

# AN AFRICAN'S SEARCH FOR AFRICA

## TOWARDS A PAX AFRICANA

A Study of  
Ideology and Ambition

by

**Ali A. Mazrui**

The basic political ideas of contemporary Africa are founded in the ethic of self-government and the passionate African ambition "to be his own policeman." The author, Professor of Political Science at Makerere University College in Uganda, ably and effectively describes the search for African identity, the concept of racial sovereignty, the development of native political leadership, the Pan-African movement, and the attitudes and policies of Africans at the UN. *Nature of Human Society Series.*

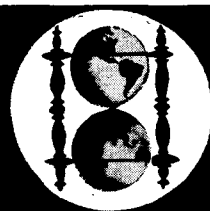
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## THE REPORTER'S NOTES

### Unconventional Convention

To Senate Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen, the nation owes a great debt for its political entertainment. Now the Senator has outdone himself. As a result of his quiet, continuing pressure to modify the Supreme Court's reapportionment rulings of the early 1960's, the nation faces the prospect of its first Constitutional Convention since 1787. True, political and juridical reality suggest that this great meeting may never take place, but the imagination does not readily yield once it has been so tempted. We can see all the legislative leaders of the several states. From Jesse Unruh of California to Joseph Zaretzki of New York, they are decked out in silken breeches and powdered wigs. Only Senator Dirksen, who passes soothingly among them, looks absolutely right in the outfit and does not seem to find it troublesome in the Philadelphia summer heat. Through the milling and over the din, we can also hear from time to time the stentorian voice of the presiding officer: "Will the sergeant-at-arms clear those aisles!"

**H**OW DID the latest development in the reapportionment struggle come about? It is a grotesque story. Article V of the Constitution provides that "On the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States," Congress "shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments. . . ." Since all twenty-five Amendments that now exist were achieved by the alternative method of Congressional introduction, no one (always excepting Senator Dirksen and his cohorts) took seriously this secondary campaign which got started in Chicago in 1964. At that time, the General Assembly of the States, which included many state legislative leaders, decided to try to get the required two-thirds of the states to

make their applications to Congress. On three separate occasions the Senate has rejected Dirksen's efforts, but meanwhile the applications from the states kept rolling in. So unfamiliar was the procedure to everyone concerned that three states reportedly sent their applications to the wrong address and thus the applications (which have never been received) either do or do not count in the total, while the rest were silently filed away in the appropriate Congressional cubbyholes. Each was announced in the *Congressional Record* upon receipt, but nobody was keeping count. Suddenly in the first two weeks of March, four state legislatures passed the necessary resolutions, bringing the total to thirty-two—only two short of the required number. It was then that the new flurry of activity began. When we asked a leader of the opposition to Senator Dirksen's plan how and when he realized that thirty-two states had asked for a Constitutional Convention, he said, "I read about it in the *New York Times*."

**T**HERE ARE numerous explanations for the fact that so many people were caught unawares, and also for the fact that so many states joined the drive. The only effective nationally organized opposition to the Dirksen amendment is that of the League of Women Voters. The AFL-CIO, for instance, was decisive in stopping Dirksen in the Senate, but its minions in the states did not always share the position of the national leadership. In states such as Oklahoma, where labor is weak, it tended either to support or ignore the effort in return for other favors it was seeking. Moreover, none of the log-rolling seemed very harmful since each state seemed to be acting in isolation rather than in relation to the untabulated stack of resolutions quietly piling up in Washington. When on occasion the League would express alarm, the preposterousness

of the plan would be invoked, so that, according to one of the ladies at work on the counter-effort, "We felt naïve."

Then there was the question of secrecy. Senator Dirksen has protested that a secret drive could hardly have been undertaken in thirty-two legislatures, but it does seem true that opponents of the project in the states often got a pretty fast shuffle. Few states held hearings on the resolution; many put it through very quickly either at the beginning or end of the session. And, as communications from League officers in the field disclosed, it was not always easy to find out what was going on. From Illinois, the apportionment chairman wrote to the League's national office in Washington, "The [Illinois] Senate did hold a brief hearing . . . but it was on less than 24-hours' notice, and we were unable to get anyone there to appear in person. . . . The swiftness and silence—in spite of all our efforts—with which this has been passed are shocking." From Colorado came a similar complaint: "You know, memorials [applications] are not printed, as bills are, nor are they screened by committee so this one came up for debate last Wednesday with practically no advance notice. . . . The House votes on it today . . . and they will probably pass it—but they'll have to step over our prostrate (if not dead) body to do it." (It passed.)

As Senator Joseph Tydings (D., Maryland) has pointed out, the overwhelming majority of applications were in fact passed by legislatures themselves malapportioned by the Supreme Court's lights, and most of these legislatures have by now been reapportioned by law and replaced in state elections. No one is clear, however, whether their applications are still valid or whether it is even possible for a new legislature to rescind them—Maryland is trying to now, and Missouri may follow suit.

**T**HESE ARE but a few of the intriguing, unanswerable questions that Senator Dirksen, with crucial assistance from the American Farm Bureau Federation and other lobbies, has raised. Who decides if the applications are valid? What

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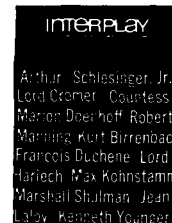
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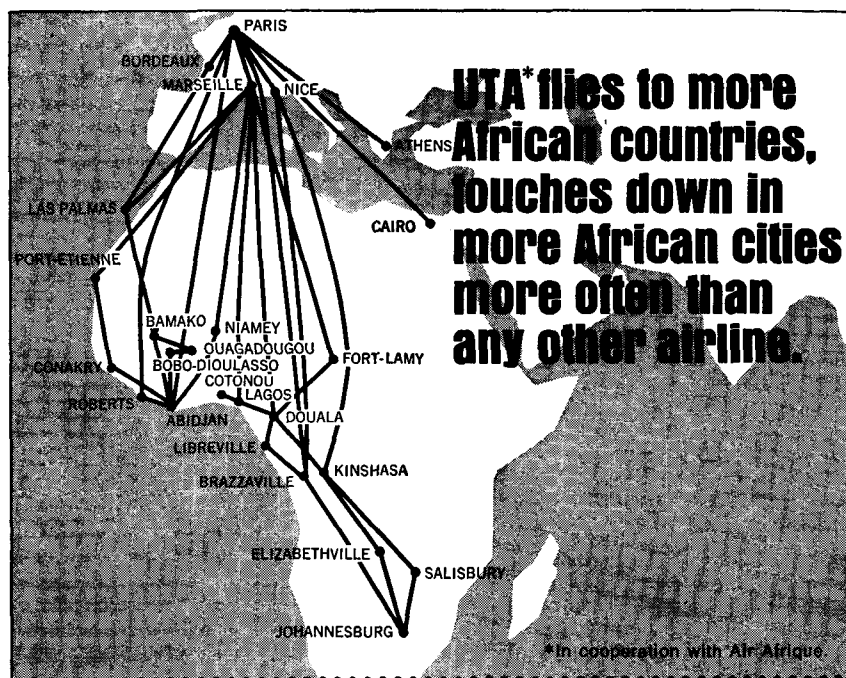


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happens if Congress ignores the call? Is it conceivable that the courts would then be required to direct Congress to respond to a call from the states to hold a convention whose business is mainly to overturn decisions made in the first place by the courts? And who attends a Constitutional Convention anyway? Presumably Congress would decide the latter question. The amount of litigation that would be set off no matter how any of these matters were resolved boggles the imagination.

At present the best guessing is that, with or without powdered wigs, there will be no Constitutional Convention. At any of a number of points required to bring it to pass, the Senate would be vulnerable to filibuster. And thanks to Senator Dirksen's own skill in another recent battle, such a filibuster against his latest move could not be stopped except by an unlikely two-thirds vote of the Senate. However he may feel about it now, Dirksen also saw to that.

### Redrafting the Draft

Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz told a Senate manpower subcommittee recently that he had refused to place on a list of "critical occupations" the nation's pretzel bakers and pipe-organ makers. Various advocates of these arts had urged that young men practicing them be deferred from the draft because of their contribution to the nation's palate, culture, and economy. They would have joined the 250,000 other young men of draft age, mostly young scientists and technicians, whose critical skills have deferred them.

Secretary Wirtz warned that if such deferments are not to be allowed when a new military training act is passed by Congress this summer, then neither should deferments for the nation's two million college and graduate-school students. In this he concurs with the President's National Advisory Commission on Selective Service which has urged that "no further student or occupational deferments should be granted."

The commission's recommendation that undergraduates, as well as graduate students, take their

chances on the draft with everybody else was its only major proposal on which President Johnson passed the buck; he suggested that Congress make the decision after further debate. It was also the only source of deep division within the commission itself, a division that extends to the nation's campuses. During last year's baccalaureate service at Harvard, President Nathan M. Pusey told his charges that "it is in the best interest of the United States that many of you get on with your careers in academic life . . . determinedly, without apology or shame." This view was not shared by President Kingman Brewster, Jr., of Yale, who told his baccalaureate audience that the draft was unjust because its burden fell "primarily upon those who cannot hide in the endless catacombs of formal education."

President Pusey has been supported half-way by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, a leading Congressional critic of the draft who has offered legislation that "would provide for postponing military service until the end of undergraduate study, but in no case for longer than four years." Even this compromise was attacked by Walter F. Berns, chairman of the Department of Government at Cornell, who takes the stand that an undergraduate can "easily resume his studies" after an interruption, while "the typical graduate student, on the other hand, is settled in his plans."

If leading educators cannot agree on who should serve, who can? Secretary Wirtz told Senator Kennedy's subcommittee: "It would be hard to prove that there is a larger value to either the public or to the individual in letting Bob finish college than in letting Jim complete his apprenticeship as a carpenter or letting John work his way up the unskilled steps toward a skilled job as punch-press operator. In fact, the last two may be more likely to get thrown off stride by a two-year interruption than the college student would be."

The status quo on graduate-student deferments, represented by the views of President Pusey and Professor Berns, seems destined to be cast aside. In the whole tangled debate, the Presidential commission seems most likely to have the last



word on the graduate-school path to beating the draft. It has produced studies showing that in 1964 seventy-three per cent of young men in the twenty-seven to thirty-four age bracket who attended graduate school had escaped military service. Of those who attended college but not graduate school, thirty per cent escaped, and of those who did not go beyond high school, only twenty-six per cent escaped.

In this area, at least, the commission has moved toward fulfilling one of its primary goals as defined by the President: "Fairness to all citizens."

### Penultimatum

**TOKYO** — *Japanese correspondents reported from Peking today that wall posters, an important source of news on the turmoil in Communist China, have been banned from the streets of the Chinese capital. The ban was announced by wall posters.* —United Press International.

Attention, revisionist doghead scum! In accord with the inspired thoughts our glorious Chairman Mao Tse-tung has expressed in the last three strophes of his 1957 ode to the production levels achieved at the People's Artificial Fertilizer Plant at Liang Chu, with which it is hoped you are familiar, wall posters of this or any other despicable sort will no longer be tolerated.

Before going off joyfully to join our comrades laboring in the fields for the spring planting phase of the Great Proletarian Agricultural Revolution, we wish to express our thanks to our readers for their faithful attention and support. We have especially appreciated the devotion of that small band of capitalist-smelling Japanese sharks who have informed the reactionary wire services of our recent purification. In accord with the fifth antistrophe of our Heavenly Chairman's recent appraisal of adventurism among the bauxite workers of Hupeh Province, those who have been unmasked at any point prior to eleven o'clock this evening are to remain unmasked. See the epodes, *passim*, for instructions on turning in your arm-bands and paper hats. The ban on wall posters remains in effect until further notice. Watch this space.

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# That Living Anachronism

THERE IS NO use searching for the reasons for hatred toward a public figure, be he the President of the United States or any man who makes himself controversial. Those of us who are old enough will never forget how that "traitor to his class" FDR was hated even after his death. Only descriptive analysis without any pretense of scientific objectivity can allow us to look a little distance beyond the present conflict of passions.

True, the hatred for this President has a special quality. People talk about LBJ as if there were something monstrous about him. Let one random quote suffice: "I grant him bloody, arrogant, avaricious, false, vindictive, smacking of every sin that has a name," says a character called Ted in *MacBird!*, the satirical play that Walter Kerr of the *New York Times* has called "treason."

Obviously there is something odd in this man Johnson that has given a number of people the obsession of an ever-recurrent nightmare. He used to be called a politician's politician. Seldom has this country known a man so adept at the craft of wheeling and dealing and arm-twisting; he is a gambler, not of the Monte Carlo type, but one still playing with impudent self-confidence in the rough Mississippi tradition Mark Twain described.

Now there is a new America to which, it is said, he is thoroughly alien, and he has no way of fathoming its unique role in the new world. But how could he, at his age, with his ambitions multiplied by the power that is his for a few years, act any differently from the ways he has known since he started playing big politics? In 1948 he took over his Senate seat after winning the primary by a majority of eighty-

seven votes and in Texas there are many who still call him "landslide Johnson." A tragedy gave him the Presidency. Well before his election to a term of his own, he started using his politician's gimmicks on a national scale. Demands for the betterment of every group, irrespective of race or wealth, were recognized by administrative action and blunt messages to Congress. It is an unquestionable fact that much more was actually achieved than anybody could expect.

Toward foreign countries he acted according to his own well-tested style. American assistance was offered to every country showing the intention to enter into some broad, preferably continental, union. This nation is so rich that it can avoid being niggardly in helping any government led by men who know how to help themselves.

SO RUNS the anti-Johnson story, transcribed thus far without pretense of impartiality out of respect for any tiny kernel of truth. The rest of the story is something quite different: only the most meticulous research can untangle it, and this will take a long, long time.

In their collective frenzy, the President-haters insist on intoning the same formula as if each time they had a new idea: the man doesn't know how to adjust his thinking and his action to the country's needs. America, they say, has no enemies now—aside from a few archaic citizens inside its borders. It has won a definitive victory in the "cold war." But it is at least questionable whether the President is aware of it, and his right-hand man, Secretary Rusk, is a relic of the Stone Age. Men and women of patented sophistication sneer at any

talk of isolation, old or new. Every country is spontaneously moving toward isolation, each at its own pace and with its worries and foibles, with an essential unity of direction that makes any aggressive expansion inconceivable. Sooner or later there will be a worldwide sameness; a jet set dedicated to the drinking of Bloody Marys while the ruling ideas are provided by a demi-monde of demi-intellectuals—in other words the same jet set. At the very bottom of society there will be the kept poor, beneficiaries not of charity but of a guaranteed income.

Poor LBJ is just a freak and sometimes even his most obsessed haters should feel sorry for him. He is made of an ancient raw material that cannot possibly be molded into an image. He is already licked, and licked for keeps, according to those who cannot look up to him. He has proved to be no good even as a politician—or so they say. Think of what has happened to the magician who used to control the Democratic majority in the Senate. Think of his former colleagues who, day in, day out, never stop whipping him. Even at the White House, men from Texas keep leaving, each one for a different reason, each with a warm letter of Presidential good wishes in his pocket.

TRULY Lyndon Johnson is a very simple man; human, too human; American, too American. After his term of office has ended, it is difficult to imagine this self-avowed unbookish President establishing an institution dedicated to the preservation and editing of the leftovers, oral or otherwise, of what was said and done by him and his associates. One feels certain that he will keep quiet and just rely on history.