

# The Viewpoint Is Africa:

# A Young Ambassador Looks at the Troubled World . . .

What a puzzle this complex world must seem to the emerging peoples and nations whose support the U. S. seeks in the East-West war of ideas. In fact, some of the new nations offer a eloquent vision.

Last week an eloquent African just 31 years old demonstrated this in an outspoken address to the United Nations. Following are extracts from the "inaugural" address of Frederic Guirma, mission-educated ambassador of the Republic of Upper Volta, to the General Assembly.

Upper Volta is three years old, formerly French Colonial territory, and neutral. But its young ambassador brings an unusual incisiveness to the world problems he surveys, from Berlin to Ole Miss.

By **FREDERIC GUIRMA**  
Ambassador of Upper Volta  
Distributed by United Press International

My people, like all peoples, thirst for peace, but tests and nuclear explosions which pollute our atmosphere do not speak a language of peace. Everybody knows how last year the Soviet Union resumed with much noise a series of nuclear tests. Despite the protests of the majority of the members of this assembly, it did not hesitate to explode the most powerful and deleterious bomb that man had ever manufactured. It was obvious that after such an undesirable initiative the United States would also resume tests in order not to be outdistanced by the Soviet Union.

At present a race to the moon is in progress, as if it were a soccer match. One wonders whether all the objects turning round the earth with astronauts are pursuing not only a scientific endeavor but also perhaps a mission of death. It is for these reasons that we shall spare no effort to contribute to general and complete disarmament.

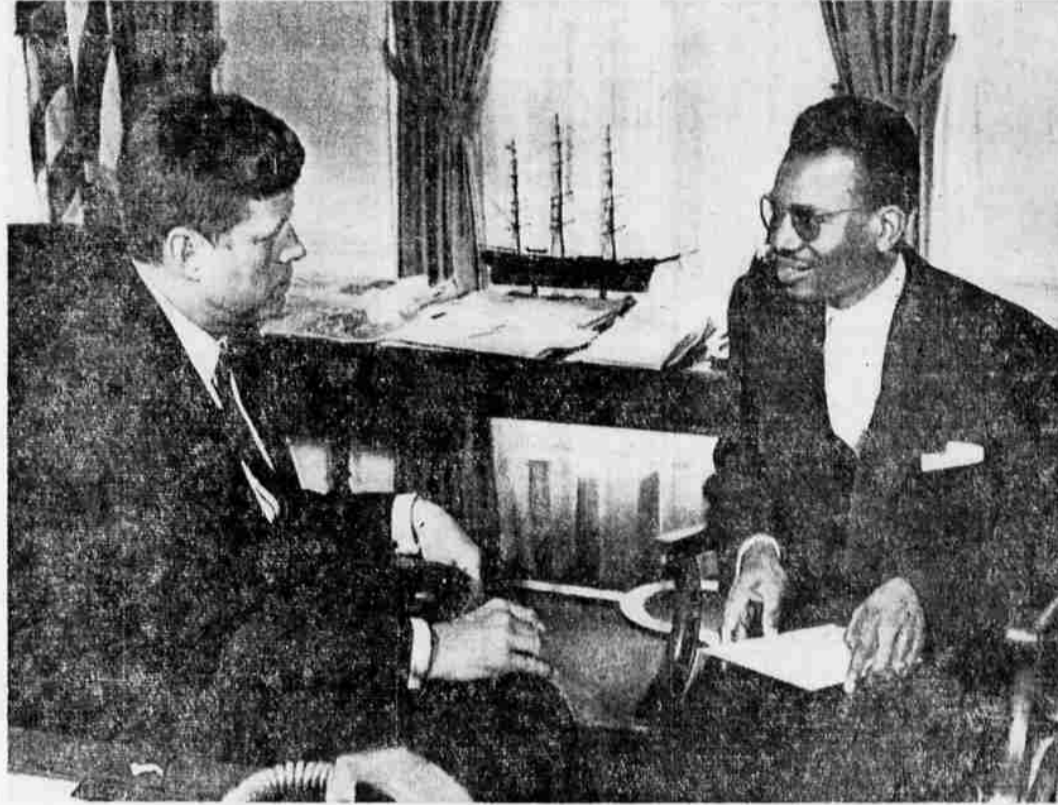
It is not true to say that everybody wishes to disarm. If it were true, then instead of fighting over phrases and procedure an immediate solution would be found. The delegation of Upper Volta believes that first a complete inventory should be taken of all nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles, after the signing of a treaty for the immediate cessation of nuclear tests. Once this inventory is completed under the supervision of a control organ composed of neutral and small countries, these weapons should be assembled in the public square and one would make a magnificent fire of them to celebrate peace. This would be the only way to make sure that all weapons and all delivery vehicles and all means of producing weapons have been destroyed.

**Armaments Race Continues**  
The armaments race continues because, since the end of the last war a fierce competition has been taking place between yesterday's allies to see who will dominate the world. One party had already dominated the world through economic power, covering the whole world with a heavy mantle of imperialism. Then others wanted to dominate the world through imperialism of a new kind, spiced with a promising ideology which they wished to impose through all means. This is what is called the cold war. It is fed with truth as well as false problems. The false problems of the cold war are those that do not deal with the realities of life. An example of such a false problem that is feeding the cold war is the problem of Hungary, which is presented to this Assembly every year.

We know very well what happened in Budapest in 1956. We know that a people wanted to shake off the yoke of a regime that they detested. We know that the hopes of those courageous and proud people were fostered and nourished when it was well-known that since Potsdam and Yalta a new world had been born in which the beautifully traditions of faith in peoples were no longer respected.

Thus, when Soviet tanks were crushing the bones and flesh of Hungarian patriots in the streets of Budapest, it became apparent that one could help these patriots only with beautiful words and tears of compassion. In 1939, a blank cheque given to Poland became very expensive. In 1956, the blank cheque given to the Hungarian people was not covered. What happened? A new government came into power. Whatever one may think of that government, it is a legitimate government since it controls and rules the country.

**In Favor of Fighting for Freedom**  
On the other hand, the people and government of



Frederic Guirma, ambassador of Upper Volta, is shown here talking with President John F. Kennedy in April, 1961. Guirma addressed the United Nations General Assembly recently. (UPI)

Upper Volta are resolutely in favor of peoples fighting for their freedom and of peoples who were arbitrarily divided and find part of their country still free. They ask that the United Nations apply the charter of the United Nations, that is to say the provision granting the right of self-determination to peoples.

I shall cite as an example the peoples of Germany and Korea. It is true that Germany lost the war. But I believe this is the first time in the whole history that seventeen years have passed since the end of the war without the signing of a treaty. Since the Hundred Years war, one has never seen such a practice followed in civilized countries.

Germany was partitioned into two parts. In the East, those who wish to build artificial paradises on earth began their work. In the West work started again in the conviction that, since God expelled Adam and Eve from paradise, man could be sure only of his weakness and suffering. But what do we see today? Millions of people who have fled from the so-called paradise in the East and who have come to live in the so-called inferno of the West. We were told that this was not so, that there were no refugees, that this was all capitalist-imperialist propaganda, that a scientifically constructed socialism was being vilified. But to our great surprise, this socialist state soon built a concrete wall to divide Berlin into two parts, and against all expectation it was not in order to protect the socialist paradise against the illegal immigration of people from the West; no, that wall—which is a wall of truth—was to show us that there was no paradise in the East and to prove that the people of the East preferred the regime of the West.

I mentioned the problem of Korea. There again the

problem is one of freedom, and in this case the United Nations, with all the moral force of the charter behind it, must see to it that this problem is solved. What is it that the Korean people wish, if not peace and reunification? In that country it had been claimed that paradise was in the north and hell in the south, but it was not long before over 5 million happy people threw away their babies in the so-called Communist paradise in the north and fled to the south. The increasing disproportion between the populations of the north and the south is a clear indication of the true situation.

Since I am speaking of Asia, I would like also to say a few words concerning our views on the problem of China. The legal problem of the representation of the People's Republic of China is clear. A nation whose population numbers 700 million cannot be ignored, and furthermore, to close the door of the United Nations to certain nations would be tantamount to denying the universality of this organization. Moreover, if it is true that Continental China will soon become a candidate for membership in the "nuclear club", it becomes quite evident that no disarmament will be possible without the participation of a country which possesses the greatest army in the world.

But if mainland China really wishes to become a member of the United Nations in order to cooperate, it is up to China. The leaders of this country also chose to build a paradise on earth. We wish them good luck even though, according to what some people tell us, their economic difficulties are rather great. But let them solve their own difficulties and build their own paradise on earth, and let them stop bothering their neighbors.

The state of Israel exists. It is a member of the United Nations. It is universally known and many countries hold it in high esteem. It is very active in practical international collaboration. It is impossible to strike that state off the map of the world because a million Arab refugees remain unyielding in the matter of the method and form in which they should be indemnified for the losses sustained by them.

A war in the Middle East between Israel and the Arab States would not leave the great powers in a state of indifference and we would soon see them confronting each other, through the respective adversaries, just as they have so zealously done in the past whenever any conflict, however unimportant, has broken out anywhere in the world. The busy way in which they will be furnishing arms is sufficient to show that they will not be content to remain passive spectators in such an eventuality.

If I spoke of insecurity and the cold war, it is because today there is the phenomenon of decolonization which gives birth to the new peace-loving states. I wish to congratulate Algeria, whose people were heroic in its constant and energetic struggle for its liberation and national independence. I also wish to congratulate France, which knew how to bring this independence about with much courage and remarkable foresight, with understanding of present realities. In the name of my government I wish to pay a special tribute to General De Gaulle. We had already stated here that he was faithful to his word, that he had a warm heart and great intelligence which enabled him to fathom realities of our time.

**Days of Colonialism Numbered**  
The days of colonialism are numbered in Africa. No predatory colonialism will retain a toehold in Africa. That is why we ask that the power responsible for the Rhodesias and Nyasaland be true to its traditional wisdom. An equitable system has been imposed upon these countries where Africans are dominated by the white. Blood has begun to flow.

To this club one could add South Africa. The representative of that country came to this rostrum with a very heavy conscience, and the best proof of this is that every time he tried to find fault with everybody else, thus to justify his own sins. He speaks of countries that are racist. He speaks of the United States and accuses it, and so on.

I would like to tell him the difference between the United States, for instance, and South Africa. Indeed, in the United States segregation exists and in some parts of the country it is even terrible. But what is important is that the government of the United States did not make an institution of this. It does not praise this policy. On the contrary, it energetically fights it. For one small Negro to go to school, it threatens governors and judges with prison. It sends policemen to arrest a former general who does not understand anything about the worth of the human being. It sends troops to occupy the University of Mississippi in order to protect a Negro and to disperse a mob of hysterical demonstrators.

**'Crisis of the United Nations'**  
Much has been said about the "crisis of the United Nations." This is not surprising since some members of the United Nations behave like a madman who, seated on a branch, is vigorously sawing this branch, while yelling to all who would hear him: "Watch it—we are going to fall!"

An objective analysis of the situation shows that those who undermine the prestige of the United Nations, are those who refuse to participate frankly, for sinister motives; and who refuse to shoulder their responsibilities in the various operations of our organization.

Our independence did not come by chance; we are in a state of euphoria and stupor. Our independence was not a conscious act, for us it was a magnificent instrument. This is why we are not contaminated by this infantile sickness of independence, which consists in fraternizing exuberantly with everybody, without wondering for one single instance whether this was a positive act of international cooperation or rather irresponsible propaganda in a world where responsibilities are weighty. We do not become friends with a country unless we are prepared to cooperate fruitfully for peace, without any after thought. Thank God, Upper Volta is still free to organize its international life as it sees fit, and it will always preserve its freedom.

# While Landry Writes of a Tale of Two Cities, Lagos and Accra

By **WILBUR G. LANDREY**  
United Press International

Accra—In Africa today there is a tale of two cities, Lagos and Accra, capitals of Nigeria and Ghana. The outcome will shape the development of a continent.

The road from Lagos to Accra leads 320 miles westward along the bottom of Africa's bulge. It passes through the rain forest and along white sand beaches, through four countries of different traditions and two different colonial pasts.

This was once the old slave coast. And here, in miniature, the struggle for Africa is taking place. Lagos is one pole of attraction, Accra the other. The distance between them can easily be driven in a day. But the distance of ideas is greater.

**Largest African Country**  
With 40 million people, Nigeria is the largest country in Africa. It is the only black African country where parliamentary, multi-party democracy is going strong.

Lagos, the capital of 365,000 people, still contains some of the worst slums in the world and, in contrast, some fine modern buildings.

Nigeria and her quiet-spoken prime minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, a 50-year-old former school-teacher from the Moslem northern region, stand for a slow, step-by-step ap-



This picture shows Tinubu Square in Lagos, with modern Central Bank of Nigeria building. (UPI)

proach to African unity through technical, economic and political cooperation. Now on the second anniversary of Nigeria's independence, her democracy is undergoing its severest test. The leaders of the major opposition party, the Action Group (AG), are either being investigated for alleged financial irregularities or under detention on suspicion of arms smuggling.

Much will depend on the

outcome of the present crisis, for if moderation and democracy survive in Nigeria, they will have a stronger chance elsewhere in Africa.

There is energy and hope, but the crisis has brought a touch of disillusionment.

Seventy miles along the tarred and often rough road is the border with Dahomey, a sliver of a country with 44,000 square miles and a population of 1,700,000. A mile from the mod-

ern Nigerian border post are the sleepy village and dusty buildings which mark the Dahomey customs. Here the officer says "Bon jour" (not good day) and a sign says "Routez a Droit" — drive on the right instead of the left.

This is French-speaking Africa, and Dahomey and sister Togo are sandwiched like peanut butter between English-speaking Nigeria and Ghana.

Togo, an even smaller



Market women crowd a street in Accra in this scene taken in 1961. (UPI)

sliver of 21,000 square miles, is only 31 miles wide at the coast and has an estimated population of 1,100,000.

Togo's capital, Lome, is on the border with Ghana. And President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana frankly would like to take over all of Togo. Relations are bad between them, and the border is closed to vehicle traffic. Here you pick up your baggage and carry it across. And the sign reads: "Wel-

come to Ghana. Please Drive on the Left."

The difference is immediately obvious in bigger and richer Ghana, a country of nearly 7,000,000 people which has the best civil service in black Africa and one of the highest levels of education.

Nkrumah and Ghana led the way to independence in black Africa (not counting Liberia and Ethiopia) in 1957. The 51-year-old Nkrumah has been the hero of

a continent and his aggressive policy of political unity, with himself as presumably the leader, is the opposite pole from the cautious approach of Nigeria and the French-speaking states.

It has also made him enemies among his neighbors and the other leaders of Africa.

In Ghana, Nkrumah is known as Osagyefo (the Redeemer or Messiah) and his party press has sometimes

appeared to suggest that he is immortal. But like Nigeria, Ghana is in a time of crisis.

On Aug. 1, a bomb narrowly missed Nkrumah himself. And four have gone off since, killing 15 persons and injuring 256. They resulted in a dusk to dawn curfew in this capital of 388,000 people, usually one of the gayest cities on the West Coast.

On some world issues, Nkrumah has leaned toward the Soviet bloc, but in reality his main preoccupation is with Africa and with developing his country. The only foreign nation to come for thanks in his recent speech to parliament was the United States.

**Concentrate on Second**  
Having won the first, the political, revolution, Nkrumah told parliament recently that it must now concentrate on the second, the economic and social revolution. He added:

"In pursuing our second revolution, let us rid ourselves of the false notion that democracy necessarily rests in supporting multiple factions warring within the bosom of a divided nation. Let the aim of the second revolution be a socialist future in which the needs of each will be the concern of the state. . . . Ours, by the people's wish, shall be a one-party state, a people's parliamentary democracy. . . ."

That is the one-party doctrine which is favored by many of Africa's nationalist leaders.