and so good as to cost us our self-confidence in our own government founded by our fathers as George Washington founded this republic. We are in accord with the principles of democracy. We love it. We live it. And we intend not to allow the lip-service democracy of imperialism and racialism to obscure the natural growth of our own institutions in Africa.

Our perspective cannot be easily misdirected by meaningless phrases common to professional political philosophers of the West. We are trained only to think in terms of natural facts facts of liberty, facts of freedom, facts of independence, facts of eternal vigilance in perpetuating the identity of our particular culture and nation to which we owe allegiance.

LET OTHERS be busy finding out what Lord Hailey or Lord Humpty Dumpty says that we are, while we are busy finding out what God made us to be - and that we shall be. We have no respect for any record which ignores or denies our capacity to govern ourselves now, for we realize as Alexander Hamilton, that "The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged among old parchments or musty records. They are written, as with a sunbeam, in the whole volumn of nature, by the hand of divinity itself, and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power

AFRICA SPEAKS

PART TWO

AFRICA SPEAKS TO AMERICA THROUGH

RADIO BROADCASTS

INTRODUCTION

PREAMBLE TO PART TWO

My restlessness about what Africa would be after the second world war, started when I was yet an undergraduate at the Ohio State University. That was about three years before the publication of my book, "Without Bitterness". I was invited on several occasions to express my views by curious and internationally-minded Americans. It would be interesting to note that as far back as August 1942, I made my second Broadcast to the Americans on the role of Nigeria in world peace and the right of our citizens to national freedom. For want of space, I selected two of such Radio Broadcasts as contained in this part, for historical reference.

AFRICA ON THE SIDE OF THE ALLIES

THE TEXT OF SPEECH BROADCAST TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON STATION WLW, CINCINNATI, OHIO, SUNDAY AUGUST 16, 1942 AT 5.00 P.M. BY A.A. NWAFOR ORIZU

"This is the second time I have the opportunity to talk to the whole of American nation since this satanic moment of the second world war, I am glad that it has pleased the American people, who through their democratic principles, gave me the opportunity to discuss my Africa in relation to this war.

I came from the country of Nigeria on the West Coast of Africa. This country contains about 33 million souls with an area as large as Germany and France put together.

Nigeria is essentially a Republican state having many independent states within it. Some states are governed by kings, others by presidents or councils, and my state - Nnewi, is a constitutional monarchy with semi-independent districts, under the paternal leadership of my family, for past five centuries.

There are several important Rulers in other parts of Nigeria, like the Oba of Benin, the Alake of Abeokuta, the Obi of Onitsha, the Emir of Kano, the Sultan of Sokoto, Shehu of Borno, Atta of Igala, Etsu of Nupe, Ooni of Ife, Olu of Warri, Obong of Calabar, Eze of Arochukwu, Oba of Lagos.

Turning to the world affairs as it relates to Africa in this war, I shall confine myself particularly to Nigeria, and generally to West Africa.

During the 1st world war, Nigeria was on the side of the Allies. Immediately the war broke out in 1914, the Northern and Southern Regiments of Nigeria were amalgamated into the Nigerian Regiment, and steps were taken for the defence of Nigeria, and for offensive action against the neighbouring German Camerouns. The Nigerian Police was also mobilized.

On September 27, 1914, 28 years ago this month, the brave Nigerian soldiers forced an unconditional surrender of the German troops in Duala. They conquered the Germans at Garua on June 10, 1915; they invaded Yaunde in 1915; they brought about the German evacuation of Mora in February 1916. This last conquest brought the German Camerouns into a complete defeat.

On November 16, 1916, the Nigerian troops marched into East Africa and there they proved their spirit of courage and suffered heavy casualties. After their gallant participation in East African front, they set their foot on the onward march toward Mesopotamia, but as they were marching into Palestine, the bell of Armistice rang.

In the world war II, we cannot at this time, for obvious reasons, state in detail what Nigeria means to the Allies today. But we shall not forget that she has donated many millions of dollars to some European countries and particularly to the British Empire. Women and children in Nigeria have denied themselves of their portions of eggs and peanuts and other foodstuffs in order that the children in England and other small European countries might eat. And apart from her position on the globe, which makes her an essential factor to American security, from Axis aggression, there are other important strategic war materials which Nigeria supplies to both America and England. A great many Nigerians have volunteered to fight, even though she is not at war now, and I understand through recent communication that one of my younger brothers has volunteered, and is now in the battlefield on the side of the Allies. All these facts are applicable to other West African countries, such as Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, French-West Africa, Liberia and the Gambia.

The problem of African countries is that they want to know now whether the Christian Nations are really ready to apply the atlantic Charter to all the world who shed their blood in this war. Nigerian Press has already communicated the Prime Minister of Great Britain on this issue, and we hope, and believe very strongly, that the false promises of the last World War cannot be repeated again in international relations.

Africa has several basic points to contribute towards the final peace settlement, and she looks up to the United States of America and other Christian Nations to co-operate with her in her struggle towards:—

1. Mental Emancipation: which involves a public education by the African for the African in preparing creative and democratic citizens in Africa for the world.
2. Social Regeneration: which implies the creation of new social order which will be essentially African and yet inclusive enough to fit into the scheme of things for the twentieth century international government, for the world.
3. Economic Security: which involves supplying Africa with capital and technological devices which she lacks for turning her limitless resources into use for the world.
4. Political Livelihood: which implies international respect for the sovereignty of the African States and their kings, whether they be militarily weak or strong, and thereby spur confidence among all nations for a common battle for freedom, for the world.

5. Spiritual Mission: by which Africa points out to all the world that her people are essentially Christian by their cultural disposition. Today, Africa is the salt of the world, and we do not want to lose the savor which God has so mercifully bestowed upon us. The mission of Africa to the world and particularly to the Christian nations is to return to Christian principles in shaping the world of tomorrow. That will bring an enduring peace.

We cannot find peace by turning the pages of all the dictionaries and searching through all the libraries for past and present records. To me that cannot work. My opinion is this:—

The way to have peace is to make peace; the way to make peace is to reckon with the interest of all; and the way to reckon with the interest of all is to represent all. This is African message to all who struggle for Freedom and Peace

AN ABRIDGED TEXT OF INTERVIEW OF A.A. NWAFOR ORIZU BY MISS NANCY CRAIG IN "WOMAN OF TOMORROW" PROGRAM ON INTERSTATE BROADCASTING COY. AT WQXR STATION NEW YORK CITY, SEPT. 14, 1944

CRAIG: Sitting across the table from me this morning is the author of a brand new book which will only reach the book stores next week... WITHOUT BITTERNESS is the title and its the work of Prince Nwafor Orizu. He entered Lincoln University in Pennsylvania in 1939 and later went to Ohio State where he graduated with honours. More recently he has attended Columbia where he received his master's degree... At the same time he has been attending school, he has founded the American Council on African Education, which will provide scholarships for African students at American colleges... And this is all part of his plan to return to Nigeria shortly, where as a leader of the people he hopes through education to raise the political and economic standards up to the level of the Western nations... In this book of his WITHOUT BITTERNESS, he traces the history of this vast continent of Africa.... analyses its ethical and religious traditions... explains the philosophy of its people, and sets forth many problems which will stem from an awakened Africa when the war is over... suggesting a concrete plan for Africa's role in the post-war world.

ORIZU: Yes, Miss Craig... I would like to create an American consciousness of Africa and her problems... On the other hand, there is work to be done in my country, where America is not understood.

CRAIG: As far as education is concerned, Africa is practically on the level with India, isn't it?

ORIZU: Yes, the situation is quite similar. Only eight percent of Nigeria is literate... We have no public education and very few private institutions, and those only the rich can afford to attend. That is one barrier which must be broken down.

CRAIG: And that's the job you've set for yourself when you return next month, isn't it?



ORIZU: Yes, I propose through the consent and co-operation of the people to make education free and compulsory. We shall establish schools and colleges, patterned after your American and the British educational systems. Only through mass education can the economic standards of the country be raised.

CRAIG: This American Council on African Education which you've founded should be a big step in your proposed educational program. I wish you'd tell our listeners a bit more about it.

ORIZU: My plan is to send 100 or more African students to American colleges each year. They will be given part tuition and lucky ones are supposed to work for their other expenses as I did, for instance, throughout my study here I did not get any scholarship for my education. I worked mainly for my school and other expenses with very little aid from outside. Some of your leading colleges have already granted tuition scholarships. Some of them are: The Ohio State, Columbia, Yale, Fordham, Wilber-

force, Morehouse and the University of Detroit. African Students who may be educated here will form a nucleus to carry on the education of their peoples at home.

CRAIG: It's a wonderful plan.

ORIZU: I want Africa to be useful to the world and that can only be done by establishing purchasing power and as you know, that becomes a reality when the standard of living is raised, which in turn is the result of education. Africa must be educated to make the best use of her natural resources, to make the land produce more. She must adopt Western manufacturing and agricultural methods. By contributing more of the world goods, Africa will establish a purchasing power. I look to America to help us with our technological development. That's why I feel it's so important to create a condition inspiring mutual confidence and help between our countries.

CRAIG: What are some of the problems you feel will stem from Africa after the war?

ORIZU: There will be economic, political and social problems. Politically, Africa wants to be completely free to determine her destiny. She wants her human dignity recognized in the realization of that destiny. Too often people talk of Africa as a land, not a people. Africa must be considered in terms of human beings with a dignity of their own. True, Africa has been guilty of complacency and unconsciousness, but that old philosophy has gone. The continent is awake. Everywhere in Africa you can find evidence of a new sense of responsibility, a new sense of duty and a new creative quest. She wants democratic co-operation, and democratic inter-dependence whereby all the countries of the world shall become useful to one another.

CRAIG: Do you think that all the countries of West Africa should be united in a commonwealth, such as you find in the Union of South Africa?

ORIZU: For the present, Africa wants her independence and it's vital that America and Europe listen to the voice

of awakened Africa. I cannot visualize a lasting world peace if Africa or any other dominated country is left entirely out of it. Africa must be allowed to speak for herself at the peace table... to voice her own opinion. She must be represented by Africans, not by European masters. Her contribution to the war entitles her to full recognition in plans for a new world order.

CRAIG: As for her contribution to the war, Africa supplied men as well as materials, hasn't it?

ORIZU: Yes... Nigeria is now one of the largest tin producing countries in the world and all the output has gone to war. Great supplies of food stuffs have been shipped out. The country has also loaned money to the British government. And the West African troops are fighting... they helped to liberate Ethiopia and now they are fighting the Japanese in the Far East. We have not betrayed the world, because we love democracy... that is our system. General Ebue has saved the Allies from the master strategy of Germany in relation to West Africa and South America. The events in Africa gave the allies relief at the time when there was little hope for victory. But Africa doesn't want to be deceived after the war... that will only precipitate bitterness. Unless the growing revengeful spirit in Africa is offset, a conflict is bound to come. This is not a threat.

CRAIG: Well, you've certainly given us a lot to think about this morning, Prince Orizu and let us hope that when peace and freedom is won, that no nation which fought for it will be overlooked. I am sure all of us will be looking forward to reading your new book "Without Bitterness". The best wishes of all of us go to you for the work you plan to undertake for your country. Perhaps when you return to America you'll visit us again and tell us what you've accomplished.

ORIZU: Thank you miss Craig.

AFRICA SPEAKS

PART THREE

AFRICA ADDRESSES AMERICAN AUDIENCES ON

PHILOSOPHY AND IDEOLOGY OF ACTION

INTRODUCTION TO PART THREE

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION (IDEOLOGY)

While engaged in writing this Column "Africa Speaks", I was invited to speak before many important audiences such as during the Negro History Week in New York City or before the entire faculty of Harvard University Club in Massachussetts, at Fisk University and Wilberforce University. To different business and religious groups in places like Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Columbus, New Jersey, Norfolk Virginia, Detona Beach Florida, Washington D.C. etc. For lack of space, three of such speeches, embodying the ideas that I developed as part of my philosophy for African freedom are included in this book as I consider them part of "Africa Speaks" in America.

HORIZONTAL EDUCATION FOR AFRICA
THIS SPEECH WAS DELIVERED AT SCHOMBURG COLLECTION 104 W. 136 STREET BRANCH. CHAIRMANED BY DR. L.O. REDDICK THE CURATOR

The greatest obstacle to one's progress or achievement is lack of the knowledge of oneself. In ancient days Socrates taught the Athenians that the first motto of life was "Man know thyself". This has many implications. Through self knowledge, one may be able to live in peace with oneself, galvanise ones potentialities, adjust conflicting mixtures that make up the personality, control the excesses of natural origin, implement the short-comings of birth and environment, appreciate the reaction of others against or for ones behaviour, and develop a rational philosophy of laughter and tears in observing the beauties and constraints of living and letting others live.

Nations are like individuals. There is something like a national character arising from the personality of the nation. The culture, history, climate, population, religion and other social institutions, make up and differenciate one nation from another. Internal disorder captures any nation which does not understand itself. Nations like individuals have staggered and succumbed when they loose the art of self-mastery. It is on this basis that the greatest teachers of the world have advised and insisted that man must have right to education - self-knowledge.

The measure of human progress is based on the amount of his knowledge of things around him - what they are, why they exist, and how to utilize them. The so-called civilized nations today base their claim to greatness only on their advanced knowldege of the nature and utility of the material things in the physical universe. The universe is pregnant with useful things and knowledge gives them birth. If an individual can secure internal peace through the knowledge of himself; if a nation is capable of unifying and holding itself only through self-mastery; certainly the new Africa we are to build as a decentralised-centralised unit, must need a greater education proportional to its complexities along its horizontal and perpendicular dimensions.

Education is one simple instrument which has a stamp of permanent influence on human society. It is a king without a crown, a commander without an army. In countless instances in history, men have resisted overwhelming armies in defence of their beliefs and convictions based on their education. It is education that produced Nazi Youth. It is education and not arms that armed Russian Citizens with zest and enthusiasm which forestalled the Hitler onslaught. It is education in the principles and benefits of democracy that provided the American soldiers

with spiritual armour which boosted their morale while they followed George Washington to march gallantly to crush British imperialism.

To really gain freedom we have to turn to this instrument which has such an undying influence in human progress. For African spiritual and material leadership to revive and endure, it must embark upon an unprecedented educational programme both in the continent and outside of it. This will require first the definition of education, second, the idea of who shall be educated, third, the understanding of what kind of education, who will teach and by what means. Finally, we shall ask what is the social goal of education.

Definition is not easy. But the kind of education we have in mind may be defined as an art through which a man is told the truth about himself and others, the nature of the physical universe, how to control and use it, and its relation to human and spiritual world, with an aim to promote mutual appreciation, relative evaluation, undemanded respect and intelligent co-operation. Negatively, we want education against biological fallacies which breed racialism; against economic fallacies which nurture insatiety and greed; against the doctrine of honour and prestige which are mere self-imposed abstractions of political theology.

Who are to be educated? Education will be planned for the masses of humanity everywhere. And that applies to all Africans. Man on this planet has a right to its citizenship. No one will try to confine himself to locality and particularity in a world that breathes as one organism. Realistically, individuals must belong to nations and nations must exist as necessary part of all nations combined. Education therefore is for the citizens of individual nations. The loyalty of these citizens must be channelled into two purposes:

(1) To preserve the fabric of national existence and
(2) To make national personality an instrument of international brotherhood.

In thinking of who shall educate, no one nation will assume holier-than-thou-attitude, no one nation has perfected itself, not in political, economic or social organization. There is some good in every system if we care to find out objectively. The reverse is equally true. For example, Americans must admit humbly of their gross ignorance of many countries outside Rockies and Aleghany. The Japanese must realise the thick darkness that envelope their social world in their concept of Emperor - Diety and global destiny. European empires need education on discipline, common sense, and honesty in a new world, of wakeful humanity. Africa which has been aroused from deep sleep must

learn to adapt itself to creative and energising philosophy of the contemporary society. South American countries, like the Russians, are full of life and that life needs a tender nurturing by the hands of experience and sobriety which conforms with the tenets of unity and democracy.

What is education for? Our definition of education above shows clearly that its function in Africa and the world shall be education to become citizens of the world inspite of our nationalities. Above all, education will enlighten and humanise our behaviour, objectify our judgement, broaden our outlook and understanding, deepen our knowledge of the secrets and laws that govern our social order and the universe. It will be a mirror through which an individual sees, understands, and accepts himself and develops a comparative and humble disposition in a world where things are essentially different and nothing is unalterably better. An individual will see our civilization as a history of cultural continuity where he is a link in a long chain of human existence.

Who will educate the African? We have already said that no one nation shall set itself apart as a qualified teacher of the African. Education must come from within. But the United States has been acknowledged as the material leader of the world today. It has not succeeded so far to convince other nations and peoples of her equal moral leadership. It has allied with Europe in many instances to perpetuate the status quo ante. This was all unexpected But there are certain qualities which America has that, to my mind, qualifies her better than any other nation today to play the role of our band leader in a world which seeks harmony out of numberless instruments. The United States is indeed a country of forty eight countries.[1] Each of these states is sovereign. Each has its own flag. Each is organized in its own way. Not all operate under the common law system. As these differences occur in major things, so do they multiply in minute areas. In spite of all, the whole people have found one government in Washington, one ideal in liberty and one ideology in individual enterprise. Further more, the aim of American educational policy which is horizontal in scope, is conditioned by the diversities of social norms and cultural origins - all tending towards the unity of the whole.

Many of my friends and supporters in all parts of the U.S. have asked me what is the philosophy behind my concept of Horizontal education for Africa. A summary of this philosophy to be published soon in the American Council on African Education Almanac, is as follows:—

1. U. S. A. is now 50 states.

We are told daily and from different sources that it is impossible for human beings in Africa to apply their intelligence to the principles of scientific society. We are told that tribalism, ritualism, heathenism and superstition have so captured the African mind that the possibility of a great social and technological upheaval is out of the question among her people atleast for a time. This view will be more credible if any deliberate effort had ever been made in modern times to plan and clarify education for Africa by the Africans. If, like in any other society, with a responsive government, the object of education have been made clear and directed toward intelligent methods, there is nothing in the nature of the African to prevent him from becoming habitually scientific, and there is nothing in the nature of his emotions to prevent the development of intense emotional allegiance to the ideal of continued scientific methods and discoveries.

Man desires to be the determiner of his own conduct, to feel that his behaviour pattern issues from his own purposes and has not been imposed by extraneous forces. It is only if this be true that we are morally responsible for our action and their consequences.

Horizontal education is Africa's answer to her moral obligation to be intelligent. It is a direct antithesis to the principles and practices of "Perpendicular Education. Through Horizontal Education, Africa desires to compel herself to specific moral and social imperatives. The following are some of the major aims of Horizontal Education:—

1. To make a new educational programme an out-growth of existing conditions based upon a consideration of what is already going on in African social order.
2. To make educational programme in Africa flexible and capable of alteration to meet changing circumstances, both from the point of view of the individual and the society.
3. To make education a common heritage
4. To make education a process of continuous activity through which an individual renders service to others and engages personal powers for the accomplishment of results.
5. To make education a means whereby the individual seeks to establish in himself habits and behaviours which stabilize the quest for concretness, adequacy and power.
6. To make education a part of physical as well as mental growth.
7. To make an individual a thinking being with a wholesome

skepticism without becoming a cynic, a nihilist or a habitual pessimist.

8. To make the individual feel obligated to himself for self-discovery and mastery of the universe.
9. To make the individual the master of his fate.
10. To make the individuai a moral agent in human society.

It is along these abridged lines and around these formidable ideals that the tenets; of Horizontal Education are founded. It is a simple human desire to unfold a more useful and richer life, to develop Africa in co-operation with the rest of the world of neighbours, to discover and obey the natural laws of the moral and spiritual universe, to render service to man for his happiness, so that life in Africa will be enjoyed by all.

Summarily, Horizontal Education which I planned for Africa will insist that schools in Africa from today, will no more be confined to mere reading, writing and adding, which I call "perpendicular education". There will be established colleges of technology, Technical Institutions, Commercial schools, vocational schools, trade schools, and professional schools of all dimensions with emphasis on down-to-earth creative education in Agriculture, home economics, commerce and industry, business management, food processing technology, mining industry, Architecture, engineering aeronautics etc.

From these institutions, shall be produced medical doctors, engineers, economists, lawyers, business managers, industrialists, nurses, agriculturists, geologists, administrators, manufacturers, scientists, archaeologists, historians, statisticians, veterinary doctors, pharmacists, philosophers, etc. These men and women will tap our enormous potential resources not only for the development of African countries, but also for the benefit of mankind at large.

For instance, in Nigeria today, housing condition is deplorable. We live in mud houses roofed with flammable grasses or palm leaves, when we are rich in woods and have plenty of raw materials, for the manufacture of permanent building materials, like cement, zinc, iron and steel. Health hazard abound, infant mortality rate is staggering since there are neither hospitals nor a reasonable number of trained doctors to save the population from unnecessary health disaster. Communication and transport systems are intolerably treacherous, hunger and deprivation have become our lot, when we are blessed with enormous rich and arable land full of bounteous natural resources. Hoes and matchets are still used by men and women who waste their energies when modern farm machinery could do the service more efficiently and increase production a hundred fold. All these

situations exist as a result of lack of fundamental educational system for creative living. This is precisely what my Horizontal Education is out to combat.

But to realise this vision, intelligent African men and women must be given the opportunity for training in America, not because there are no educational institutions in Europe but because American educational policy will expose them to all branches of human studies all at once, empower them to impose utility and therefore value upon animate and inanimate resources in African environment. This is what we need at this particular time and not just to produce one degree-one subject individuals.

This is not a complete rejection of European type of education, rather, it is because I find myself in the same position that Manford Jones found himself when he said: "I do not desire to drive Europe out of the colleges, I merely insist upon the necessity of putting America in".

Therefore, my intention is not to ostracize Europe out of African colleges but to put African interest in, through America. Gentlemen, I think that by now, we all have understood the fundamental motivation behind the philosophy of Horizontal Education for Africa.

"Faith without work is dead". I have therefore established the American Council on African Education here in New York with international appeal for enabling me:

(1) To procure scholarships in American colleges and universities for deserving Africans who, after studying in America, will go back to Africa as teachers and professors to implement the tenets of Horizontal Education.

(2) To help me diseminate information in order to focus the attention of the peoples and government of the United States to the benefits American people will derive through cultural contact with the peoples of Africa, when the Africans themselves are acquainted with the American educational and business culture.

(3) This will awaken Americans of African descent about their cultural heritage and the need for interchange of ideas and interest between them and their mother land. These three programmes above are now in operation with the headquarters of my office at 55 West 42nd Street in the City of New York, I believe that with this background, the philosophy of Horizontal Education is bound to be the permanent policy of educational Institutions in African countries of the twentieth and following centuries. So help me God.

AFRICAN IRREDENTISM

AN ADDRESS TO BUSINESS AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS OF THOUGHT IN CHICAGO, ON JUNE 4, 1943 CHAIRMANED BY ATTORNEY BINDLEY C. CYRUS

The philosophy of irredentism can be traced to Italian soil During the last quarter of the 19th century, a political organization termed "Italia Irredenta" sprang up in Italy. They resolved to redeem all Italian lands still under foreign rule (the Austrian, British and French). Those Italian lands were Trentino, Gors, Istria, Triester, Tessino, Nice, Corsica, and Malta. Irredentists therefore stand for any other nationalist group aiming at the emancipation of their country men subject to foreign control. I coined the phrase African Irredentism as a philosophy and ideology and a formidable myth through which all sons and daughters of Africa everywhere shall rise with courage and determination to redeem Africa from all foreign rules today and forever, at the end of this second world war. If the rest of the world wanted facism and Nacism then Africans must fight to be free from colonialism.

The social myth around which this new philosophy will grow and spread its branches is African irredentism. Shall African irredentism turn into African expansione as Italia Irredenta turned into Italia Expansione at the beginning of the 19th Century? No. African Irredentism has a totally different objective "It must mean the redemption of Africa from social wreckage, political servitude, and economic impotency. It must also mean extricating Africa from ideological confusion, psychological immaturity, spiritual complacency and mental stagnation". We shall aim at developing a new literature to interprete African culture realistically to other peoples. We shall endeavour to understand, what forces brought about the present undesirable conditions. Some of the major causes may be listed as follows:

(1) The gradual diffusion of Western civilization and the consequent imposition of some new ways of life upon the peoples of Africa .
(2) The unpreparedness of Africans in the last few decades to accept the challenge of the modern technological charges brought to them.
(3) The tendency of the European nations to take full advantage of the unpreparedness of the Africans and thereby to perpetuate the conditions which are favourable to their continued leadership and exploitation and

(4) The failure of Africans themselves to unite for common action within their respective countries." This was due to lack of established written heritage and achievement of yesterday upon which to base our resistence of cultural assimilation against outside.
(5) The absence of modern technological and commercial education which negates the possibilities for utilization and commercialization of our economic potentials and thereby abolish poverty and ignorance. These are broad general statements. There are other and secondary reasons responsible for the fate of Africa today in this year of our Lord 1943.

African Irredentism is the myth under which these conditions listed above can be eradicated. It can be done by loyalties which will express themselves in

(1) Social discipline (2) Horizontal education
(3) Self knowledge and (4) Free government.

For Africa to survive and contribute to human culture of a future age, this new philosophy must rediscover our own indispensable loyalties, scrutinize, refashion and cultivate them in children, youth and the aged. This may sound dogmatic but it is not. For only by doing so can our psychological immaturity be remedied and African youth be prepared for basic social invention.

As a universal philosophy, African Irredentism seeks the loyalty of the Africans in things African just as Europeans, Americans and Asiatics urge their peoples to be loyal to their own institutions. Every community recognizes that loyalty is indispensable for its survival. The Americans recognized it when they said that, "The continued existence of any society depends on the presence among its members of common and appropriate loyalties, and that, "if these loyalties are not deep and abiding, a society is certain to lack cohesion and integrity. As they decay and disintegrate, society itself decays and disintegrates' .

African Irredentism will be unattainable without a rediscovery of African loyalties in African society. All great movements in the past have been accomplished only by those who were loyal to a certain cause in life. That was true of the French Revolution, the American war of Independence, the signing of the Magna Charta, and the Indian Revolution under Gandhi. All religious movements and their eventual successes were due to the loyalties aroused in the people. People must love their cause. They must be ready to die for it. The strongest objects of loyalty have always been in the form of a myth. Any American is ready to die in order to defend his "Freedom" and "Liberty". These words are mythical not concisely definable nor scientifically ponderable. That is why Patrick Henry shouted,"give me liberty

or give me death" This is the myth in the inner being of every American. Is it not, gentlemen?

Great loyalties will make our freedom cause formidable and heroic under the banner of African irredentism. "There will be neither vengeance nor brutality, but rather service and sacrifice. The African mind must be educated to understand that we live in "one world", where, as Pearl Buck would say, "we have to fight for principles of universal application and not just for those rights which would benefit us at the expense of others". It must be clear then that the African Irredentism which would conform with a new outlook does not include racial, national or class antagonism. It may resist anything that tends to retard the growth of a broad human spirit in the African youth, but it is not intended to fight any particular people for the sake of combat itself, or for the sake of unfounded beliefs based on traditional prejudices. In this struggle to generate the human mind for a new life in Africa, we beckon to generous minds everywhere, particularly in democratic nations. I believe that there are still living in our world everywhere men and women whose minds are limitlessly capable of generous work, whose hearts beat with sympathy at the cry of the oppressed and dejected, whose eyes look with pity at the agony of the suffering and the forgotten. I mean those who do not mistake co-operation for paternalism. Those are the allies of the new philosophy in all its universal principles. Those are the poeple to understand and appreciate the need for the African freedom which is the surest way of making Africa useful to itself and to the world in general.

First, above all loyalties, the African must learn to appreciate his culture - political, social, philosophical and religious. By this, I am not suggesting a back-to-antiquity reaction. I mean that no people can understand the basis of their present behaviour without recalling their cultural background and making the most of its best, while rejecting the bad aspects of it by substituting for those better ways, ways compatible with the ever-changing social horizon. Secondly, the African must be loyal to his manhood. There is something deep and unfamiliar about human personality. Once it is ill-handled, or ill-adapted the whole structure of man goes to pieces, while he moves around his daily life a ghost of the dead. When the individuals in a nation suffer from this disease of ill-directed manhood, the whole people are lost. The African therefore, must develop a feeling of adequacy, competence, capability, freedom and security in order to preserve those intangible ingredients that stabilize a wholesome manhood. He must strive to get out of life the materials that enrich the intellectual, moral and physical aspects of personality, and accept himself as a responsible and worthy member of a society of equals.

He must reject all teachings, categories, and measurements that tend to falsify his individual capacity or pretend to put him in a definite quantitative relation to other human beings.

He must exhaust all avenues towards a creative quest, making an endless endeavour to unfold his abilities. Through constant self descipline, the African can invoke a consistent self-respect, dignity and personal integrity to form part and parcel of his loyalty to his manhood to social purposes-to the service of his fellow men, with malice toward none-knowing no enemies except those who oppose the universal principles of human equality and brotherhood.

Second, African Irredentism insists that the African must be loyal to his fellow Africans, - their heroes and heroines. This means that the African must be ready to accept the long-neglected principles of true leadership. It will be the function of a developed manhood to appreciate the talent, training, character and excellence of gifted individuals in African society. We have already emphasised the need for the principles of human equality which limits itself to the axiom that every man is entitled to equal opportunities for growth and for the development of his innate capacities. But that does not bring us to the conclusion that Thomas Jefferson was wrong when he said: "that there is in every society what he called a "natural aristocracy of virtue and talent." Every personality is unique, and some persons are better than others in different fields. There is no reason why we should suppose that all Africans are capable of being effective journalists or prominent administrators or capable mechanics. It is a part of our duty in the development of African manhood, to discover the talents of individuals and direct their energy to useful purposes. The essential thing is to see that a sense of value and of dignity is manifest in all kinds of useful labour for social progress.

Third, manhood is without charm if it has no moral content. The African must develop a sense of loyalty to the idea that good has supremacy over evil. By goodness we do not mean merely the abstract aspect of the concept, but all the concrete day-to-day common good. African Irredentism is very much attracted to industrialization in Africa, but one of the cardinal inconveniences of industrial society is the propensity of the people to neglect the general welfare. The society tends to individualise everybody, and none cares for others except in terms of contractual relations involving the giving and taking of money on a work-ratio basis. But the paradox lies in the fact that the nature of industrial society itself is such that interdependence and cooperation are more important and inevitable than they are in a self-sufficient, agrarian society. African manhood should be made

more attractive by the building up of personalities that are less individualistic, only moderately egotistic, socially co-operative and broadly patriotic. This involves the early training of the child to appreciate what is socially good and useful and to resist the tempting but disintegrating forces of the industrial community. The original African sense of family loyalty and tribal affinity and co-operation must not be lost in the whirlwind of aggressive competition under a capitalistic regime. The competitive impulse should be encouraged so far as it promotes the spirit of the individual to discover himself, but it must not aim at cut-throat competition which ignores all social values except the amassing of wealth. When man looses all sense of "We" and thinks in terms of what "I" can get for myself, alone, the precious aspect of human personality is lost, and manhood looses its charm.

Finally, African manhood must be loyal to his duty to get an education. We may be loyal to a myth, to a common good, to our leader and all that, but unless our intelligence is trained so that we be capable of evaluating things, knowing that big things are big and small things small, our devotion may develop into a sort of bigotry or fanaticism with all their evils.

The right to have an education is therefore one of the most indispensable foundation rocks of African loyalty. We have said that African irredentism seeks to make Africa a society of free citizens, and to remain free, one must have the knowledge that will guide one's footsteps in the path of life. No point is more important in African society than this question of the right to have knowledge. It has no substitute. It is a must. Responsible people in the community have no excuse to leave African youth without education.

For an organised education to develop, other aspects of African loyalties are inseparable. The school itself has the key to all the doors opening into the realm of effective growth to true manhood. It is only in the process of learning that the teacher has the chance of developing those loyalties in the African child, before he becomes a man.

This brings up the question: "who will be the African teacher? What kind of teacher does the African need to uphold his manhood? This is very important, since, the teacher is the fountain from which the required knowledge will flow. The method used by the teacher, his daily exemplary life, his attitude towards society and the children themselves, his firmness and the direction of his loyalties, have a great deal to reflect upon a growing child.

The teacher must be excellent himself, both as a technician and a personality. He must understand both his object and the subject. But that is not enough. He must be loyal to African

culture and understand African character and mentality. He must reflect his convictions for which he should be prepared to fight. Any evidence of timidity in the presence of Sir BIG TOM or Mr. Authority will disqualify him as a teacher and a moulder of African manhood, and as a revivor of our legitimate loyalties. His mind must be trained to approach problems with scientific detachment and with a creative impulse without fear, otherwise, a new generation of free men will never grow in the New Africa.

The teacher must be capable of defining the intellectual basis of the African loyalties as precisely and distinctly as possible. A child growing into manhood must be made to understand the bases of his faith in life. It must be clear to him as contrasted with other ways of living, or else he will become a mere slave to a social dogma which he does not understand or be able, if left alone, to transmit to others. We must not build a dictatorship regime to instruct children distorted theories that respect no other. We do not mean to warp the mentality of the African youth in an atmosphere of hate, pride, and arrogance. We mean to train African youth to respect himself and his culture and also to appreciate others and their cultures.

African irredentism will rest on the rock of knowledge through organized education. A knowledge of the universe and immediate physical environment is necessary, as are comparative study of cultures, world history, political, economic and social - in their relation to each other and their relation to Africa. Special emphasis will be given to African history as a pre-requisite to the study of the history of other peoples. The interpretative history of European imperialism and totalitarianism and their systematic decay in a free world should form an essential part of the African school curricular. The students will be taught not to antagonize, but rather to learn the lesson of how man has struggled to curb freedom - only to learn at last: that although sometimes a lie has a long start, in the end truth prevails. This may confirm their loyalties to the belief that good has supremacy over evil and thus eliminates any tendency to African Expansione in the future.

The African lives in a great age, pregnant with human achievements. To be a citizen of the world, he has a right to know about all great minds, scientists, artists, philosophers, visionaries, and religious leaders. He has to trace the course of the struggle for freedom of thought and action; he has to understand how men have struggled and died in order that all peoples, all races nations, and religious sects may live as brothers. He is entitled to know what is democracy, communism, fascism, socialism, nihilism, anarchism, triple demism and satyagrahism. He has a

right to know what religious and educational teachers have to say and what prompted them. He can then make a contrast between all these isms and African irredentism which is the contemporary philosophy stemming out of African character and experience. He can then feel competent to add more to African Irredentism or to subtract from it, depending on his intellectual propensities and his environmental adjustments.

Such a broad approach to education carries with it the implication that individuals must be trained to be independent, purposeful, critical, attractive, and able to co-operate with others in building a new and healthy society.

But all of this education will practically be useless if the trained youth has no guarantee of work. That makes it necessary that in closing the discussion of the right to education, for us to mention that the right to work is parallel with the right to develop the intelligence. There can be no mental capacity without physical growth, and an independent manhood implies a release from anxiety over security. You can not stand by a conviction while the stomach is empty. A youth studying in school cannot quite develop free tendencies, if he has no hope that a job is his right rather than a prize for obedience to a master. The African student while in school must not be intimidated and grow into a coward - a person who cannot say or act in his own way because he might lose his job. Let me illustrate this point. When this second world war broke out, the British Government in Nigeria closed Yaba and Umuahia Colleges - the only semi-advanced government supported institutions in Nigeria. A few of the boys from Yaba had to go to Achimota college in the Gold Coast to finish their education. While they were there, the Achimota college Authorities dismissed one of them on charges of bad conduct. One of the charges against him was that he wore his hat at an angle, and went about with a walking stick. Another was that he was once late at breakfast. The other charges, were similar. The whole of the Nigerian student body in Achimota college felt that it was an injustice to the student and decided to return to Nigeria with the dismissed boy. The only reason why this admirable plan failed was that the British Government in Nigeria, who holds all the civil service jobs in her hands, told these students that if they returned to Nigeria - their own country, she would give them no jobs. This of course is contrary to that for which African irredentism is striving. In the first place, students must not be trained to fit into only those civil service jobs which belong to the imperialistic structure. Second, job getting must be based on the ability of the individual and not on the whims of a dictator.

The existence of this kind of threat justifies the emphasis which we have given to the fact that African education must produce a complete personality. The gulf between intellectual and manual activity must be bridged. A child must be taught the nature of productive industry as a necessary counterpart to his intellectual development. An African child must be brought into close contact with African industries in the first place, and he must know from the beginning the role of industry in a dynamic society. Africans also must accept the challenge and build factories and develop industries to employ their own children when they are ready to assume the position of responsibility. This will enable our teachers to be bold and objective, and will encourge the new generation to dispense with fears and threats of imperialistic masters.

All these points should indicate the direction of our social discipline and the programme of African education which implies self-knowledge.

None of these factors can be fully concretized without a free government - I mean a government freel from all imperialistic chains - a government that is fully responsible to the peoples needs. The choice of such government lies with each country in Africa. In countries where the British have control, the policy is definitely stated that the latter aims at self government for these areas. Now it is not within the scope of this address to make conclusions for the people of Africa who are up and doing themselves and who know what they want. The contention here is rather that any society or government which would reflect the African character must be a free and independent government under Africans, working in co-operation with another friendly nation or nations. Anything else is colonialism.

Now our faith in African Irredentism is clear. African Irredentism is our social goal, African loyalties are our immediate demand, African discipline is our necessary counterpart; African knowledge our imperative quest; African manhood our legitimate claim. We need a moral awakening, intellectual dynamism, industrial revolution and political freedom. For the coordination of all these, we need an appreciative society which can see, understand, and follow the leader of a free people but a leader with no tendencies to dictatorship.

In fear of a dictator however, the African must not be afraid of his true shepherd. He must distinguish discipline from tyranny. The discipline of free men was well stated by the American educational policies Commission when they said that "Discipline means the putting of loyalties and knowledge to efficient use, the ordering of life in the light of understanding

and towards the attainment of purpose. It involves the subordination of the near to the remote, of the present to the future, of the lesser to the greater good. It involves the restraint of the impulses of the moment, the regulation of desire, the postponement of satisfaction, the sacrifice of immediate comforts and pleasures, the choice of the harder when the easier way is open. Discipline is never indulgent. It may be rigorously exacting, but it assumes this severe form not because there is virtue in severity, but rather because such is the condition of achievement".

I am aware that there are more than 20 Bishops from various churches, successful business men and members of the judiciary and the News Media in this August audience. I have also been flattered by my host Attorney Bindley C. Cyrus who told me that he excluded women from attending this occasion because of the seriousness of my address to this sensitive audience. My humble voice is the voice of Africa declaring the redemption of Africa from European imperialism, following the end of this second world war in which we are all engaged, and insisting that Americans of African origin reject the psychology of inferiority complex, and look outward with courage and faith toward a new day when people of all races of mankind will occupy equal places in all societies.

I have been warned by informed minds in Washington and other places, that to carry this mission to Africa, will bring me face to face with crushing opposition which may destroy my programme of education and African irredentism and marr my character. That means that I shall pay the usual prohibitive price of intergrity common to all pioneers in world history. Nothing is more paradoxical than the life of a pioneer. I consider it an illusion for a pioneer to start a project or direct his life against a bad institution, if at the first counter move by the opposing forces he proposes to abandon the fight.

I now express my gratitude and appeal to my friends - the American audience here, and through them, to all the peoples of America and your government. All I need gentlemen, is the support and encouragement of you Americans, and I promise in the spirit of a pioneer, with faith in God, that Africa of tomorrow will be redeemed as America redeemed herself in 1776. So help me God.

AMERICA'S ROLE IN POST–WAR AFRICA

An Address Presented on Wednesday, September 27, 1944,
To The Harvard University Faculty Club, Harvard University,
Cambridge Massachusetts By
Prince A.A. Nwafor Orizu of Nigeria, The President of
American Council on African Education, Vice President
African Students Association of United States and Canada,
Author of Without Bitterness.

Mr. Chairman, (the president of Boston University), members of the Harvard University Faculty Club, honoured Guests, it is very encouraging to me personally and I am sure to the millions of Africans at home and abroad, that this opportunity is made available for me to speak about the almost forgotten people and the neglected continent of Africa. Thanks to Dr. Booth of Boston University theological school for effecting this arrangement.

The prevalent misunderstanding and misinformation about Africa in the western world by European colonialists is an established axiom. I do not think that this audience, most of who know more than I do, need to be told about the falacies and fantacies by which many in America consider the Africans mere jungle animals. I know that this audience can even tell me more anthropologically and historically about the depth and authenticity of African cultural background in the history of human civilization from Stone Age to the present.

It is to this continent of Africa - old as the west is young; innocent as the west is agnostic; tropically bright as Europe is temperately blurred; charming as the west is gloomy; amiable as the west is sinister; cultivated and gracious as the west is scientific and efficient; religious and otherworldly as the west is aggressive and acquisitive - that we must turn our attention in looking for the dominant chords in the complex whole of its life's orchestra. Is it a land or a people?

Africa covers a quarter of the earth's land surface. It is the second largest of the six continents of the globe, with an area of 11,262,000 square miles, while United States is only 16% of the earth's land area, an area of about 2,963,998 square miles.[1] Africa's coastline is the most simply defined compared with those of the American continent, Asia or Europe.

We cannot deal with Africa's physical, social or cultural facts in detail here. I think that most of the facts that are available to me as an African have been studied in my newly written book called "Without Bitterness". However we ought to bear these facts in mind:

1. **Figure for 48 states only.**

(a) that Africa is not a country - it is composed of many countries.
(b) that Africa is not a race - it is composed of races blended together from time immemorial, some dominant characteristics still persisting, in spite of and not in the absence of those complex blendings;
(c) that Africa is not a cultural unit - there are as many cultural units as there are regions and races;
(d) that Africa is not a linguistic unit - the languages are legion. Yet in spite of all these apparent differences, there is still something which we can describe as "African", just as there are things European or Asiatic or American, despite all internal diversities in culture, language, and ethnic origins.

Now I want to point out some of the things America and Africa have in common. First and foremost, Africa and America both have adequate land resources. This should make for a certain bond between the two people.

In comparison, with the land - poor continent of Europe, both America, and Africa have enormous national wealth and boundless opportunities. Africa, like America, is considerably rich in mineral resources. Both people, have a certain personality ideosyncracy expressed in optimism and buoyancy in their national outlook. People threatened with famine and real food shortage are not likely to view their situation with serenity and confidence, nor are they apt to reflect optimism and buoyancy The national optimism of the descendants of pioneer stock in America, is sometimes lost sight of, because it is overshadowed by the strain of extreme competition. The sense of cheerfulness, and belief in the final outcome characteristic of the Americans are evident in African culture.

There are also certain similarities in African and American backgrounds and ways of life. Both continents developed out of colonial domination. America has finished this process of development, while Africa is still going through it.

In comparing our ways of life, I see other similarities in types of food. The common American dish such as mashed potato, resembles our *fu-fu* or *utala.* American gravy is comparable to what we call *ofe;* Cornbread to *ikpakili.* We fry, boil chicken as you do here. Your soup is very like our *ofe-nsala.* We also drink *pito* and *burukutu* brewed like your beer. In place of oatmeal we have *akamu* or pap. Your apple is our *udala.* This observation leads us to the realization that we live in one world, we are all humans - Africans and Americans. Africans who happen to come to this your country, cannot help but regret our ignorance about America. Nor can we overlook the

misunderstanding of Africa which is so prevalent among the people here.

We may then ask: what can America do for Africa? This is the topic of this exercise. Americans should first find out about Africa, to clear the general misconception about Africa, to understand and appreciate their similarities, and to realize from all this how Africa and America need each other. It is my personal opinion that only on the basis of this new and healthy understanding will Africa and America relate in definite mutual terms. The role of America in Africa will start with a change in United States government policy toward Africa in matters of economic, social and political considerations.

On the economic front, America should fully apply her old international policy of "open door" or equal - opportunity policy to all Africa in both independent or protectorate areas. The extension of this "open door" policy to Africa will have certain new objectives for America. It implies that after this second world war, the Americans may not allow another Wilson to be crucified on the alter of European imperialism and negative national isolationism, thereby making Africa just a field from which raw materials can be gathered by cheap labour and abject human suffering. It implies that America would not go to Africa to plunder, but to yield equitable returns to the Africans. It means that the Americans must be willing and ready to deal with African business men directly rather than through other peoples as intermediaries. Americans ought to be ready to resist the "advise" that the Africans cannot do business themselves. Mutual confidence must therefore be developed. To accomplish all these, Africans and Americans must resist all attempts by imperialists to keep the two peoples apart in their economic relations.

On political matters, America is not expected to play the role of a father Christmas to hand down political independence from nowhere to Africa enmasse, overnight. Rather, we look upon America to play her role as agent of democracy and discourage prolongation of the philosophy and practice of colonialism in Africa. There is no doubt that America is about the only nation that can play this role today among the nations of the industrial world.

How will America do this? Firstly, the American government has the freedom to advise its Allies on the lines of action which would ensure a real and equitable peace after the Allies victory. Secondly, America would frown with unmistakable disapproval at the inhuman policy of European Allies, in keeping African people poor, illiterate, unhealthy and unemployed. This simply implies that America as a people and as a culture, must make itself distinct from Europe in the eyes of the African

peoples and of the world in the post war era.

Another role that America is seriously looked upon to play in Africa is in the area of education. The appalling low level of literacy in Africa is well known to all of us. I feel that nothing will be more effective in drawing the two peoples together as education. No amount of Americans' investment in education in Africa will be too much at this initial stage. This great responsibility fall on American educators, your great institutions, your civil leaders with broad view and philantropic organizations. These groups will co-operate directly with African citizens in their effort to strengthen democratic education in Africa. I am sure that Africans are not folding their hands waiting for Americans to bring education to their door step. No! Some Few opportuned Africans had already dared the bull by the horn and therefore forming bases for American co-operation and help. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria who studied in this country has encouraged a good number of us from Nigeria and Gold Coast who are studying today in your country. But the program of mass movement of Africans to study in this country has not taken an organizational character like that of the Japanese and Chinese, who of course were originally encouraged and sponsored by their own independent government. We the black Atricans today have no independent government willing to finance or encourage such an organization. I have on my part taken some definite steps by organizing the American Council on African Education in the last six months. The aim is to organize for the first time an international programme to promote educational and cultural interaction between Africa and America. Through this, Americans would be awakened to the African quest for American education which can only be make possible at present by America offering scholarships to deserving Africans. Such Atrican students who will be selected must bewilling to undergo the crucible of American educational culture of hardwork and self-help, as distinct from something-for-nothing psychology characteristic of European sponsored programmes through their colonial governments.

Once this educational co-operation is assured, African students will study and go back to Africa as professionals to do for Africa what Americans are doing for America. Then the future of Africa at all levels of its development will be in their hands.

The medical doctors will collaborate with their indegenous counterparts in freeing the African children from infant mortality, African women from childbirth hazards and the generality of African population from tropical diseases and early death. The average African life span may in due course compare favourably with that of other developed nations.

The political scientists will fight for the independence of the African countries and then be ready to democratize our government at local and federal levels, restoring sanity into the colonial distorted government of Africa. They will introduce universal adult suffrage and checks and balances into the judiciary, executive and legislative arms of government which is the surest route to democracy as opposed to the present oppressive colonial rite.

In the field of business, the business administrators will own back our economy and transact business directly with other countries. They will put up industries to maximize the utility of our primary raw materials and human resources. Through this, all citizens will be gainfully employed and the standard of living greatly improved.

It may be difficult to find any African country with more than ten percent literacy today and it is the function of educated Africans to fight against this mass illiteracy in all social strata. They will affect the establishment of educational and research institutions and libraries of all kinds in remote areas on primary secondary and college levels. They have to fight for free education at all levels with the improvement of economic growth of individual countries of Africa. These educationists will formulate such educational policies and curricular as to ensure the diversification of standards and disciplines that will embrace all aspects of social need, national development and maximum development of individual capacity for self-reliance and productivity. They will of course lay emphasis on institutions of technology, bearing in mind that technology is the pivot of modern civilization. The transfer of technology from technologically advanced nations to Africa will most practically start with the establishment of such schools.

I like to make a special mention of Agricultural education in Africa. Hitherto, we use matchets to clear our forests and hoes to till the land. With these, a farmer can at most cultivate half an acre of land in a whole year. Seasonal crops and fruits come and go with each season unpreserved. Our agriculturists will therefore be looked upon to mechanize our entire agricultural system and design preservative devices and appropriate storage facilities. Scientific study of the soil will improve and maximize productivity. We will then feed all year round and help feed other parts of the world.

Our veterinary doctors will greatly improve the standard of our life stock and with the on-going research into genetic engineering provide healthy and diverse breeds for our diet. Our protein intake will be improved with increased production of meat, milk, eggs and others. And then the fear of extinction of the famous African wild life will be reduced.

The journalists will serve as mirrors through which the world would for the first time view Africa as she is and African public will be better informed about the world too.

For infrastructural preparedness against industrialism, engineers will undertake the problem of electrification, canalization of rivers, building of roads and bridges for communication, planning of cities and development of rural areas, building of modern railway lines and improvement of our habour.

My audience here know more than I do what education will do for Africa.

But none of these can be achieved if the present gap in communication and understanding between Africa and America remains unchanged. They cannot be achieved by America hearing and viewing Africa only through the media of European colonial governments and psuedo travelogues. They must see things for themselves, talk to the people in their personal capacities as humans and invest in African business such as establishment of companies for export and import of goods, for transport system, for construction projects, bank business and even establishment of large scale industries.

On the other hand, what can Africa do for the United States? This question has been answered in part, if we remember the genesis or the beginning of the allied victory in this war. Our victory started in Africa. The proximity of West Africa to South America, which in turn affects the United States is a point of war strategy which is indispensable in the security of this country in the event of any global war yet to come. Africans have democracy and they defend the cause of the allies at a crucial moment.

Economically, Africa will definitely be of emense help to America. Following the trend of events, it is likely that after the war, the industrial nations including America are apt to lapse into another condition of over-production. Besides, many people believe that the recent depression was caused by lack of market for goods. If this situation is true, the African continent with its tremendous population might prove a wonderful market for American goods. What has happened in the industrial expansion and development of Russia can as well happen in Africa. The blessings of nature in Africa awaits Americans. America needs tin, and Nigeria alone has the greatest tin depository in the world, second only to Bolivia. Nigeria and the Gold Coast produce about 75% of the world's cocoa, a great percent of which is consumed in this country. There is plenty of rubber, oil skins and hides, timber, diamond, gold, radium, manganese, kolanuts and other natural resources. Americans need all of these now and after the war. On our part, it is the function of American educated Africans to promote this relationship if

encouraged by Americans and as a matter of fact, my immediate objective is to go back to Africa and popularize American pragmatic and fundamentally democratic education among my own people.

But we cannot realize these beautiful ideals unless Americans and Africans themselves take concrete steps to create cultural and economic machineries to breach the great gap of centuries. There is no reason why this task cannot be accomplished, even against human inertia and claims of sovereignty of colonial governments with all their economic tentacles. Americans may hesitate and temporize. But the die is cast. The wind of change will be stronger than tornado after the second world war.

For example, one thing American government must do is to urge and insist that the Allied nations include the representatives of African countries like Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Tanganyika, French West Africa, along with the representatives of Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia during the all-nations parley for final peace settlement. In this connection, May I also endorse the "New Rule of International Law" recommended by Mr. James W. Ryan of New York, published in the New York *Times* Sunday, September 24, 1944. I feel that the present international law lacks all essentials of effectiveness and unless there is an honest fundamental change, we shall enter into another era of international lawlessness which may give birth to new Hitlers or Mussolinis. With a stable international law and representation, and a strong check on cartels, African countries would have the proper chance to deal directly with Americans and other countries of the world even the colonial countries for that matter. I expect all American educators with particualr reference to Great Harvard Institution, to inform the American policy makers to remember my Africa and its enormous people as a continent of tremendous resources with unparalleled futuristic possibilities for world economy and peace and prosperity.

Finally, in inviting Americans to the blessings of nature in Africa, I myself and other Africans studying in American Universities such as Kwame Nkrumah and Ako Adjei of the Gold Coast, Prince Nyaborigo and Arnest Kalibala of Uganda, Dr. Karefa Smart of Sierra Leone, Mbonu Ojike of Nigeria, and a good many others will go home to urge all Africans to learn from American experiences. America fanatically believes in a free access to knowledge and she provides the avenues for truth. This is a new faith borne out of education with restraint on the old worlds - European and African. It is a laudable reaction against the chains and restraints that enveloped the human personality in the old social order. It is a democratic upheaval. This is what the new Africa must learn. We now know that

American life was not borne out of complacency and lazy dreams. It was borne out of ardeous work, patience, persistent effort, indefatigable spirit, self-help in pursuit of education, turning every stumbling block into stepping stone, "doing the difficult now and the impossible later", fighting for liberty of the human mind without the fear of death. These ideals are the propellers of African youths in your colleges and universities, while the second world war for democracy goes on.

My appeal here is that Africa of 1944 needs American co-operation in her development during the post war era, so that in 1950s and 60s the transformation of Africa from dependent to independent countries; from poverty to more abundant life; from absobent to productive society; from autocracy to democracy, from isolationism to internationalism will become a fulfilled dream. All these will carry us to honour and prestige among the nations of the world.

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful, for the opportunity offered me to present the case of my Africa before the faculty club of the famous Harvard University known all over the world as the oldest and one of foremost American educational institutions. My inspiration from here will be shared by my fellow Africans and the devotion and sacrifice by pioneers in American education will form the bedrock of educational development in Africa. Thank you.

AFRICA SPEAKS

THE EPILOGUE

EPILOGUE

When I look back upon the hectic and busy period of time that the column "Africa Speaks" had run and compare it with the situation now, I am happily surprised about how much the prophesies and warnings as contained therein were being fulfilled. In terms of acquainting American opinion with the desire for freedom and independence sweeping Africa on the threshold of the post-war world, "Africa Speaks" contributed it's widow's mite. It was perhaps the only regular column in a major media written by an African for American audience at that time. Quite a number of Americans in all works of life became aware for the first time that Africa was awake and was ready to join the rest of the world in post-war progress and reconstruction. They also became aware of the nationalist struggles in Nigeria and the imperialist attempts to smother the fire of liberty. Because knowledge is power, this attempt to make influential circles in America to know the aspirations and struggles of Africans was partly instrumental in influencing popular opinion in favour of the African peoples' desire for the opportunity to govern themselves at the end of the war. These supporters of colonial freedom backed the idea of extending the ideals and goals of the Atlantic Charter to African colonial dependencies. It was owing to this cause that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt warned his friend Winston Churchill and other European allies that America was not prepared to tolerate the Prolongation of colonialism after the world war II. In 1947 India became independent, ten years after, Ghana got her independence. So the bell of freedom tolled and the water of liberty was sprinkled all over the dark continent.

Since those pioneering days, about half a century ago, the number of independent states in Africa has grown from three to fifty-four . Tide of decolonization is running fast and deep and will soon complete its course.

Education has made gigantic progress between then and now. For example, in Nigeria in 1947, there were 6,094 primary schools, and 46 secondary schools. Attendance at primary schools was 2,314,279 and for secondary schools, the figure was 31,851. There was the Higher College which offered only sub-degree courses. Universities had not been built in Nigeria. By 1985, there were 38,211 primary schools attended by 14,674, 539 pupils. Secondary schools and colleges numbered 5,463, with a total enrollment of 3,059,088. Universities owned by Federal and State Governments numbered 24. In 1983/84, their total enrollment was 112,056, and they graduated 18,052 in fields ranging over the academic spectrum-Administration, Agriculture, Arts, Education, Engineering and Technology, Environmental Design, Law, Medicine, Pharmacy, Science, Social Science

to Veterinary Medicine, Postgraduates for the same year totalled 2,688.

People of African descent in the United States some of whom in the past, openly disavowed their African origin, began to shift their attitude as advocated by "Africa Speaks". This is particularly true of their elites. The word Negro has been abolished and the word African has been substituted in designating Americans of African origin. They have developed a greater pride and self confidence in respect of their biological honour and cultural anchorage.

It is most interesting to note that in 1940s, I was castigated by some African students whom I sent to Southern Universities. Today, these southern Universities turned to be a palatable rendesvous for hundreds of Nigerians because of this social change. The phenomenon of revival of pride in their African ancestry is deep-rooted and wide spread in the black community. When I visited the United States recently, I came across black males and females happily and proudly wearing native African hair-styles and fashion in Manhatan New York City. I felt that I was in Nigeria. I reflected exultantly on my hopes and yearnings as I expressed in my book "Without Bitterness", and I humbly reminisced on the small part "Africa Speaks" played in sowing the seed of this cultural awakening. It is a matter of great joy and pride to watch black Americans occupying the vanguard of organizations that promote African causes in the United States Congress.

This new development has now become a gigantic movement and an ideology symbolized by what has come to be known by some as "Black Power". This stands for political and economic participation sought by Black Americans in the struggle for civil rights. The resurgence by Blacks in the political process of the United States of America is nothing less than stunning. Where fourty years ago blacks were virtually exclude from all meaningful participation, now most of the major cities have black mayors such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Detroit, New Orleans, Durham, New Haven, Seattle and most significantly New York City where David Dinkins defeated his white opponent, Rudolph Guiliani to win the much coveted Mayoralty of the largest American City. Presently, as many as 6,000 blacks have won electoral victories to serve United States in different capacities including Douglas Wilder, the elected governor of Virginia and the first black to be elected a governor in the U.S. history. Not only are blacks now freely elected to the legislative house, but they also take important positions therein,

like Wilham Gray, the whip of the house of representatives. Even the deep South which used to be the citadel of discrimination is well represented among this group of legislators.

By way of appointment also the American blacks are being accorded increasing recognition. Among the most recent was the appointment of Collin Powel as the Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and Louis Sullican as the only black in President Bush's cabinet. There also is Edward Perkins, the first black U.S. Envoy to South Africa as well as the first black Director-General of the U.S. foreign services. American blacks also now find their ways like their white counterparts to the nation's highest court of Appeal. It cannot be forgotten that Rev. Jackson ran for U.S. Vice Presidency and later for Presidency in 1988. He astonished American populace and the world by running neck to neck with the Governor of Massachusetts - Michael Dukakis.

Comparing this with any European country, where else has racial minority gained so much among so large a majority? Afterall, the black Americans do not exceed 22% of the American populace. And this does not mean that in my opinion American blacks are now fully satisfied with this status quo.

What I am saying however is that America has a special message for the world. Yesterday communism and democracy were rubbing shoulders in the market of ideologies. Today, all communist countries are breaking in pieces into the ocean of democratic voyage. Thanks to Mikhail Gorbachev and his new 'Comprehensive Reform". Thanks to the peoples of Bulgaria, Romania, East Germany, Polland, Czechoslovakia and even the new age of China. America did not invent democracy. Nobody really knows where democracy was invented but American democracy has assumed a globanized character which Africans must perceive, analyse and make use of what is good for others in order that hunger and poverty, disease and illiteracy may be wipped out from our continent.

Athenian democracy had a localized horizon, American democracy burst open with aggresive vision and militant application. It has a pragmatic message of demonstrable success and is admired and accepted not because it is American but because of its intrinsic utility in elevating human dignity - insisting on four freedoms everywhere in the world, and introducing creative, economic bonanza which uplifted devasted Europe after the Second World War, and gave impetus to a new economic order in the far East and South East Asia.

When on April 18, 1944, I incorporated the American Council on African Education in the State of New York, I was operating only on one singular dream - to promote modern education in Africa through scholarship from the American educational institutions. I had no funds to run the organization when it was founded. This as far as we know was first of its kind. The British Government which was then the colonial master of Nigeria was implacably opposed to the scheme. The general social atmosphere in the United States at that time was not so condusive to an African pioneer. To them, it was a far fetched cry. The British fully and dilligently exploited the situation. But through my speeches and writings including "Africa Speaks", my objective was brought home to American citizens. Those of them who placed human liberty and international co-operation above racism and colonial designs responded, and gave me their support, but they were in the minority. All efforts to raise funds, from important foundations and monied class failed, because most of them were rather unprepared to accept the possibility and realism of colonial freedom based on their knowledge of information from colonial masters. That was understandable. It was a challenge that a genuine pioneer must accept. However, in November 1946, the first scholarship offer was made to four females (2 Ibos, 1 Yoruba, 1 Effik) by Bethune Cookman College founded by Mrs. Mcleod Bethune who was particularly eager for women emancipation in Africa. On February 12, 1947, my dream of carrying through a massive educational tide from Africa to America became a reality, a day after I escaped assassination attempt at Ritz Hotel in Lagos. [1] The first batch of ten male scholarship students set sail from Nigeria bound for the United States. Later on, those pioneers were followed by many students from Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Camerouns and Tanganyika.

The harvests of the activities of the American Council on African Education in the annals of higher education are historic and epochal in significance. It forced the hands of the colonial Government in NIgeria to her obligations to support and foster higher education among indigenous Nigerians. Indeed, 1947 which was the inaugural year of mass exodus of Nigerians to American Universities under the A.C.A.E. was a landmark in the history of higher education as available data clearly demonstrated. This historic landmark had always been inadvertently

1. **I have deliberately refused to popularise this assassination attempt story till the full history of my struggle, remorse and agonies in introducing horizontal education to my Africa, is published.**

omitted or unconsciously ignored by many historians in education in this country. And in 1950, five years after my arrival home, the Nigerian Government followed my lead, when it initiated the policy of offering scholarships at universities and colleges in the United States to Nigerians, which the A.C.A.E. had begun on a grand scale much earlier. What then makes me a persona non grata to the British Government in Nigeria exactly one week after my arrival from New York, when even the programme had not been established nor scholarships offered? My activities in the U.S. from 1939 to 1945 had been a thorough going embarrassment to the colonial government in Nigeria. Firstly, I exposed the evils of imperialism and the need and urgency to eradicate them, through my speeches to various audiences, schools and clubs, through radio broadcasts, News paper publications, my regular weekly column of "Africa Speaks", my book "Without Bitterness", through the African Interpreter of the African Students Association and presurizing American Congress men and women, religious leaders of various denominations and leaders of the allied countries during the war. Secondly, the dare-deviltry in my planning an international scheme for the education of the Africans without the blessing of the Colonial Government coupled with my disagreement with the then British Ambassador to Washington, Lord Harlifax concerning the number of students to be sent to U.S.A. for higher education. All these were the factors which enamored Sir Aurthur Richard's Government to brandish my character and programme with name-calling devices and innuendo. All these were understandable and I continued to work Without Bitterness.

During this period however, the number of African students in America had increased dramatically. At that material time, according to report of Dr. Ruth Sloan of U.S. State Department and Ivor Cummings, of Colonial office, for every four African students in America, about three were those sponsored by my organization - the A.C.A.E. It therefore became more difficult for the organization to cope with the financial needs of the students. It must be appreciated that the scheme did not receive any subvention from any government. American Foundations were completely in the pocket of European Colonial influence, they did not give immediate financial response, although they favoured the scheme. There was tremendous moral support from Nigerian populace. But 90% of the students who obtained the scholarships were virtually indigent and the support of the few who were considered non-indigent was meagre. Our society was not a rich one. Ninety five percent of the few so-called rich Nigerians were by and large the agents of colonial economic oligarchy and therefore anti Zikist philosophy which I enunciated on my return and which provoked youth revolution chal-

lenging the status quo and the British raj. This pro-colonial class of Nigerians unfortunately mixed the philosophy of Zikism with my scholarship scheme. For all I know, the Zikists were youths and nationalists who did not belong to the new privileged class, quite apart from the general under-developed economic situation in the country. Being in sympathy with the students, I was contemplating on how the A.C.A.E. could tide over the difficulties. I mounted pressure of propaganda to highlight the government's failure to live up to its obligation to provide higher education for Nigerians. I insisted that it was their failure to do this, that forced me to undertake a very dangerous course of sacrificing my whole life and reputation to provide African youth with higher education in the United States empty handed. There are other liberal forces in the U.S.A. and Great Britain whose pressure was brought to bear upon the Nigerian Government as to its obligation for higher education with particular reference to running to the aid of those Nigerians already in the U.S. A. A combination of all these factors resulted in the Nigerian Government announcements in 1950 that it was considering offering scholarships to Nigerians to study in the U.S. A. and that financial aid may be given to some students who might not have sufficient financial aid.When I read this publication, I rose up from my chair and walked up and down in my office with my hands in my pockets. Little tears of joy and satisfaction dropped from my eyes when I soliloquised:

"Thank God, I have done my duty". Whether all A.C.A.E. students in America received this aid or not; whether the well-meaning but misinformed felt that I had left those students midstream; whether the students themselves were irritated by the circumstances created because of our country's colonial status which succeeded to create impossible problems for me; the policy to ostracize American education in Nigeria and of treating my effort to uphold American education as an anathema, is now ended. And this was crowned by the gallantry and bravery of those courageous Nigerians under the scholarship who through industry and devotion were able to storm the weather and emerged victorious as they obtained their degrees and returned in numbers to their country, and who inspite of all temptations and persuasions, refused to be unfaithful to the cause of the A.C.A.E. And according to one of the A.C.A.E. beneficiaries Dr. Elechukwu Njaka: "Some students interviewed were approached by a government's agent, while in the United States, to put the Prince to court but they refused".[1] Many of them had fulfilled the original dream by establishing themselves as the fore-runners of enlightenment and progress in Africa.

1. **See foot note 33 of Igbo Political Institutions and Tradition pg 545.**

Today, the peoples of African Continent are on the thresh hold of a new destiny. On March 21, 1990, Namibia the last colonial enclave in Africa got her independence. Thus, the circle of political independence for every nation in Africa is completed.

Even in South Africa, the rope of racial babarism is loosening with tremendous rapidity. The anethemized congress movement is now at large on the streets of Johanesbourg. Its exiled members from world over are landing in the land of their forefathers passionately and triumphantly. Nelson Mandela, a new world Gandhi is a defacto political shrine, which no force can put out.

Beaches are now a universal heritage for blacks and whites in South Africa. The final bell of Freedom is ringing aloud. The bell ringer is singing the song of immortal Gods to apatheid South Africans saying: "Freedom is truth and truth crushed to earth, shall rise again"

The freedom of black South Africa is therefore considered a fait accompli Nelson Mandela is now the President-in-waiting of Azania nation.

Today, news from and about Africa is no longer a novelty in the United States of America. The Organization for African Unity has been established since 1963 to provide a platform for co-operation and joint action for the independent African Countries, and there are powerful regional economic organizations both in the East and West of Africa and these are a prelude to final grass root amalgamation of interest for the promotion of strong continental movement for African irredentism. This is a giant step from those by-gone days when darkness reigned over much of the continent and the peoples of Africa were isolated from one another by barriers erected by metropolitan colonial powers.

I shall fail in my duty to Africans, particularly to my fellow Nigerians, if I do not explain why I have always insisted on the good aspects of Americanism, that is on grasping the bests in American Educational and Political Systems and also appreciating the influence of America in promoting African Continental Freedom. This is not always appreciated by many Africans. I remember when a lovely prominent Liberal American Lady, Dorothy Norman, interviewed me for the New York Post Magazine, of January 27, 1944, I said, "I would like the states of Nigeria to be federated and Nigeria's political set up modelled after that of the United States, with Judicial, legislative and executive powers organized as they are here", then I continued, "I have no intention, however, of going back to Nigeria and telling the people to become democratic. I believe that the first thing to do is to offer education to the people. Then they will

think things out for themselves once given the opportunity. One of the things I would like to see most, I added, Is to have America and Africa understand one another better. I want to see more students come here, to understand the American way of life and to return to Nigeria to help develop our country".

Let me not be misunderstood. In the first place, I am by birth a conservative African, traditionally nurtured in things African. Too proud to imitate blindly because there is no inferiority complex. My attitude about America is essentially pragmatic and selfish. Pragmatically, the only things that should have appeal are the things that work within the context of demand and satisfaction. I love an open world, open society, exciting and creative philosophy, nurturing only things that elevate; things that enlarge; things that struggle to accommodate; things that are shared (relatively); democracy that has promise; education that elevates and is utilized by all; citizens that strive towards permanent social adjustments inspite of differences; a nation that upholds heroes and remembers its past; a nation where youths have hope for infinite achievements; a nation that challenges nature with optimum optimism; a nation where an individual's freedom to experiment in all phases of life is free from regimentation; a nation that upholds dignity of labour; a nation whose essential mission to the world is liberty, freedom of speech and expression, and human rights. That is America and that is what I want my Africa to be today and tomorrow. Selfishly, I want my Africa to follow these paths of creative existence. I am selfish enough to accept unashamedly these Americanisms that will make Africa great. Besides, American influence upon African freedom in recent world history has not been properly appreciated. Rather, an undue emphasis has been laid on America's wrong doings, economic expansionism and dollar diplomacy, which in my opinion, do not collectively out-weigh the intrinsic value of her democratic influence in Africa comparatively. After all, America produced Nkrumah, who gave the whole of African colonies, the first independent African country in the 20th century. What about Nnamdi Azikiwe, who with American spirited political ingenuity galvanized and led the most powerful African country to independence. America gave African Continent the first Sovereign country in the 19th century, Liberia, no matter the imperfections therein.

I am not oblivious to American domestic attitude towards people of African descent in their midst. This I have already condemned and I abhor . But a good student of American legal and constitutional history will agree that there has been a posi-

tive and clear-cut continued change in American racial attitude, and that those Americans, politicians and others who support racial discrimination are never regarded as national heroes, in America. A Pjetta Botha cannot ask American citizens for votes to be their president. That is what objective Africans must appreciate. That will show what the spirit of America stands for. Americans' attitude towards apatheid South Africa is a case in point. The Americans' spirit of liberty and freedom speak unequivocally in the reaction of American youths in colleges and universities and the American congress representing the people themselves as opposed to Ronald Reagan's marriage with some business interested class, who in the main must not be mistaken to represent majority of American people and who after all, cannot be said to be supporting a perpetual apatheid state in South Africa or anywhere else. I am very unhappy about America's continued veto of U.N.O. s resolutions against apatheid South Africa. It is a sorry demonstration of human impertection which honestly, I consider unpardonable.

But it will be a cowardly band-wagon movement if because of this I fail to give account of my personal experience in my struggle to give Africa freedom. I do not know how many other countries in Europe, in 1940s that could have allowed a non quota immigrant student like myself to institute a freedom programme like the A.C.A.E. which I founded and incorporated on my own and encouraged all her important educational institutions to give it unalloyed support, which made it possible for me to walk straight into the most populous colonial country in Africa under a powerful empire to influence its education. And which also made it possible for my struggle with the governments of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Uganda, Tanganyika (now Tanzania) and the Camerouns to join in a westward mass movement into America for education.

When I was crying in loneliness in America to find a way to get my fellow Africans in large numbers to the United States, the first thing I did was to appeal to the then British Ambassador to Washington, Lord Harlifax. On November 20, 1942, I went to Washington D.C. to visit Lord Harlifax. I left New York City by 8.30 a.m. to be in Washington by 12.15 p.m. Our train was delayed by a freight train for an hour and half, and we arrived Washington by 2. p.m. I rushed to the British Embassy in a taxi from the railroad station. I waited for Lord Harlifax. Captain J. Huggins welcomed me and sat with me until the ambassador was ready. We met Lord Harlifax. He was a congenial gentle man. He talked and looked a Christian.

Knowing of his works in India, I failed to reconcile his quiet naturalness with the austerity and calousness required of an Indian Viceroy which he was. We chatted over some political problems, and he refused to call Nigeria a colony - "No", he exclaimed, "We are all now in the British Common Wealth" The idea of colony is gone, it is an old philosophy in the British thinking".

I brought up the question of African students which was the reason for the meeting. I had two points: (1) The financing of the scholarship programme I had in hand. (2) The co-operation of the embassy with the African students Association."

Beginning with the second question, Lord Harlifax offered his co-operation readily, but added that only colonial government could finance the African students who then were studying in the U.S.A. With the first question of the scholarship scheme, he suggested that there would be no objection to my plan, if as he believed, I was going to get one or two Africans to the United States for studies every year. I told him that I planned to get a minimum of one hundred Africans to America every year. He blushed his face, and the discussion stopped abruptly. After a deep breathing, he said, "Well Prince Orizu, I think that I have to go now. I shall get captain Huggings to go into details with you".

Captain Huggins went through the whole thing, and I gathered from him that my plan will not receive their wholehearted blessing if I had planned to get more than one African to America every year. I was unable to follow such reasoning. What will it benefit Africa to sponsor a maximum of one student in the United States every year? By this suggestion, it means that it will take the whole of African continent one century to train 100 University graduates. This was what I was told to swallow when I was singularly planning to get over a minimum of hundred students every year. How I felt about this, could only be better imagined than expressed.

I returned to New York with a heavy spirit and bitter disappointment. I sought the advice of Dr. Emory Ross who had a good deal of experience in matters affecting Africa. He wanted to know the attitude of the British Government in Nigeria towards my proposal. I was unequivocal in telling him that the plan was independent of the colonial government in Nigeria. But I told him of my visit to Washington to consult Lord Harlifax. Dr. Ross felt that that was not enough. He stated that it was unwise for me to start such a programme without letting them carry out the programme themselves. They would make it difficult for me and ultimately destroy the whole

programme and discredit and crush me even before my people.

I wanted to know from Dr. Ross what I should do, if in seeking the co-operation he suggested, I encounter the same policy of sponsoring only one or two African students every year, as I had already encountered in the British embassy. Or, suppose, I met a complete opposition to the whole idea of introducing American Education into Africa? Dr. Ross said that he was not unaware of the reasons for the fear I entertained, but concluded that he was only alerting me to the dangers on the road I had chosen to walk across. That was not an effort to discourage me, but an attempt to help me appreciate that he did not think that any colonial government (not just only the British), would permit its subject to establish such a far-reaching organization on an international scope, closing its inner doors to that colonial government and get away with it. For these reasons, Dr. Ross concluded, "Well Mr. Orizu, I think you have a good idea, but I regret that I shall be unable to become a sponsor at this initial stage". I understood Dr. Ross. But my determination grew stronger. Opposition is a good appetiser to my psychology of progress. The reaction of Lord Harlifax and the prediction of Dr. Ross helped me understand the weight and meaning of what I was about to embark upon.

I decided to test America's spirit of democracy as I used to hear them drum it into my ears every day. I said to myself, let me go and test American Government, American educational institutions and other citizens and see whether they will also have the same opinion about African freedom as their white brothers in Europe.

On December 1, 1943, I discussed the programme with Mrs. Frances P. Bolton, a Republican Congress Woman from Cleveland Ohio. In her Washington Office I introduced my scholarship scheme. She wanted to know what she could do for me. I made three requests:—

1. For her to become a member of the proposed organization.
2. To help get other congress women and senators
3. To give a financial help.

She confessed that I was the first foreign student from any country with any such programme she met, and pledged her interest. She told me that her son who was then Major Kenyon C. Bolton, was in French Equatorial Africa (Brazaville). She brought out the world map and I showed her the location of Nigeria and indicated the position of Onitsha province where Nnewi was located.

Mrs. Bolton suggested the names of several prominent

members of the Senate and house of representatives whom she thought would be helpful. She telephoned the State Department and got me in contact with certain officials including Dr. Charles Thompson, who was Chief of cultural relation in State Department. As for becoming a director of the proposed organization, she asked me to give her time to think of it. On the question of financing the programme, she telephoned Mrs. Walker of Payne Fund in New York City. There was no quick connection, she put down the receiver and advised me to go to New York to meet Mrs Walker or Miss Martins at No. 1 Madison Avenue, New York. The Payne Fund was a creation of Congress Woman - Mrs. Bolton herself. Mrs. Bolton later became a member of the advisory board of the A.C.A.E. She believed in cultural relation with Africa. On my recommendation Mrs. Bolton, through the Payne Fund, offered a $4000 Scholarship for a Nigerian girl through the A.C.A.E. But it was not utilized immediately because the scholarship was applicable to only a graduate student and there was no female graduate student at that time.

This my meeting with Mrs. Bolton was an open sesame to the State Department. The same day I was a guest of Charles Thompson to whom Mrs. Bolton had introduced me. Mr. Thompson showed a great interest in my idea of cultural relations between Africa and America. He was satisfied that University Presidents were interested. He in turn introduced me to Dr. Zook the President of the American Council on Education. I reviewed my programme with him and requested his expert advice and cooperation. He mentioned that my plan was similar to that of Dr. Steven Duggan of the Institute of International Education. He was very pleased that such a project would concentrate on the forgotten Africa. I told him of Dr. Duggan's letter to me. It was after visiting this office of American Council on Education, that I decided to change the name of my prospective organization from American Committee on African Education to American Council on African Education. Still on the results of my visit to Mrs. Bolton, I opened relations with other members of the houses of representatives and Senate, and later I was able to meet Arthur Mcleash assistant Secretary of State and Henry Aggard Wallace the Vice President, then the judiciary, for the incorporation and approval of the programme, and with the white house which led to the wife of American President herself, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt becoming a member of the advisory board of the A.C.A.E. All these enhanced the already formidable favourable responses I had obtained from colleges and universities, as opposed to what would have emanated from the British embassy. Some very important Americans of African

origin gave me greatest encouragement through out this critical period. Mr. Walter White, who was the executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), Mr. Roy Wilkins his assistant and editor of "The Crisis", did not relent in giving me encouraging advice and direction, so was Lester Granger, President of the New York Urban League. Roy Wilkins later became the American President of the A.C.A.E. and a member of the executive board while I was the International President. This interest in African Affairs by the NAACP continues unabated to date.

While American Government policy did not support any political activities of colonial peoples in seeking for their freedom, from their friendly nations, the State Department in Washington made it clear to me, that they will encourage any cultural and educational relationship and understanding I planned. It was owing to this policy that when my programme was questioned early in 1946 in the British Parliament by Mr. Enroll who angrily questioned, "Why do the British Government in Nigeria allow a certain young man with dangerous Zikist philosophy to influence African education?" The British government on the floor of the parliament replied that they had been informed by reliable sources that my programme was genuine and was supported by responsible American citizens. I guess that the reliable sources must have been from Washington. If this is not an eloquent testimony of American determination to liberate the African mind in those remote days, I would like to know what else will be.

These reflections of what we had spoken nearly half a century ago and the subsequent fulfilment of those hopes and dreams and prophecies are the matters that make us happy that we played a part. The more important reflection however is on how the contemporary society in Nigeria, how African governments that sprang up after world war II have nurtured the fruits of independence we have brought to them. Joys of victories over colonialism petered away as greed and corruption raised their ugly heads. The principles of orderly change from tribal and agrarian society to democratic and industrial municipalities have been disrupted by the illusion of easy process of change to which the new leadership in Africa became victims. They took change for granted and lost the fine art of patience and compromise, of adjustment and tolerance. Civilians applied violence and Thuggery where they could not win their opponents. Soldiers unsheatned their swords and threatened with their guns. Neither Thuggery nor violence, swords nor bullets have brought peace and progress to any country in Africa since the first day of Ghana's independence in 1957 to this day of writing in 1989. No African country

has settled the issue of functional education; not one has been able to develop Agricultural Industry to feed its own populace. No African country has stabilised its political philosophy nor understood its social ideology; not one makes a genuine effort to give a stop to importation of food from foreign countries; not one has dealt with the serious issue of health not to talk about technology and industry in order to utilise the enormous natural resources to confront damages of economic crisis and commercial subordination in world market. Nothing is being said about proper housing, means of communication and transport facilities . Not one has taken seriously the issue of cultural revival through mass communication and universalising language of each country against its tribal background. We all know that "No nation is a nation which cannot feed itself'.

There is a wide chasm between the ideals of the 20th century founding fathers of African countries and the ideas of the subsequent privileged generations who are born into independence. There is a tragic absence of cultural continuity and commitment because loyalty to a cause without immediate gains does not seem to be a part of African character of the new breed. It seems that their sole aim and idea of leadership is simply to get more money than everyone has and to become governors and presidents without demonstrable selfless service which must preceed their claims. True nationalism is marked by discipline, order and loyalty. True nationalism is rational and deliberate. It presents its case judiciously, calmly and without rancour. Great issues of ideals, and convictions capable of unifying a people into nationhood, have never been settled by noise, violence, swords nor bullets. A soldier cannot unify a nation by staging coups only to uphold the interest of his own tribe. No civilian leader no matter how great or efficient can bring a nation under the umbrella of one leadership, if he allows himself to be baptized the leader of a tribe before appearing as a prophet of national unity. To implement and actualize the hopes of 1940s in African countries particularly in Nigeria, the present generation must develop a new sense of loyalty, to the cause of nation-building. They must be capable, if necessary, to incur the hatred of their own tribes or regions in order to uphold the principles of unification of Nigeria. Loyalty is the fundamental ornament with which freedom is made attractive. Without loyalty, the citizen of a new born nation cannot make personal sacrifice necessary to develop a modern country.

Without doubt, without equivocation, the joy of freedom so dearly won, can never be erased by the misuse of that freedom. The task before us is not to mourn and curse ourselves but for

the new generation to rise against the abuse of power and privilege, against religious intolerance and ethnic loyalties at the expense of national unity. The new leadership and the new society must grow beyond the worship of material wealth alone. They must develop a sense of honesty and fear of God. These were the things that possessed my mind in 1940s when we surrendered our manhood, ignored all opportunities to get rich quick and allowed our personality and intergrity to be a joke to many. I still hope for the fulfilment of these ideals as conveyed in the message of this book "Africa Speaks". If we were able to speak against foreign imperialism and won, we are now speaking against indigenous imperialism, Africa Speaks again, WE SHALL WIN.

GLOSSARY

Atlantic Charter:

A joint declaration made on August 14th, 1941, during world War 11 by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Franklin Roosevelt of the United States of America when the United States was still a non-belligerent ally. The charter was the fruit of five days Conference aboard warships in the North Atlantic.

A statement of the common aims their countries would pursue in the post-war era, the two leaders asserted that they respected every people's right to choose their own form of government and that they wanted sovereign rights and self-government to be restored to those forcibly deprived of them.

The charter was first international magna carta which became a formidable inspiration to leaders of nationalist movements in the then colonial empires of European powers. They regarded it as a moral justification for their campaign for a national freedom.

Berlin Conference of 1885.

It sanctioned the second partition of Africa as a result of the competition among the European powers for colonial territories in the Congo Basin. The Conference recognized British claim to Nigeria. In consequence, on June 5, 1885, a proclamation published in the London Gasette declared the establishment of a protectorate over the "Niger Districts".

Council on African Affairs:

A Militant organization headed by Max Yegan whose major objective was defence of African freedom, with particular reference to South Africa.

Felix Sylvester Eboe:

Born at Cayenne, French Guiyana on December 26th, 1884 and died in Cairo, Egypt on May 27th, 1944. He held many post in the then French Equatorial Africa from 1910 to 1931. He became Secretary-general of Martinique (1931-1935): governor of Guadeloupe (1936-38) and of the Chad Province (1938-40). He was appointed governor-general of French Equatorial Africa in November, 1940.

Good Neighbour Policy:

A term that denotes close identification of interests between the United States of America and Latin American nations. It took the concrete form of a number of treaties and conference resolutions concluded when Presidents Roosevelt and Truman were in office. In his inaugural address in 1933, President Roosevelt pledged that the United States of America would be a "good neighbour". He was referring to the entire world as well as to the Western Hemisphere. He later withdrew United States troops from Haiti and ended the United States control over the Carribean protectorates. New treaties were concluded renouncing United States rights of intervention in Cuba and Panama.

This policy of co-operation culminated in 1948 in the formation of the organization of American States, a regional security arrangement under the United Nations.

Homer:

The name given to the author of the Illiad and Odyssey. The two are epic poems. The Illiad deals with the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon in the Trojan War, the Odyssey deals with the return of Odysseus, after the sack of Troy to his queen, Penelope, and his Kingdom on the Island of Ithaca.

Harold Ickes Le Claire: (1874-1952).

The name of the United States Secretary of the interior from 1933 to 1946.

Howard L. Bevis:

He was President, Ohio State University early in the 1940s and a member of the Advisory Board of the American Council on African Education. He was first American university President to offer personal scholarship to me which I later transfered to scholarship for all African students under the A.C.A.E. which I founded for the purpose.

Ku Klux Klan:

A secret organization in the United States of America especially associated with the South. The original Klan was formed in 1866 to maintain White Supremacy in the South after the civil war. A subsequent organization which was active during the 1920s looked upon itself as the guardian of religion, morality and patriotism. Hooded Klansmen burned fiery crosses in

many parts of the country. They denounced and sometimes abducted and whipped blacks, bootleggers, Jews, pacifists, radicals, Catholics and other persons who deviated in race or ideas from what the Klansmen considered proper American Standards.

The influence of Ku Klux Klan as a terrorist organization has waned considerably in recent years because its violent and terrorist methods are widely condemned by most individuals and social groups in the United States.

Lend-Lease:

The legal means by which the United States of America assisted its allies during world war II. Instead of giving credits or direct financial aid, the Lend-lease Act of 1941 empowered the President to authorise the manufacture of defence articles, and to "sell, transfer title to, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of any article to any country whose defence he considered vital to the security of the United States.

The Lend-Lease Act was essentially a subsidy and as such avoided any post-war debt problem.

Magna Carta: (Great Charter):

The great English Charter of personal and political liberty, obtained from King John by the English barons at Runnymede on June 15, 1215. Now denotes any constitution guaranteeing fundamental, personal and other rights.

Mason - Dixon Line:

The boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, partly surveyed by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon between 1763 and 1767, and noted before the extinction of slavery as a line of demarcation between the free and the slave states.

Max Yegan:

He was the founder and president of the Council on African Affairs.

Monroe Doctrine 1823:

A unilateral declaration of policy by James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States of America with the purpose of protecting the newly won independence of the Latin American States. The statement announced that the United States would regard any interference in the internal affairs of American States as an unfriendly act. It stated that the United States considered the American continent closed to further colonization.

Mrs. Mary Mcleod Bethune:

She was the Founder and President of Bethune Cook-man College, Daytona Beach, Florida and President of National Council of Negro Women. An educator and benefactor, she was a director of the American Council on African Education, she was adviser to President Roosevelt on women affairs. The first black woman in the world to found and own a university. She pioneered scholarships for Nigerian female students under the A.C.A.E. Scholarship students also went through her college.

National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP):

A civil rights organization in the United States was incorporated in 1910. W.E.B. Dubois was First editor of its journal, "the Crisis". The NAACP has used the methods of litigation, legislation, lobbying, persuasion and education to achieve social, political and economic equality for blacks in the United States of America. It has many victories in court cases to its credit, the landmark victory being the United States Supreme Court decision in 1954 ending segregation in public schools.

Its outstanding leaders include Walter White who was Secretary from 1931 to 1955. Roy Wilkins succeeded him in 1955 and served till 1977 when Benjamin Hooks took over the post.

National Council of Negro Women:

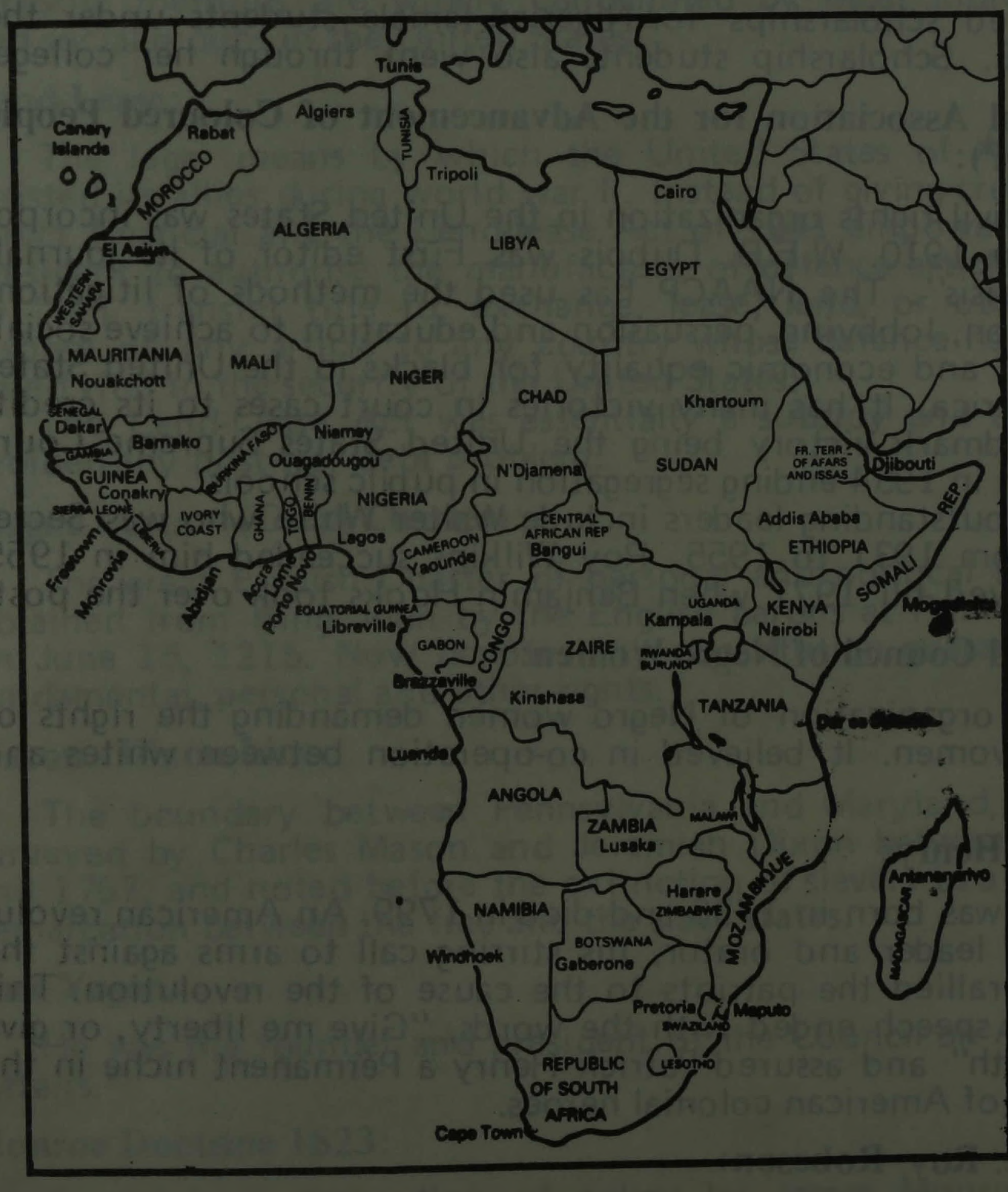
An organization of Negro women demanding the rights of black women. It believed in co-operation between whites and blacks.

Patrick Henry:

He was born in 1736 and died in 1799. An American revolutionary leader and orator, his stirring call to arms against the British rallied the patriots to the cause of the revolution. This famous speech ended with the words, "Give me liberty, or give me death" and assured Patrick Henry a Permanent niche in the history of American colonial heroes.

Paul Le. Roy Robeson:

He was born in 1898 and died in 1976. He was a singer and actor. His plays included Black Boy (1926) Show Boat (1928, 1932) and Othelo in which he played the title role in America and England. He also appeared on the screen in such notable plays as Sanders of the River, Jericho, King Solomon's Mines, Proud Valley, Emperor Jones and Show Boat. In 1925, he gave his first concert as an exponent of Negro spirituals. His singing of 01 Man River was a great artistic triumph.



Africa of 1990s. The wind of freedom covered the continent. Articulate, confident, enlightenment have become the citizens of the black world. 50 years ago, only three countries were free in Africa. Today 54 countries of Africa are free.

NIGERIA: MOST POPULOUS COUNTRY IN AFRICA



LIST OF 54 INDEPENDENT AFRICAN COUNTRIES OF 1990s

	NAME OF COUNTRY	AREA*	POPULATION (M)	FORMER COLONIAL POWER*	DATE OF INDEPENDENCE*
1	Afars and Issas	21,783 Sqkm	0.2	France	
2.	Algeria	2,293,190 Sqkm	19.6	France	July 3, 1962
3.	Angola	1,246,700 Sqkm	7.8	Portugal	Nov. 11, 1975
4.	Benin	112,600 Sqkm	3.6	France	Aug. 1, 1960
5.	Botswana	576,000 Sqkm	0.9	United Kingdom	Sept. 30, 1966
6.	Burundi	27,834 Sqkm	4.2	Germany 1896-) 1917) Belgium 1917-) 1962)	July 1, 1962
7.	Cameroons	475,442 Sqkm	8.7		Jan. 1, 1960
8.	Cape Verde Islands	3,929 Sqkm	0.3	Portugal	July 5, 1975
9.	Central African Republic	622,984 Sqkm	2.4	France	Aug. 13, 1960
10.	Chad	1,284,000 Sqkm	4.5		Aug. 11, 1960
11.	Comoro Islands	2,236 Sqkm	0.4		
12.	Congo	342,000 Sqkm	1.7	France	Aug. 15, 1960
13.	Egypt	1,002,000 Sqkm	4.3		
14.	Equatorial Guinea	28,051 Sqkm	0.3	Spain	Oct. 12, 1968
15.	Ethiopia	1,237,000 Sqkm	31.8		
16.	Gabon	267,667 Sqkm	0.7	France	Aug. 17, 1960
17.	The Gambia	11,295 Sqkm	0.6		Feb. 18, 1965
18.	Ghana	238,537 Sqkm	11.8	United Kingdom	March 6, 1957
19.	Guinea	245,856 Sqkm	5.6	France	Oct. 2, 1958
20.	Guinea Bissau	36,125 Sqkm	0.8	Portugal	Sept. 24, 1973
21.	Ivory Coast	322,463 Sqkm	8.5	France	Aug. 7, 1960
22.	Kenya	582,647 Sqkm	17.4	United Kingdom	Dec. 12, 1963

	NAME OF COUNTRY	AREA*
23.	Lesotho	30,327 Sqkm
24.	Liberia	111,369 Sqkm
25.	Libya	1,759,500 Sqkm
26.	Madagascar	592,000 Sqkm
27.	Malawi	118,484 Sqkm
28.	Mali	1,240,142 Sqkm
29.	Mauritania	1,030,700 Sqkm
30.	Mauritius	2,040 Sqkm
31.	Morocco	458,730 Sqkm
32.	Mozambique	771,124 Sqkm
33.	Namibia	824,269 Sqkm
34.	Niger	1,267,000 Sqkm
35.	Nigeria	913,073 Sqkm
36.	Reunion	2,510 Sqkm
37.	Rwanda	26,338 Sqkm
38.	Sahara (West)	266,000 Sqkm
39.	Sao Tome and Principe	964 Sqkm
40.	Senegal	203,793 Sqkm
41.	Seycheles	277 Sqkm
42.	Sierra Leone	72,328 Sqkm

POPULATION (M)	FORMER COLONIAL POWER*	DATE OF INDEPENDENCE*
1.4	United Kingdom	Oct. 4, 1966
1.9		July 26, 1847
3.1	Italy	Dec. 24, 1951
9.0	France	June 26, 1960
6.2	United Kingdom	July 6, 1964
6.9	France	Sept. 22, 1960
1.6	France	Nov. 28, 1960
1.0	France 1715 -) 1810)	
	United Kingdom) 1910 — 1968)	March 12, 1968
20.9	France	March 2, 1956
12.5	Portugal	June 25, 1975
1.0		March 21, 1990
5.7	France	Aug. 3, 1960
87.6	United Kingdom	Oct. 1, 1960
5.3	Germany 1899 -) 1919)	
	Belgium for United Nations- 1919 - 1962	July 1, 1962
0.08	Spain	
0.1m	Portugal	July 12, 1975
5.7	France	Aug. 20, 1960
0.06		
3.6	United Kingdom	April 27, 1961

NAME OF COUNTRY	AREA*	POPULATION (M)	FORMER COLONIAL POWER*	DATE OF INDEPENDENCE*
43. Somalia	637,657 Sqkm	4.4	Britain) Italy)	July 1, 1960
44. South Africa	1,221,042 Sqkm	29.5	United Kingdom	Dec. 11, 1931
45. Sudan	2,505,805 Sqkm	19.2	Egypt) United Kingdom)	Jan. 1, 1956
46. Swaziland	17,363 Sqkm	0.6	United Kingdom	Sept. 6, 1968
47. Tanzania	945,203 Sqkm	19.1	Tanganyika-Germany 1891 - 1919 Zanzibar- U.K.	Dec. 9, 1961 Dece. 10, 1963
48. Togo	56,785 Sqkm	2.7	Western Togo-) Germany 1894 -) 1914) U.K. TILL 1957 Eastern Togo-France 1918 - 1960	April 27, 1960
49. Tunisia	164,150 Sqkm	6.5	France	March 20, 1956
50. Uganda	235,886 Sqkm	13.0	United Kingdom	Oct. 9, 1962
51. Burkina Fasso	274,200 Sqkm	6.3	France	Aug. 5, 1960
52. Zaire	2,344,885 Sqkm	29.8	Belgium	June 30, 1960
53. Zambia	752,614 Sqkm	5.8	United Kingdom	Oct. 24, 1964
54. Zimbabwe	389,759 Sqkm	7.2	United Kingdom	1980

SOURCES OF STATISTICS:

*Africa Year Book & Who's Who 1977, Africa Joumal Ltd. Oct. 1976

*The Nigerian Cement Co. Ltd. Diary 1990.

APPENDIX
AFRICA SPEAKS

We Mourn for Late President Because We Fear Our Own Imperfections

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

WHILE men and women living all over the world are in uproar, turmoil and tears; while our hearts lament the eternal absence of the world's greatest liberal heart of the age; while we stand aghast wondering how the great and the strong has fallen into the hands of almighty DEATH; while we think that the sting of death has won a victory over the mortal frame of America's great father; we must remember that Franklin D. Roosevelt has departed from this world triumphant. He has done his duty. It is not for him that we mourn; it is for us, the living.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

* * *

WE MOURN for the imperfections and tragic weakness which may prevent us from living up to the standards that Mr. Roosevelt has set for us. We mourn because we are so afraid that other leaders may upset the courageous and noble work that Mr. Roosevelt almost brought to completion. We mourn that we are not so sure that his spirit of "freedom everywhere," which he so persistently advocated and vigorously worked for, could be equally cherished and carried out by our present leaders. In other words, we are lamenting our shortcomings, and therefore preparing ourselves to meet the challenge of the rising tide of freedom and liberty everywhere.

* * *

WHY WAS President Roosevelt so great? It is because he believed in Voltaire, who said "This world is warfare; I love to carry it on, it puts life into me." The life of Mr. Roosevelt was a series of constant, relentless and indefatigable warfare against insurmountable obstacles. He waged war against physical debility. He conquered. He waged war against social wreckage. He triumphed. He waged war against spiritual slumber. He won. He dauntlessly waged war against economic insecurity, racial bigotry, international intolerance, and destructive Nazi doctrine. In all these he emerged victorious. Mr. Roosevelt fed the poor, led his Nation in its most crucial moment, built new assurance in the heart of humanity; with him, all that is America came to a new life.

The life that Franklin Delano Roosevelt lived was the symbol of harmony of opposite qualities. He was born wealthy, yet his creed was the interest of the poor. He was made great, but he lived in simplicity and friendliness which charmed his friends and elevated his family. It is true, then, that "to all men he was all things": A great liberal, bringing the more abundant life. Or a dangerous radical and power seeker. A business baiter, out to soak the rich. Or a sensible regulator, imposing restrictions for the common good. A champion of the forgotten man. Or a canny politician, buying votes with public money. A wrecker of the Nation's economic structure. Or a builder toward more equitable distribution of wealth. A war hater who knew the fiction of isolation. Or an international meddler.

Mr. Roosevelt was all these because he was great.

* * *

THE EULOGY of his brave life will not do us any good unless we translate it into a concrete way of living. We shall be paying lip service to him—shedding crocodile tears if, in San Francisco, the world leaders turn their backs upon the principles of Mr. Roosevelt.

It was Mr. Roosevelt's belief that the principle of peace is inseparable from the recognition of the interest of all. He believed in human dignity and worth. He hated imperialism in all its manifestations. He substituted repression of the weak with his "Good Neighbor Policy." He challenged colonialism

by insisting on unconditional independence of the Philippines. He made friends of both small and great nations, and gave each due recognition. That was the life of a man possessed of harmonious qualities. Today, that life's symphony is finished.

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THE LIVING leaders who will represent all nations in the San Francisco Conference this month should plan so that the life of President Roosevelt shall not have been sacrificed in vain. They must generate the spirit of courage, sincerity, tolerance and justice. They must elevate the moral standards of the twentieth century man to a new level.

The leadership of all oppressed peoples in America and the world has much to learn from the life of our great champion: fearlessness, courage and sacrifice. If we have no fear, we can turn the imposed handicaps of racial and national origins into an incentive. If we have courage, we can boldly map and execute our plans in spite of powerful oppositions. If we have the spirit, we can sacrifice even life itself to attain freedom and maintain a dignified place among other races and nations of the world.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Negroes and Africans Must Understand Each Other for Mutual Help

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

QUESTIONS have been asked here and there: "What is the best way the Negroes can help the Africans regain their independence?" The Negro is eager to know this, not only for sentimental reasons, but because of the blood relationship between the two peoples. Blood is thicker than water. We all agree. But there are deep and inevitable conditions that stimulate a continued interest among all peoples of African descent. It may be found in international psychology which in turn has national implications for Negroes everywhere.



During the Italo - Ethiopian war, the American Negro was aroused to militancy. Why? Again, during the San Francisco Conference, the Negro press and organizations mobilized for the cause of Africa.

Why?

Prince Nwafor Orizu

The American Negro knows and has always known, when he stops to reflect, that what really happens to Africa has a direct bearing to his world and national status in America. If the Africans are independent people with strong governments of their own, the American Negro will be more respected by others. The white man will appreciate him more. He will be less discriminated against by other races. He will be more vocal and confident in action and thought. He will be himself. The African position is a definite psychological matter with the status of Negroes everywhere. Let Africa be free today, and you will see that the Negro will be a new man in his outlook. The world opinion about Negro inferoirity will vanish overnight. His economic status will be changed. His political balance will be shifted.

• • •

FOR SIMILAR selfish reasons, the Africans have been seriously concerned with what happens to the Negro in America. This is a justified selfishness—or rather self-preservation attitude.

The fact that these two peoples have sought for a solution through which they can reach and understand each other; the fact that that solution, so far, has not been found; the fact that a solution must be found or we will remain forever doomed; the fact that it is only the Africans and the Negroes who can formulate that solution, has made me restless. I feel it an obligation, therefore, to write a special series of articles specifically directed to the reasons why this relationship of mutuality has been so long left uncemented, and to make some suggestions as to the solu-

tion. To do this will require frank statements, and I hope that no one will misunderstand my intentions when I become brutally truthful.

• • •

TO CEMENT our relationship, several things must be considered. First, the American Negro must abstain from entertaining rumors and heresays about the peoples of Africa—either those here in America or others at home. I would have mentioned several names, but let me give only one example here. Among the so-called educated Negroes, some go out discrediting the honest efforts of the Africans who come to this country to study. Not very long ago, a Negro author and reporter visited the New York Times office. An important person in the Times, who wanted to help the educational program for the encouragement of university training of Africans, asked this Negro whether the help was justified. Our author "advised" the white friend not to help the Africans and their programs. He did not think it worthwhile! As if he knew what he was talking about, he said that those men are not reliable and their organizations are no good. Remember, this man is supposed to be informed! That was why they asked him the question.

But it so happened that the New York Times' friends have more direct and reilable information about the Africans he discussed so discreditably. They laughed and marvelled at the ignorance and stupidity of this Negro author. We were informed immediately about this traitor of our race. We did not take it as a personal injury. The collective Negro race is disgraced and betrayed. There are few others like that. And they are in the places where they can really do our race injury, were it not that the force of truth is stronger than the little tongues of little men.

• • •

SECOND, the Negro scholar in America must stop looking at Africa trough the eyes of Englishmen, the French or the Dutch. It is only a force of cowardice, incompetence, laziness and lack of spiritual stability that will induce a black man with any education to accept the words or writings by a people of other races about Africans—his own forefathers—without reflective doubts. I wonder how many white scholars will even accept a "European History" or a "European Survey" written by a Negro scholar, and take his words for granted and quote therefrom as if from an Oracle at Delphi.

(To Be Continued)

AFRICA SPEAKS

The American Negro At San Francisco Has Significance for Africa

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

AMERICANS of African descent have grown. It was Marcus Aurelius who said that "the true worth of a man is to be measured by the objects he pursues." This statement speaks well for the phenomenal transition which characterizes the growth of the Negro mind in America. We may classify the growth of the Negro mind into three

main stages. During the first stage th Negro mind was dazzled by the flashes of social atrocities of slavery. He was forced to bow down hopelessly to the culture of the Americans of European origin. He was forced to abandon his language, religion, mode of social intercourse, and everything that was inherent in him as an African. Consequently the Negro started to trek between two worlds; a world of his own and an imposed world—one-half destroyed, and the other ill-understood. The original African ideals and faith and hopes and desires were wrecked, the new was not yet born. The Negro personality became disorganized. His loyalties became unstable. It was a peculiar life—a life of double consciousness, a life which had no single soul. There developed a "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on with amused contempt and pity." This was the age of slavery.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

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THE SECOND stage was the age of emancipation. The Negro felt himself free. There developed two warring ideals. Some Negroes insisted on going back to African culture or the country. They saw no salvation in the "white world." Others felt that they lost nothing "over there." The former group believed that no civilization is good enough to be bought at the price of social and economic ostracism. The latter group conceded the idea that the white man's civilization was so good that it is worth being bought at the price of any social ostracism. Still some held that the Negro simply had as much right here as any other, so why return to Africa? The latter reasoning is heroic.

It was during this stage of emancipation that the Negro made some wonderful and permanent gains in American social life. Great educators, lawyers, statesmen and religious leaders emerged. Their audacity, creativity, integrity and loyalty to a constitutional government commanded the attention and respect of the world. They gave the Americans of European descent a food for thought.

• • •

THE THIRD stage is a modified form of the second. It is essentially the age of reclamation. All Negro leaders of today Have agreed directly and indirectly on reclaiming their pride in descending from great and noble African ancestors. As a result, they agree that Africa and its problems are the concern of American Negroes as much as Europe is a concern of the Americans of European origin. This theory of reclamation has been interpreted by Negroes in several ways, depending on individual conception of what the African-Negro relationship should be. Some say: "We are first Americans, then we are also Africans because our forefathers belonged there. We shall not plan to go over there en masse, but we ought to keep our eyes open to watch the interests of our brothers there." Others say: "There is no place for black man in America. The only remedy is to go back to Africa." They are so many other theories. To me, all theories are matters of detail. The major fact is that all groups of Negroes are no more ashamed as before in claiming that Africa is their business. Consciously or not, all subscribe to the slogan "Africa for the Africans." This is true whether we believe in other aspects of Garvey theory or not.

The narrowness of the mind, the provincialism of the repressed personality, the indifference of the oppressed group, the resignation which typifies ostracised people have all left the Negro leaders. Their responsibility and social prestige in the scheme of human society is ever so clear to them now. The fulfilment of this trend of consciousness is manifested by the presence of such organizations as the NAACP, the National Council of Negro Women, the Garvey Movement, the West Indian groups, and the Council on African Affairs, and other religious and social leaders now in San Francisco.

THEIR VOICES may not be sufficientiy heard. But they are there to point out that European im-

perialism points dead arrows into the heart of African culture, and intends to leave the poison thereof to deaden the blood; that jim-crow-ism in America is a social misfit which must be uprooted as one of the results of the war against German master race-ism.

These Negro leaders are not going to perform miracles in San Francisco. They are expected to perform their duty to our race and humanity in proportion to the facilities left at their disposal. But immediate results are not so very important as permanent trend of events. The main fact is that the objective of the Negro has changed totally. He is grown to demand his right with irresistible determination; he is grown to say: "Although I am an American, I want to remain an American by right, but I am proud that I descended from the noble Africans whom we shall no more stand by and see the European gangsters devour them." That is the significance of the Negro in San Francisco.

AFRICA SPEAKS

There Can Be No Peace As Long As Master-Slave Nations Exist in the World

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

IT was nearly ten years ago that one African king bent on his knees with calm and dignity before the "civilized" world in Europe pleading for the general security of the world. At that time he found himself almost drowned by the bloody flood of Italian nationalism which, under Mussolini, was flourishing beneath the fog of mendacities.

During this period, the chord of European social orchestra was playing death, ruin, chaos and inequity. The political maniacs of Europe gave sanction to this fantasy. They imagined that small nations could be used through political hypnotism as the birds of sacrifice to the evil shadows of imperialism. It was an implacable act, marked with scenes of tragedy — a meretricious tragedy. Looking at this with a sense of universal responsibility, Haile Selassie exclaimed to the effect that Ethiopia's defeat was only a prelude to universal destruction of the whole world, and requested that all nations should rally to stop Fascist aggression in Africa. If the white world refuse to take up the responsibility, it is not only Ethiopia, but "the West shall perish."



Prince Nwafor Orizu

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HE WAS LAUGHED at. He is an African king. He has no physical force. Why bother about his useless prediction? So the madness in Europe was let loose. Imperialism went to work. The die was cast. One nation after another started to crumble from one continent to another. Then our France fell. Churchill wept. England was near her Ides of March. Brave men opened their large mouths, crying like women for "help" from everywhere, and some wanted that help even from the devil.

The conscience of the world was struck. America was awakened. Her weight was thrust against the forces of Fascism and Nazism. Japan opened her aggressive scene at Pearl Harbor. Hitler jumped at the impossible Russia. Now the pendulum started to swing. England started to breathe again, feeling that at last she was going to escape the atrocities designed by German imperialism. Two great continents have come to rescue her. Africa supplied her with food, essential war materials, strategic bases, manpower and moral collaboration. America turned up with her phenomenal power of rapid and efficient production. Lend-lease was instituted. Let nothing be said of the contributions made by India, Canada, Australia and some others.

* * *

TODAY THAT European war is over. All the predictions of the African king, to whom the West would not listen, have come to a

fulfillment. Again a chance to understand that the security of the peoples of the world is only one condition of a permanent security of individual nations whether small or big, is given us. There, in San Francisco, we have the rare opportunity to develop instrumentalities for the building of a new society of free men everywhere. But alas! the monstrous imperialism is back again. Belgium has forgotten what Congo meant to her very existence not long ago. France is already absent-minded of the deeds of the African peoples during her darkest days. His Majesty's Government will now be too busy to remember what Africa has meant to the safety of almost abandoned England. These debtors have slapped their undeniable creditors with the palm of ingratitude. That is the brand of European morality. And we are looking for peace . . . eternal peace.

Let us summarize the plan European nations have for Africa:

(1) No African nation under these ruthless Europeans is represented at San Francisco. (2) None of these European nations can foresee a day of independence for any African country under them. (3) Self-government is even a remote possibility which we shall expect to have when the master nations are in good humor to talk about it. (4) By so doing the African nations will still continue to remain economically abject beings, producing raw materials and living under slavery of General Smuts in South Africa. (5) As for England, Nigeria will be congratulated after this war by confiscating the minerals of the citizens of Nigeria under the name of the British Crown who would assume an uninvited role of a custodian for the political and economic children in Nigeria. What a world . . . peace on earth!

I SIMPLY cannot understand why no African representative of nations under European domination was invited to the United Nations' Conference at San Francisco. It is the most unnatural ostracism which nothing can ameliorate until something is definitely done about it.

We are talking about trusteeship. I guess that we really feel that the people of Africa have no idea of their own quite separate from whatever decision the United Nations might make in their absence. The principle of one nation holding another for anything, is an open sanction of slavery, only in a large scale. Nigeria belongs to England? The peoples or slaves of Nigeria may not move, transact, trade, talk or plan among the peoples of other so-called independent nations without the sanction of the slave masters in England: The final words from the master England must always direct the destiny of millions of Nigerians. The Congo market must be conducted according to what the rescued king of Belgium says. This kind of slavery is the freedom of Africa. It is a price for our lives and resources spent in the war. And gentlemen are talking about peace.

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THERE WILL be no peace, and certainly Africa does not want peace at any price. We want peace only when we are first a free people to enjoy the peace in our own way. We want peace when the collective slavery called imperialism is finally and unconditionally surrendered by England, France, Belgium, Spain and others. We thank Russia and China for their championship of the cause of colonial peoples. We hope that America may not be systematically involved into believing that there could be peace when India, Nigeria and others are yet in the hands of our ally—England.

AFRICA SPEAKS

The Bilbo Plan Will Not Solve the Negro Problem Here or in Africa

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

LETTERS have been pouring in here on my desk since the past week. Some of the correspondents expressed some desires, wishes and convictions about the idea of "Back to Africa," which Senator Bilbo advocates. "What do you think about this plan?" is the common question in all these letters I have received. The question is not

an easy one to answer.

In my last issue of May 19 in this column, I summarized (as far as the space permitted) the three major stages in the growth of the Negro mind in America. I stated various shades of opinions generally noted on the issue. We observed that some Negroes developed nationalism in terms of Africa; some advocated strict white Americanism in all things, others sanctioned a sort of American-African ideological and cultural amalgam as a healthy combination of the past and present attributes of Negro life. And then we noted that finally the total trend of the Negro mind culminated in an intelligent, deliberate and common sense inquiry into the affairs of the peoples of Africa.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

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TO ANSWER the present question, it may be necessary to distinguish between the salutary growth of the Negro mind and the proposal of Senator Bilbo. The birth of a new and legitimate interest of the American Negro in Africa is a result of pride in one's origin, self-discovery and independent thinking arising out of new education, social vision, political maturity, and the understanding of economic basis of our whole struggle. It is a new revelation—a new quest to redeem the liberty of the black man in a world that understands unity as the only basis for effective and enduring resistance. This is a matter of changing the objective. It is not a sign of resignation from American life. On the contrary, it is a way of strengthening and enriching the Negro life among other Americans.

The Bilbo plan of transporting the Negroes back to Africa en masse is something else. This plan is governed by a different motive. It has a different goal. It is based on an entirely divergent ideology from what prompts the Negroes' interest in Africa.

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WE MUST GUIDE against becoming over-sensitive over this proposal. Our enemies wanted us to do that. Calm analysis of the whole question may enable us to direct our energies to a healthy constructive social action which will symbolize maturity. We must avoid all shoutings, calling of names and unnecessary headlines, if we are going to achieve any internal unity which the Negro needs now to concretize the gains he has made during this world conflict. If the newspapers will encourage any foolish bickerings among the masses, we shall not be prepared to face the greater battle of our society which may come in the days of reaction which may follow the peace. The singleness of objective can demolish all evil designs of our officious friends.

First, the desire of some Negroes to go back and live in Africa is nothing abnormal. The Jews in America who may even be considered white, even with all their better advantages over the Negroes in America, are also in quest of a new home. It is a natural human instinct for nationalism which has swept the world since the middle of the past century. We must understand and sympathize with this section of Negroes and distinguish them from those Negrophobic individuals who just want to see Negroes extinguished from here because of their prejudices. These Negro nationalists have no use for those whom we think that they rely upon to attain what they call their dreams for a glorious nationhood in the motherland. Out of this sympathy we shall start instantly to re-educate them in the nature and scope of the Negro in the world, both here and in Africa.

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WE SHALL MAKE the masses of Negroes think by putting these questions before them: (1) "Will you like history to record that in the year 1945, the Negroes of America ran away from their white neighbors into Africa because they were not equal to live side by side with the white man?" (2) "Will the Negro do more for Africa by staying here or by going over there en masse?" (3) "Will the relationship between Africans and Negroes be better cemented by gradual intercourse and mutual aid or by spontaneous group im-

migration from America?" (4) "Does Africa need all kinds of American Negroes for the improvement of her education, health, economy and technology?" (5) "Why does not Mr. Bilbo present another bill requesting that himself and some others go back to Europe from which their ancestors came?" Such questions may help clear our minds if asked without rancor.

As an African, I have always been in favor of an intelligent collaboration between Africans and the Negroes everywhere, not only those in America. I include Haiti, West Indian Islands, South America and others. I feel that much of miseducation has denied the Negro outside of Africa from appreciating the heritage of his ancestors. I also feel that interest in post-war Africa will enable the American Negro to grow more and more, economically. With economic freedom, the psychology of life will be changed and the perspective will be widened. I do not think of this collaboration as something that should be imposed from the outside. Nor do I think that it will be done more easily by undiscriminated mass immigration.

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I HAVE ALREADY extended invitations to some of my intimate friends to be guests in my home when I go back to Nigeria. With such visits and gradual understanding we shall build a world consciousness of the unity of man on this little planet. This principle is consonant with Willkie's idea of One World. It is the gospel of the universal brotherhood of man. It is the theme of the Zikist philosophy.. It is the African way.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Only Education and Resolve of the People Can Really Free Africa

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

WHEN we talk about freedom for Africa, we usually forget that freedom is a condition. It is not a matter of mere talking or of making long speeches alone. When the condition which will make freedom inevitable is provided, the people are free, no matter whether the empire belongs to England or Belgium.

The real truth is that we are living in a new world of unbridled industrialism. And only two conditions are necessary to make a nation relatively free. The nation must have the necessary resources. At least iron, coal, oil, rubber, steel, tin and wood. Manpower is as indispensable as the food supply, apart from the consideration of the geographical location. To possess these things would mean nothing unless there is the intelligence to utilize them in the direct interest of the people who own them. Intelligence implies leadership as well as general mass education.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

CAN AFRICA be free? Do the people of Africa possess these essentials to material freedom? If they do, is there trained leadership in the field of essential industries? Anyone with some knowledge of Africa knows the answers to these questions. Africa has abundant natural resources. It was not long ago this year that an important discovery was made in Sierra-Leone, West Africa. The Imperial Institute discovered "A diamond the size of a hen's egg and weighing 770 carats." It was stated that this is the largest gem ever discovered in the alluvial deposit. The diamond, reported the Institute, "has an exceptionally fine color and weighs 44 carats more than the Vargas found in Brazil in 1938 . . ."

Take Nigeria as another example. Nigeria has a population more than Canada and Australia combined. It has an area four times as large as England. Outside of Bolivia, it has the largest tin depository in the world. To-

gether with the Gold Coast it has produced about three-fourths of the world's cocoa. Let nothing be said of its coal, iron, gold, rubber, manganese, silver, palm oil and natural oil. In spite of very bad argricultural methods, it has an abundant food supply.

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DO WE NEED any more mathematical proof to convince anyone that Africa is not by nature poor? Or do we need any orator to impress upon us the fact that the fate of Africa is terrible today only because we have no trained leadership in all fields of industries and industrial management? No doubt, we have political leadership in Africa. Men and women of Roosevelt, Churchill or Madam Chiang Kai-shek calibre are all there in Africa. But they are on the top. The masses of humanity through whom the wheel of industry can run are yet unawakened. They need education very badly.

I know that while I was in Nigeria, I never was counted among the brightest students of my class. The reason why I find myself in America is partly because I have the family that can pay my way

Probably the same thing is true of some other Africans who study here. The brightest students in Africa are always left behind. They grow and perish under the canopy of artificial poverty and want like the flowers which flourish unseen in the desert air. And I do not know how we can have any freedom without educating the men and women of the new generation who will build and hold the modern pillars of freedom. We must train Africans who can manage our electrical and water powers, transportation system, health programs, new agricultural methods, manufacturing factories, banking operation, chemical appliances and other vital items that make an effective national life.

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THE RATE of illiteracy in Africa is something too shameful to talk about. No part of Africa has more than ten per cent literacy. Most have less. Illiteracy is the cause of our poverty, ill-health, malnutrition, infant mortality, childbirth tragedies, and induced hunger.

Whenever I think of freedom, I think of the people. I never refer to the upper crust of the society who are always free—since to me, freedom is a condition of the mind. Africa is not free simply because the masses of humanity there are not mentally free. When the mental reservoir of the African masses is generated for activity, then only shall Africa be truly free. Shouting and swearing at the European imperialists cannot save Africa. The San Francisco Conference cannot do it. Making the world know about our culture and grievances cannot help us at present. The key to African redemption is the presence of intelligent leadership and enlightened masses. The combination of such factors can turn the natural resources of the continent into useful, social purposes. No more, no less.

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WE MAY BEAT about the bush for centuries yet to come; we may continue to look for up town train on the down town side of the street, but not until we realize that education is the only key to African freedom, shall we be able to direct our energies to one channel.

When the program of Russian redemption was inaugurated, the Russians did not begin by telling the world to recognize Russia. They did not do it by talking about Russian culture. They boiled down to the brass tack. They set up program to educate the Russian youth.

Life is a demonstration, it is a matter-of-fact, it is accomplishments; freedom is a condition, an attained social consciousness, a companion of mental emancipation; it is not a fruitless barking like dogs at the forces of reaction without any plans to remove the chains which bind the common man. We cannot talk imperialism out of Africa. We cannot petition it out. Only EDUCATION and the RESOLVE of the PEOPLE can free Africa.

AFRICA SPEAKS

American Council Has Good Program for Educating Africans

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

IN my last week's column I prescribed what may be called necessary ingredients for freedom in Africa. My prescription was that EDUCATION is the most important instrument to be used in cutting off all the shackles of imperialism in any African country. The next question may be: what kind of education, where and how to get it?

The program of the American Council on African Education answers some aspects of these questions. This council was founded and incorporated here in New York City in April, 1944. It has two main related platforms: 1. That education — mass education — is the most important thing to be tackled in the new process of African reconstruction, democratization and unification. 2. That the educational problems will be solved through two simultaneous processes: (a) by sending advanced students of Africa to other countries of the world for higher education; (b) by establishing public schools in Africa to accommodate all the children of school age, and also introduce adult education on a universal scale. These will be strengthened by building higher institutions of learning.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

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THE ESTABLISHMENT of public schools in Africa—for there are none now—will be the sole responsibility of the Africans themselves. No outsider can really solve the problem. In a country like Nigeria where the Emirs and the Obis still exercise considerable influence over the treasuries of their respective state governments, the only task is to induce the rulers and their councils to appropriate adequate funds for public education. The process is already taking some healthy form. I understand that the Emir of Kano (northern Nigeria) has recently introduced compulsory education for his state. That, of course, is an exception to the rule. Closely related to the tack of the rulers, is the responsibility of the African tax payer. He must be enlightened to be willing to pay his taxes for the better education of the community. But to be able to pay taxes means to have access to a steady and comfortable income. The masses of Africa are essentially non-wage earners. Those of them who live by wages receive inconceivably small return.

This brings us directly to the question of our proposal to send advanced students to all important centers of learning everywhere in the world. They will have the opportunity to acquire knowledge for leadership in essential fields of industry. Fair wages, development of the natural resources, and opening of larger employment opportunities can never be realized unless the Africans themselves become experts in handling the mechanical, monetary and civic aspects of the continent. And not until this is done can the tax payer be in a position to support public schools and universities on a large scale.

* * *

HIGHER EDUCATION for the masses of the people is not available in Africa. There are colleges here and there. Most of them are mission-supported with limited scope and orthodox methods which are inadequate to answer the urgent questions of the whole masses, most of whom are not their converts and therefore, out of the fold. There are few schools founded by independent Africans, such as Aggrey Memorial College, founded by Mr. Ikoku, and also People's Institute, founded by Eyo Ita, both of Nigeria. But on the whole, universities, as we know them here, are either completely absent or too expensive for the poor.

The American Council on African Education recognizes all these

conditions, and has set its purposes to meet some of these demands. Full information about our purposes and achievements may be obtained by writing to our national office at 55 West Forty-second Street, New York City, or to our branch office at 5619 South State Street, Chicago, where John H. Johnson is the president of the branch. We intend to establish other branches in other central cities of the Nation.

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THE PURPOSE of this council is to obtain scholarships from American universities for qualified Africans who may have enough money to come here otherwise. We have already obtained 150 such scholarship grants from leading white and Negro colleges. Among them are Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Boston, Ohio State, Wilberforce, Morehouse, Detroit, and many others. These scholarships cover tuition expenses only, although in a few instances there has been a more generous offer.

The first country of our concentration is America. American education is more practical, more down-to-the-earth than the philosophical abracadabras of the decaying Europe. It is more democratic because it lays emphasis on personality and its development, in terms of the way of enjoying living, through individual effort and understanding of the mechanisms of progressive and creative life.

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THE AMERICAN Council on African Education has a philosophy of independent action and African initiative. It, therefore, stands as a test of an ideal—whether we can for the first time find some men and women in Europe and America who will join us in a program which we initiate for the emancipation of our own society. We are neither apologetic nor stubborn. We are looking for the genuine cooperation. In doing this we must endeavor to train the Africans in a most favorable, independent atmosphere, so that they may grow with unfettered spirit and untrammelled intelligence, consonant with democratic ideals and the spirit of world citizenship.

Next time we shall discuss the immediate task of this worthy program.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Now Is the Time for the United States to Cling to Ickes' Dictum on Colonies

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

THE New York Times reported on June 11, that "Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, has telegraphed a request to the American delegation (to San Francisco) to change its stand and try to write into the United Nations Charter a promise of independence for all colonial peoples." Mr. Ickes' argument was "that if the Americans failed to win incorporation of the principle of independence for people under colonial as well as mandate administration, this might be regarded as a reversal of traditional United States policies." This move of the Secretary of the Interior is especially significant. But we cannot quite appreciate his point of view unless we survey briefly what he has in mind when he said that failure to support independence for colonials "might be regarded as a reversal of United States policies."



Prince Nwafor Orizu

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THE UNITED STATES foreign policy has not been regular. It has been largely dictated by some major factors of her domestic problems and the prevailing international circumstances. We shall begin with the birth of the United States as a new nation. The founding fathers founded a government on the highest and noblest moral principles of which man was capable.

The revolution that gave birth to this concept of government was precipitated by certain inhumanities imposed upon the colonial Americans by King George III and his astigmatic ministers. Aside from the basic economic inequali-

ties which were behind the whole struggle, America was born as a babe of a new philosophy of government based on Locke's political idea. John Locke wrote his "Two Treatises on Government" in 1690 with an aim to justify the bloodless Revolution of 1688 in England. The American revolutionists used this philosophy as the instrument to destroy the British imperialism in North America.

Natural law, which prescribed human rights, was the axis around which the whole political argument revolved. It was contended that there are natural human rights which are beyond the authority of man-made laws and legislatures and crowns. These natural laws are synonymous with human liberty and no legislature can overrule them.

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UNDER THE CANOPY of such political convictions, the young, almost imbecile, and yet ebullient America opened her early international policy. Certain things were characteristic of her. She was self-conscious, internationally. She was in favor of "away from Europeanisms." She recognized the need for territorial expansion here. Later, her policy was guarded by the Civil War psychology: safeguarding the Union against foreigners, reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine, and the expansion in the Pacific. This was followed by insistence on the "Open Door." It was also at this time that she challenged the European greed in China. And one cannot forget that while she was assigned a sum of $24,000,000 from the Boxer Indemnity which cost her only $11,000,000, the United States refused to take the whole money from China. Thirteen million dollars of this sum was given back to China, and it was alloted for the education of the Chinese in this country.

After the first World War, Woodrow Wilson reasserted the principles of the United States in the Fourteen Points. The Europeans blocked it. And the seed for a new war was thereby sown before the peace was concluded. After the peace, there emerged world-wide depression, which created unrest everywhere. Then Franklin D. Roosevelt came to power. He came with the zeal of a Christian, a prophet, a savior, a visionary, a practical politician, and an internationalist.

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IN 1933, during his inaugural address, he said: "In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others; the neighbor who respects his obligation and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors." The Good Neighbor Policy was tried in Haiti. In the Recognition Doctrine, in relation with Panama, in Latin-America, in the Non-Intervention Principle, and in Mexico. In all these, Mr. Roosevelt proved himself a great American who respects the rights of others as a natural counterpart of our human existence. This policy reached its most glorious peak in the question of independence of the Philippines.

Today in San Francisco, the leadership of America is at a great test — whether, in spite of her eagerness to keep good relations with the powers of Europe, she will be able to champion the cause that all the founding and subsequent fathers of America have cherished very dearly. The natural right of man to rule himself—right to independence is the traditional policy of the United States. America has grown great under this conviction. The world is anxiously waiting to see whether America shall really permit herself to be mixed up in the historically and morally thankless and inglorious undertaking of perpetuating the fallacy that there are other human beings who cannot govern themselves independently. We must listen to the voice of America, which echoed in the telegram of Harold L. Ickes. Or we must sing good-bye to the age-long noble principle of the United States.

AFRICA SPEAKS

There Should Be Closer Interchange Between Africans and Negroes

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

DR. DuBOIS' chief objective now is to get hold of the Africans through their legitimate leaders everywhere, and thereby get the first-hand information in relation to the true aspirations and obstacles confronting them. He hopes that through that method, the world will be in possession of the truth about Africans and peoples of African descent.

I think that his approach is sound. And there is no reason why the Pan-African Congress will not be enlarged in scope and intent for a greater purpose. I object, however, to the fact that the Pan-African Congress is always held in European countries. There is no need for such a procedure. I know that it may be difficult to hold such conferences in European dominated African countries, but what about Liberia, Ethiopia or Egypt? Why not request the Nigerian kings to permit the congress members to use a hall there? If the British Government in Nigeria refuses such a proposal (I do not believe they will) why not tell the world? Probably that may serve as an incentive to integrate the black peoples against a common enemy. Why not hold the meeting in Ashanti? Why not in Uganda? And if all this fail, why not in the United States, where we have a very large number of Negroes? We must stop Europeanizing our identity, and while we shall cooperate, let us distinguish our own handiwork from European identification. This is not racial isolationism. It is only a matter of self-identity and pride which other races have in abundance.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

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DR. MAX YERGAN has a very vital organization here under the presidency of Paul Robeson. The Council on African Affairs ought to attract the interest of all Negroes. And it may be one of the vehicles for the mutual understanding which we need.

Men like Dr. DuBois, Dr. Yergan, Walter White, George Schuyler, Ira Lewis, A. A. Spaulding, Mrs. Bethune, and others should visit Africa, and speak in forums and to large audiences there. Duke Ellington ought to play in the Mbadiwe Hotel in Kaduna Junction where the Eastern, Northern and Western Nigerian Railway lines meet. The dramatic Adam Powell ought to preach the word of God to the Yorubas in the metropolis of Lagos. I am sure that Marian Anderson's century voice will ring more thrillingly in the clear atmosphere of the romantic and ever shining Africa. Brain trusts among the Negroes: the philosopher, Alain Locke; the historian, Charles Wesley; the orator, Mordecai Johnson; the writer, Richard Wright; the lawyer and statesman, Judge James Watson; the editor, Carl Murphy, and those of their ilk should make serious efforts to spend their next summer vacation in some districts in Africa. Young Negroes should be able to locate and account for places like Katanga, Kano, Freetown, Ashanti, Bamamgwato, Matabele, Jos, or Monrovia. And I wonder how many Negroes know where and why—these mentioned historical places. They are all in Africa and they mean much to our past and future history.

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IN EQUAL measure, and for the effective solidarity necessary the Africans should reciprocate in the matter of inter-visiting. Africans ought to know more about the Haitian struggle then and now. They should concern themselves with what happens in the West Indies. And more, they should be familiar with such names as Harlem, Mississippi,, Daughters of the American Revolution, Crispus At-

tucks, Madam Walker, Father Divine (whatever that may mean); they should be acquainted with the historical development of Negroes in the United States, both constitutionally and socially.

These things cannot be done overnight nor by impatient diagnostics. We must develop long-range view of our destiny. I have mentioned to a friend that we cannot grow to any magnitude by seeing nothing but what is quite close to us, abiding to the present moment only, taking appearance for reality, judging by sight, fighting with words, living by imitation, and preferring trifles to concreteness, adequacy and power.

* * *

WE CANNOT abide with the silly and wanton idea that this world is so good that all we have to do is to grow without collective planning, influence without inner solidarity, control without concentrated pressure, master and impress others without mastering and impressing our own selves. All that is day dream and hallucination.

Negroes must integrate and cooperate. Sometimes the cooperation will take a spiritual form. In some cases it will take a tangible manifestation to make it work. In others, it may require give and take. Whichever way you take it, there is a serious cry by nature all the world around, that a people under one God, born of the same flesh and originating from the same tree, should, in a decentralized-centralized method, learn more about each other, laugh together, work together, and when necessary, die together.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Wishes of African Colonials Do Not Count—His Majesty Plans Their Fate and Government

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

IN April, 1945, the African Student Association of the United States and Canada sent a memorandum to Oliver Stanley of the British Colonial Office. A part of the memorandum read: "The African Student Association, recognizing the enormous need for the political and economic development of non-sovereign African countries, earnestly and respectfully declares:

1—That in order to speed up the pace of democracy and progress in all British-held African countries, it favors political independence for all such countries.

2—That the British Colonial Office now enter into agreement with the respective West African countries . . . specifying when and how Britain will liquidate her imperialism in each country.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

3—That the date for the complete independence of Nigeria and the Gold Coast be definitely set.

4—That in the interim, a responsible self-government be proclaimed in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia.

5—That all non-Africans be prohibited by law from exercising the voting privilege and from holding public office in African countries except such offices as are necessitated by the plan of this interim or handing-over period.

6—That the British governors cooperate with the leaders of the various political parties in Nigeria and the Gold Coast to create a Constitutional Committee charged with the function of drafting a national constitution which shall be ratified in 1949 and promulgated in 1950.

On June 11, the Colonial Office wrote to the President of the African Student Association as follows:

"2—Colonel Stanley has read this memorandum and has taken note of the desires expressed by its authors regarding the political status of British Colonial territories in Africa.

3.—As the authors of this memorandum are aware, it is the declared policy of His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom to foster the development of self-governing institutions in the colonies. Such development must, however,

be a continuing process, and the stages in it cannot be prescribed in advance in a pre-arranged time table."

Democracy in England, is this your end? Is it British democracy that is saying to free-thinking Africans: "In a vital matter of your own freedom, you must accept the declared policy of His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom to be your guiding light. Disregard your opinions, for you have none. The King of England, the Lion of the United Kingdom, has decreed; let no man challenge."

Compare this with the statement made by Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt. Both of them said in the Atlantic Charter: "They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." Compare this with the Charter of the United Nations of which England is one of the proponents: The charter was drawn: "To affirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small."

England will make the greatest blunder of all times if she truly believes that "good boys" in Africa will continue to swallow all manner of political and economic filth with which we have been fed for nearly a century. The days of accepting the gospel of "His Majesty's policy" as God-sent are gone.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Wishes of African Colonials Do Not Count—His Majesty Plans Their Fate and Government

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

IN April, 1945, the African Student Association of the United States and Canada sent a memorandum to Oliver Stanley of the British Colonial Office. A part of the memorandum read: "The African Student Association, recognizing the enormous need for the political and economic development of non-sovereign African countries, earnestly and respectfully declares:

1—That in order to speed up the pace of democracy and progress in all British-held African countries, it favors political independence for all such countries.



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2—That the British Colonial Office now enter into agreement with the respective West African countries . . . specifying when and how Britain will liquidate her imperialism in each country.

3—That the date for the complete independence of Nigeria and the Gold Coast be definitely set.

4—That in the interim, a responsible self-government be proclaimed in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia.

5—That all non-Africans be prohibited by law from exercising the voting privilege and from holding public office in African countries except such offices as are necessitated by the plan of this interim or handing-over period.

6—That the British governors cooperate with the leaders of the various political parties in Nigeria and the Gold Coast to create a Constitutional Committee charged with the function of drafting a national constitution which shall be ratified in 1949 and promulgated in 1950.

On June 11, the Colonial Office wrote to the President of the African Student Association as follows:

"2—Colonel Stanley has read this memorandum and has taken note of the desires expressed by its authors regarding the political status of British Colonial territories in Africa.

3.—As the authors of this memorandum are aware, it is the declared policy of His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom to foster the development of self-governing institutions in the colonies. Such development must, however, be a continuing process, and the stages in it cannot be prescribed in advance in a pre-arranged time table."

Democracy in England, is this your end? Is it British democracy that is saying to free-thinking Africans: "In a vital matter of your own freedom, you must accept the decl..ed policy of His Majesty's government in the United Kingdom to be your guiding light. Disregard your opinions, for you have none. The King of England, the Lion of the United Kingdom, has decreed; let no man challenge."

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AFRICA SPEAKS

Passing of Minerals Ordinance Of 1945 in Nigeria Is An Abuse of Trust

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

THE days of Cain's indifference are gone. Those countries which grow rotten rich in Africa because of the "privacy" of the "Dark Continent" are becoming aware of the fact that whatever they do nowadays in the remotest part of the world is clearly visible to the awakened humanity. The new day is the offspring of a new sun that reflects on all the concealed iniquities. The hidden caves of our social world have been blown open by the hurricane of science. War has accentuated the whole advance. What has happened in Africa today is not only thrown open to the knowledgeable world, but is invariably connected with the whole economic scheme of America, Europe and Asia.



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When the British first arrived in Nigeria, our forefathers greeted them with rebuff. But they told them, with all the air of righteousness, that they were the messengers of goodwill—to bring love through Christianity, to establish legitimate trade in place of slave-trade, and to protect the Nigerians from the robbery of other Europeans. Nigerians were honest-to-God believers in hospitality and humanity. They mistakingly projected their inner life into others, and, hence, took the words of the British on the face value.

* * *

IN 1885, the British stood before the trubunal of all nations meeting in Berlin, and with all flavor of humanitarianism declared that Nigeria is being protected by England. The kings of individual states in Nigeria were made to understand that the British did not intend to take our land or anything therein from us, since our land system makes it impossible for anyone to, sell his land as such to a stranger. The Niger Company (British) made some unilateral and highly questionable "agreements" with some of our rulers whereby some mining concessions were made in certain areas—not in all.

Under the title of "Protectorate" the majority of the Nigerians have been led to believe that here was one African country where the "Tragedy of Lobengalo" did not repeat itself. The British appeared to have shown for the first time in Anglo-African relations, a true spirit of treaty-making. I personally was intoxicated with this illusion. I have often maintained on American platforms that Nigeria, being a protectorate with the possible and factually questionable ex-

ception of Lagos, is internally and economically free, except for the chains of ignorance of how to make use of our resources. I never thought or believed it possible, that the British had designs to prevent our economic growth. All this, because of my belief in the spirit of our protectorate status which gives us freedom to the ownership of our land which we have always enjoyed for centuries. I thought that with mass education, Nigeria would have nothing to fear by thinking that the British will place obstacles in the direction of our industrial development.

* * *

THE MINERALS ORDINANCE of 1945 introduced and forced upon the people through a controlled legislature in Nigeria is the most incredible assault upon the rights of man. A part of the bill reads: "The entire property in and control of all minerals and mineral oils in, under or upon any lands in Nigeria, shall be vested in the Crown (BRITISH)."

The General Secretary of the Nigerian National Council said: "I say that the British Government in Nigeria has no such rights, not if Nigeria is a protectorate . . . " to vest the Nigerian mineral rights in their Crown. The Nigerian National Council is composed of one hundred and twenty separate unions with membership of seven million Nigerians. Its president is Herbert Macauly, and the general secretary is Mnamdi Azikiwe, editor and publisher of the Zik's Syndicate Dailies.

* * *

THIS ORDINANCE violated the land law of Nigeria. Nigeria is essentially composed of family-states. The law prescribes that the family or the state under a king which holds right to a piece of land has the sole right to its use. "No individual, no collectivity has, then, actual property rights to the land of which he is not a proprietor." Our state-family system makes our land inalienable, and the right of investiture must not be in one person, even our kings. And yet, the British Government, which claims to bring law, order and justice to Nigeria has diabolically violated the most sacred law of our land. Be this recorded, that Nigerians consider this act as the highest treachery backed with physical force and political intimidation. It is neither friendly nor protective.

Terror in Nigeria

The world was electrified last week when news leaked out that British imperialists were prepared to use the most extreme measures in putting down the strike of 150,000 Nigerian coal miners, railroad workers, civil servants and others who are trying to get a minimum wage of sixty cents a day.

Presently they are only getting fifty cents a day, a mere pittance when it is considered that prices have gone sky high for all the necessities of life in Nigeria as in other parts of the world.

The conditions under which these black workers toil are almost unbelievable, with children between nine and twelve years of age working twelve hours a day in tin and coal mines, carrying loads up to sixty-five pounds and colored bus drivers and conductors getting one-third the wages paid European workers for similar tasks.

The workers in Nigeria are powerfully organized in sixty-four trade unions corresponding to the various industries and occupations, and those unions are gathered into the Nigeria Trade Union Congress.

This organization, at its congress in 1944, adopted resolutions demanding industrialization of the colony and nationalization of important industries.

The workers also asked for unemployment and health insurance, and for improvement of housing conditions and educational facilities.

The intellectual leader of this movement is undoubtedly Nnamdi Azikiwe, Lincoln University Graduate and editor of the West African Pilot and the Daily Comet

Unable to settle the strike without bloody repression, the British are now threatening to banish this militant African leader and suppress his two papers.

All this is going on while Prime Minister Churchill is meeting with President Truman and Premier Stalin for the perpetuation of peace and the building of a better world for the oppressed of the earth.

It would seem to any reasonable person that the establishment of a better world would logically begin in the areas controlled by Britain itself.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Arrest of Azikiwe Brings to Head Differences in Nigerian Conception of British Relations

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

THE shoes of British colonial fascism in Nigeria pinch acutely. The tightness of the squeeze has produced a social convulsion. The day of reckoning is dawning with compelling clearness. The insipid history of British imperialism is again on one of its cycles. The different conceptions of life which divide the Nigerian and the English worlds are being forced to the foreground. Thanks to the bull-headed Governer, Arthur Richards. It may be that God has designated Governor Richards to quicken the time when the British and Nigerians will answer ultimate questions about the relations between the two countries.



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Today, there is a general strike of 150,000. The workers wanted 60 cents daily wage, that is all. The British refused this. The British Government there failed to appease the "good boys" in Nigeria by the niceties of "His Majesty's Policy." Several union leaders were imprisoned. That only inflamed the situation. Governor Richards decided to take revenge on Nnamdi Azikiwe, the editor, publisher of the West African Pilot and its syndicates, and the General Secretary of the National Council of Nigeria, which has about 7 million membership.

Azikiwe cabled to the world through London saying:

"I have reason to believe that my life is in danger, in view of the fact that all local high officials wrongly suspect me to be at the bottom of present general strike because I am a journalist with strong views. It its obvious I cannot rely on official protection. I would have preferred being charged and tried in open court. I may be banished from Nigeria for supporting strikers demanding 60 cents daily wage. Should I be banished, such might create serious repercussions which, neither myself nor any responsible Nigerian cherishes.

. . . Appeal to American Negroes and progressive public opinions on my behalf, and cause of the workers."

• • •

TO KNOW fully who Azikiwe is, what he represents in Africa, we should read Sec. VI, chapter 17-21, of "Without Bitterness." There, a brief life history, philosophy, and the influence of Azikiwe were discussed as has never been done before.

Azikiwe is not a labor leader. He is the General Secretary of the Nigerian National Council, which is the largest and all-inclusive Nigerian and Cameroons organization. He owns four daily newspapers in Nigeria. Azikiwe is a spiritual leader of West Africa—a mass magnet of Nigeria. He is the symbol of the Nigerian mind, as opposed to all the things that

negate freedom and liberty in Africa. Once he said: "I am a living spirit of an idea—the idea of a NEW AFRICA; I am a living spirit of an ideal—the ideal of a man's humanity to man; I am a living spirit of an ideology—the ideology of the destruction of man's inhumanity to man."

To appreciate the spiritual depth of these words is understanding Nnamdi Azikiwe, whom the British Governor, Richards, has suppressed, threatening his life and jeopardizing his property.

* * *

WHY WERE all these things done when Azikiwe is neither a railway worker nor the labor leader? Why should a private citizen of Nigeria operating a private enterprise be threatened with banishment? Why will the British Government in Nigeria blame another man for a labor strike, of which he is not a part? Thoughtful Americans must understand the inside-out of the secret.

Underneath all the questions of the strike and the suppression of the press is the seething question of British-Nigerian relations, which has been taking a bad turn since the coming of Governor Richards.

The most recent issues are the so-called New Constitution for Nigeria, the Minerals Ordinance, and the bill affecting the deposition of Nigerian Rulers at the will of the dictator-governor.

* * *

THESE BILLS and ordinances made it clear that Great Britain and Nigeria have cherished different notions of their relation to one another; and we are becoming conscious that unless this question is determined, then friendly connection will soon be destroyed. To a Nigerian, land and its vegetable and mineral products come as sacred property that is inseparable from individual and collective personality. Governor Richards has erroneously introduced a bill to alienate the mineral rights of Nigeria to the British Crown. A new constitution has been imposed upon us through a dominated Legislature. Our masses are deprived of equitable wages for their labor. Our kings have no power save as prescribed by foreign dictator at Lagos. Now, the freedom of speech is impaired. The life of a leader of 7 million people is threatened.

Nigerians are struggling now only to impress the Nigerian conception of law and justice upon the British Government. The British Government, if tactful, should listen to our own interpretation of laws of life and society, while world opinion will judge between us in terms of all the fundamental freedoms for which the Allies said they fought Nazi Germany and Japan.

AFRICA SPEAKS

The Destiny of Africa Is On the Balances As New Nations Rise to World Power

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

"NO man of woman born, coward or brave, can shun his destiny," were the words of Homer. And once I asked in wonder: "And where is destiny?, Is it an achieved end? Is it an accomplished fact? Is it colossal imaginations and dreams turned into reality? For instance, was Hitler destined to conquer, or was he a product of circumstance,

and his achievements really the results of German enterprise? Was Napoleon a destined immortal of France, born to conquer and be conquered, or was he an offspring of the French Revolution?" With these questions in mind, I continued to doubt: "Is white man's supremacy in things material at this stage of our social evolution a destiny? Are the Africans destined to be colonial peoples and to be forever content with the share of a dog at the table of international harvest?"



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To all these questions I answered: "No! Destiny is an impartial god—it follows him who wills, attends him who must, joins him who can. There is no destiny if there is no enterprise, no destiny if there is no plan, and no destiny where there is no determined spirit."

• • •

TODAY, THE DESTINY of Africa is on the balances. The noisy world has awakened the sleeping giant. The sons and daughters of Africa are faced with blazing flames of the whole revolution in our time. Since destiny is parallel with resolution and readiness to act, it has an inherent element of either cataclysm or tranquility. If two opposing destinies collide, the result is cataclysmic; if they are channelled for a single purpose, there is a social equilibrium.

Samuel Grafton described the conditions of our own age as "a disorder without much history or precedent." But I think that the disorder of our own age has history. It may not have precedent. I refuse to call our age a disorderly time. Indeed, it is a new age of a New Order of Destiny—the destiny of man to understand himself and be whatever God has made him. Call it democracy. Call it Communism. Call it Socialism. Call it Zikism. It is all the forces of a new destiny. It is sweeping Europe clean. It attempts to silence the arrogant voices of Fascism and Toryism. It undertakes to crush imperialism. It challenges racial absurdities. It is the champion of economic security for all.

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IT IS ON THIS threshold of a new universal development that Africa finds herself. The grim struggle to set human energy free in Africa has started. It is bound to collide with the opposing forces of reaction and imperialism. But the reactionaries will soon realize that they are confronted with a new social force which is pregnant with all the combustible social engines ever ready to devastate the ruins and dry woods of acrimonious edifice of man's inhumanity to man.

The symptoms of collective discontent are present all over Africa. The earthquake of people's destiny is shaking the Nigerian world today. The cure will come when the Europe which thinks that it knows all things and can control all things, will learn to respect the rights of man in Africa. Economic and political freedom are the essential bases for the working of the United Nations Charter. This is not the day when "Britain would, if she could, manufacture and trade for all the World—England for all Britain—London for all England—and every Londoner for all London. New nations are born. There is Russia. Here is the United States. There are South American countries. China is rising. All these have new destiny for the world. Their influence and sense of freedom will have a serious effect on Africa of today and tomorrow. Africa is bound to march with them, and unless the decaying Europe awakens to these facts, the whole world will leave her behind in oblivion. But the destiny of Africa will go marching on!

AFRICA SPEAKS

NC XV.

Nigerian Workers Swear Never to Surrender Their Demands From Government

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.

WITHOUT any comment, I am reproducing the general strike situation in Nigeria in this column for the interested readers. The extract is from the London Tribune, July 13. It runs as follows: "Last Saturday, thousands of angry Nigerian strikers, at a mass rally at Lagos, swore 'by Mother Africa and the departed spirits of our ancestors

that we shall never surrender until the Government grants us our legitimate demands.' During the past three weeks over 150,000 Nigerian employes went on strike for a minimum of 2s. 6d. (roughly fifty cents) a day to meet the rise in the cost of living.



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"A recent appeal by the African Civil Servants Technical Workers Union, addressed to the Governor, Arthur Richards, pointed out that, before the war workers lived in families of three or four with children in rooms, some of which measured 10 ft. by 10 ft. This was a direct result of the miserable wages paid by the Government. Today, the situation is aggravated by an abnormal rise in rents. Prices of foodstuffs and imported goods have soared, stocks are scarce, the health of the community is becoming impaired, victims of "TB" are increasing from day to day. The appeal ended: 'Have we fought this war in order to be exterminated by starvation? We appeal to British sense of justice for timely redress.'

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"THE GOVERNOR ignored the workers' appeal, and goaded into desperation, the leaders of the Trade Union Congress issued a strike call to all Government employes. The response was immediate. Within three days thousands of workers, organized into the following unions, were out: The Railway and Engineering Workshops, African Civil Servants Technical Workers, African Land and Survey Technical Workers, Nigerian Marine African Workers, Public Works Union, African Locomotive Drivers, Government Sawmill Workers, Nigeria Union of Nurses, African Inspectors' Posts and Telegraph, African Railway Topographical Workers, African Railway Station Masters.

"Other non-Government workers later joined in sympathy with the Government employes.

"Alarmed by these developments, certain of the African leaders attempted to call off the strike, but they were immediately repudiated by the workers and expelled from office. Among them was T. A. Bankole, the president of the Nigeria TUC, who represented the Nigerian labor movement at the World Trade Union Conference in London last February. He has been replaced by A. O. Imoudu, a former president of the Railway Workers Union, who like Wallace Johnson, of Sierra Leone, was held in detention for four years under the local Defense Regulations.

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"HE WAS ONLY released from exile on June 2, when he returned to Lagos riding on a white horse and was publicly acclaimed by thousands of workers.

"When the strike started, the Governor was in London holding consultations with officials at the Colonial Office. He immediately flew back to West Africa to take charge of the situation.

"Sir Arthur Richards has the reputation of being a strong-handed pro-Consul, and was responsible for restoring 'law and order' in Jamaica during the labor riots in that island in 1938.

"His first move was to issue a statement threatening to withhold the strikers' wages for June, and to cancel the pensions and gratuities of those Civil Servants entitled to such benefits.

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"WHEN THIS FAILED to intimidate the men, he ordered the ar-

rest of four workers' leaders, charging them with participating in an illegal strike. They were later discharged. Then he tried appeasement, promising not to victimize the leaders if they appealed to the strikers to return to work. But the men refused. Then the Governor accused the workers of sabotage on the transport and communications system leading to the derailment of a train at a place called Oshodi and of cutting telephone lines connecting the capital with parts of the interior of the country.

"Arising out of this charge, ten strike leaders have been arrested; one was subsequently released, and the others will stand trial.

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"**THE GOVERNOR** has imposed a rigid press censorship and reintroduced the wartime Defense Regulations which were rescinded after the end of the European War last May. Under these regulations constitutional government has been suspended and the Governor has assumed dictatorial powers. He now has the right to suppress any newspaper publishing news or criticisms which, in his opinion, would encourage discontent, ill-feeling, or disturb the tranquility of any section of Nigeria. Editors guilty of any of these offenses will be fined 500 pounds or imprisonment for two years or both.

"As a protest against this suppression of free opinion, the West African Pilot and Daily Comet, two of the leading Nigerian dailies, appeared with their editorial pages blank. Now both these papers have been suppressed for criticising certain union leaders who are advocating an approach to the Governor. The Government, on the other hand, issued a daily bulletin edited by the Public Relatins Office, presenting the official piont of view.

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"AT THE MASS RALLY last Saturday, when the strikers swore their tribal oath not to resume work, they also reasserted their demands.

"First, they want the Government to pay them in full for the time they have been on strike. Second, the pensions and gratuities of African Civil Servants must be guaranteed. Third, the Government must give an assurance not to victimize the men, especially their leaders. Fourth, all arrested leaders must be released, and, last, but not least, the original demand for a 2s. 6d. wage increase must be granted.

"According to the latest information reaching London, the strike is spreading to workers in private European enterprises."

AFRICA SPEAKS

How British Labor Government Can Have Meaning for Africa

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

A FRIEND of mine who knew that I was not feeling well about two weeks ago, wrote me a short letter saying: "I trust that you have recovered from your recent slight indisposition. The ousting of Churchill ought to make you feel good."

I do not know whether the ousting of Churchill as such would make me feel good although I jumped out of my bed immediately the first radio announcement was made that Clement Attlee had become the King's Prime Minister to liquidate the British economic and political anachronisms at home and abroad. I have no quarrel with Mr. Churchill. I never did. I simply disagree with the philosophy of Churchill's age. I disagree with it because I am aware that it is a philosophy of a decadent past. I recognize that



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Churchill is not altogether responsible for his doings. He is a particular personality who symbolizes a different social order which is happily bidding good-bye to a new world of common men.

Churchill is a great Englishman because he loves England and has defended it. I honor him for that. But he knows now that the "eye sees not itself so well as by reflection." Public opinion in England has performed the function of a mirror, and I guess that Winnie knows now how the philosophy he reflects looks to the eyes of the people's mind.

* * *

WHAT ABOUT Labor Government in relation to Africa? Let there be no mistakes. There are changeless as well as changeable things in political affairs. English society, like any other, is susceptible to all these. Mr. Attlee is not going to become a Jove. No magic is to be expected. But there are also certain points which the African mind must be concerned with. How would a socialist program affect African countries? If socialism means nationalization of some basic industries to an Englishman, shall that be applauded by a Nigerian, also? Such a program, if carried out in England, will directly benefit the common Englishman who voted the Labor Party to office. But will that be true in African countries?

Let us take Nigeria as an example. The British Governor in Nigeria is appointed by authorities in England. The people have no authority, not even a suggestive voice, as to who will be the Governor. The Governor, in turn, selects his cabinet, or the so-called Executive Council, without consulting the people. All of these selectees are British, and British-appointed Africans. The legislature comprises Governor - nominated members, and not more than three Nigerians are elected by voters who must meet property qualifications. The whole thing is a government by a dictator-Governor.

HOW CAN socialism, nationalization of basic industries, affect the common man in a country like that? The heads of departments are British. The unofficial members of the Legislature are the members of the British trading companies; British miners, merchants and stockhoolders. Africans thrive only because individuals have mining rights and can compete with the Europeans openly. Furthermore, Nigerians own all the vegetable products, though restricted as to the choice of their market prices in Nigeria. Since the United African Company and others practically control the Nigerian Government officials in so many ways, there is no redress for their Nigerian competitors in any field, nor for the farmers and producers of other materials.

If all basic industries are nationalized under such government, the result will be that every aspect of Nigerian economic life would be completely put in the hands of a few British officials and their indirect masters — United African Company of Lever Brothers. The results can be better imagined than said.

* * *

WHAT AFRICA expects of Attlee's Government is two kinds of socialism. A British socialism which will liberalize economy in England now, by their nationalization scheme.. Then, African socialism, which will liberalize social and political tangles, thus abandoning the present colonial structure of government and handing over the administration of Nigeria and other African countries to the Africans. These, in turn, will introduce their own brand of socialism, which is conducive to African temperament and tradition.

We really have no reason to feel good because Churchill and his age is a past in the British history, unless practical changes are made in the British idea of freedom. Attlee must answer the question of all free minds today: "Is England awakened yet to appreciate that struggle between empire and freedom? And if so; which is the way of the British Labor Party?" We have every reason to have confidence in Harold J. Laski and his group, unless their words do not mean anything to them.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Militant Publisher Gets Royal Support to Continue Struggle

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

WE are all familiar with the recent general strike of 200,000 Nigerians. And we have not forgotten the man Nnamdi Azikiwe, the publisher and editor of the West African Pilot. His life was threatened because he supported the working people in their demand for increased wages and better working conditions. The British Govern-

ment in Nigeria closed his press because he was vigilant in his editorial comments in support of the rights of the people.

The aftermath of all this was that the strike was called off after eight gloomy weeks. Azikiwe's press ban was lifted. The workers were granted some of their demands — not all. The British in Nigeria learned in a hard way that Nigeria and her people have changed their views. They inevitably became aware of the interest the world has grown to take in things that happen in Africa. The Africans themselves naturally discovered the strength of a concerted action of a united and resolute society.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

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THAT WAS not all. The Nigerian General Strike (as it is known), has resulted, though indirectly, in exodus of Nnamdi Azikiwe from Lagos, the seat of the British Government, to Onitsha, the seat of His Highness, the Obi (king) of Onitsha.

Nigeria is divided into two major divisions: the protectorate and the colony. The latter has about 350,000 population, with an area not more than one-tenth of the whole country. The rest is the protectorate. The colony is a municipal form of government patterned after the British cities. The real Nigerian ruler of the area does not count here. The administration is in the hands of a town council composed of Africans and Europeans. The protectorate, on the other hand, is essentially administered by the Nigerian kings, known as Emirs, Onis, or Obis. The real interference of the British in the administration of these areas is less apparent and pronounced than in the colony where there is no pretensions as to the authority of the British administrative methods. The states in the protectorates have their independent treasuries.

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MEN BORN in the colony are supposed to be the British subjects. Others born in the protectorates are considered the subjects of Nigeria under their own kings and "protected" by the British Government by the terms of treaty.

Nnamdi Azikiwe is not a British subject. But all this time he lived in the colony. After the much hunting for his life, he decided to go home to Onitsha. His Highness, the Onitsha, sent a delegation of Onitsha arisfocracy from among the king's chiefs and cabinet members to welcome Azikiwe, the recognized champion of the rights of man. During their state visit on Sept. 10, they carried the message of the king who advised Azikiwe "to stand fast and be honest and sincere in his endeavors. He should not be discouraged by the vagaries of the world because all would come to naught . . ."

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THIS IS significant. The rights of common man are now fully recognized by the so-called reactionary kings of Nigeria. Azikiwe is encouraged by his own natural ruler to champion the right cause of men without fear. This authorization came from the cream of the ruling class. Something beyond our imagination is going on from within the minds of our political leaders. I hope that other Nigerian kings will follow the example of the Obi of Onitsha. And when the kings support the cause of freedom, we shall not have anything else to fear but fear itself.

AFRICA SPEAKS

H. A. B. Jones-Quartey, Gold Coast, Disagrees With Dr. Rayford Logan's Deductions

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

THE following letter from H. A. B. Jones-Quartey of the Gold Coast, and a student of Public Law and Government at Columbia University, is of great interest to me, and think that my readers will be equally interested. The letter reads as follows:

My dear Orizu: A friend has just shown me a copy of The Journal of Negro Education, for Spring, 1945, in which appears a review of your book, "Without Bitterness," by Dr. Rayford Logan of Howard University. I want to go on record with a few observations, and want you to see that record. Hence this letter. On the whole, Dr. Logan takes a sympathetic view of the colonial question. He pays you several handsome compliments, and does not do it in that superior, indulgent, patronizing way characteristic of those who would humor children and dowager old ladies, with tongue in cheek. Moreover, he lines you up with the late Felix Eboue and with Lin Yutang, while at the same time contrasting you, this time unfavorably, with Lord Hailey. True, when we come down to the facts—of which Dr. Logan can hardly be aware—you and I cannot possibly endorse all that Ebuoe stood for. Even so, better Ebuoe a thousand times than Hailey, for a political bedfellow.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

And that is precisely the point at which I disagree with Dr. Logan. The juxtaposition of Hailey's "monumental African Survey" and his "The Future of Colonial Peoples" to "Without Bitterness," in a comparative sense and for a comparative purpose, is very unfortunate—comparing incomparables—and distressed me not a little. Hailey monumental or Hailey miniature is the same thing, namely, Hailey Englishman making out a case slanted in favor of British imperialism. That he "set before him," according to Dr. Logan, "the battleground on which will be fought the attempt to achieve independence" is a thing to be wondered at. "Independence"? What kind, and for whom? With a lot of other persons placed at a similar vantage point of view, Dr. Logan ought even to have passed that stage at which it becomes necessary to beware of the Greeks, even when they bring gifts.

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STILL MORE egregious and distressing, however, is Dr. Logan's error in his oft-repeated dictum about the effects on Africans of slavery and imperialism. Says Dr. Logan: "He (Orizu) thus falls into the same error that has been the pitfall of some American Negroes who demand the immediate independence of Africa. They seem to forget that four hundred years of the slave trade and seventy-five years of imperialistic exploitation and denial of participation in government are not exactly the best training ground for immediate independence."

Now, is it possible that Dr. Logan is seriously equating the Slave Trade (of 1442 to the turn of the 20th Century) with the capacity or non-capacity of Africans to rule themselves? What has an external fact like that got to do with the internal situation of indigenous government, by a people, of and for themselves? . . . Didn't you show in your book that Nigerians had their own government long before and after all this slave trade? And didn't Raymond Leslie Buell, in "The Native Probem in Africa," tell us that the Baganda in East Africa had ruled themselves under their Kabakas (kings) for a thousand years before the British came to Uganda? Did the slave trade then untrain these people for self-goverment?

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DOES DR. LOGAN mean government of, for, and by the people themselves? If so, then I must remind him that our contention is

that Africans have had a system or systems of government of their own for thousands of years, even down to the present-day. In this case, then, there has been no denial of participation in government, for seventy-five or any other number of years.

But apparently Dr. Logan does not mean, and no doubt does not even recognize, indigenous African government, whether ancient and pure or modern and adulterated. No doubt he means the British Government in Nigeria and other African countries. If so, then here again the learned professor has made indiscriminate and uninformed claims . . . He does not seem even to realize that when the Africans complain or demand independence or representation in government, they make a careful difference between that superimposed body, maintained by force or the threat of force, and a submerged system of government of their own, which they have handled themselves for ages and which is, in many ways, so sound and effective as to be left practically intact by the new, foreign power.

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FINALLY, Dr. Logan's regret that you did not pay "adequate attention to certain economic problems such as the open door," and his insistence on the kind of "salient facts" Lord Hailey handles, seem to put him down as one of those who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Facts, facts, facts. What facts? Whose facts? Facts that are more important than the total problem of who has a natural and inalienable right to what, and where? Facts that partisans compile to prove their case? Or facts from God?

AFRICA SPEAKS

British Must Set a Definite Date for Self-Government

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

THE people of Nigeria and the Gold Coast have made specific demands and proposals for freedom from the British. The West African Students Union of London demanded internal self-government now, and full-fledged equality with other nations in fifteen years. The West African Press Delegation to London demanded immediate abolition of the present colonial system, internal self-government now and Dominion Status in fifteen years, Nnamdi Azikiwe in his "Political Blueprint for Nigeria," proposed a rapidly systematic Nigerianization of our institutions, political, social and economic. That will result in Nigeria becoming free from and equal to the United Kingdom and any other nations in fifteen years. The people and kings of the Gold Coast demanded complete independence from England after April 1944. In my recently published book: "Without Bitterness," I proposed immediate change of relationship between England and Nigeria which will result in the formation of a new Nigerian Republic completely free from and friendly to Great Britain.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

These demands and proposals are not just the result of this war alone. West Africans have been very consistent in demanding and not yielding their rights to any power from the outside. The two world wars have only accentuated that inherent attitude. The feeling for freedom in Nigeria and the Gold Coast is growing with infinite tempo and will grow stronger with every passing moment.

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AS A RESULT, the British Goverenment recently has proposed new constitutions for Nigeria and the Gold Coast, respectively. In substance, the new constitutions provided that there be African majorities in the legislatures of the two countries. The presiding officers would be British with veto power, casting vote, and nominative power over certain members

of the Assembly.

I shall discuss the new constitutions later. But the basic weaknesses of the whole set up are (1) The constitutions were drawn up by the British and not the Africans themselves. That alone renders them unconstitutional if African democracy is considered. (2) The British officers will preside, have veto power and casting vote, and yet it is an African legislature on the African soil. That constitutes an insult to the sovereignty of the people and the integrity of the rulers of those countries. If such structure of legislature is endorsed, it is another way of assuming that the Africans are yet incapable of governing themselves. And we know that that is old, ineffective euphemism which has lost its appeal to the world. Our constitution must be drawn by us.

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THE IMPORTANT THING is for the British to comply with the actual demands of the people. The common principle in all the people's demands in Nigeria and the Gold Coast is the specification of the date for complete liberation. America has named freedom date for the Philippines. Nigeria and the Gold Coast are the two most logical places for the British to make a strategic start.

The San Francisco Conference must know what Nigeria and other West African countries want. They want the BRITISH TO NAME A FREEDOM DATE FOR NIGERIA, THE GOLD COAST AND OTHER WEST AFRICAN COUNTRIES. The same thing will be said of other powers in Africa. We in West Africa do not want condominium. We are tired of one master already, and do not want any joint-masters, no matter how well meaning. We believe in the ultimate wisdom of our people and rulers. We believe that we can, as we and our forefathers did, govern ourselves now, and no joint-powers can inject the inherent ability of self-government into us if it has not always been there. We believe in voluntary co-operation.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Mrs. Robeson's Book Is a Challenge to The Negro in America

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

THE dawn of a new era is here. Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson has written a book on Africa . . . her "Old Country." The book is by far more than a mere literary exercise. It is more than a story-telling device about a jolly trip, undertaken to satisfy the curiosity of a traveler from a "civilized world." It is not an attempt to create an impression of

being an intellectual. Rather, the book is a conscious work that comes from the heart and long cogitation of a determined woman. Reading and understanding of the subject matter and the intent of the book will reveal a creative impulse, an inquiring mind, a revolting spirit of pride, a nostalgic quest for the childhood origins of one's ancestors, an excusable surrendering to the influence of a mother land long forgotten, and a warm acceptance of Africa as a worthy land to inspire pride in all men and women whose blood stream took its rise there.



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"AFRICA JOURNEY" opens a new page in the history of the black man in America. Following the first world war, Marcus Garvey, from the West Indies, came with an unprecedented philosophy that moved black America like a hurricane. With his tantalizing personality, he infused a psychological tension into the minds of the Afro-Americans. He asked the somber but irresistible question: "Where is the black man's government? Where is his president, his country and his ambassadors, his army, his navy and his men of big affairs?" He answered the question himself: "I could not find

them, and . . . I will help make them."

From such logic of mind, Marcus Garvey declared an immortal principle: "Africa for the Africans." He aroused millions of Americans of African descent. In spite of powerful opposition he fathered the greatest single organization ever launched by a black man in the West. He flourished, but through some mistakes rooted in certain unsound theories and of general management, he failed. But his principle is not lost. His vision is a century prize to the black man. His audacity is something for reference in the days ahead. His aggressiveness, pomposity and dignity; his indefatigable spirit, all made up the elements of awe and majesty for which the downtrodden race was yearning.

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GARVEY'S economic theory was correct and fundamental. He offered the most elevating psychology of survival and self-possession. But his "Back-to-Africa" policy, if applied en masse, would be a mistaken ideology because it is both undesirable and impractical. I think that at the present no Negro opposes collaboration with Africa, even if that would involve some Negroes actually going to Africa to make use of any professional training. Africans are also eager to see such relationship expanded for good.

Now the spirit of Mrs. Robeson, in her "Africa Journey," has brought out clearly what I have always advocated. An African proverb says that "A child who has never traveled thinks his mother alone cooks good soup." The greatest obstacle to the mentality and the outlook of the Negro in America is his lack of spirit of adventure —to move out of the "American Paradise"—to some other places on the earth. To travel is not the only thing. A traveler must also possess the quality of relative judgment of the things he sees and hears in other cultures and environments different from his own. He must be alert and sagacious in selecting for use, the source of information in the country he visits.

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MRS. ROBESON has satisfied all these requirements. She and her little son alone traversed the continent of Africa. And no tiger, no elephant nor snakes swallowed them up. Young Paul did not die of the "bad" African climate. Mrs. Robeson did not bow slavishly to the "authoritative" official information of European governments in Africa. She went to the Africans with a spirit of respect and brotherhood. They were courteous, generous, mellow human beings with a warm heart to receive friends and strangers. They did not cut their heads off and eat them. Rather she came out with a new vision and a new interpretation of Africa. Only a Negro from America could have seen Africa that way. And only a Negro who has taken his time out to travel to Africa could have developed such a new outlook on a long-abused Africa.

If Mrs. Robeson's adventure and rebirth do not inspire other Negroes, God alone knows what else will. The white press recognizes this pride in Mrs. Robeson. They respect it. She insists that the Negro in America must take pride in his African origin as a beginning of self-confidence which is the starting point of outward freedom.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Nigerians Say: Worst Self-Government Better Than Best Foreign Rule

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

IN the city of Lagos, the New York of Nigeria, an important debate was held between the alumni of two Eastern Nigerian colleges: Christ the King College and the D. M. Grammar School. The ex-students who held the debate are now men of responsibility: teachers, civil servants, and others. The subject was: "Is Foreign Domination Better Than

the Worst Form of Self-Government?" The chairman of the debate was M. O. Balonwu. G. C. I. Onwuegbuzia, a professor of mathematics, led the Grammar Schoolex-students who said "No" to the question. S. O. Odigbo led the Christ the King, who said "Yes."



Prince Nwafor Orizu

According to the Nigerian Spokesman, "Mr. Onwuegbuzia argued that self-government in its worst form was natural and good, while foreign domination in its best form is enslaving and imposing. Self-government . . . bore with it liberty, which is a fundamental right of man proscribed by the Creator Himself. The terms: subject race, protected persons, colonies, dependencies, protectorates, mandated territories, are sure traits of foreign domination, and no liberty-loving citizens would favor such terms. This colonial form of government is a device of overlords who control without the consent of the people . . ."

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MR. ONWUEGBUZIA continued seriously: "India and West Africa had subsequently demanded self-government . . . sponsored by initiative, originality and self-assertion. History has revealed that man had always sought to govern himself. The American War of Independence is typical for an example. No self-governing people have ever fought to obtain foreign domination in whichever form."

The opponent to this argument said: " . . . Governmental machinery exists for the sake of its citizens . . . Foreign domination sees to the regular supply of emoluments to their subjects which could not be enjoyed by the people under the worst form of self-rule."

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THE MOTION was carried by a vote of 90 for, 37 against the proposition that the "worst form of self-gorevrnment is better than the foreign rule."

I am glad that the scales are fallen from the eyes of the Nigerian youth. I am glad that they see now, as our forefathers did, that no compensation (imaginary or otherwise) from Europe can satisfy our desire for independence under our own form of government.

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SOME UNINFORMED, self-appointed African authorities in America may be sadly disappointed to learn that Africans at home (and not only in America) agree that we have our own forms of government, which we do not want to trade for whatever "charming" demorcary which Europe has been trying to give to us for two centuries, and have not been able to do it. We realize that African governments are not excellent. But where is the excellent government? Where is a democratic government either in Europe or America? We Africans have not seen democracy either in Europe or America, which is so wonderful and so good as to cost us our self-confidence in our own government, founded by our fathers as George Washington founded this republic. We are in accord with the principles of democracy. We love it. We live it. And we intend not to allow the lip-service democracy of imperialism and racialism to obscure the natural growth of our own institutions in Africa.

Our perspective cannot be easily misdirected by meaningless phrases common to professional political philosophers of the West. We are trained only to think in terms of natural facts—facts of liberty, facts of freedom, facts of independence, facts of eternal vigilance in perpetuating the identity of our particular culture and nation to which we owe allegiance.

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LET OTHERS be busy finding out what Lord Hailey or Lord Humpty Dumpty says that we are, while we are busy finding out what God made us to be—and that we shall be. We have no respect for any record which ignores or denies our capacity to govern ourselves now, for we realize as Alexander Hamilton, that "The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged among old parchments or musty records. They are written, as with a sunbeam, in the whole volume of nature, by the hand of divinity itself, and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power."

AFRICA SPEAKS

African Academy Has Set Its Goal As the Cultural Interpreter

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

MAN as he sees himself today, with all the pleasures and woes and expectations of this life, is the product of the human task of yesterday. We love to look back to the past ages and idolize the departed souls and their time. We often seem to assume that theirs was a glorious period—a time of ease and goodness. It seems as though men understood each other better, and cooperated in all righteousness in the olden days. For an example, when we read the exclamation of Patrick Henry: "Give me liberty or give me death!", it sounds just wonderful to our ears, as if it were originally recited as a poem for a rhythmic expression. It sounds as if it were just a calculated emotional composition to generate a nation of four million people into independence. But it was an utterance which poured out of a wandering heart and embittered spirit. It was not fun.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

Again, when we hear of the hundred years war in which England, as usual, laid unjust claims on the sovereignty of France, we are dazzled by the courage of a young girl of seventeen (Joan of Arc) for her decisive role in the struggle. We praise her to the highest, with the assumption that she was a special daughter of the gods, through whose nostrils she breathed freedom for France. But Joan of Arc was an ordinary girl like Muriel Smith or Philippa Schuyler, who are among us today. She only had devotion, courage and action.

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SIMILARLY, the American War of Independence was fought by men like ourselves among, with and against a society of human beings as frail as those we know today. Washington did not find it easy anywhere — not even among his own Americans. There were loyalists whose eyes were fixed on the British crown. There were inertia and apathy of the masses. There were jealousies among the leaders. It was said that he who goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing. Washington and his compatriots borrowed a lot And there was much sorrow. Hunger and deprivation were accepted as effective counterparts of constructive struggle. To live or not to live was their only question. They knew that life and death, as alternative brothers, would surely improvise their own answer to such unanswered questions as faced them.

The secret of the success of those men lies in their self-confidence. They were wise enough to accept life as a challenge to either live as a man or die as a hero. Further, they discovered that the world respected the more powerful; the fuller and the more assured life. Those who demand and knock hard at the door are listened to even by the gods. Those who beg and smile are scorned and trampled upon. And leadership has always suffered from two angles: among the led and the enemy combined. Nevertheless, the final battle has always been won.

* * *

TODAY, WE HAVE struggling men and women among us, the black peoples of the world. In Africa today we have Nnamdi Azikiwe running around Nigeria for the safety of his own life, just as did Moses when he escaped to Jethro's house to escape the Pharaohs's wrath. In the West Indies, many black people are roaring against the impositions of the Europeans. In the United States, the deluge of racial prejudice has set Negro leaders in a state of perpetual tension — dissension, confusion, and fusion. In their social and philosophical paths, some move perpendicularly, some horizontally and still others move diagonally We all are in a state of flux looking for "freedom"—a wrong word for a black man!

This spirit of struggle for self-regeneration will explain the African Academy of Arts and Research located at 55 West Forty-second Street, the same place where the American Council on African Education is separately located. The African Academy was founded by the energetic Ozuomba Mbadiwe of Africa. He is from the Ibo of Nigeria. His senior brother, Ugabja Mbadiwe, is one of the wealthiest Nigerians, and has been categorized as "one of the Nigerian millionaires." Ozuomba Mbadiwe studied Banking and Finance at Columbia. His phisolophy may be summarized as follows: "Only the sons of Africa can interpret her, others will cooperate but not to dictate."

HERE LIES the fundamental motovation for the projection of the Academy: to interpret Africa by the Africans in cooperation with others. That interpretation may be accomplished through music, radio, lectures, motion pictures and general information. These are the essentials of the task which the Academy undertakes to do. There is a plan to put these things in motion as time goes on. Twice at Carnegie Hall, and under the sponsorship of Mrs. Roosevelt, the Academy has presented Africa through music. More things are yet to come. The will, the resolve to act, the pride to sustain, the heart to bear, the vision to plan are all there. With the cooperation of the Americans, the work is done.

AFRICA SPEAKS

An African Student In England Meets British 'Civilization'

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

ON August 25, 1945, a letter was written to me by an African student in England. In the fifth paragraph of the letter, after some personal remarks, the student wrote: "Ever since I arrived in this country (England), I have always felt that life here is so artificial, so hypocritical, so unreal, and rather, an eye wash. I get so disgusted day by day. I find more and more the weaknesses of these people. It is, after all, good to see what life is here and what an average Englishman thinks of the Africans." Then he continued: "Our college is back in London. We are left to find our own lodgings. At times the University Housing Officer tries to help. I have been out for ten days and now looking for a room to live. I have called and replied to several advertisements for rooms.



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On arrival, the fact that I am an African disqualifies me for the room. This is London for the moment. I rang up an address and was asked to come. On arrival the lady said, 'I am sorry, a soldier has just come in and took it five minutes ago.' At another place, I called, and when the landlady saw me, she banged the door at me and walked in. She did not even say a word."

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AT THIS point of reading the letter, I could see the emotion of the writer shaking himself from the root. I could see a rebelious spirit shaking hands with the destiny of revenge. In fact, I felt awfully fearful of the ugly spirit of combativeness which is fast developing among the young Africans at their first sight of white man's hypocrisy in a country like England. But I continued to read as he turns to the sobriety or rather restraint that is African when he wrote: "At the moment we do not regard these treatments as anything. It is so common that we simply slight it. However, the impression is there."

To understand the disappointment that attended this young African in England, we shall realize that in Africa, the Englishman spared no device to impress the Africans that English civilization is so wonderful that a visit to England would be just going into the

Paradise of the Most High in the land of His Majesty, the immaculate home of "civilized" people as opposed to the "uncivilized" Africans and Africa. Some Africans are convinced about this, hence, some wanted to go see the civilized England.

* * *

IN WEST AFRICA racial prejudice is not known as we understand it here. In a country like Nigeria, the population of the black to the white is about six thousand to one. Most of the white persons live on the coast. Inside the country some people see white faces at most once in a year. The two peoples never meet in social life. And there is no desire. The African is very conservative when it comes to association with the white man whom he considers a pagan (in northern Nigeria), or as smelling, pale stuff (in other parts of West Africa).

The African considers himself infinitely superior to the white man, and strongly believes that in a fight involving no weapons, the white man is not a match for him, considering it man-to-man. How far these superior assumptions are true is another matter, but the feeling is there.

THIS FEELING, however, does not make the African forget his inherent hospitality and respect for strangers. I noticed that in America, the host of a dinner occupies the head of the table and largest dinner is served him. In Africa the stranger is directed to the head of the table, and is served the best and the most. All this hospitality does not stop the African from his superior feeling. But he believes that superiority comes from the ability to give others plentifully and freely. A superior person is he who is sympathetic, hospitable and welcoming to a stranger.

With this background, a young African going to London to find landladies so rude as to slam doors at him without provocation, will be disappointed. But the story does not end there. The tragic aspect of it is the feeling that this ugly act was done because of one's race. An African who has no color prejudice in that sense, will now learn a bitter lesson, and start to mold his life for a revenge. Newton said that every action has equal and opposite reaction.

* * *

POOR OLD ENGLAND. She cannot feed herself. She cannot finance herself. She cannot save herself. She has to go out and help herself from the abundance of others. But she would not do it humbly. She is a master race with a master majesty to master the Africans who feed her.

She would not be honest enough to ask Africa to lend-lease some of her abundance. No. She has to get it by falsification of facts in saying that the African cannot govern himself. And yet when the Africans come to England to find civilization, they bump into primitive barbarism and inhospitality. Just what shall we think?

AFRICA SPEAKS

Orizu Returns Home Stirred Deeply by Both Joy and Grief

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

EN route to Africa: I am on my way back home—to Nigeria—to Africa. What a thrill! I have dreamed of this day for six long years, and now it has come true. In a matter of a few days I shall be in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria—probably Monday or Tuesday. In another day or two later I shall be on my way by road to Nnewi, my home, where I

shall be reunited with my mother, friends, and boyhood associates.

It is a very exciting prospect. However, my excitement and joy are tempered by a note of tragedy. Two or three days before leaving the States, I received the shocking news of the death of a man who meant much to me. His name was Chief J. C. Ulasi, transport owner, general merchant, and in all one of the biggest businessmen in Nigeria, if not in the whole of West Africa.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

He was my guardian, and had stood in loco parentis since the death of my father in 1924. In fact, he was, to all effects, my father.

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I WAS counting greatly upon his assistance and advice in all the plans of my life, both public and private. And now he is gone, without my having even a word with him personally again—after all he has done for me. Well, such is life and all its vicissitudes. But, as my esteemed countryman and friend, Nnamdi Azikiwe, used to say, life still has its beauties. It is the beautiful aspect of life, including the struggle to make it better and more worthwhile for others, that we must pursue. Otherwise we sall not live like men, but crawl around like mice.

As I look back now on life in America, I remember with gratitude my many friends and what they did for me and the cause of African education. I remember the dinner they held for me at Essex House a few days before my departure. That was a complete picture and spectacle. The American whites and Negroes were there. My West Indian friends were fully represented. My faithful African colleagues were also present. Those who could not come sent representatives, letters, or telegrams, expressing their unreserved interest and support.

I also remember with great pleasure the performances of the night's artists, Miss Ethyl Wise and young Miss Philippa Schuyler. The former, a soprano, sang a number from Verdi's opera, "La Traviata," and Philippa played her exciting composition, "Manhattan Nocturn." The gathering was as thrilled as I was with these selections. We all thanked the artists profusely at the end of the dinner.

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BEST OF ALL, a good many of our friends there, as well as some absent ones, made donations to the council's funds, to help carry on the work during my absence. They gave something over $400, less than we needed, but on the whole encouraging under the conditions of time element. It was a successful venture. I was satisfied as far as that went. I know that our friends undersand, and will not let the council down while I am away.

In my speech to the guests that night I expressed again my faith in American education. I repeated some of the imperative reasons why the council was founded to help future African students come to America. I believe the Africans themselves will in turn understand these things, and respond to the goodwill and generosity of theirs and my friends here.

And now, let me say thank you all again, and goodbye—until the spring.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Love for U. S. Makes One Ashame in Brazil, Where Democracy Reigns

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

I WAS originally scheduled to leave LaGuardia Airport for Miami, Fla., Nov. 13. That morning a group of friends and some of the African students in New York gathered in my apartment as early as 6 o'clock. They kindly packed all my essential things, and at 7:45 A. M. we drove to the airport. But the weather was bad, and we could not get

out of New York that day. I am so accustomed to the heart-breaking disappointments of plane-trip cancellations that I simply took my hat and went back to the city with my anxious friends. I had more time to do more shopping, see more friends, and spend one extra night in one of the greatest of the world's cities.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

On Nov. 14, I left the LaGuardia Airport at 9 A. M. for Miami. It was not easy for me to think of leaving New York City and the host of friends I have made here. Then my mind projected to the Widwest. I thought of my good old friends in Columbus, Ohio; Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and other cities in the many States of the Union. I knew that my absence would be at most temporary. But the knowledge of separation by the expanse of massive land and unbounded seas was so clear to me. I thought about the origins of my journey. I had left my home and family behind, in the early days of 1939. I left them in tears. I thought I may never have the chance of seeing them again. One of many things could have happened. Our ship could have gone to the bottom. The irregular American weather could have taken my life. But those thoughts did not stop me. Nor was I ever frightened by the awareness. Such retrospection gave me a new impetus to look forward to something more important than "fearing fear" itself.

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MY MISSION has just begun. I dreamed of it in Africa, but my American education gave it the stamp of reality. My reflections on man, on the reason for our existense either as races or as nations, were not concretized until after a stormy, six years of academic and pratcical wrestling with men's ideas and actions in the United States. To live in America was not easy. Emotional conflict was great. The pendulum of life there swings too fast and too inconstantly from one extreme to the other. Now life is all beautiful; then suddenly it turns too ugly to behold with human eyes. The imperfections of ethical man in the United States are counterbalanced by perfectibn in the mechanical realm. But the human mind cannot feed on mechanics. It reaches for something more sublime. The hallucinations of mechanical grandour cannot compel the moral man. However, America is not all mechanics. It is also human, although it is limited in in this quality when racial matters arise.

The mere sight of Brazil and its people makes one who loves the United States turn away his face in shame. Certainly, there are not attractive Radio Cities and Fifth Avenues here. But there is human democracy. A man is a man . . . I am ashamed to confess this because American life has so captured a part of me, that sometimes I almost think myself an American, and its shame and pride have become mine.

OUR PLANE landed at Belem, the capital of the state of Bara in Brazil, at about five o'clock in the evening. After official formalities, we were driven to the Grand Hotel eleven miles away. The first person I saw there was an American from Pennsylvania. He was enjoying some beer and beckoned to me to join him in a drink. I did not drink, but sat down to talk with him. The first thing he said: "Certainly, I hate to say this, but it is true; we ought to be ashamed of what happens in the States (U. S. A.). You know, over here you can do whatever you like. Colour does not mean a thing to them. All they want is decency and conformity with their laws."

At this time I was not particularly interested in discussing race. Brazil is too busy and too human for that topic. I smiled and showed appreciation for my friend's courtesy, but I begged his leave, since I wanted to see more of Belem before retiring.

(To Be Continued)

AFRICA SPEAKS

I Met A Negro in Brazil Determined to Fight For Democracy

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

I LEFT my Pennsylvania friend in the hotel at Natal, Brazil. I walked across the street to the Republic Park. The idea of freedom is very alive around here. They live it, they talk it, they act it. It is so deep in them that they are ready to give a visitor any concession to make him feel free in their land of freedom. I understand neither Spanish nor Portuguese. That was the first time I realized my defect in that respect. I tried to use some Latin words. In some cases it worked. But the people are kind and generous any way you go. They smile and give immediate response to your request as you walk around.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

A block from the hotel is the U. S. Army station. On walking down the street there, I met two Negro soldiers. One of them, Leslie Naylor, from New York City, walked up to me and said: "Are you from the States?" I told him that I was at Ohio State University, then at Columbia, and that I was on a mission to get more Africans back to the United States for education. He beamed and said: "I recognized your face from the beginning. Aren't you the fellow who appeared in Time Magazine sometime ago?" Surprised, I said "yes." He called the other soldier and told him that he had found the man whose educational plans they were discussing when his picture appeared in the Time Magazine. We became friends.

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NAYLOR, to all intents and purposes, is a race-conscious Negro. He is an engineer in the Army. He invited me to a drink, but I accepted only a glass of tomato juice, just to be able to enjoy a talk with him. He had something to say. Being an ordinary soldier is not very important maybe, but you can always feel that experience in traveling has brought a new Negro into being. Naylor is one of them. With determination in his face, he confessed that he liked it better here in Brazil than in his country of origin.

This, to me, was a sad confession to make. But it made sense because his reasons were so self-evident. He told me that he did not dream that it was ever possible in this world to find a great nation like Brazil practicing the ideals of a true democracy. He remarked rightly that (1) In Brazil no one ever thinks of the color of an individual, when considering him for anything. (2) In hotels all that would be necessary was your ability to pay the bill and live according to the prescribed standards of the hotel in question. If you commit an offense, the Brazilian law has no place for special consideration of an individual in terms of race. (3) If a girl loves a boy of any color, there was no poniting of fingers at them by either race. (4) The Brazilians simply do not understand race issues and do not want to be changed even by the Yanks.

• • •

AS HE SPOKE, Naylor became more indignant, more perturbed about the whole question of the war for freedom. He made a noticeable suggestion. "That Mr. Bilbo—particularly that Bilbo!—should be forced by law to come down to Brazil and live for a month. He needs to be civilized over here. I gave a big laugh the way he said it. But I fully recognized the grim reality with which he was struggling in his mind. After the short encounter, we parted.

The thought of Mr. Naylor haunted my mind throughout my stay in Belem and in other Brazilian stations we stopped. I shall never forget the richness of his world a

perience, his determination to home and start all over again t fight for democracy, after five yea of hard struggle with Hitler.

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IT IS VERY sad. How can young Negro continue to feel keenly about his own country, a the leaders therein remain so coo

Do the American leaders unde stand this trend of accumulat malcontent, so great in the mid of a country just back from a w and ready to go in again?

South America's Brazil is mo African than Anglo-Saxon, and shall list some facts about its tent backgrounds another time.

AFRICA SPEAKS

American Colleges Have Offered Generous Grants For West African Students,

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the views or opinions of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

BEFORE giving my friends in America the details of what I am doing here in Nigeria in connection with the "Twenty-five Students Plan" of the Council, I would first like to tell them something of the scholarships which we have to offer our students immediately. The names and numbers I am going to give here are not all that we have. I can only mention some, especially those immediately available. They form part of the list I have brought with me to Nigeria. Here they are:



Prince Nwafor Orizu

From the University of Cincinnati three tuition scholarships, tenable in the Teachers College of that institution. These are good for 1946-47, and run for four years, the regular college period. Ohio State University, my alma mater, has offered us ten tuition scholarships "at one time." The University of Detroit, two tuitions, "at any one time."

• • •

PRESIDENT CHARLES WESLEY of Wilberforce, Ohio, has offered four full scholarships covering tuition, board, and room, plus two more tuition only. Western Reserve University has awarded one tuition scholarship of $300, according to the statement of President W. G. Leutner, for "an experimental first year." Lincoln University, our first and real alma mater, has given us ten tuition scholarships, tenable at any one time, also. I need not remind my readers of the great, paternal kindness of ex-President Walter L. Wright of Lincoln, or of Dean Frank T. Wilson, who is now vice chairman of our board of directors.

Dean Lucy Wilson, of the famous women's college, Wellesley, has made available one tuition-and-part-maintenance grant, or one full scholarship, "if the need is real." This grant is tenable as from September 1946. Wellesley College does not appreciate mid-year registrations. The University of Pennsylvania offers one tuition-free scholarship for "a recommended student," and Fordham offers two, at $300 each, for graduates of good West African Roman Catholic secondary schools.

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THE CASE of Wilmington College in Ohio is in a class by itself. Through the Council it has awarded a full scholarship and also chosen its own candidate already. This fortunate young man is U. U. Ekahm, teacher at the Methodist School in Opobo, Nigeria. The college is even willing to take care of Mr. Ekam during vacations and in the summer by providing him with part-time work. They could accept him as early as February 1946.

Boston University has promised us three tuition scholarships, valued at $375 each a year. Radcliffe College—by the grace of the men, Harvard's co-ed division!—is willing to give us one scholarship, "if a Nigerian student is chosen from the group of applicants for scholarship." If awarded, this grant will become available for the regular four-year tenure in the fall of 1946.

THESE ARE the grants immediately available for the opening of our scholarship program. It more than takes care of the "Twenty-five Students Plan," which is the immediate object of my present return home to Nigeria. As indicated several times before, Nigeria is not the only country in Africa to benefit by this plan. Before returning to America, I intend to visit the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and if possible, the other countries of West Africa.

Our applicants come from all over the vast continent. We have letters here and in our New York headquarters office from the East, as well as South Africa. In fact, I have already indicated our wish and desire to sponsor West Indian students, too. Next time I shall give my readers some samples of these applications, and the temper, aspirations, and other drives of those who write them.

"Rancor and bigotry, racial animosities and intolerance are more dangerous than any external force, because they undermine the very foundations of democratic effort.—Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Native Africans Are Jubilant When They Learn of American Negro Interest in Them

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

ONE of the greatest impressions I have gathered in Nigeria since my return from the United States is the unequivocal feeling of deep interest and understanding found among the peoples of this country about American Negroes. In a recent speech at Oguta, a town in Nigeria, I made myself very clear that without the untiring cooperation of the Americans—both white and black—my mission to obtain scholarships for our boys and girls would have been unsuccessful. I could not, I said, have founded the American Council on African Education singlehandedly. I could not have swam the cross-currents of the American social sea without help.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

The truth of the matter was that in this particular speech, I did not even lay any special emphasis on the Negro Americans, in contradistinction to the whites. It was my fellow Nigerians themselves who made the fine distinction.

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IT HAPPENED this way. One Nigerian from the audience interrogated: "May I, please, ask whether I am right to think that most of the cooperation you have got from America came from our blood-brothers over there; whether their feeling for us is as genuine as our own for them; whether they are vitally interested in the affairs of the African; whether their interest may lead them to visit this country in good numbers, and with a proper idea of our cultural background; whether they are as good as the white man in matters affecting trade, commerce, industry, government, education, and other things?"

These questions were as challenging as they were interesting. I replied by saying: "The cooperation of the black Americans in the program of the American Council on African Education is invaluable, their feeling for us is genuine, their interest in us is deep, their wish to visit Nigeria needs no proof, and their mental and physical equality with the white man is something conclusive."

The anxious crowd clapped their hands in jubilation. Laughter and exclamations of joy, to say nothing of satisfaction, poured out from the hearts of men.

• • •

AFTER THE meeting there were further questions along the same and similar lines. I answered these

with as much enthusiasm as they were asked. My eager countrymen asked me again and again to convey to our "brothers" and "cousins" in the New World that they would welcome them to Africa as heartily as they had ever done in the past. They wanted, they said, all the musicians, scientists, teachers, doctors, and technicians that could come over.

You can imagine my feelings of

AFRICA SPEAKS

Natives Tell Why They Wish to Come to the United States for Education

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

LAST week I promised to give my readers some samples of the kinds of applications the American Consul receives from Africa. The reason is that so many people in the States questioned me on this subject. They asked: What do Africans think of American education? Are the students really anxious to come? How do they receive the plans of the Council? Would they be willing to go back and work among their people after they are through? . . . And many other such questions. Well, here are a few excerpts from some of the letters we receive. They are selected at random:



Prince Nwafor Orizu

From a Uganda (East Africa) student: "I am about to embark on a journey to England in search of education . . . I should like, when I get to England, to cross over to America. But as you can guess, I am entirely ignorant of the conditions that obtain in America . . . I am the headmaster of the above school (Aggrey Memorial, Bunanway^) . . ."

H. O. Okoro, of Ikot Ekpene, in the Ibiblo area, writes: " . . . I am a Methodist Mission teacher of many years' experience. The condition of service in this country is well known to you, especially in connection with missions. There is little or no prospect for mission teachers. It has always been my earnest desire to improve myself by obtaining higher education in order that I might be able to better serve my country and race —even as you do now—but the meagre salaries we are paid make it harder for me to bring my aspirations to fruition

LAST WEEK I mentioned U. U. Ekam and Wilmington College in Ohio. Here is an excerpt from Mr. Ekam's most recent letter: "I need to be educated over there for qualifications for the kind of leadership that modern Africa wants. You are in a position to help me work out my scheme if you will; and I believe deeply that you will do it."

Says K. K. Mercer, of Achimota College, Accra, Gold Coast: "It is only when a good many of us Africans have been educated in the right way that we can hope for any emancipation . . . The establishment of the American Council on African Education really marks the dawn of the liberation of Africa. Congratulations, Sir!"

"It would certainly not be out of place," writes G. H. Bassey, of Apapa, Lagos, Nigeria, "if I further seize this opportunity to give you some particulars about my aspiration. I am very keen on mechanical engineering in general, with special reference to automobiles. But in the absence of local facilities for instruction in this branch of engineering, I had to enter the Marine Technical Institute—all that the Government has been able to offer the country for the instruction of students in the theory and practice of Marine engineering. It certainly is an eyewash, and I venture to disclose that we in there are very much dissatisfied with everything about it."

From E. O. Otitoju, of Yaba Estate, Nigeria, come the following paragraphs:

" . . . I am indeed very grateful to the entire constituency of the American Council on African Education for the great assurance

given me, and I hope the time will soon come when the selection of students will find my hope translated into reality . . . Please convey our heartiest greetings and best wishes to the prominent promoters and keen supporters of the Council, and give them also our fervent prayer that all their wishes and proposals should meet with overwhelming success."

• • •

AN AFRICAN girl writes from London as follows: "I may mention, that I was educated in the United Kingdom at St. Mary's Hall, Brighton; the Cheltenham Ladies College in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire; the University of Sheffield, and in the Inns of Court, London . . . I desire to apply for . . . any American scholarship which will enable me to study for one or two years at the Columbia University in New York City, in the School of Journalism."

These are all that I have space for. I hope the above excerpts satisfy the curiosity of the many people who have inquired about these things. In closing, I must not forget to wish all our friends a happy and prosperous New Year.

AFRICA SPEAKS

Imperialism a Whited Sepulchre . . . Full of Dead Men's Bones

By Prince A. A. Nwafor Orizu

(The views opressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

By H. A. B. QUARTEY JONES, Guest Columnist

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, in a New Year statement issued in India last week, again lashed out at the British and all their works in the Orient. He poured his indignation and contempt upon the British role in Indonesia where England has annointed herself the savior and restorer of Dutch sovereignty. Again he asked Britian—self-proclaimed bulwark of Western "civilization"—to get out of India and give the Indians a chance to solve their own problems. The record of men like Gandhi and Nehru, in their lifelong struggle against British imperialism and exploitation, is among the most remarkable in the history of patriotism. Both high-caste Hindus, both highly educated in the very England itself, Gandhi and Nehru could have chosen the line of least resistance, made themselves rich, fawned upon the British and basked in oriental splendor and luxury for the rest of their natural lives.



Prince Nwafor Orizu

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INSTEAD, they chose the exact opposite. Gandhi, through practical, first-hand experience among the Indians of South Africa, and Nehru, chiefly through the exhaustive study of the history of nations, arrived at the same conclusion. And they decided to ask no other blessedness than the privilege of fighting the cause of their own oppressed country and people.

Since then, each of these men has been to political prison more times than he would care to remember, each has suffered physical and mental torture, on a plane unfamiliar to the commonplace minds of their torturers.

Has their heartbreaking burden crushed Gandhi and Nehru? Have imprisonment and other forms of suppression stilled their voice? Far from it. If anything Nehru is more vehement and uncompromising now in his demands on the British than ever before. If anything, the sage, wily Gandhi is a greater thorn in the flesh of British imperialism now than when he began his campaign more than a generation ago.

Why do the British want to remain in India and the other parts of the world in which they have so obviously overstayed their welcome—in which, indeed, they were never welcome? Why do they try to foist their "protection" upon people who do not want it—who, indeed, do not need it?

• • •

EXAMINED from whichever angle one chooses, imperialism of any kind, British or otherwise, is at best a whited sepulchre, full of nothing but dead men's bones. It

has no justification, and can make none but false claims. Do the imperialists claim altruism as the raison d'etre of their system? It falls by its own falsehood. Centuries of poverty, disease, and 95 per cent illiteracy pass nowhere else in the world for philanthropy. Is imperialism, then, justified by reason of economic gain? But the imperialists themselves protest that far from being an economic asset to them their colonial "possessions" are a tremendous liability; that they even tax their own nationals at home to maintain some of the colonies.

If this is true, why the national martyrdom? Why the insistence to play Santa Claus and godfather to children who are so ungrateful and unappreciative? Is such a role really possible in such a world as this? And if this claim is false, then the altruism-motivation is also false. Then imperialism is economically profitable, and, considered with the other features noted above, tantamount to a purely exploitive inhuman institution.

LET THOSE continue to bully others who have adopted the national philosophy that might is right. Let them continue to put their trust in the man-of-war, the gas shell, the atom bomb. But let them also make very sure to manipulate history, create social dynamics of their own specifications, and, if necessary, hold human nature itself on a leash. Why? Be-

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PRINCE A. A. NWAFOR ORIZU 1944

"I kept on warning in my lecture tours, the rest of the democratic and allied nations of the world that Africa was awake and was indignant at the gross neglect of her interests. Unless this was drastically changed, and post-war Africa shown better treatment, there would inevitably be an explosion in that continent. But I also appealed to Africans to shun bitterness and hate because two wrongs do not make a right. Africa had been abused and exploited it was true, but European imperialism has introduced some good things of mechanical civilization - railways, telephones, automobiles, etc. Africa I held must not train the coming generation to hate the white man because of the evils imperialism wrought in the past. I maintained that our fight must be for principles and not against peoples."