

# The Flags of the Political Parties of Senegal

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Senegal consisted of a number of small independent kingdoms, none of which had succeeded in achieving any kind of long-lasting national unity. In 1445, a Portuguese named Gadamosto landed on the Cap Vert peninsula, and established himself on the island of Gorée. But the Portuguese did not stay for long. In 1659, a Frenchman, Louis Gaullier, established a trading post that he named Saint-Louis on the island of Ndar at the mouth of the Senegal river. Other Frenchmen from the Compagnie Normande set up a post on Gorée. It was succeeded by several other French companies until in 1758 the French posts were occupied by the British - a state of affairs that lasted until 1779, and was repeated between 1809 and 1814<sup>1</sup>. The first governor of the French trading posts was then appointed. In 1854, General Louis Faidherbe was appointed governor. He succeeded in establishing control over the valley of the river Senegal as far as Médine, forcing the Moors back to the right bank. In 1857 *Capitaine de Vaisseau* Auguste Protet founded Dakar. In 1864, Faidherbe, who had received the submission of much of the interior, was named governor of the colony of Senegal, a post he held until 1865.

In 1871, the inhabitants of the towns of Dakar, Gorée and Saint-Louis were granted French citizenship. In 1880, this privilege was extended to Rufisque<sup>2</sup>. This state of affairs was confirmed by a law of 1916. From 1946, all Senegalese became French citizens<sup>3</sup>.

The law of 23rd February 1956 permitted Senegal to create its own territorial assembly, and governing council. On 25th April 1958, Senegal became an independent republic within the Franco-African Community.

The Federation of Mali was officially created on 6th April 1959, comprising the republics of Senegal and Soudan. This federation broke up on 20th August 1960, when Senegal declared its independence.

## The first political parties

Inspired by Fickounda Diop, the Union Républicaine des Jeunes Sénégalais was founded in 1924. A Parti Socialiste Sénégalais was formed about 1928 by Charles

Graziani, the president of the Dakar Chamber of Commerce, together with supporters of Lamine Gueye. Pierre Diagne's Mouvement Nationaliste Africain began after 1942. The Mouvement Autonomiste Africain, founded by Amadou Ba, appeared at around the same time, as did a communist 'study group'. In 1946, the Mouvement Nationaliste and the Mouvement Autonomiste formed an alliance with the Fédération Socialiste, under the title of Bloc Africain. In September 1947, at a congress at Koalack, the Bloc Démocratique Africain was formed, uniting the Union Générale des Originaires du Fleuve, the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance and the Association des Toucouleurs du Fouta Toro. In 1946, the former communist study group adopted the title of the Union Démocratique Sénégalaise<sup>4</sup>. With one exception, the flags of these groups are unknown; that of the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance was plain green<sup>5</sup>.

## The socialist parties of Lamine Gueye

On 2nd March 1937, Lamine Gueye created the Fédération Socialiste SFIO du Sénégal. This party was banned in 1939, and did not reappear until after 1942. Léopold Sedar Senghor, one of the original members, quickly fell out with Gueye, and left the SFIO in September 1948 to form the BDS (Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais). The SFIO then changed its name to the Parti Sénégalais d'Action Socialiste (PSAS). In 1951, the socialists created the Red Berets, a militia armed with clubs and knives, and wearing the three green arrows badge of the party, which also appeared on its flag (Fig. 1). The BDS responded by forming their Green Berets<sup>6</sup>. In 1958, the PSAS amalgamated with Senghor's BPS to form the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise<sup>7</sup>.

1 Stovkis, Anthony, *Manuel d'histoire, de géographie et chronologie de tous les états du globe*.

2 *Liberation*, 18th October 1994; a letter to the author from Mr. Diop.

3 *Encyclopaedias Universaelis* volume 14, 'Le Sénégal'

4 Zuccarelli, François, *Un partie politique africain: l'Union Progressiste Sénégalaise* (Paris, Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1970) preface.

5 The green flag represented the agricultural wealth and the forests of the Casamance region. It was adopted by Victor Diatta, who in 1930 became the first African Bachelor of Letters, when he founded the MFDC in 1947. He was assassinated on 20th November 1948 (Corbic, Michael, *Franciae Vexilla*, No.7, November 1997).

6 Zuccarelli, op.cit.

7 Ibid.

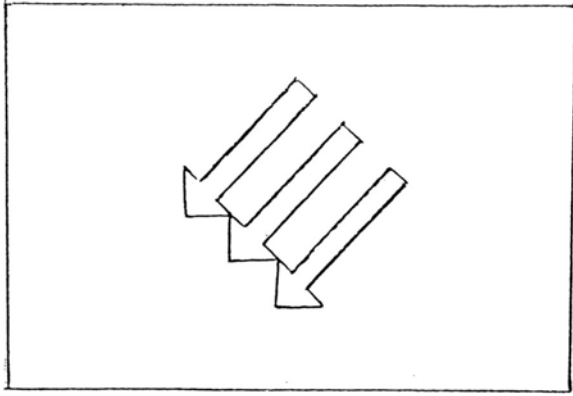


Figure 1

### The socialist parties of Léopold Sedar Senghor

In September 1948, Senghor left the SFIO to form the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, in opposition to Lamine Gueye. It adopted a green flag bearing a red star in the centre (Fig.2). The star was that of socialism, and the green field symbolised the vegetation of Senegal. Its colours were the direct opposite of the socialist red flag with three green arrows<sup>8</sup>. In April 1956, the Bloc Populaire Sénégalais (BPS) was formed, uniting the BDS, Assane Seck's Mouvement Autonomiste Casamançais and the Union Démocratique Sénégalaise (formed from a mixture of communist students and some socialists).

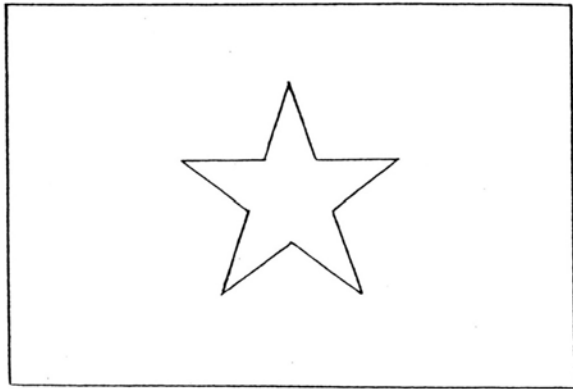


Figure 2

In April 1958, the BPS under Senghor amalgamated with Gueye's PSAS to form the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (UPS). Its first congress took place between the 20th and 22nd February 1959. The party's statutes were created as a result of a declaration of 6th August 1959. The flag remained unchanged (Fig.2). In June 1960, it absorbed the Parti de la Solidarité Sénégalaise (PSS) of Sheikh Tijdian Sy and Ibrahima Seyou Ndaró. Senghor was elected President of the Republic on 20th September 1960. On 12th September 1961, the Parti de Regroupement Africain (PRA) allied itself with the UPS. In 1966, the PRA became the only political party, a state

8 Letter from Léopold Sedar Senghor dated 23rd September 1986.

of affairs which lasted until 1974, when a multi-party state was re-established. At the end of December 1976, the UPS changed its name to the Parti Socialiste du Sénégal (PSS), but retained the same flag (Fig.2)<sup>9</sup>. On 1st January 1981, Senghor was succeeded by Abdou Diouf. On 12th March 2000, Diouf was himself succeeded as President by Abdoulaye Wadé, General Secretary of the Parti Démocratique Sénégalais. Diouf remained General Secretary of the PSS.

### The democratic parties of Sheikh Anta Diop

In 1951, Professor Sheikh Anta Diop, even before Nkrumah, put forward the idea that the future of independent Africa lay in a federal state. On 15th September 1961, he formed the Bloc des Masses Sénégalaises (BMS), which was dissolved on 14th October 1963. He then formed the Front National Sénégalais (FNS), which was dissolved in the following year. These parties formed the rightist opposition. On 6th February 1976, Diop formed the Rassemblement National Démocratique (RND), becoming its General Secretary<sup>10</sup>.

The party was legalised on 18th June 1981 with the registration of its statutes, of which Article 2 stated that the party colour was gold (thus the flag was plain yellow)<sup>11</sup>.

The next General Secretary was Ely Madiodio Fall<sup>12</sup>, who was succeeded by Professor Madior Diouf, who stood as a presidential candidate on 21st February 1993. The party's flag was by this time yellow bearing a deep yellow and brown eagle in the centre, with the letters RND on either side in red (Fig.3)<sup>13</sup>. Today, Diouf is still the party's General Secretary<sup>14</sup>.

9 Letter from the Party Secretary dated 5th July 1978, cited in 'Les partis politiques sénégalais', *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982

10 *Le Monde Diplomatique*, April 1986.

11 *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982

12 *Le Sénégal d'Aujourd'hui* 1987, (an official brochure).

13 From a coloured drawing of 14th August 1992 by Didier Philippe, who was living in Dakar at the time of the presidential election of 21st February 1993.

14 *Quid* 2001.

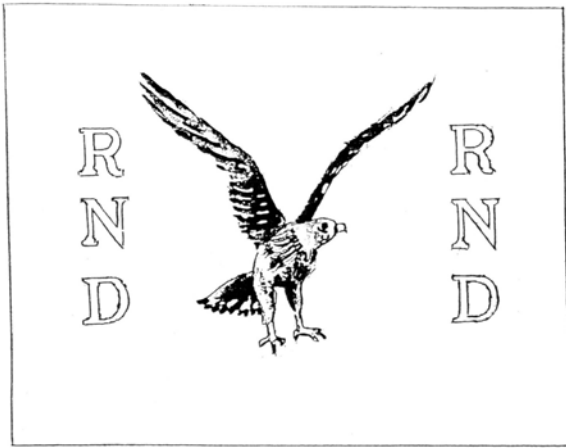


Figure 3

### Parti Démocratique Sénégalais

Maître Abdoulaye Wadé formed the Parti Démocratique Sénégalais in July 1974, and it was legalised after the publication of its statutes on 8th August 1974. Under Article 5 of its statutes, its flag is blue, the symbol of immensity, of the infinite and of energy. In the centre is the party symbol – a golden head of millet, placed lower hoist to upper fly – signifying germination, creation and creativity (Fig.4)<sup>15</sup>.

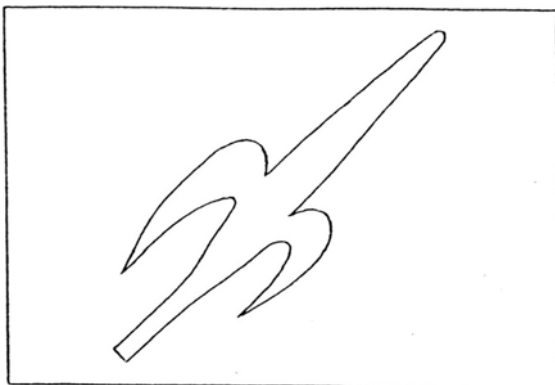


Figure 4

Wadé was a presidential candidate in February 1993. The party flag was altered. Its field remained blue, but the head of millet was placed in the other diagonal (Fig.5)<sup>16</sup>. On 19th March 2000, Wadé was elected President of the Republic, whilst remaining General Secretary of the PDS<sup>17</sup>.

15 From a coloured drawing by Abdoulaye Wadé of 9th August 1979. The party's statutes appear in *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982

16 From a coloured drawing by Didier Philippe, in a letter of 14th August 1992; *Afrique-Asie*, 7th August 1994, communicated by Michel Corbic.

17 *Quid* 2001.

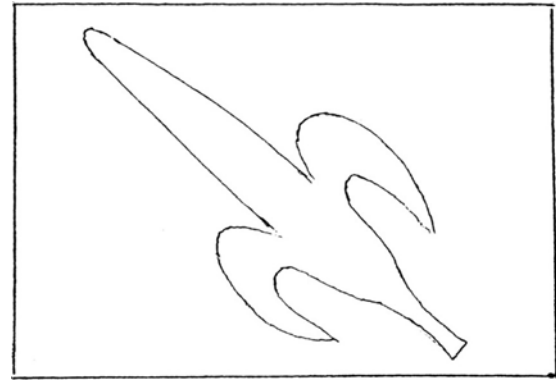


Figure 5

### Marxist-Leninist parties

#### Parti Africain de l'Indépendance (PAI)

The party was formed in September 1957 by Majhemout Diop. It was dissolved in 1960. It then had a clandestine existence until its legalisation on 24th August 1976<sup>18</sup>. Its statutes do not mention either a flag or an emblem. However, according to a letter dated 15th May 1986 from the party's General Secretary, the flag is red bearing a hammer crossed with a hoe, below a star, all in black (Fig.6). Red is the traditional colour of power and of revolution, whilst black represent Senegal and Africa. The hammer represents its alliance with the manual workers of the towns and cities, whilst the hoe represents its alliance with the manual workers of the countryside. The single black star represents both the entry of Africa into the era of independent countries, and African unity<sup>19</sup>. Majhemout Diop remains the General Secretary of the PAI<sup>20</sup>.



Figure 6

#### Parti de l'Indépendance et du Travail du Sénégal (PITS)

This party was formed from the Parti Africain de l'Indépendance after the latter was dissolved in 1960. Its first party congress was held in secret in 1962, and its General Secretary was Seydou Cissokho. The party was legalised on 9th July 1981. Article 17 of its statutes

18 *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982.

19 Letter from Majhemout Diop 15th May 1986.

20 *Quid* 2001.

concerns the party's flag and symbols. The flag is red and bears in the upper hoist corner a hammer crossed with a hoe, below a black star (Fig.7). They symbolise the alliance between the working class and the peasants with the star of African unity.

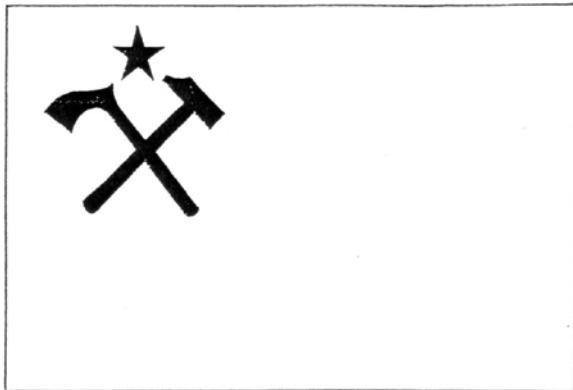


Figure 7

This flag was seen at the Festival of Humanity at La Courneuve, near Paris, on 11th September 1982, along with another, red with a single black star (Fig.8). This party is not mentioned in *Quid 2001*.

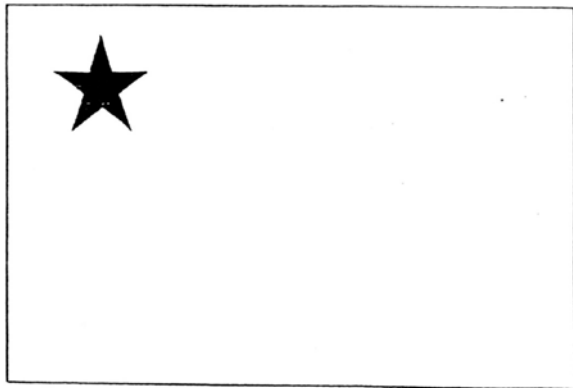


Figure 8

### Ligue Démocratique (Mouvement Pour le Parti du Travail) (LD-MPT)

This party was founded in 1974 as the result of a breakaway from the PITS. Its General Secretary was Babacar Sane. It was legalised on 9th July 1981. The first article of its statutes gives a description of the party's flag and symbols. The field is red, bearing in the centre, a device consisting of a crossed hammer and axe, below a five-pointed star, all within a wreath consisting of a head of millet and a head of rice. The device is all in black (Fig.9). Its motto is 'Unity, Democracy, Work'<sup>21</sup>.

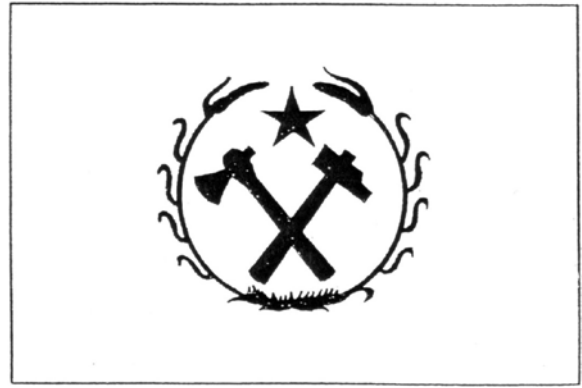


Figure 9

The party symbol can also be found on its newspaper *Fagaru* (Fig.10).



Figure 10

Sane was succeeded as General Secretary by Professor Abdoulay Bathily<sup>22</sup>. He was a presidential candidate in 1993. The party's flag was altered at this time: the device was placed on a pink background, within a black circle (Fig.11)<sup>23</sup>. Professor Bathily is still the General Secretary<sup>24</sup>.



Figure 11

21 *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982.

22 *Le Sénégal d'Aujourd'hui* 1987, op. cit.

23 Coloured drawing by Didier Philippe, in a letter of 12th August 1992.

24 *Quid 2001*.

## The Vive Le Marxisme Léninisme Movement

This tiny group, inspired by the Albanian Workers' party, distributed a magazine, *Le Prolétaire*. In issue 5 (January 1981) was a red flag, bearing a white star charged with a crossed hammer and sickle, in red (Fig.12).

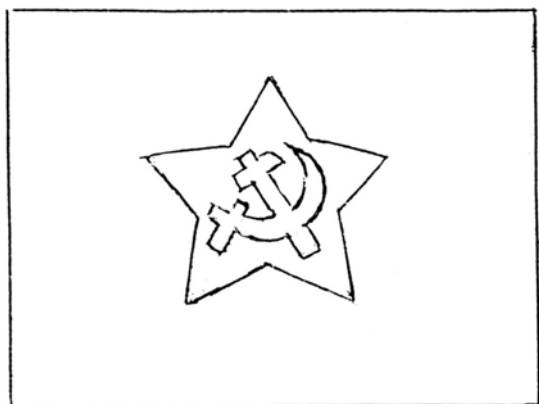


Figure 12

## The extreme left parties of Landing Savane

In 1965, Landing Savane created a clandestine pro-Chinese Marxist organisation. In 1968, he amalgamated several different groups under the banner of the Nouvelle Gauche.

In 1975, he formed the And-Jef (Association des Travailleurs, S'Unir Pour Agir) from a number of other Marxist organisations. They were joined by a breakaway faction from the Union pour la Démocratie Populaire and by the Organisation Démocratique Proletarienne in 1980. The Mouvement Révolutionnaire pour un Démocratie Nouvelle (And-Jef) (MDRN) was legalised on 6th July 1981. Its statutes give details of the party's flag: the field is yellow, representing the earth, symbol of the peasants, with a diagonal, from lower hoist to upper fly, in red, the colour of the working class. The three five-pointed red stars in the upper hoist corner symbolise anti-imperialism, anti-hegemony and anti-feudalism (Fig.13)<sup>25</sup>.

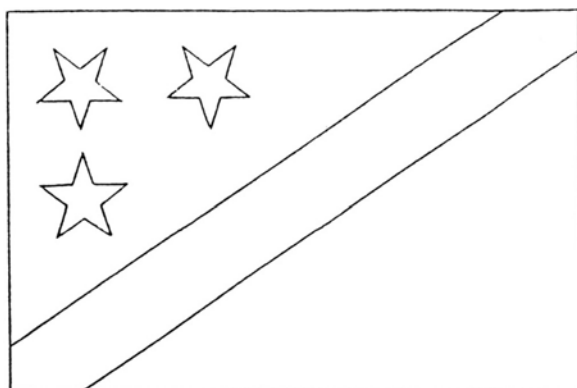


Figure 13

25 *Jeune Afrique* No.1538 of June 1990; *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982.

In 1991, Savane changed the name of the party to the Association des Travailleurs (And-Jef) Parti Africain pour la Démocratie et le Socialisme (PADS)<sup>26</sup>, legalised on 14th April 1992<sup>27</sup>. A new flag was adopted: this was yellow, with in the centre a disc bearing a map of Africa. The disc was divided diagonally, with the map red on yellow towards the upper right, and the reverse towards the lower left. The location of Senegal is marked by a yellow star (Fig.14)<sup>28</sup>.

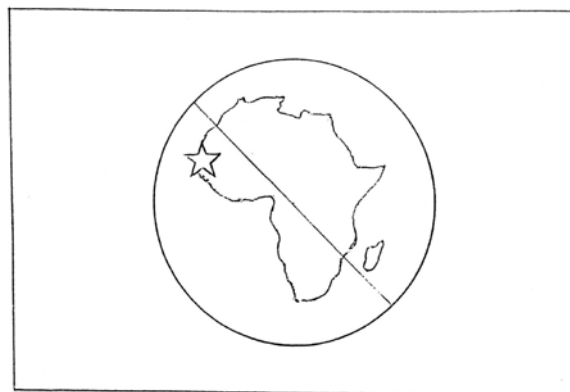


Figure 14

Savane was a presidential candidate in 1993. He adopted a new flag, in which the central device was now a red disc with a yellow map of Africa, and a black star, symbolising Senegal, to the lower left, all enclosed within a black circle (Fig.15)<sup>29</sup>.

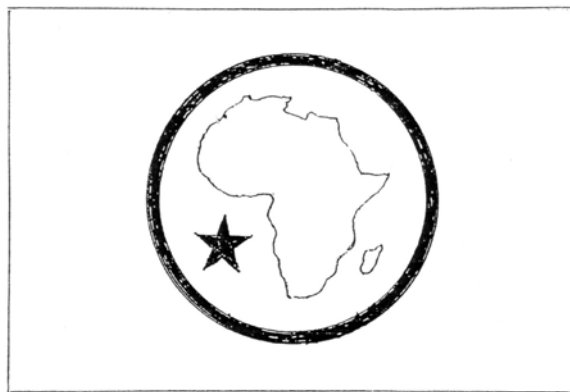


Figure 15

## Trotskyist parties Ligue Communiste des Travailleurs (LCT)

first appeared in 1972. A revolutionary Marxist group, it remained clandestine, supported in France by Alain Krivine's LCT. Its flag was red with a device consisting of two hands, one holding a sickle, the other a hammer, in black (Fig.16).

26 *Quid* 2001.

27 Letter from the Minister of the Interior, 23rd February 2001.

28 Coloured drawing by Didier Philippe, in a letter of 14th August 1992.

29 Letter from the Ministry of the Interior, 23rd February 2001.

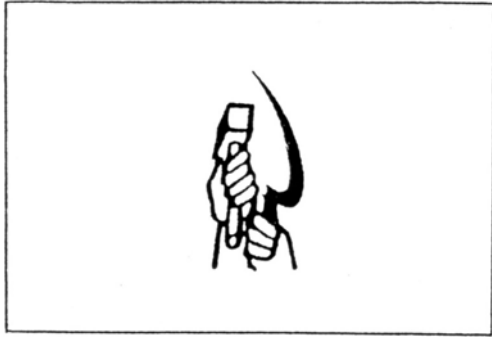


Figure 16

**The Groupe des Ouvriers Révolutionnaires (GOR)**, a similarly clandestine group, was formed in France in 1973. Its flag was similar to the previous one, but with the letters GOR in black down the hoist (Fig.17).

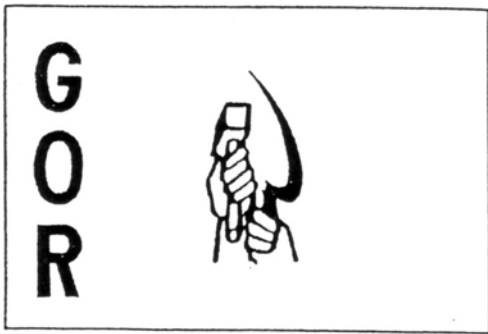


Figure 17

**The Organisation Socialiste des Travailleurs (OST)** was formed from the GOR. Its General Secretary was Abaye Bathely. It had links with Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire. It was legalised on 4th February 1982<sup>30</sup>. Its flag was similar to the previous one, but with the letters OST down the hoist (Fig.18).



Figure 18

**The Ligue Communiste des Travailleurs** (not to be confused with the previously mentioned group of the same name) has links with the international Communist Party (French section of the Fourth International). Its General Secretary was Mahmoud Salk. After several

30 *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982.

years in the shadows, it became legalised on 8th July 1982. According to Article 9 of its statutes, the party symbol is a crossed hammer and sickle, with the figure 4 superimposed on them. Article 11 states that they are red (Fig.19)<sup>31</sup>. The party motto is 'The emancipation of the workers will be the work of the workers themselves' (Article 10). The General Secretary is currently Doudou Sarr<sup>32</sup>.



Figure 19

**Other parties**

**Union Démocratique Populaire**

This party was created in May 1968. It is a non-Marxist revolutionary party. Its General Secretary was Racine Guisse. It was legalised on 20th July 1981. Its flag has four colours. The field is red; in the centre are three concentric circles in black, green and yellow, and in the centre are a crossed hoe and hammer, symbolising the alliance of workers and peasants (Article 8 of their statutes) (Fig.20)<sup>33</sup>. This party does not appear in *Quid 2001*.



Figure 20

**Parti Africain Pour l'Indépendance des Masses**

This party became legal on 30th July 1982. Its flag is white and green, bearing a device of a fist placed on a map of Africa (Article 5 of its statutes)<sup>34</sup>. Its General Secretary is

31 *Ibid*; a party leaflet showed the exact design.

32 *Quid 2001*

33 *Revue des Institutions Politiques et Administratives du Sénégal*, Oct-Dec 1982.

34 *Ibid*.

Aly Niane. In a letter of 8th April 1986, he explains that his party is not Marxist, and that the white half of its flag represents the light which makes the African continent one of the sunniest places on Earth. It also represent purity in thought and in faith. The white disc represents both the sun and the Earth, since its bears a map of Africa outlined in black. The map is charged with a right hand made into a fist to symbolise the power and the desire for togetherness and the unity of the African people. The party's aim is the creation of a United States of Africa. The green part of the flag represents the savannah and forests of Africa. A drawing was attached to this letter (Fig.21).

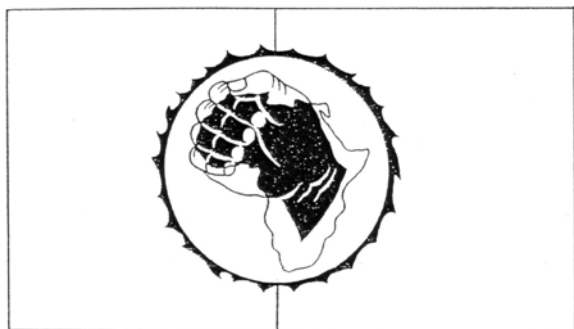


Figure 21

### Mouvement Démocratique Populaire (MDP)

This party became legal on 6th July 1981. Its General Secretary is Mamadou Dia. The flag represents the sunrise over the green countryside of Senegal, according to the Article 2 of its statutes. On 2nd April 1987, Bara Mbaye, co-ordinator for foreign relations, sent me a coloured drawing of the flag, divided horizontally in yellow over green with a rising red sun on the yellow section (Fig.22). In June 1988, the MDP amalgamated with the LCT.

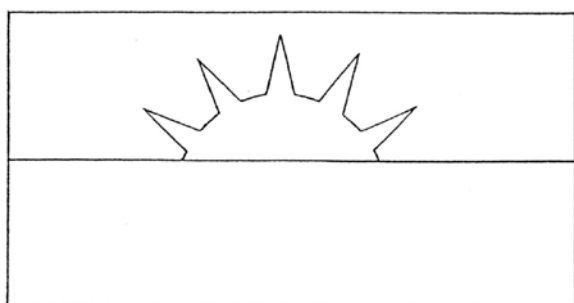


Figure 22

### Mouvement Républicaine Sénégalais

This party became legal on 7th February 1979. Its General Secretary is Maître Boubekar Gueye. According to Article 2 of its statutes, the party's colour is white and its symbol is a sun; so the flag consists of a red sun on white (Fig.23)<sup>35</sup>.

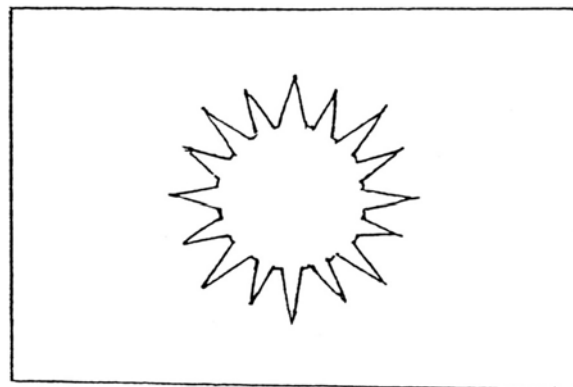


Figure 23

### Parti Populaire Sénégalais

This party became legal on 12th October 1981. Its General Secretary is Dr. Oumar Wone, who has his headquarters at Rufisque. According to Article 8 of its statutes, the party's colour is yellow. Its symbol is Pegasus, borne on the yellow flag in red (Fig.24)<sup>36</sup>.



Figure 24

### Parti Pour la Libération du Peuple

This party became legal on 31st March 1983. Its General Secretary is Babacar Niang. According to its statutes, the party's colour is white, hence its flag is plain white. Niang was a presidential candidate in 1998. He then adopted a new flag consisting of a white field charged with a yellow letter V with a small disc and the letters PLP in red (Fig.25)<sup>37</sup>.

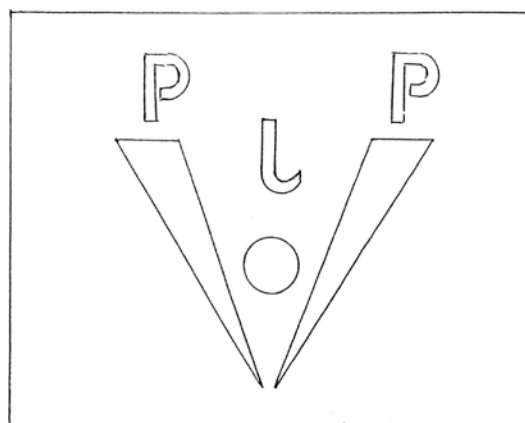


Figure 25

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

## Union Démocratique Sénégalaise Renovation

This party became legal on 25th June 1985. Its General Secretary is Mamadou Fall. Its flag is pink with a green sun in the centre (Fig.26)<sup>38</sup>.

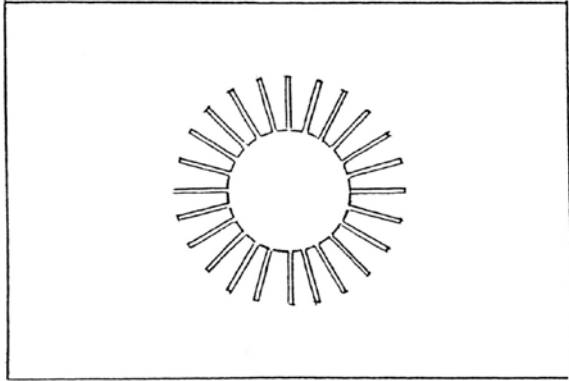


Figure 26

The party's objective is to bring about national unity by democratic means, through dialogue, co-operation and the mobilisation of all parties of goodwill in the task of national construction<sup>39</sup>.

## Parti Démocratique Sénégalais Renovation

This party was created by Serigné Diop, a university lecturer, who broke away from Abdoulaye Wadé's PDS. The party became legal on 2nd July 1987. Its flag is blue. In the centre, it bears a map of Africa in red, with Senegal marked in yellow (Fig.27). The PDSR is working towards African unity, and in Senegal, the creation of a pluralist democracy<sup>40</sup>.

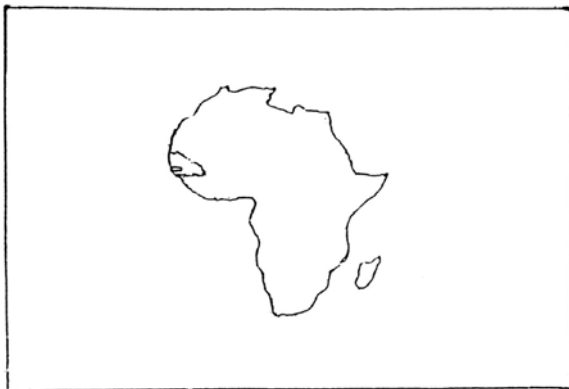


Figure 27

## Convention des Démocrates et des Patriotes (Garab-gi)

This party was formed in 1992. 'Garab-gi' is the name of a tree, as well as meaning 'a cure'. Its General Secretary

is Professor Iba Der Thiam, a presidential candidate in 1993. Its flag is orange, and bears two hands surrounded by a wreath and the name of the party, all in black (Fig.28)<sup>41</sup>.



Figure 28

## Parti Républicain du Sénégal

This party became legal on 15th May 1992. Its General Secretary is Amadou Manel Fall. Its flag is white with a green ring in the centre (Fig.29).

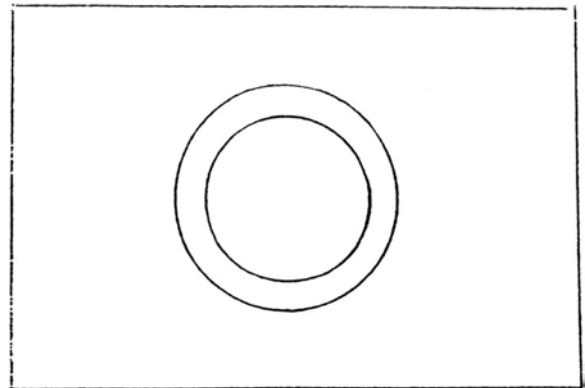


Figure 29

The party's objective is to serve the people by working towards a nationalism, which maintains the traditional values of Senegalese society, such as dignity, probity, social justice and solidarity<sup>42</sup>.

## Front pour le Socialisme et la Démocratie (Benno Jubel)

The party became legal on 9th April 1996. Its General Secretary is Sheikh Abdoulay Dieye, a landscape architect. Its flag is white with a green star (Fig.30).

38 Letter from the Minister of the Interior, 22nd April 1986.

39 Letter from General Mamadou Niang, Minister of the Interior, 23rd February 2001.

40 Ibid.

41 Coloured drawing by Didier Philippe, in a letter of 14th August 1992.

42 Letter from General Mamadou Niang, Minister of the Interior, 23rd February 2001.



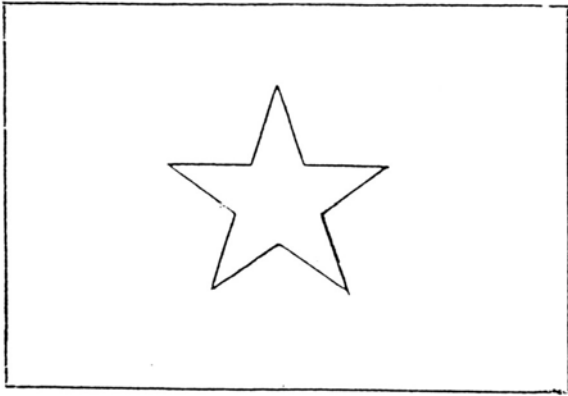


Figure 30

The party's objective is to defend the principles of socialism, democracy, social justice, fairness, and respect for the rights of man, and above all, to safeguard national sovereignty and independence<sup>43</sup>.

### Rassemblement des Travailleurs Africains du Sénégalais

This party became legal on 27th March 1997. Its General Secretary is El Hadji Momar Sam, whose headquarters are in Dakar. Its flag is divided upper hoist to lower fly, dark brown over white. In the fly are the letters 'FRAP' (ie., Front Révolutionnaire d'Action Populaire) in white, and in the hoist is a clenched fist, in brown (Fig.31).

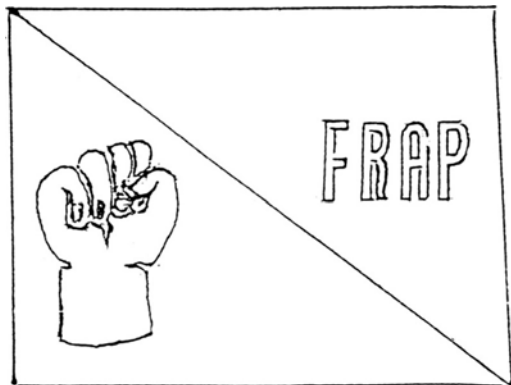


Figure 31

The objective of the party is to obtain political power and preserve national sovereignty

### Parti de l'Unité et du Rassemblement

This party became legal on 3rd February 1998. Its General Secretary is Khakifa Albacar Diouf, who provided this coloured drawing of his party's flag on 31st March 2001. It is white with a map of Africa, green at the top, white at the bottom, outlined in black, with the letters PUR also in black, and a white disc to mark the location of Dakar (Fig.32).

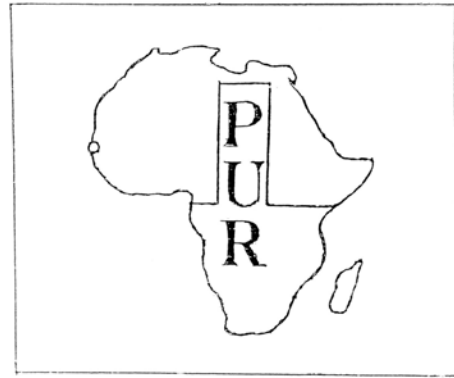


Figure 32

The objective of the party is to take up social, political and economic challenges facing it, and meet them by democratic means<sup>44</sup>.

### Mouvement National des Serviteurs des Masses

This party became legal on 12th March 1998; its flag was black charged with six yellow stars arranged in a circle (Fig.33).

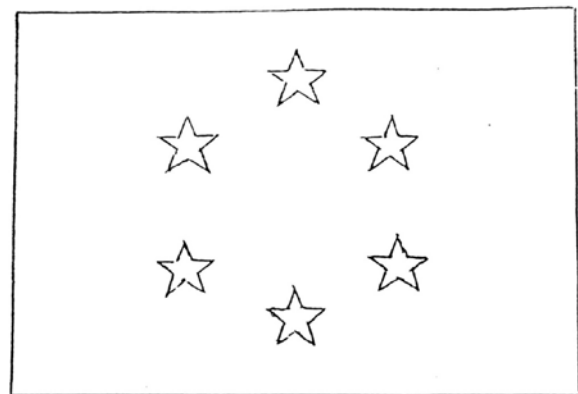


Figure 33

The objective of the party is to create the political, social, cultural and economic conditions that give all power to the people<sup>45</sup>.

### Union Pour le Renouveau Démocratique

This party became legal on 30th July 1998. Its General Secretary is Djibo Laïty Ka. Its flag has a grey field, bearing in the centre an open hand with three fingers raised, the thumb pressing against the little finger (Fig.34).

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

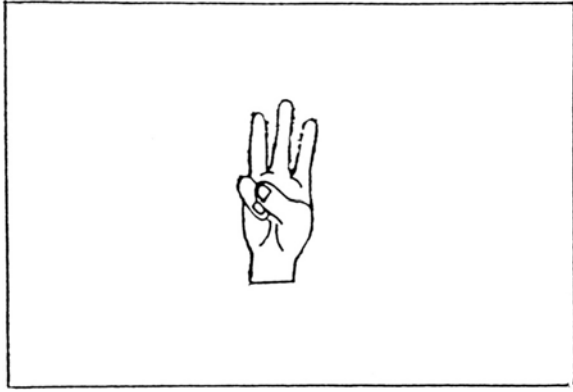


Figure 34

Its objective is to achieve power by democratic means to put in place the projects and ideas that underpin modern, democratic societies<sup>46</sup>.

### Mouvement Libéral Pour le Peuple Sénégalais

This party became legal on 1st October 198. Its General Secretary is Khadim Faye. Its flag is blue with a white dove in the centre (Fig. 35).

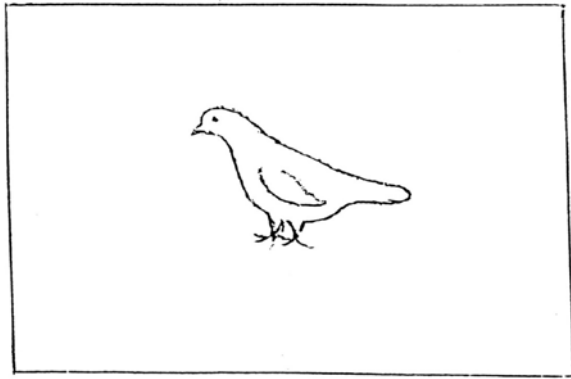


Figure 35

Its objective is to work for the creation of a fraternal, united, cohesive and truly democratic Senegalese society, based on concepts of national unity<sup>47</sup>.

### Parti Libéral Sénégalais

This party became legal on 30th June 1999. Its General Secretary is a lawyer, Al Hadji Gusmane Ahound Ngom. Its flag is yellow bearing a circle of ten black stars (Fig. 36).

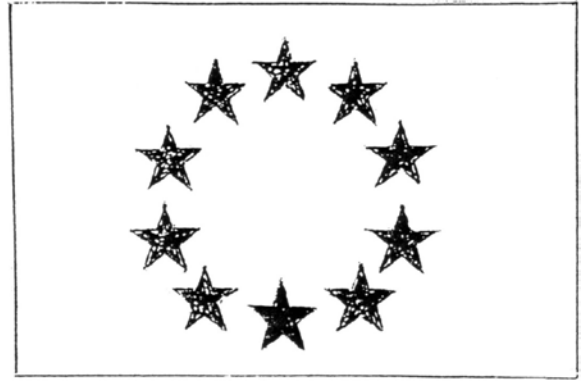


Figure 36

Its objective is to ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, and to develop all national resources and wealth to benefit the whole community without any form of discrimination<sup>48</sup>.

### Alliance des Forces du Progrès

This party became legal on 13th August 1999. Its General Secretary is a civil servant, Moustapha Niass. Its flag is white with a central green stripe and two narrow black diagonals, one in the upper hoist corner, the other in the lower fly corner (Fig.37).

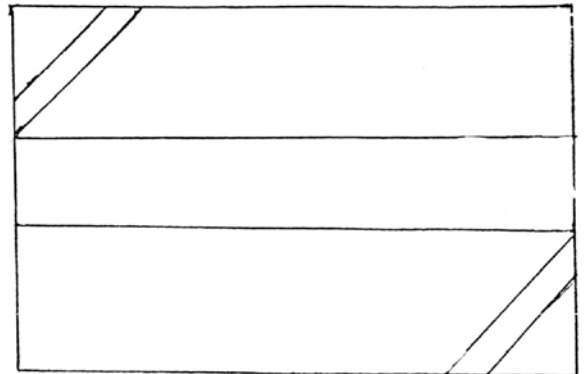


Figure 37

Its objective is to achieve power by the vote, the development of Senegal at the social, economic and cultural level, as well as regional and sub-regional integration within West Africa, and the construction of African unity<sup>49</sup>.

### Front d'Action Pour le Renouveau (Yoonwi)

This party became legal on 21st September 1999. Its General Secretary is Bathie Sock, whose headquarters is at Thiès. Its flag is blue bearing a white star in the centre (Fig.38)<sup>50</sup>. The blue symbolises water, not only the source of life but also of the seas and oceans that circle the five continents. The five-pointed star shows

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 Drawing supplied by M. Ndiaye, Secretary for Culture and Arts, 15th March 2001.

the party's openness to the five continents, that is, to all races. The party symbol is a map of Senegal in the national colours, which symbolises one's love of the country. The sun in the centre symbolises light, a source of transparency in running the country (Fig.39).

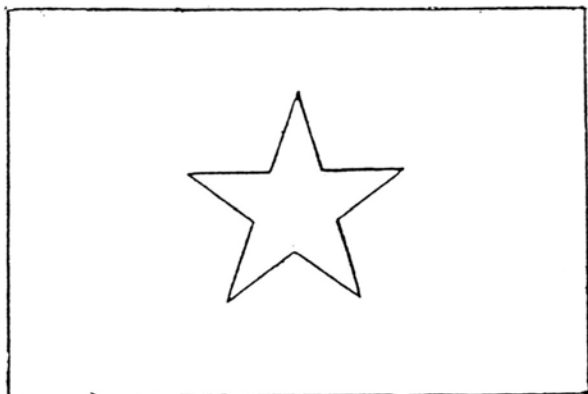


Figure 38

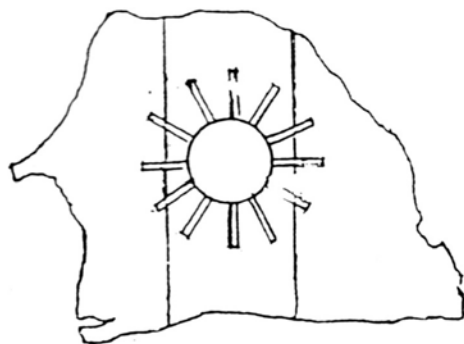


Figure 39

The party's objective is to create a climate of national unity and friendship in a civic spirit, and to contribute to improvements in social renewal<sup>51</sup>.

### Action pour le Développement National

This party became legal on 26th June 1996. Its President is Massadou Moustapha Diop Djamil, 'Guide of the Silent Revolution'. Its headquarters are in Dakar.

The motto of the party is 'Peace, Patriotism, Prosperity'. Its flag is yellow with a yellow letter A placed on a violet star. There is also another version with a violet field and letter A, and a yellow star (Fig.40). The colour violet symbolises the Silent Revolution. It was inspired by a flower, the violet, which flowers silently, only in shade. The letter A is the initial letter of the party's name. The colour yellow evokes campaigning wealth. The star with five equal points symbolises equality between the different races of Senegal<sup>52</sup>.

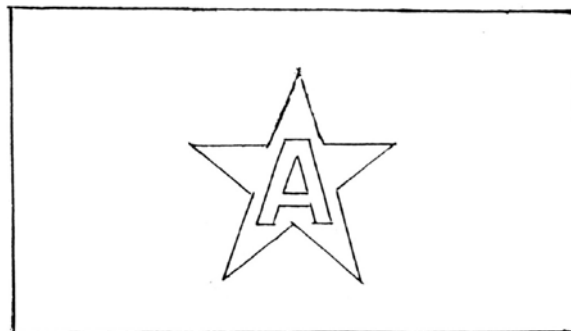


Figure 40

### Conclusion

The flags of all the political parties of Senegal, taken together, make up a living illustration of part of the country's history. The range of different parties that are actually legal demonstrates that even the most diverse opinions are respected.

This is true to the real democracy that exists in this country. Senegal has been strongly influenced by France in its political and administrative structures, and could serve as a model for a number of African countries, where tolerance leaves something to be desired. Such a country, having kept its strong links with France, deserves to be supported and helped by her for the benefit of its institutions and people.

51 Letter from General Mamadou Niang, op. cit.

52 Letter from Mbaye Diop, the son of the President, whilst a student at Amiens University, dated 27th August 2001.

