



Domination and Resistance through the Prism of Postage Stamps

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Abstract

Every country issues postage stamps. Stamps were originally construed as pre-payment for the service of transporting letters and packages. However, images on stamps have become mediums for the transmission of propagandist messages about the country of issue to its citizens and the rest of the world. Commemorative postage stamps venerate special events, occasions or personalities and are, therefore, subject to political and social pressure from special interest groups. It is not, therefore, surprising that during the colonial era, Europeans memorialized conquerors and explorers on postage stamps and, likewise after independence, African countries have commemorated some of their leaders (freedom fighters, martyrs, politicians, chiefs, etc.) who resisted colonial rule. Using postage stamps of British and French colonies and six independent countries (Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Senegal) in West Africa, I will try to explain why certain individuals are honored and why others are not. I argue that since the issuing of postage stamps remains the monopoly of the central government, these commemorative stamps about domination and resistance are subjective and are found to be interpreted through contemporary political prism. Recent democratic dispensation in Africa has also influenced commemorative stamps to a large extent. Under these conditions, public history debates are now possible where people could claim their own history, and I predict that as more constituents realize the value of postage stamps, marginalized groups will demand stamps for their heroes and heroines.

Résumé

Chaque pays émet des timbres postaux. A l'origine, les timbres étaient perçus comme un moyen de paiement fait en avance pour s'acquitter du service de transport des lettres et des colis. Cependant, les images figurant sur les timbres sont devenues des moyens de transmission de messages propagandistes destinés aussi bien aux citoyens du pays d'où le timbre est émis qu'au reste du monde. Les timbres postaux commémoratifs célèbrent des événements particuliers, des occasions ou des personnalités et font par conséquent l'objet de pressions politiques et sociales émanant des groupes d'intérêt spéciaux. Il n'est donc pas

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surprenant que durant la période coloniale, les Européens aient immortalisé les conquérants et explorateurs sur les timbres postaux. Et de la même manière après les indépendances, les pays africains ont commémoré quelques uns de leurs leaders (combattants de la paix, martyrs, politiciens, chefs, etc.) qui ont résisté à l'autorité coloniale. En me servant des timbres postaux des colonies britanniques et françaises et de six pays indépendants (Bénin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinée, Nigéria et Sénégal) en Afrique de l'Ouest, j'essaierai d'expliquer pourquoi certaines personnes sont honorées et pourquoi d'autres ne le sont pas. A mon avis, étant donné que l'émission de timbres postaux demeure le monopole du gouvernement central, ces timbres commémoratifs au sujet de la domination et de la résistance sont par nature subjectifs et se trouvent être interprétés à travers le prisme politique contemporain. L'avancée démocratique récemment observée en Afrique a également influencé les timbres commémoratifs dans une large mesure. Sous ces conditions, des débats publics d'histoire demeurent maintenant possibles grâce auxquels des gens pourraient revendiquer leurs propres histoires et je prédis que plus les constituants se rendront compte de la valeur des timbres postaux, plus les groupes marginalisés exigeront des timbres pour leurs héros et héroïnes.

Introduction

By 1900, much of Africa had come under European imperial control, with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia. The European onslaught on Africa was swift and brutal. African peoples lost control of their lives and territories to the European conquerors who became heroes in their countries for their role in the "pacification" of the "savage and wild" peoples of Africa and adding new territories to the empire. To Africans, these individuals were the savages and brutal dictators who never played by basic rules of human decency. As many African rulers found out, even those that made friends with the white man or remain loyal to them (whether their position was diplomatic or as collaborators) were not spared in the scramble for Africa. They all fell victim to the greed of colonialism. As Africa came under colonial rule, the architects of territorial acquisition became world heroes to be studied in history and geography texts.

Colonial Heroes

The French established the first postal service in West Africa on Gorée Island (Senegal) in 1856. The initial postage stamps depicted French history and allegory of the empire but later ones after the 1900s depicted Africa as imagined by French artists and also honored conquerors and administrators. Among those commemorated were General Louis Léon Faidherbe, Dr. Noël Eugène Balay, Louis Gustave Binger, René Caillié, Joseph-Simon Galliéni, Emil Gentil, Maréchal Lyautey, and Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza. For the purpose of this article, I will limit my research to those actors involved in the

colonial theatre of West Africa, the so-called French "heroes" who plundered, murdered, cheated, abused and imposed their power on African peoples. General Louis Léon Faidherbe (1818-1889, fig. 1) was the conqueror and colonial administrator of Senegal from 1854-61 and 1863-65. He is known as the founder of Dakar and one of the main architects of French colonial empire in Africa. Obviously, in his ambition to conquer much of Africa for France, he came into conflict with several African rulers, some of whom became famous for their resistance – for example, El Hadj Omar and Lat Dior the king of Cayor.¹ General Faidherbe had great admiration for Lat Dior and his army, even in defeat. He was reputed to have said: *Ceux-là, on les tue, on ne les déshonore pas* – you may kill them but you cannot dishonor them. Interestingly, this phrase has become the motto of the Senegalese army: *on nous tue, mais on ne nous déshonore pas* – they may kill us but they cannot dishonor us.² Another noteworthy soldier of conquest was Maréchal Joseph-Simon Galliéni (1849-1916, fig. 2) who was responsible for the defeats of kings such as Samori Toure. Next in the pantheon of French colonial heroes is Louis-Gustave Binger (1856-1936), who is credited with acquiring Côte d'Ivoire for France. In addition to his own postage stamp (fig. 3), the town of Bingerville in the Côte d'Ivoire is named after him.³ The fourth person of relevance to West Africa to be honored was René Caillié (1799-1838, fig. 4), an explorer who was said to have been the first European to have visited Timbuktu.

Unlike the French, the British did not honor conquerors and explorers of the empire as these individuals were deemed to be laboring for the crown for whom a spot is usually reserved at the left or right upper corner of postage stamps. Subsequently, several stamps in the British colonies of West Africa featured Queen Victoria, King Edward VII, King George V, King George VI, and Queen Elizabeth with economic, political and cultural themes (fig. 5).⁴

Postcolonial Heroes

The leaders of the independence movement in Africa were not oblivious to the postal tradition of honoring and commemorating national figures, as well as economic and cultural ideals. If imperialists portrayed conquerors and explorers, then independent leaders reversed this order by representing their heroes and martyrs. This is totally in line with the use of popular image to legitimize power. If one doubts the importance of these small images and their impact, one has only to examine the immediate post-independence postage stamps of Africa. They all carried the bust of the first presidents or prime ministers. This was very important because, for many of these new rulers, a new era had arrived and a new monarchy, emulating the British one, had replaced the old ones in the liberated states.

Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah set the ball rolling for West Africa. His independence stamp (fig. 6) was designed by Kofi Antubam. He claimed that he was contacted as early as 1955 to design stamps for Ghana's independence but his ideas were not accepted until independence. The stamps (Ghana, Scott 1-4) depicted a map of Africa, the bust of Kwame Nkrumah, an African map with Ghana inset, and an eagle (referred to in Scott catalogue as a palm-nut vulture). Kofi Antubam claimed that the symbol of the eagle was from the inspirational words of his African teacher, Dr. Kweggir Aggrey of Achimota College, who inspired a generation of African leaders with the words; "African Eagle, lift thy wings and fly". His explanation of the symbolism of the eagle is best captured in this anti-colonial diatribe from his book, *Ghana's Heritage of Culture*:

An irreparable blow is being struck on the very core of the unfounded established conceptions of the African having no right to own and exist in his own country as a free being, worthy of the title lord of his own land, where and when necessary. Yes; the eagle that was mistaken for a chicken, stolen into captivity, banged into a morbid pit of the fate of darkness, has woken up. Yes, accepting its lot in pious humility, it decided to fall asleep. And, it slept and slept. But as it happens, even in the pitch-darkness of the process of a deep sleep, natural growth does go on. So, the eagle's chicken-like beak, claws, and feathers grew bigger and stronger in its sleep. And, so woken up by the pinch of the shackles of captivity, and finding itself still in a pit of darkness even in the broad daylight of the twentieth century, it summoned courage to itself. And, snatching a torch of freedom from its master, it took its wings and flew, perhaps never to be caught again. And now the slogan everywhere in Africa is either, "freedom," "independent" or "self-government now."⁵

The last sentence reflects the pan-Africanist ideas of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, ideals Kofi Antubam propagated in his works. Postage stamps are probably his least known works. His diverse creations for Ghana include: the state chair (Ghana, Scott 300 A 74); interior carvings of the Parliament house; Ghana Mace (Ghana, Scott 288 A 74), murals, cover designs of several books, etc. When Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966, his opponents who came to power chose to honor J. B. Danquah (their hero) in an international Human Rights Year issue alongside Martin Luther King in 1969 (fig. 7). In yet another political twist in Ghana's political history, a decade later, the new government of People's National Party (PNP) with links to Nkrumah's Conventional Peoples Party (CPP) in a conciliatory move chose to honor all national heroes in a 1980 series – John Mensah Sabah, J. B. Danquah, J. E. K. Aggrey, Kwame Nkrumah, and G. E. Grant (fig. 8)

The similarities between Guinea's independence stamp (fig. 9) and that of Ghana are pretty obvious. I do not know the artist who designed the stamp but knowing the relationship between Ghana and Guinea, and both countries having the same philatelic agency, I was not surprised to find that the designs were similar. In Nigeria, the nationalist hero to be honored was Nnamdi Azikiwe (fig. 10) to be followed on the first anniversary of independence by Nnamdi Azikiwe, Herbert Macaulay, and King Jaja of Opobo (fig. 11). However, by the 40th anniversary, with a new democratically elected government in power, Nnamdi Azikiwe would share the philatelic honor with Obafemi Awolowo (fig. 12) and Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Benin's (formerly Dahomey) anti-European heroes honored with postage stamps were Hubert Maga and Toussaint L'Ouverture (fig. 13). King Benhanzin was also honored but I will discuss him in the section on nationalist chiefs. Naturally, for Côte d'Ivoire, Houphouët Boigny held the sole position on the nationalist stamps until his death (fig. 14). Senegal had Blaise Diagne and Lamine Gueye (fig. 15).

"Nationalist" Chiefs in Guinea, Benin and Senegal

Aside from portraying themselves as legitimate princes, the post-independent leaders endeavored to accommodate some traditional chiefs and their constituencies by appealing to the nationalist achievements of their ancestors. The common denominator among the chiefs who were represented on stamps was their confrontation with colonialism, which usually ended in their defeat, imprisonment, exile and subsequent return, dead or alive. Thus, the historical memories of these "nationalists" were linked by colonial violence - violence that was inflicted on these royal individuals by European colonists. The particular experiences of such people were revisited to become part of the national historical narrative, which need to be remembered and commemorated. The representations of such chiefs were transformed therefore, into public art. W. J. T. Mitchell in his book *Picture Theory* has argued that "public art has served as a kind of monumentalizing of violence and never more powerfully than when it represents the conqueror as a man of peace...".⁶ I will go further to argue that public art can be ambivalent in the case of the representation of "nationalist" chiefs on postage stamps in West Africa. The designated nationalists were both victims and aggressors: victims of the European colonizing forces and at the same time aggressors of other African peoples. Nonetheless, the master narratives and their accompanying memorialization and commemoration completely obliterate the other memories of acrimonious and oppressive relationships between the

acclaimed nationalist chiefs and the "other" peoples within the multiethnic nations, thereby restricting the prerequisite to obtain national status to colonial violence.⁷

I will illustrate my point by first looking at the set of post-independence stamps on "African Heroes and Martyrs" from Guinea of the late president Ahmed Sekou Toure.⁸ It is essential however, to indulge a little in the history of Sekou Toure himself. His first civil service job was at the post office as a clerk, so he naturally saw the value of images on stamps. Second, the stamps were issued in 1962 when the people of Guinea were facing real economic difficulties and Sekou Toure's leadership within the ruling party was threatened. It was opportune at this moment to instill nationalist sentiments among Guineans by recalling his ancestral links to his great grandfather Almany Samori Toure⁹ (fig. 16).¹⁰ Almany Samori Toure was a leader of the Malinke kingdom that fought a protracted battle against French occupation of his kingdom until his final capture at Bondoukou in 1898 and deportation to Gabon where he died two years later.

Sekou Toure was said to have exploited his ancestry to Samori during the struggle for independence from the French. The propaganda at the time was that the famous oracle at Kankan had predicted that a descendant of Samori Toure would revenge his defeat in the hands of the French. Samori Toure, thus, had earned his martyrdom, but the other narrative that is repressed by the official account is the historical account of Samori Toure prior to his battles with the French. Likewise, the official record is silent on the organization of Samori's kingdom, his trade and politics as well as his wars of conquest in the territory under his control that covered parts of the region of what is today Mali, Guinea and Ivory Coast. The question, therefore, is how would these "other" peoples perceive the martyrdom of Samori Toure within the new nation of Guinea?

Perhaps the history of the next hero – Babemba (King of Kenegedougou-Sikasso, Mali, 1855-1898; fig. 17)¹¹ – could have provided a counter narrative to that of Samori Toure if his official story had not been narrated in an anti-imperialist rhetoric. Babemba was said to have resisted Samori's siege against his kingdom for sixteen months. Likewise, he resisted the French until he committed suicide in 1898, thus preferring death to capture in the hands of the French.¹²

The other Guinean chiefs earned their place on the stamps through the ill treatment they received from the French. Alfa Yaya (1850-1912; fig. 18)¹³ was the chief of the Labe in the Fouta-Djalon but had a rather dubious history. He was a fervent ally of the French until his fortunes were reversed when a

new governor was appointed to Guinea due to French internal politics. The new governor, Antoine Marie Auguste Frézouls, in an attempt to enhance his own position and discredit the achievements of his predecessor, invited Alfa Yaya to Conakry in 1905. The latter, thinking that it was an official visit, made the several weeks journey with his retinue and guards only to be arrested on his arrival and deported to Dahomey. His son, Modi-Aguibu, suffered the same fate, but both of them were allowed to return to Guinea five years later. Alpha Yaya had hoped that he would be restored to power but he was later accused of holding "secret and mysterious" meetings and was arrested again and jailed at Port-Etienne where he died the following year.¹⁴ So, a French ally who had become a victim of his former master's treachery was now elevated to hero status.

The next victim of French imperial duplicity in Guinea was Tierno Aliou (1820 - 1912; fig. 19).¹⁵ He was a famous eighty-year-old marabout (religious leader) with a large following who was arrested in an alleged Islamic plot against the French in the village of Goumba. Before his arrest, he was said to be a pliant French supporter who even diffused tension among his followers who anticipated the return of the Mahdi to end taxation by the French. Despite attempts by his followers to prevent his arrest and his escape to Sierra Leone, the British extradited him to Guinea where he died in prison in 1912.¹⁶

Aside from Babemba, the other foreign royalty who made Sekou Toure's postage stamp of African pantheon of heroes was Behanzin (1844 - 1906; fig. 20),¹⁷ king of Dahomey. He fought against the French invasion of his kingdom but lost the war and was deported to the Caribbean island of Martinique in 1894. Behanzin has the unique honor of being the only African chief appearing on postage stamps of two countries, but under curious circumstances. He appeared first in Guinea in 1962 and did not appear in Benin (formerly Dahomey) until 1980. Even then, he was preceded two years earlier on Benin postage stamps by Samori Toure and El Hadj Omar¹⁸ (fig. 21 & 22),¹⁹ who were recognized as two African heroes who had resisted colonialism. In order to understand the initial neglect of Behanzin, one has to follow the first two decades of Benin's post-independence history.

Political division and instability in post-independence Dahomey explain the late recognition of Behanzin in his own country. There was intense ethnic rivalry between the three major political entities based on ethnic affiliations led by the triumvirate of Hubert Maga (North), Justin Ahomadegbe (Center) and Sourou Migan Apithy (Southeast). Each of these individuals commanded a considerable following in their respective regions of origin, thereby making

it impossible for any one of them to obtain a majority vote. This problem was further complicated by the incessant interference of the army in the political process by arbitrarily making and unmaking presidents.

After several military coups, interspaced with civilian governments, the final coup in 1972, led by Col. Mathieu Kerekou (a northerner) brought in a semblance of political stability. Kerekou changed the name of the country to Benin, a more neutral name than Dahomey, which was associated with the Fon people and their Kingdom of Dahomey. Furthermore, Kerekou led Benin to join the rank of self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist states. These moves and several attempts by his opponents to overthrow his government rallied the people behind him. The most serious attempt to overthrow Kerekou occurred in 1977 when a planeload of mercenaries landed at the airport but were routed by loyal forces. Kerekou blamed France as well as neocolonial African countries for the failed coup.²⁰ Naturally, imperialism and neocolonialism became easy targets for all Benin's social and economic problems. Kerekou and his government, therefore, needed to arouse the nationalist spirit of the Beninese people by evoking the names of acknowledged African nationalists like Samori Toure and El Hadj Omar and surreptitiously omitting Behazin due to ethnic suspicions of Fon complicity in the abortive coup.

Unfortunately, the left wing rhetoric failed to materialize into economic prosperity for the Beninese people and by the late 1970s and early 1980s, the people's patience was wearing out and Kerekou had to take some drastic actions to steer the country back from its downward slide. He took certain national and international steps to restore the credibility of his country by re-establishing normal relations with France and by releasing political prisoners. To placate the Fon people and further his nationalistic agenda, he honored Behazin in 1979 with a giant statue at Abomey and followed this in 1980 with his representation on a postage stamp (fig. 23).²¹ It is fascinating to note that, unlike Samori Toure and El Hadj Omar who earned the appellation "Heroes of African Resistance Against Colonialism", Behazin's statue and postage stamp had the text "I will never agree to sign any treaty susceptible to compromise the independence of the land of my ancestors".²² The lukewarm appreciation of Behazin was further illustrated by the price of the stamp, which was 1 000cfa, a very steep price for the average Beninese. The subsequent cheaper ones (fig. 24)²³ issued in 1986 simply read *Buste du roi Behazin*, with no commentary about or reference to his confrontation with the French. These omissions were not by simple neglect; they were intentional. Kerekou's government was clearly aware of the ethnic sensibilities and the mixed history of the kingdom of Dahomey among the people of Benin. The oral traditions and written histories about the Dahomeyan onslaught on her neighbors was well entrenched in the memories of the citizens of the new

Benin Kerekou was trying to reconstruct. Nonetheless, Behanzin would not have earned a spot on the postage stamps of Benin had he not fought the French and been sent into exile.²⁴

Finally, Lat Dior (1842-1886) king of Cayor in modern Senegal, also acquired the title of national hero and earned a commemorative postage stamp in 1981 (fig. 25).²⁵ He was opposed to the French construction of railroad between Dakar and St. Louis and fought them several times but was killed in the final battle at Dekhele in 1886. As mentioned earlier, the motto of the Senegalese army was taken from the comments Faidherbe made in his battles against Lat Dior. Aside from the postage stamps, there is a bronze statue (3.5m) at the entrance of the Centre International du Commerce Extérieur du Senegal (CICES) in Dakar by Issa Diop in honor of Lat Dior's stallion Malaw.²⁶

Women

Commemoration on postage stamps remains a domain for the expression of masculinity. The field of heroines in the colonial and post-colonial postage stamps is very sparse. With the British exception of royal triumphalism of Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth, one saw occasional scenes of women performing charitable social services on French colonial stamps and other times the allegory of the French republic as a woman spreading "civilization" to the "natives". On the other hand, the appearance of identifiable African women on postage stamps probably started in 1975 with the celebration of the International Year of Women. I presume there was a request from the organizers to African postal services to issue stamps to commemorate the event. That year, Ghana recognized women of Home Economics, Alberta Ollenu and Patience Adow; Nigeria, Queen Amina; Senegal, anonymous mother and child, and another woman pounding grains in a mortar; Benin, anonymous telephone operator; and Côte d'Ivoire, Marie Kore (1910-1953, fig. 26). The latter was among a group of women who participated in the women's demonstration in Grand Bassam against the French.²⁷ In 2003, Ghana issued a commemorative series on famous women amongst whom was featured Yaa Asantewa (1850-1921, fig. 27), the queen mother of Ejisu. She was known to have rallied the Asante to fight the British when the latter demanded the golden stool which was the symbol of Asante unity. She was later captured by the British and sent into exile in the Seychelles Island with the rest of the Asante monarchy. In 2000, the government built a museum in her honor, in the centenary celebration of the Anglo-Asante wars. Yaa Asantewa and the museum became the symbol of "anticolonial freedom fighter, a woman proudly upholding the traditions of her people in a fight to death, a marvelous symbol of shared struggle against political and cultural oppression".²⁸

Although Burkina Faso is not covered in this research, I cannot leave out the unique portrait of Princess Guimbi Ouattara of Bobo Dioulasso (Fig. 28). Her story as a heroine who saved Bobo Dioulasso is quite complex. It is linked to two male colonial and anti-colonial heroes – Samori Toure and Louis-Gustave Binger. Samori, in his flight from the French, fought other kingdoms on his escape route. However, it was said that when he arrived at Bobo Dioulasso, Princess Guimbi gave him gifts and prepared a sumptuous meal for him and he spared the kingdom. With the French still in hot pursuit, Samori reneged on his promise not to attack the kingdom and Princess Guimbi signed a pact with Luis-Gustave Binger for protection against Samori. The irony of this story is that in the end, the kingdom of Kong lost its sovereignty to the French and Samori would probably not have attacked the kingdom had the French not pursued him but Princess Guimbi is now celebrated as national heroine for having saved her kingdom. Her mausoleum is a major tourist attraction and a shrine at Bobo Dioulasso.²⁹

I have no doubts that there are qualified women in the singular struggle against colonialism in these West African countries and, if historians and concerned citizens take the trouble to do some research and make recommendations to the stamp advisory committees in these countries, it is more than likely that we will see more women honored with postage stamps.

To conclude, I have tried in my analysis of the iconography of postage stamps of West Africa, from the colonial period to the present, to demonstrate how dissonant and complex individuals were honored through the historical discourse of dominance and resistance in Africa. To Africans, the colonial "heroes" committed atrocities and violated basic human rights and therefore should not be commemorated or celebrated in history texts. On the one hand, in the postcolonial mindset and by appropriating colonial systems, several post independent governments have honored and continue to revere certain ancestors as "heroes" just for resisting Europeans, without reviewing the historical context of such actions or examining these personalities in their entirety. The honor role, as it turned out, was for current social and political profit. Commemoration is also an exercise in phallocracy, thus a large number of women who participated in the struggle for independence are not honored with postage stamps. Finally, for financial benefits in a globalized world, African postal services now pander to worldwide stamp dealers and collectors by commemorating heroes and heroines of western popular culture (movie stars, athletes, cartoons, etc.). Thus, the soft power of western popular culture heroes and heroines constitute the new frame of reference for Africa's role models.

Figures



Fig. 1 – General Louis Léon Faïdherbe



Fig. 2 – Maréchal Joseph-Simon Galliéni



Fig. 3 – Louis-Gustave Binger



Fig. 4 – René Caillié



Fig. 5 – British Crown



Fig. 6 – Dr. Kwame Nkrumah



Fig. 7 – J. B. Danquah and Martin Luther King



Fig. 8 – Past great sons of Ghana



Fig. 9 – Sekou Toure



Fig. 10 – Nnamdi Azikiwe



Fig. 11 – Herbert Macaulay and King Jaja of Opobo



Fig. 12 – Chief Awolowo



Fig. 13 – Hubert Maga and Toussaint L'Ouverture



Fig. 14 – Felix Houphouët Boigny



Fig. 15 – Lamine Gueye



Fig. 16 – Almany Samory Toure

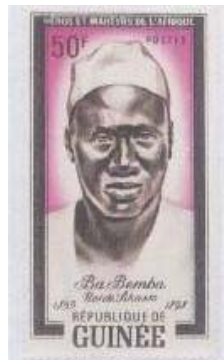


Fig. 17 – BaBemba – King of Sikasso



Fig. 18 – Alpha Yaya

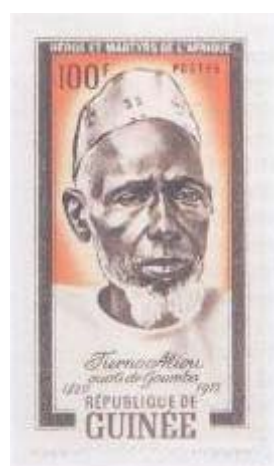


Fig. 19 – Tierno Aliou



Fig. 20 – Benhanzin



Fig. 21 – Samory Toure



Fig. 22 – El Hadj Omar



Fig. 23 – Behanzin statue at Abomey



Fig. 24 – Behanzin



(a)



(b)

Fig. 25 – Lat Dior (a) and Lat Dior on his stallion Malaw (b)



Fig. 26 – Marie Kore

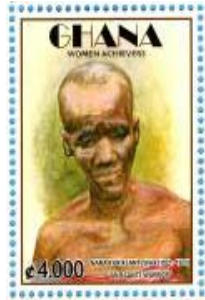


Fig. 27 – Yaa Asantewa

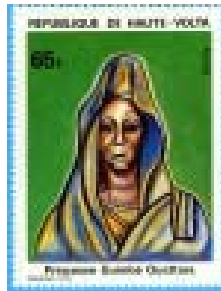


Fig. 28 – Princess Guimbi Ouattara

Notes

1. J. Suret-Canale, *Essays on African History, From Slave Trade to Neocolonialism*, African World Press, New Jersey, 1988.
2. http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lat_Dior, accessed on June 24, 2008.
3. http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louis-Gustave_Binger, accessed on June 24, 2008.
4. Since postage stamps were first used in Britain in 1841, the British established the convention of showing the monarch on the postage stamp instead of the name of the country.
5. Kofi Antubam, *Ghana's Heritage of Culture* (Koehler & Amelang, Leipzig, 1963), 219.
6. Mitchell, W. J. T., *Picture Theory*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994, p.378.
7. See A. Adedze, «Commemorating the Chief: The Politics of Postage Stamps in West Africa» *African Arts*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Summer 2004, pp. 68-73.
8. Scott Catalogue Guinea # 258-262 A 29.
9. Kake, I. B., *Sekou Toure: le Héros et le Tyran*, Groupe Jeune Afrique, Paris, 1987. Many opponents of Sekou Toure allege that his claims to Samori Toure are dubious, but Kake's research has proved that he was indeed a great-grand child of Samori Toure.

10. Scott Catalogue Guinea 261 A 29
11. Scott Catalogue Guinea # 260 A 29
12. Imperato, P. J., *Historical Dictionary of Mali*, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1986.
13. Scott Catalogue Guinea # 258 A 29
14. See J. Suret-Canale, *Essays on African History, From Slave Trade to Neocolonialism*, African World Press, New Jersey, 1988, for a detailed debate on the European opinions of Samori Toure, however, one is cognizant of the fact that European colonizers persistently demonized any African leader that resisted their conquest.
15. Scott Catalogue Guinea # 262 A 29
16. J. Suret-Canale, *ibid.*
17. Scott Catalogue Guinea # 259 A 29
18. El Hadj Omar was head of the Tukolor Empire in the mid 19th century waging wars against his perceived infidels and encouraging his followers to fight the French along the coast. Although he was unable to defeat the French he signed a treaty with them, which left him to attack other non-Muslim states.
19. Scott Catalogue Benin # 394-5 A 106
20. Ronen, D., *Ethnicity, Ideology, and the Military in the People's Republic of Benin*, African Studies Center, Boston University, 1984.
21. Scott Catalogue Benin # 448A A 126a
22. The giant statue was made in North Korea. It was inaugurated on April 9, 1979 in Abomey amid anti-imperialist speech given by Kerekou. The text at the foot of the statue mainly for local pride reads «Je n'accepterai jamais de signer aucun traité susceptible d'aliéner l'indépendance de la terre de mes aïeux.»
23. Scott Catalogue Benin # 621 A 194 and 636 A 198.
24. Adedze, *ibid.*
25. Scott Catalogue Senegal #549 A 185 and 550 A 185.
26. http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lat_Dior, accessed on June 26, 2008.
27. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001386/138609f.pdf>, accessed June 26, 2008. Other notable women who participated in the demonstration but were not honored are Anne-Marie Raggi, and Marie Gnéba.
28. Day, L. R., «What's Tourism Got to Do With It?: The Yaa Asantewa Legacy and Development in Asanteman» *Africa Today*, 51, No. 1, Fall 2004.
29. http://www.globeconteurs.info/article.php?id_article=30, accessed on June 26, 2008.

