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BRIEF REPORT ON GUINEA

CONAKRY, GUINEA....September 23, 1964

Today our group had a meeting with Diallo Alpha who is the director general of the Ministry of Information and Tourism. This ministry is one of the largest in the Guinean government. It is headed by Mr. Diop who is from Senegal; having left there in 1953 because his fellow students did not understand the political role students must play in the forthcoming African revolution. Under him is a Secretary of State of Information. Directly under him comes Diallo Alpha. In this ministry there are the following departments: Radio, Press, Paper--Hororya--Cinema, photography, Tourism. All of these Departments are state agencies. Not one of these functions are serviced by a private company. Each has a director and its own staff.

The paper is published daily in Conakry in the Patrice Lumumba printing plant. Built by the East Germans, it is the largest printing plant in Africa. The paper devotes about 70% of its coverage to national news, 25% to African news from other countries, and 5% to world news. This percentage is important in its historical context. Diallo states that when he was in school students were taught they were descendants of the Gauls, that their ancestors had blue eyes. When he was in school in Paris, he knew all the names of the rivers, the villages, the important French historical dates, but he knew about one fourth of Guinea. Before independence all the news concerned the exterior of Guinea. Therefore they feel it is absolutely essential that attention should be paid to events within Guinea and Africa. No articles are written in the paper which is contrary to the line of the PDG [the Democratic Party of Guinea]. That line basically consists of the proposition that no man is superior to another; all men are born free; that the people control Guinean affairs, and express this will through the PDG. Therefore only articles which are constructive are permitted to be printed. No scandals are printed. No news of thefts, fraud, etcetera. Liberty of the press is defined in Guinea pertains to the right of everyone to constructively criticize the application and administration of the fundamental political position of the party. The paper is the voice of the PDG.

Until recently, the government allowed the various foreign agencies to operate in Guinea. It even suscribed to the foreign press services up to the first of June '64. It cost 34,000,000 a year to suscribe to the various agencies. Yet when news was sent out of Guinea and it returned through the media it was distorted. Diallo asked why pay this much money to see your news misrepresented.

The radio programs are transmitted in the various tribal languages of Guinea. Each night the interior people in the 7,120 subdivisions of the PDG gather around to hear the information sent out by the radio. He feels that the radio is the most important vehicle of transmission existing in Africa. Whatever is said on it people will believe; therefore it is absolutely necessary that the truth go forth, for they will even believe the lies. Since everyone in Guinea cannot afford a radio, it is essential that they gather

in their communities to hear the news.

Diallo Alpha is the President of the African Association of Radio and Television transmission. Four years ago five countries to form this association. Today, 34 African countries participate within it. Only state radio networks belong. At one point Liberia did not have a state radio, but the religious people controlled the radio. Two years after Guinea started its own network, Liberia followed. The radio network in Lagos and Ibadan do not belong to the association; only the federal radio of Nigeria. He recalled that one day at 5:30 Toure arrived in the bureau, called everyone together and said that no longer would music foreign to Africa go on Radio Guinea. They explained to the President that they had planned their programs 15 days in advance. He told them that if he heard any nonAfrican music they would be in trouble.

On the 15th of October Diallo will travel to Rabat, I think, where the nations will gather to inaugurate an African Press Agency. There also exists a Pan African writers association. They are in the process of creating an African movie set, since they feel that Africa has something to export to the world, rather than consuming only foreign films. He stated the urgency of the movie is reflected in his own training, in the sense that when he first saw American cowboy movies, he thought that all Americans were cowboys. [It was in 1960 in Rabat that the Union of African Radio and Television was created.]

The interview was conducted in French with Mr. Bayou translating into English, sometimes with my help. Harry told us about the radio from Liberia transmitting the worst of American Rock 'n' Roll. I asked Diallo about this and what controls they could impose on the system. He said that Liberia was in the Union but that each nation controls its own material. He expressed hope that the day may arrive when the Union could control this. He maintained there have been many discussions on this matter. Concerning television he explained that they were setting up a system transmitting on 625 lines. America transmitting on 525 lines. France has its own lines. Television was started in Britain on the 625. Liberia wanted to set up its own system using the 525 of America since it gets all of its material from here. Then he pointed to his map showing how the 525 of Liberia would conflict, for Guinea would be unable to transmit to the upper portions of Liberia. This would necessitate two receivers for people in those areas and there could not be the exchange of material between Liberia and Guinea. Liberia has agreed to the 625 and America can export television programs on the 625 wave length.

We asked Diallo if he had any suggestions for us as to what we could do with helping the cause of Guinea. He told us of a trip he took to the United States. He said that he had had a press conference in New York and on that basis as well as other bases he was invited in February to visit the President. The President asked him what the United States could do to aid Guinea. He told the President that the U.S. should give moral support to the Guinea cause. The President replied that he was the first foreign visit-

or who had only asked for moral support. The implication is that other visitors, foreign, had asked for some sort of technical assistance or money. Diallo said that he would never forget those words. He also said that Pierre Salinger asked him what he thought of the United States. He told Pierre that he had a bizarre opinion that he would rather not give but that if he insisted on an answer he (Diallo) would give it. Pierre asked him to be frank. Diallo said that the main concern he had was about the relative unconcern and lack of information that people in America had about affairs outside of their own country. He went on to say that we could do a lot to help Africa by explaining what we had seen. We had not read something, we had seen it with our own eyes, and this makes a difference. When we got home, people were not simply going to want to read a book about Africa, but would want to hear from us what occurred and what we saw. In our conference he stated that our country is noted for this tendency and that we should explain what we had seen. We told him we would do this and would send him information on a regular basis.

After this, Diallo went into a discussion of his pending trip to the United States. He stated that he wanted to observe the revolution in Negro affairs that was about to take place. He said that he really felt that the American government after the election was going to move forward to grant full rights to the Negroes. He asked us what we thought about the election. Moses, who speaks French, began an explanation of the fact that Negroes in the South really do not vote for the most part: they are denied this right. Diallo halted him and pulled out a paper he had written or was in the process of writing. In this paper he had based some conclusions on what he had read in the journals Robert White's book, and some speeches of "pastor" Luther King, as he called him. All of us began to explain some realities of the American political system, the historical development of the denial of the right to vote, especially in Mississippi. After this, Mrs. Hamer began to explain her difficulties with registration and voting, translated by myself. It was not difficult to do. Although one, or at least myself, cannot put into French her exact words or the words of anyone else. There was a long discussion on the realities of the South and some explanations of what existed in the North in terms of realities for the Negro. We included a description of machine politics and their relations to the Negro.

This discussion helped to clear up some misconceptions Diallo had. Following this he asked about the "two tendencies in the Negro struggle": that of Pastor Luther King and of Malcolm X. We all smiled and told him there were more than these two tendencies. We diagrammed a line from right to left stating what we thought were the positions of the various civil rights groups mentioning only the five major groups. Diallo immediately understood the significance of this diagram and began to discern why "Pastor King" was constantly used on television.

We related to him other relevant factors about the movement in the United States, including what we thought were differences between our position and that of other civil rights groups. The interview ended after three hours with Diallo giving Mrs. Hamer a present: a musical instrument found only in Africa. We were scheduled to have another appointment with Diallo on Friday at 10 o'clock.

Conakry, Thursday, September 24, 1964

Following the meeting with Diallo Alpha, the spirit of our group soared because we began to get further involved with a study of realities in Guinea. It became much clearer what we had to do in order to clear up misconceptions about the Movement in the United States. It is understandable that such a person as Diallo Alpha, who is the Director General of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, would have an unclear understanding of what existed in the United States. The problems arising from that interview clearly point out the need for the civil rights movement in the United States to feed information to key people in Africa. It also points out the need for an African Bureau, within the structure of SNCC.

This current report is being typed on the veranda of the Villa Sily. This is the President's private quarters. I imagine it is used for other invitees of his. The Villa is not a very large place, but in another sense it is. There is a large courtyard in front, a garage and a house used by the chauffeurs, two guards, the cooks, and the waiters when they are not working. Directly in front of the gate is the center that has three bedrooms and a sitting room. In the rear is a veranda, rectangular in shape. There are many chairs and couches, and ample stands for drinks and ashtrays. All of the chairs and couches sit on a very elegant rug. Behind these chairs and couches is a rectangular marbled space that overlooks the Atlantic Ocean. Actually the veranda is not rectangular but T-shaped. I am sitting in the long part of the T where there is a large desk, a cabinet, and a short wave receiver. I am told this place existed here for the French and was somewhat abruptly destroyed when they left abruptly after the Guinean vote for Independence.

The competition at the permanence is drawing to a close. Every day for the last ten days there have been cultural activities there. The President, his wife, members of the political bureau, have all attended the festivities, sitting from 8:30 PM until 1 AM observing and judging the performances. After each performance they retire with the jury for discussion of the performances--their artistic and political significances. There is a pattern to the performance. Each night the competition opens with a play that is enacted in one of the local languages. There are some plays that even the African audience cannot understand. This is because not all of the people speak the 5 or 6 local dialects. Our group has experienced frustration with the plays for the lack of knowledge of the mores. Matthew Jones says that the trip has taught him the importance of studying languages. He intends to learn French. After the play comes a ballet which is usually 20 to 30 minutes long. Following the play there is a 6 to 10-minute intermission, during which time one of several bands play music. One of the bands is an all-woman band--women who are in the military service. [There is much emphasis placed on the rights of women. Before Independence women were almost slaves.] After intermission you hear a choir, see another ballet, hear an orchestral performance, another choir, another orchestra, and finally a folklore production--usually a dance. The difference between the folklore and the ballet lies in the fact that the latter is organized and the former is not. The orchestras play popular music but the content of the songs are all political, dealing with production, liberty, equality, the PDG, the

the Jeunesse [a youth group], African Unity, etcetera. The choirs also sing political songs in the local languages. [Last Saturday, there was a command performance for the invitees of the Government. The professional performers were on stage. Here the word "professional" implies those who go around on behalf of the state and perform.]

Following our meeting with Diallo Alpha, Harry reported to us on the meeting he had earlier with some of the key government people. This meeting dealt with his own business arrangements with the government and with our visit there. He was concerned over the lack of a program of activities for us and felt we had come too far and represented too much of a political force in the United States not to be engaged with the Government people for full discussions. He felt that we ought to explain, at least to the key people, what the realities of life in the United States were. From many points of view we had come to Guinea at a very good time. The upcoming Independence celebration occupies much of the time of government people. The competition is a tremendous strain on the resources of the key governmental figures. Then there is the everyday problem of dealing with the political realities of Guinea. Harry is amazed, and we are too, at the tremendous interest the government shows in its youth, and the hard work the officials--- all of them--- perform. We have not talked with anyone who did not say he was working 18 hours a day. LIBERTY, SOLIDARITY, and WORK, are the key slogans of this country. Governmental and party officials do not ask of others that which they are not prepared to give themselves. This is especially true of the President, Sekou Toure. It is just as true of the others.

Wednesday evening the President dropped by the Villa. This is a habit of his. One does not know when he will arrive. After all, it is his private quarters. Apparently he found Julie relaxing with her hair down wearing a housecoat. Harry was asleep. John, Julian, Don, and I, were in our quarters with Ruby [watch that connotation!] taking our physical exercise. All of the delegation from SNCC has gone on an important physical therapy kick: swimming, exercise, and doing other things--- most important, eating only low fat food since that is all which is served here. More about breakfast.

Having finished my exercises earlier and showered, I was dressed when we were told that the President had arrived. [Later on in this report I must finish a report on the physical description of the Villa for the President was in the house occupied by Belafonte where we have our meals.] We went down there and spoke to him. He observed that he was very busy and had passed by the Villa but had not wanted to disturb us. He indicated that he was getting together with the Chief of Protocol and working out a more detailed program. We told him we understood he was busy, and certainly we did not expect him to take his time and devote it to us. Anyway, we are having a meeting with him tomorrow night at the Cas, a Government house he uses. I have never been there and a description of it will have to wait until another report.

We chatted last night for a while and then we all arrived at the performance late. We wanted to wait until the performance was over. It was really a bad time to arrive because "protocol" does not try to save seats for people once the performance begins. We were perfectly con-

tnet to stand or to find seats in the rear, but protocol would not allow this and found some chairs which they sat in the aisle. We all agreed never to arrive late again. Better to stay at home.

This morning, Thursday, we woke up early and decided to go to the Ministry of Commerce. For various reasons, only Bob, Mrs. Hamer, and I went. We obtained an appointment with the Director General at 11 o'clock and talked until 12:30 Noon. The Director General is named Fremmqi Berete. He started by explaining that all the operations of the commerce department involved importation, exportation, and distribution. There is a cabinet in the ministry composed of the minister, the Director, the Chief Deputy, the Secretariat which deals with personnel, payroll, and the secretarial and courriers. There are underdepartments called the direction of Exterior Commerce, the direction of the Interior, an Inspector General, a Direction of Price to evaluate world prices, and a bureau of study and statistics. There are also societies for national commercial enterprises: two deal with exportation, and 14 deal with importation. In principle, anyone has the right to engage in both of these, including distribution, but they must get a license from the state. There is, in the commerce department, a national commission which licenses people to engage in Commerce.

There are also cooperatives here. Two types: consumer cooperatives, and production. Guinea imports what is called "tous les articles consommateur pour la vie, bien de consommation et bien d'equipment." All things necessary for consumers good for life and equipment. Of course it must be understood that much of this is also produced within the country. Concerning exportations: it exports agricultural products, mineral products, and "articles d'artisan." According to volume the most important export is bananas. According to value the most important export is coffee. Aluminum is the most important mineral. There is an unlimited resource of bauxite in this country. Some of it is currently being developed by Olin Mathison in what is called the Freer Company. This is half owned by the State and half by Olin Mathison. There is much iron ore and diamond deposits. [For lunch today, there was a young man who is studying at MIT (Mining and Metallurgy). He said the diamonds of Guinea are more valuable than the diamonds of South Africa. Currently 90% of all the world diamond production is done by one family: the deBeers'.]

The banks in Guinea are owned by the state and are under the direct control by the President. They are not located in any ministry. I asked the question as to why the price of textiles here was so high. He said the fundamental reason deals with the price of coffee and the world market. Guinea has to pay the same price to its coffee raisers as that which is paid in the Ivory Coast, for example. Yet the buyers in the Ivory Coast, which is in the franc zone, are subsidized by France. That is, if they have to sell at a price lower than that for which it was purchased, this depends on the world price. There was much discussion around this point. It is very technical, and I do feel it is necessary to go into detail. For political reasons, not wanting the coffee growers to become upset, the Guinea government, which is not in the franc zone, has to pay the same prices. Yet when it sells on the world market, it sometimes loses money because it must sell at a lower price and cannot get a subsidy anywhere else. There is a thing

called a stabilisation chest. Guinea must make up the difference by charging a high tariff on textiles. This goes into its deposits to underwrite the losses it receives on the world market.

In general, the problems of Guinea, commercially, are all of the problems of the underdeveloped nations. He gave us a report of a conference which was recently held in Switzerland on the economy of underdeveloped nations. In essence this is it: There are enormous need and few possibilities. When you have something to sell, you must sell at a price too low to meet the needs: i.e., to get money to pay for imports. Therefore, when you need industrial equipment, you never have enough rice or money to pay for it. When you create an industry you cannot export it to developed countries: because the high tariff which are imposed on these exports the solutions to these delimitas are difficult. One way to overcome these problems is to create a common market in the African zone. It is now around 3 o'clock in the morning. Everyone else is decked out for the night. I hear a mild lapping of the waves against the rich ironore along the coast. Not rocks but iron ore. Life is calm in Guinea: very little, if any, night life. People work. Here is where that material on underdeveloped countries can be obtained. Sources are from the United Nations: Report of the Secretary General of the Conference [Economic Conference 46/3, 12 Feb 64; Conference of the United Nations on the development of Commerce. It can be obtained in English, French and Spanish. Learn languages: for the world is small!]

September 24, 1964 -- Meeting between SNCC Workers and Guinea
Minister of Information, Diallo Alpha

Minister Diallo Alpha told the SNCC group that Guinea has 3 economic ministries: (1) Commerce; (2) Rural; and (3) Development.

Rural deals with agriculture: tractors, cows, grazing, fish, arts and crafts, forests, bananas, pineapples, etc.

The Development Ministry deals with industry and public works: mines, electricity, and housing.

Under colonialism, France took resources from Guinea and brought back the finished product, producing a "non-developing industry." After Independence, it became necessary to develop their own resources for themselves, for by doing that they are building and developing their own economy.

Guinea is not capitalist, but socialist. Socialistic systems are characteristic of African society. If anyone has food, no one shall die of hunger.

Development must serve all the people, not just a few. African socialist countries are not communist: they are real socialist republics. There are 210 million people in the Soviet Union, for instance, but only 20 million are Communists. In order to be a Communist, you must be militant and must join the Communist Party. The Soviet Party is reserved for a few.

In Guinea, everyone can participate in the revolution, and they have universal socialism here.

Money

There is no possibility of self-development when one nation controls another nation's money. By this reasoning, Guinea wants to control its own economy and thus control its own money. For 2 years after Independence Guinea used French francs. To put pressure on the government and to "strangle the economy", the French reduced the volume of currency in the country. Therefore Guinea produced its own money, and is now not allied with the franc zone (French), the sterling zone (British), or the dollar zone (American). They were the first, and are the only country with African money. When all African countries have African money, they will enter the African zone. That will be when there will be a "continental currency."

Guinea's financial independence has made colonialist and imperialist countries angry. On August 28, 1958 [Independence Day] other countries blocked ships trying to come to Guinea; delayed goods' shipment; and counterfeited money to cause inflation. Soon Algeria will have her own money.

People think money must be based on gold [as it is in the US and the dollar zone]. Money should be based on the capacity of the country to produce. Both America and Europe, basing their currency on gold, have permanent deficits. Salt was once used in Africa for money. Gold was everywhere - used for warriors' shields - and the colonialists grabbed it.

In Africa, your best passport is a dark skin. In Europe, people had to work to live, but in Africa a man could and can go nude from January 1st until December 31st. He can get food and clothing easily. 3,000 years ago Egypt--a part of Africa--had a great civilization while Europe was savage and people were living in caves.

America and Europe will never develop Africa or Guinea. Europe took Africa's riches, and America took her labor. Both continents owe Africa unattached aid. All Guinea banks are nationalised and there is no capitalism here. Everyone is committed to work for himself and the state. Guinea requires 1/2 of the profits from all foreign investments and the government is co-owner of American aluminum investments here, for instance. They own 60% of one company [Harvey Aluminum].

In 1960, Guinea experienced money trouble. Many companies offered the country quick money. They thought the country would not be able to repay loans and that they could extend their franchises to exploit Guinea. One country was ordered to leave the country. Under the 1958 "loi cadre" of the fourth law African countries were given a French constitution and a chance at internal self-government. However, France controlled their money and their foreign policy. When Guinea was offered this she said "yes, if you will include a clause for eventual Independence." France said no, and Guinea voted "No!" to France, and "Yes!" to Freedom. In 1958, although Guinea was made a "free" country, the French took everything: even telephones, typewriters. Sekou Toure said: "Take it. Just leave!"

The reason that France offered mere partial-independence is thus: when French army officers took over Algeria in 1958; they demanded that de Gualle form a French government. He did. And he promised "freedom" to Algeria, thinking he would establish a French state from Dunkirque to Southern Algeria. But he didn't want another Algeria in Black Africa. So de Gaulle offered partial freedom to Black African nations. France even sent paratroops into Guinea to provoke violence before independence. There was one showdown: when French and Guinian troops faced each other a Guinian soldier ordered the French to take down the French flag. The French general refused but the situation grew so tense that the French troops took down the flag themselves.

Trade Unionism:

In Africa, trade-unionism has been developed to its fullest. Toure is a unionist. Unions here are for members: not leaders. They are very strong, and once had a 78 day stand-in strike. All workers are unionized. All dues go to the union; not to union bosses. For instance: the ministry of information is unionized. Each Saturday, the head of the union - a chauffeur - comes to the minister with complain

Salaries:

A minimum wage for each job rate is set by the Minister of Work, a committee of unions, government, and private enterprise. Each worker has a work card which shows the minimum wage he may be paid.

Justice:

African justice is unique. All Guinean lawyers are appointed to each case. They are government employees. If a man is arrested for stealing, counsel must prove he is not guilty, instead of the state proving he is guilty. [We will get more information on this later from the Minister of Justice.]

Conakry, September 26, 1964:

Our group met with President Sekou Toure last night in the cas. This is one of the presidential homes existing in Guinea. It is used not only for rendezvous for heads of state, but for foreign visitors often stay there. Currently, there are some Germans from the Federal Republic staying there. The cas has two Guinian style houses: the thatched roof made in a round pyramid shape. Inside however, it is ultra modern. There is also another building, retantular in shape with a conference room and living quarters. It was on the veranda of this building that we had the conference. There were many important officials of the government there: the Chief of State, who is the second man in the government; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is departing or has departed for Washington along with many other Africa: to President Johnson about the Congo situation. The Chief Security Officer was there. He and I walked around together and he told me he had been to the Villa Sila many times [but we had never seen him]. Only the guards saw him. Also there was the chief musician; the head of the PanAfrican Youth Congress; and several more important people whose titles I have forgotten.

We arrived before the President and toured the Cas. Everyone was thrilled by the view of the ocean from the Cas. There is a swimming pool there but it is empty. We went upstairs to the veranda. I told Mr. Ben Daudoula that Bob Moses was sick and that Dona was staying with him. I asked him to get a doctor over there as soon as possible. He promised to do it soon as this meeting was over. However apparently the doctor called the cas and he told him about the illness. All is well.

Toure first met with the Ambassador from Algeria, only for a few minutes. There was an interpreter there, Camarah. I suggested we should concentrate on three prior arranged points: (1) what Toure felt the significance of our trip to Africa; (2) to tell something about our efforts in the South; and (3) to discuss ways of establishing relationships with Guinea and other African countries--- what he thought of this and how he thought it could be carried out.

We began discussing the second point first, which probably should have been the order in the first place. There was some description by me in French as to the nature of the Movement; some historical development, and then some analysis of why we differed in part from some of the other civil rights groups in the United States. This point was considered most important because the day before we had talked to the Minister of Information who was not at all informed on the barest difference between the Movements in the United States, and had thought in fact that Martin Luther King was the leader of all the Negroes in the United States. We described to Toure as we did to Diallo that there was a line from right to left which could be used to somewhat pinpoint the positions of the civil rights groups, especially the principal five. This we did. Afterwards there were some expressions by the members of the group. Harry told the President that there existed in the United States at one time a group of people who were militant, but the McCarthy period helped to end their potentialities. He especially referred to Dr. W.E.B. duBois, and to Paul Robeson. But he found that in SNCC there existed an answer to the type of militant leadership that was needed in the Negro liberation struggle in the United States.

The President began by saying "Bon." We all laughed for it was something disarming. He thanked us for coming and stated that our struggle was not just ours and that there existed a great relationship between what we do in the United States: what happens in Africa and the converse is true. He began by saying that our struggle was not only social, economic and human, but that it is really a political problem created by history and history itself would decide its future. Or there must be an historical solution. If we agreed upon this, there should be an analysis of the three principal points:

[1] No solution of a problem can come about unless there is a consciousness that the problem exists. A poor man without a consciousness of the problem cannot help himself. But a rich man, even if he has a social consciousness about human conditions can do more to help solve problems than someone who is poor. We must set a goal and move toward that goal step by step. We must be educated and informed about the nature of the problem. There are two types of political consciousness. The first is absolute. It says that if you re-

ject discrimination, you will never submit to it under any circumstances. One is firm and does not deviate from his position. The second position is relative. The struggle is relative to the situation. It is practical. It helps if you are going forward. He gave an example of a man who wanted to take a stick and hit someone over the head. That takes physical courage; but political courage involves the study of events step by step. One must be working on A but preparing for B and C, and see that these steps will lead to a larger objective.

[2] The second point which must be firmly understood is that of organisation. We must not underestimate the role of organisation. He took the example of the table in front of him on which there were peanuts and some boiled peeled potatoes. He said that he could lift the table himself, but that if all of the 20 or more of us who were around the table began to pull in different directions, probably none of us would be able to lift it. We must work to bring people in the Movement. Even if someone himself does not respond the way we think he should, he may have relatives who will become committed. [This point is probably important from an experiential point of view in that the Chief of State is from a very wealthy family in Guinea from which he has broken.]

Now, what is the structure of injustice in the United States? The rich exploit the poor. It is a question of economics. There are even black men who exploit other black men: they may well be more dangerous than some whites. Segregation is simply an effect. We will never get rid of that effect until we rid ourselves of the cause. Our organisation must attack the cause of segregation. Take the example of a factory where there are 1,000 workers: 800 white, 200 black. They are all exploited. Pather than talk about "liberty for the black" we must pose the problem for all. It is true that in particular situations you will want to speak directly to the black people and point out their own frustration and exploitation. However, this problem should be posed as human so that support can be obtained. If an organisation is efficient it must fight against all causes, not just questions of social differences, but economic. We must study the world situation of exploitation. We should aim at specific goals and not fix a date. If a date is fixed then opportunism sets in. What is a century to wait and work for if you feel it is right?

[3] A third very important factor for any movement is that those who are selected to represent you are carefully selected because the quality of their actions will affect society in one way or another. This point should not be underestimated.

Now the conditions in America are different than they are in Africa. Despite the period of colonialism Africa has remained true to its values. Colonialism tried to make a difference but it did not. African society could not develop unless it is supported by its values. African society can be vertical, i.e. go up, but the situation with the Negro in America is different. Here progress is horizontal. It is important to remember that from the very beginning, the Negro was cut off from all value systems. He was forced to live in a society where all the conceptions of values were foreign to him. One's advancement under these circumstances was blocked. Also, it has to be remembered that the United States is not unitary, and that each state

is-almost a little entity unto itself. This has tremendous implications in postulating tactics. We must develop a consciousness from a study of the whole society. From these two situations, of course, and from the structure in America -- as elsewhere -- there is something called the grand conscience for "lui-meme" -- a person trying to create a place for himself. He sees the structure vertically as that of achieving his own ambitions. There are a few and this must be further developed: a political consciousness to change the whole system. It may well be that in this struggle you may have to fight more against the blacks than the others.

Now, let us consider the situation from the point of view of strategy. Don't pose the problem as one of emancipation of black people. We must emancipate the whole community so that aspirations can be shared by all. The situation is social, political, and economic. We must study to try to find the best solution. In the black community we might tell people they are exploited because they are black. It gives the movement a broad base. The whole community will know that your victory will be their victory.

From the point of view of tactics: The social structure is not one. Examine it state by state. From this study you select different means for each state. It would be wrong politics to impose a common attitude on the people. The diversity of American society must be reflected in our organisation. We cannot forget the actions of the everyday struggle in the various sections. These daily confrontations will develop a consciousness. [This is important from my point of view with respect to the Civil Right Law -- especially the Public Accommodations Section.]

It is fundamental that we see the problem as the system. Do not try to stress the contradictions in the black community. On the national plane, however, we must try to project unity. If we try to solve our internal contradictions, we will lose. Look at the system.

At this point the President asked what time it was and said we could continue the discussion at a later time. We expressed our thanks and left. The President and his ministers stayed and had a meeting before going to the competitions. I'm sure there was something said about the meeting in Kenya on the Congo question, and the pending trip to Washington by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.