

At present the total population is more than 21,000,000 (9,500,000 in Algeria; 8,500,000 in Morocco; 3,700,000 in Tunisia) and rising rapidly. The bulk of the people are Arabs or Arabised Berbers. In the Atlas Mountains of Morocco there remain about 3,000,000 Berbers relatively untouched by alien incursions. The French number about 1,500,000.

For many of the French -- notably in Morocco, "France's Texas" -- North Africa is a booming frontier land. But 80 per cent of the native eke out their livings on tiny plots, too small for mechanized farming, badly irrigated and with yields only a third of what modern farms produce.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

All three North African states are part of the French Union but in different ways.

Algeria is ruled by a Governor-General, currently Jacques Soustelle. Its coastal fringe, Northern Algeria, is divided into three French Departments, administered as part of Metropolitan France and represented by deputies in the National Assembly in Paris. Southern Algeria, comprising nine-tenths of the area but only one-tenth of the people, is ruled as a colony.

Tunisia and Morocco are French Protectorate. Theoretically, they are ruled by native monarchs-- the Bey of Tunis, and the Sultan of Morocco. Actually, French Resident-Generals -- currently Boyer de Latour in Tunisia, and Gilbert Grandval in Morocco -- have run the show for years.

But alien rule and stark contrasts in wealth are the stock combustibles of the nationalist flames that have been sweeping Asia and Africa for a generation. In North Africa the result has been mounting tension that reached a high point in the clashes between Arabs and French last week.

THE ARAB POSITION

At bottom what Arab nationalists want is no more than what their French teacher taught them they should have: liberte, egalite, fraternite -- in the language of modern politics, national independence and a spreading of wealth and opportunity.

In Tunisia the nationalists have come a long way toward their goal. An Arab Cabinet under Premier Tahar ben Amar was established a year ago. In May it negotiated with the French Government a treaty, since ratified by the French National Assembly, providing for Tunisian home rule. There were no nationalist disturbances in Tunisia last week.

In Algeria many of the most prominent city Arabs are French citizens ("beni oui oui", yes-men, the nationalists call them). But nationalist leaders have organised a Fellagha (outlaw) army, 2,500 strong, based in the fastnesses of the Aures Mountains. Over the past year they have repeatedly launched guerrilla raids against the French and pro-French Arabs.

In Morocco the nationalists lost a leader of influence two years ago when Sultan Mohammed ben Youssef was deposed by the French. They have had to reckon with opposition from a pro-French Berber leader, Thami el Glaoui, Pasha of

of Marrakesh. Still they have gained ground steadily. The signal for all of last week's trouble was the second anniversary of the deposing of the former Sultan.

THE FRENCH POSITION

Virtually all Frenchmen agree that the French must stay in North Africa. But how to maintain "la presence" is a matter of dispute. In general, the French Left has favoured concessions leading to home rule. In general, the French Right - including most of the settlers - has favoured stern repression. In general, the Right has had its way. Since 1948, French military expenses in North Africa have risen from 50,000,000 to \$ 200,000,000 annually. More than 200,000 troops, including a division removed from the NATO Command last spring, are trying to keep order. The Government of Edgar Faure is sending in more.

Premier Faure, heading a coalition based on support from Right and Left, has tried not to rock the boat. He has followed through on Tunisian home rule. He has continued military repression in Algeria. On the eve of the troubles in Morocco last week, his Resident-General, M. Grandval, presented a plan for launching reforms. Under pressure from the Right, M. Faure hesitated. Last Monday - two days after the rioting - he opened conversations with Moroccan leaders.

In short, France has repeatedly fallen back on military repression to maintain its position. Force has bred only trouble. The question is whether France can organise a policy of concessions in time to prevent North Africa's going the way of Indo-China.

(By courtesy of New York Times, August 28, 1955)

RESTIVE MALAYA

Driving for Independence--

by Sam A. Jaffe

The recent violent death of United Press correspondent Gene Symonds made headlines in America, but here in Malaya the riot in which he was slain received scant notice. Death and insurrection have become commonplace in this British colony, both in the trackless green wastes that comprise four-fifths of Malaya and in the asphalt jungles of his steaming city.

Almost every month patrols scour the nine states making up the Federation, tracking Communist terrorists. **killings** Seven years of such searches have resulted in the capture or/ of an estimated 107,700 terrorists and in the loss of 4,000 British soldiers. But the authorities admit that the numerical strength of the outlaws remains about the same as it was in June, 1948 - between four and five thousand.

These marauders, 90 per cent of them Chinese, are scattered throughout Malaya's 53,240 square miles. They are cut off from any central command and each band operates on its own, making periodical raids on rubber plantations, rice fields, and tin mines, slaughtering the European owners and their families. Native villagers have been intimidated into supplying food and clothing and into refusing to cooperate with security forces. Recently, however, the aborigines of mountainous central Malaya have been provisioned and armed by the British. They form valuable intelligence network and man ten jungle forts.

Under the emergency regulations, some 600,000 squatters, 85 per cent of whom are Chinese, were moved from all parts of Malaya to centrally located villages. The mass resettlement program was undertaken in March 1950, and completed almost three years later. There is little doubt that the Government's action has helped its program against the Reds, but it had denied the squatters their rights. A representative of the Peoples' Action Party, a leftwing Malayan political organization, said at Bandung, where he came to champion Malayan independence, that the new villages were on the order of "concentration camps with barbed wire and strong arc lights which illuminate the site". He said that a curfew is imposed from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m., and that all persons leaving the camp are thoroughly searched by security forces. There are 486 of these camps in Malaya today.

The ceaseless patrol, the recruitment of natives, and the rupture of Communist lines of supply and command have reduced the number of mass killings considerably. In 1951, at the peak of terrorist activity, 500 such incidents occurred monthly. Today there are about fifty or sixty a month. Lieutenant General Geoffrey Bourne, who directs British security operations, expects a further weakening of the Red Forces to result from the fight of their reputed leader, General Chin Peng. Chin, formerly secretary of the Malayan Communist Party, is believed to be hiding across the border in Thailand. His desertion from the field is being broadcast to terrorists by leaf-lets dropped in the jungles.

The Communists declare that their tactics have been directed toward gaining independence for Malaya, but the result has been to provide the British with an excellent excuse for remaining. "How can we leave these people to be swallowed up by communism?" asked one colonial official. "We owe the Malays protection. They'll get their self-government, but not before all the terrorists are removed".

But many Malays feel that only world opinion will force England to quit the peninsula. As one put it, "They got out of India, but Indian nationalism was strong and there was unity among the people. And, frankly speaking, England lost nothing materially when it gave India to the Indians. I wonder what the situation would have been if India had been a country rich in rubber and tin -- I wonder if England would have given up so easily?"

Reinforcing Malayan cynicism is the fact that an estimated 80 per cent of the Federation's wealth is in British hands; despite the billions spent in recent years on jungle war-fare, it remains a profitable possession. After more than a century of British rule, British efforts to prepare the natives for independence started late and have a great distance to go. There is no Malay institution of university standard, and only three high schools. The great majority of the six million people are illiterate fishermen and rice growers. The rising cost of living fans discontent and desire for home rule.

The admixture of nationalities in Malaya further complicates the problem. The Chinese, who began migrating to the country in 1870, now hold substantial wealth and power. Their numbers have increased, and their sympathies in many cases lie with Red China. There is also a sizeable Indian minority, which adds to the difficulty of achieving unified expression of public sentiment.

However, when the British granted free elections in Singapore recently, the Chinese Malayan Association and the United Malay National Organization formed an alliance to gain dominance. They, as well as other political parties which drew support in a remarkably large turnout of voters, are committed to gaining independence.

The British say, however, that a majority of these parties have told them that, even when independence is achieved, Malaya would like to remain part of the Commonwealth, with the added guarantee that British forces remain in the country as protection. David Marshall, chief minister of Singapore said, "There is no question in the mind of any reasonable person that we are undoubtedly on the road to independence at an early date and to self-government within four years". He asserted that delaying tactics on the issue would seriously prejudice the position of Singapore and its faith in the integrity of Britain, "but we must concentrate our energies on how best we can efficiently govern this territory when we get self-government."

PUBLIC OPINION

WESTERN POWERS AND COLONIALISM

New Times of Burma:

The Western powers affect a pained surprise every time an Asian state expresses concern over the remaining vestiges of Western colonialism, especially in the chambers of the United Nations. And when a group of Asian countries get together to try and obtain United Nations action in eradication of these vestiges, the pained surprise gives way to wrathful indignation. What these Western powers would like the sceptical Asian world to believe is that the form of colonialism practised by the Western states is generally dead and that the remaining pockets of colonialism, in North Africa, in India and elsewhere, will disappear with time. With the first contention few Asians will disagree, but as to the latter Asia has searched diligently but failed to find any crumb of good faith on the part of the Colonist states involved to believe that their policy would be changed voluntarily. This is why the Arab and Asian world has concentrated its efforts in obtaining United Nations action in the matter.

For the past four or five years the Arab and Asian states have fought a gruelling battle in the United Nations on the issue of colonialism, each time to see the West involve one legal trick after another to thwart any action by the United Nations. In all these years there were many countries which secretly sympathized with the Arab and Asian cause both in Europe and in America. This was a period of frustration for the nationalist cause, a period of hopelessness and chagrin during which their faith in the United Nations has been severely tried. Though somewhat frayed, the fabric of their faith in the underlying UN principles remained whole giving them an impetus to persevere in their efforts.

Has this perseverance borne fruit? It certainly has if the vote of the United Nations General Assembly on the Algerian problem is any indication. This vote has been a clear denunciation of colonialism not so much so because UNGA has decided to discuss the problem but more because of the

nature of the vote. Apart from the Arab and Asian states (with the sole exception of Turkey) considerable European and Latin American support for the Nationalist cause has been registered. The Latin American vote is of course the most surprising because they have a record of following the American and generally NATO line which will remain unrivalled for a long time. No heavier blow could have been given to colonialism. Perhaps that is why the French have stormed out of UNGA smarting under their cloak of indignation.

The problem of colonialism has now entered its final and perhaps most crucial stage. The UN has decided to discuss Algeria but that is something quite different from taking positive steps to eradicate colonialism. At the present stage or even in the foreseeable future it is most unlikely that the UN will take any concrete action, like the type it is very ready to take against Communist offenders of the Charter. The final deathblow to colonialism therefore will have to come from the states that have once suffered under it. It would be plain wishful thinking for the Arab and Asian states to believe that UNGA will vote once again in expression of its conscience. Already the French walkout has raised the problem of the unity of the Western NATO bloc. France at least is making no bones of the fact that NATO must support her stronghold over North Africa. And the fact that strategic NATO bases exist in North Africa is no small indication of what Mr. Dulles, the American Secretary of State will do.

American pressure on the small Latin American states especially will choke off any fledgling tendency they may have developed to vote as they please. All this means that the fight against colonialism has not been eased the least by the UNGA vote on Algeria. In fact it may make its elimination more difficult than ever. The anti-colonialist powers will have to demonstrate clearly that they also are prepared to back their peaceful appeals with strength if necessary. It will remain particularly the responsibility of powers like Thailand and the Philippines who are allied with the NATO through SEATO to exert their influence more strongly than they have thus far, on this very critical matter.

THE FRENCH WALK OUT

The Nation, Burma:

We think that altogether too much fuss has been kicked up over France recalling her delegation from the United Nations consequent on the General Assembly deciding to place the question of Algeria on the agenda. The "sympathy", "concern" and "consternation" expressed by various European countries over the French withdrawal are not shared by the rest of the world. If France can do without the UN, the UN can do very well without France.

When M. Faure talks about the "dignity" of France, he is apt to overlook the fact that those who stage walk-outs whenever their interests are affected, are acting in a ridiculous, rather than a dignified manner. South Africa, which has behaved in a stupid and petulant manner in past sessions, has earned the respect of no one, and France on this occasion, in going one better than the smug and superior South African Government, has succeeded in covering herself with ignominy.

The time has surely come when the United Nations should settle down into being what it was obviously meant to be - a world forum for discussing and settling outstanding issues, rather than the preserve of great and superior powers. The Charter is on everyone's lips these days, but all this chatter about the Charter becomes drivel when certain powers like France identifies it only with her national or colonial interests. Algeria is no more a part of Metropolitan France than Goa is a part of Metropolitan Portugal.

If France thought she had a good case for prolonging her stay in Algeria she should have welcomed the General Assembly discussion. By walking out, and subsequently recalling the whole delegation, including the permanent delegation, from the UN, she stands condemned before the world much as a miscreant does who will not face his accusers. The whole incident is disgusting and makes us wish that big power politics and the veto could be abolished and the UN given a chance to function properly.

The fact of the matter is that discussions on the subject of French colonies are very much overdue. If the UN had acted many years ago on the question of Indo-China, there would probably have been no carving up of Viet-Nam. In like manner, if Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, had been pressed to an issue sooner than now, there would have been much less bloodshed and probably no funny business such as the ~~deaths~~ of two Sultans, one after another. These days there is no dearth of applicants for UN membership. If France insists on creating a permanent vacancy, we should let her.

SHADOW OVER UNO

New Times of Burma:

The decision of the French Government to withdraw its delegation from the United Nations Organisation because of the action of the General Assembly in voting to include the Algerian question in its agenda has cast an ominous shadow over the future of the organisation. The decision of the Assembly, it may be remembered, came as the climax of the efforts of representatives of the Arab and Asian bloc supported by the more reasonable and democratic inclined European members and the Soviet bloc against the combined opposition of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation group and some South American states. The reaction of the French Government, its pious indignation against the feelings of one half of the world's population, has introduced a note of bitterness and suspicion not only against France itself but also against all the other powers including the United States and Great Britain. The support that the French won from the Western powers has now been clearly identified due solely to her connections with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. If conclusive proof were needed that colonialism is being sheltered by NATO, this is it. First NATO destined equipment and troops were freed and moved into action against the nationalists in North Africa, and now politically the solidarity of the NATO bloc in favour of colonialism leaves little room for doubt.

The French position is based on the claim that Algeria is part of France. This assertion is one of the biggest hoaxes that has been perpetrated on sceptical world by colonialism. The Algerians if anything at all are but second or third class citizens of the so-called French Union.

If as the French Government says they are Frenchmen, do they have the same representation in the central French Parliament as all other Frenchmen? Do they have the same civic and other rights as other Frenchmen? Are there the same number of deputies and senators representing Algeria in the French National Assembly and Council of the Republic as the other French Departments? If the Algerians exercise equal rights with the French, then it is obvious that Algerian political representatives would easily overwhelm the French Parliament at any time. Apart from vain repetitions of its claims, the French have done little to give the facts to these questions. The entire political constitutional and social set up is to make the Algerians and their country as a whole, nothing but a colony, in the truest and most hated sense of France.

And because for the first time in its history practically, the General Assembly of the United Nations has had the courage to vote according to its conscience, the French retaliate by withdrawing its delegation. France, for so many years has had its own way and by various technicalities managed to sabotage United Nations action on the North African problem. The intransigent attitude now adopted by the French has led observers to believe that the United Nations might suffer the same fate as the League of Nations. If the UNO is to be dissolved it is better by far that there be no United Nations rather than to have one that has its voice throttled and gagged by its powerful members. At least there will never be the stigma that the UN failed to act according to the conscience of the world's population in this matter, as the League of Nations did in so many cases before the second world war notably in respect to the aggression against Abyssinia by Fascist Italy.

The United Nations has come to the cross roads when it must decide whether it will truly be a world organisation based on the principles of justice and equality for all, or whether it will become an instrument to be used by the big powers and their allies in perpetuating injustices. The United Nations today is faced with a challenge; will it bow to the pious and totally hypocritical indignation of a colonialist power or will it respect the opinion of over one half of the world.

France today, the more the pity, has belittled herself in the eyes of the entire world. Walking out with inflamed indignation like a spoiled child has not exactly raised the prestige of the French Nations. How many times could the Arab and Asian states also have walked out of the UN when time and again every legal and technical device was used to thwart their just hopes and ambitions. The respect and sincere belief in all the principles underlying the United Nations has been a hope and an inspiration to these Arab and Asian states. They believe that the UN was founded on solid good foundations and only time will bring about a change in the hearts of its members so that the task of making the UN Charter a living reality to each and every human being will be facilitated. Today France no matter what her leaders and their NATO friends may say, stands condemned for trying to use the UN to protect and whitewash a form of colonialism that should have been stamped out long ago.

TROUBLE IN NORTH AFRICA

The Burman:

The trouble in North Africa has again flared up with much greater intensity than before.

French imperial policy in the area is not anyway in keeping with the time when imperialism is on the wane everywhere. France's upper-handedness will not only bring disaster and chaos with her imperial territories but will also, it is feared, spread the contagion to neighbouring states. The present crisis in North Africa accompanied by unnecessary bloodshed and dreadful carnage, could easily be avoided if France had even been ~~compromising~~ diplomatic in her dealing with her subjects in these areas.

People all over the world have become politically conscious and as such will no longer tolerate obsolete methods of governing or glaring injustices. And in these days when arms can be bought or smuggled there is bound to be trouble. In our opinion the trouble in N. Africa can easily be prevented if France adopts a more conciliatory and democratic reaction instead of obstinately relying too much on her armed might.

DISAPPOINTMENT OVER CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

KWACA:

The announcement made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, has caused a great deal of disappointment among the African people in Nyasaland, who had expected that at least a parity would be granted together with two African seats on the Executive Council and free elections. But all these modest and humble requests have been rejected by the Colonial Secretary without any satisfactory reasons being given.

It seems to us obvious enough that the Secretary of State has been influenced by the interference of the Federal Government, coupled with the opposition from the Settler element in this country.

However, Congress is determined to strive for the attainment of a democratic Self-Government for the Africans of this country as soon as possible. Our European and Asian friends need not obstruct our goal for they shall be fully protected under the Constitution. We shall be fair and just to all citizens of this country.

All those who understand something about democracy will agree with us that it is undemocratic that a minority group should have the largest representation in the Legislative Council. To do so is to ignore the facts of history which prove beyond doubt that a minority group cannot rule the majority all the time. It is against the British traditional policy of fair-play and justice.

In the struggle before us, it is necessary that we should be united amongst ourselves because if we fail to do so, our opponents will find us easy prey for division. Unity is strength and we would be wise to follow the example of India, Ceylon, Burma, Sudan and nearer home, the Gold Coast.

Followers must be willing to follow their leadership. Some are jealous of their friends who lead. Nevertheless, we believe that such attempts will fail as has, indeed, been the case in the past. Nyasaland people are too intelligent to follow self-seekers and mischief makers.

In our next issue we shall discuss fully the implications of the announcement of the Constitutional Changes made by Mr. Lennox-Boyd. So, do not miss a copy if you are a true Nyasalander. We beseech you, Brothers and Sisters, to travel along with us to the road of freedom, peace and harmony with all steadfastness and self-denial until we reach the land of Canaan. Congress is your mouthpiece and without it, you cannot achieve your freedom and self-government, so follow us wherever we go. Awake therefore, sons and daughters of Africa for the hour has come and your glory is nigh.

K W A C A
Organ of Nyasaland African Congress

NEWS FROM AFRICA

£ 144 RAISED IN AN HOUR

At a meeting of 2000 people held in the Recreation Hall in Salisbury recently, members of the Congress raised an astounding sum of £144 in less than an hour. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. W.M. Chirwa, M.P., and C.R. Kumbikano, M.P., Mr. J.C.W. Malifa, the Magnetic President of Mashonaland Provisional Headquarters, presided over the meeting.

In his address, Mr. Malifa attacked the announcement of the Director of Agriculture of reducing African families through birth control. He called upon our people to obey the natural law of God to multiply and thus fulfil the will of our maker. He appealed to the audience to be united and not to be misled by divisions which appear as a result of multiple churches which exist.

Mr. W.M. Chirwa, M.P., expressed the disappointment of Africans over constitutional changes and called for silence to be observed as a form of mourning. He then outlined the need for immediate Self-Government for Nyasaland Africans in which democracy, justice and fairplay shall prevail. He called upon our people to be united in their determination for freedom. Finally, he advised all Nyasas to buy KWACA our only national paper in Nyasaland.

Mr. C.R. Kumbikano, M.P., told the audience that there was actually no gain in African representation except one, for at present there are already three Africans and one European representing African interests. But he believed the day was not far for Self-Government and through prayer and God's guidance, Nyasaland would be free, prosperous and happy.

Mrs. P.M. Chirwa, the wife of Mr. W.M. Chirwa, M.P., who also addressed the meeting, appealed to women to go forward with their husbands in the struggle for freedom. She deprecated the habits of some men who discourage their wives from attending meetings. She quoted the wise saying of Dr. Aggrey, "If you educate a woman you educate the whole family". Finally, she announced the formation of the new Women's League in Nyasaland which was a mark of progress in our country.

Mr. Mandas, the staunch leader of the people from Lilongwe, Dowa and Kasungu and Mrs Saidi, a devotee of the Congress received medals of honour for their outstanding and meritorious service to the Congress. The meeting closed with "Mbuye Dalitsani Africa".

Activities of the Nyasa College Association in the
Northern Province.

The people of Nyasaland are very fortunate to have a person like Mr. W.M. Chirwa, BA. U.Ed., M.P., who has introduced the idea of a College. Mr. Chirwa has done much to help our country and he deserves our gratitude.

Again, the Nyasa College Association was wise to appoint Mr. M.W. Kanyama Chiume to be its Organising Secretary who recently arrived from Tanganyika. He has travelled through many parts of the Northern Provinces, preaching to the people the need for such a school. Wherever he has gone, the people have received him with great enthusiasm and he has convinced them of his sincerity of purpose. There can be no doubt that he will make the scheme a great success.

It is learnt that Mr. Chiume will soon proceed to the Central Province to meet Chiefs and their people and explain the scheme to them. Already, many people are anxiously waiting for his arrival.

MESSAGE FROM THE INTERNATIONAL THIRD WAY
MOVEMENT

"We, Dutch Third-Way people, on this 3rd of October for the first time have met in order to celebrate with due respect and decision the "Anti-Colonial Day" such as it has been proposed for this date by your Bureau.

"In this our meeting it has been decided to send you this letter with our cordial greetings as a testimony of our solidarity with all those who still suffer/and who fight /from any form of colonialism, whenever in the world.

"We furthermore wish to express herewith our welcome to the idea of holding an "International World Conference for the Liberation from Colonialism", such as it has been convoked at Margate, England, from November 5th - 7th next.

"In anticipation of the firmness which shall unite there all people who have decided to put a challenge to colonialism we hope to be present with a delegation from our midst."

THE BARKING (ESSEX) CONSTITUENCY LABOUR PARTY

State:

"That this Barking Constituency Labour Party extends to the Asian Socialist Conference its sincere greetings on Dependent Peoples' Freedom Day, to be celebrated on the 30th October and expresses its fraternal solidarity with the peoples in the dependent and under developed countries all over the World, in their fight for freedom."

A UNITED AFRICA

The need for the peoples of Africa to forge a united front in order to eradicate imperialism and racialism and bring about righteousness and glory in Africa has probably become more important than perhaps any other problem that confronts the peoples of that Continent today. Reasons in support of this realisation are indeed not far to seek.

Unlike the 17th and 18th centuries naked mercantile system whose course could often be traced back to the mother country, the present-day colonialism is subtle and hides beneath complex cobwebs of phraseologies such as - "the development of backward peoples and countries." That is not all. Colonialism has become international and extremely powerful. To the colonial people therefore there is no longer a particular colonialism of the British, French or Belgian. It is all but one compact whole. It is international colonialism. Colonialism has become dynamic and it changes with time. Its spokesmen also talk loud about 'peace'; but the kind of peace these gentlemen want is a complicated one. They want peace where colonial peoples have no independence. Peace without freedom is the motive behind their pacts, whether military or otherwise. Another factor which has directly caused colonial octopus to turn all its tentacles to Africa is the independence of India, Burma, Indonesia and other countries of the East after World War II. In Africa, however, this bondage to colour slavery is attended with complexes and contentions that are extremely grave to the African. Hence the need for an immediate united effort on the part of all Africans to mobilise their forces and to repudiate once and for all the philosophy of the master race in Africa. But to ascribe the problem of unity only to present political conditions would be unrealistic and historically insufficient to support our case, for the desire for a kind of United Africa is old and partly attributable to internal rather than external conditions. In the early period of the 19th century King Tshaka made definite attempts by the use of his sword, to bring under his fold the various groups in Southern Africa. Like Napoleon Bonaparte by applying ruthless methods Tshaka, defeated the very end itself. Nevertheless, the scheme for unity was there; and in fact had the Africans then united to fight against European invaders the history of Southern African would have been a different one.

In the year 1911 as a prelude to the formation of the African National Congress in South Africa, Dr. P.Ka I. Seme, founder of the Congress, made the following injunction - "The demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa - Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other African must be buried and forgotten..... We are ONE people." In the end we find that in spite of the great odds in its way, the Congress through unity and strength was in later years able to put forward a dynamic national programme which could inspire and unite the tribes, and be a driving force in the militant struggle for freedom. Aggrey of Africa, though an extraordinary moderate, thought and spoke of the problems of the entire continent. There can be no gainsay that the spirit throughout Colonial Africa today is that of a free, United Africa. In the west Dr. Kwame Nkrumah tells us - "We will urge and continue to agitate until full redemption of mother Africa is born." Jomo in the East dedicated his book 'Facing Mount Kenya' "..... and to all the dispossessed Youth of Africa". "Youth of Africa arise"; says Mangaliso Sobukwe former Secretary-General of the South African Congress Youth Movement, "it is our lot to free all the races in Africa, free the African from slavery and bondage and in the process free the other non-European races, but above all free the Whiteman from himself". And to bring into practice these dreams, Nkumbula in Central Africa convened the Pan-African Conference in 1953, which was unfortunately foiled by the imperialist governments in Africa. Nevertheless, the wheel of progress revolves relentlessly and Africa marches on to freedom.

It is therefore quite obvious, at least to all the Youth of Africa, that the struggle in any particular country can no longer be divorced from the larger problem of Africa as whole. The territorial divisions in which Africans find themselves today are not of their making. They are the consequent marks of a raped motherland; raped by the European Powers now extravagantly draining Africa's natural resources for themselves and their friends across the seas. Yes, the struggle for freedom is the struggle of all Africans whether they are slaves or half free as in the so-called independent countries in Africa. Independence of any country or group in Africa will continue to be a mere Sham so long as the entire continent is not freed from foreign domination and interference.

Africa, geographically, is a huge area of plateau. Apart from the equatorial region and the great Sahara Desert there are no geographical divisions as the seas in Europe, or of dividing highlands as the great Himalayas that demarcate the sub-continent of India from the rest of Asia. Therefore, strategically speaking no part of Africa can be occupied by foreign powers without seriously disturbing the equilibrium of the entire Continent. This factor makes it quite obvious that the goal of the struggle must and should be to establish a United States of Africa by the Africans themselves.

The picture of a United Africa looks beautiful but equally careful should be the means undertaken to achieve that end. The outlook of African Nationalism should be, as indeed it is, broader based in a sense because it will have to take within its pale all peoples in Africa who are genuinely devoted to the task of building a new Great Africa, free from foreign interference and domination but ensuring peace and prosperity to all its peoples. But whether we love it or not the means we adopt will have to justify the end, for a slight fault in the methods used would help the enemies of peace. It does appear that we will have to have the whole human problem in perspective, because Africa's problem is part of the big human problem.

It is thus a part of God's programme. Those kicking against this plan are in fact, as Ziks logically puts it, kicking against God Himself.

Unity of Africans would mean the unity of the minorities as well-the coloured, Indians and Europeans. The Africans together with minorities will then build true democratic states in the different countries in Africa as a prelude to the inclusion of all these states into a United States of Africa. "In a United Africa, says T. Matthews, "must be built and created a truly Africanistic Society which will make its contribution towards world culture and progress." This is Africa's manifest destiny that lies beyond the vision of a united Africa.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
NORTHERN RHODESIA

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PRESIDENT-GENERAL'S OFFICE
P.O.Box 1005,
LUSAKA

15th June 1955.

To All Honourable Chiefs of
Northern Rhodesia (except Barotseland),
NORTHERN RHODESIA

THE EXPLOITATION OF BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA
COMPANY IN CENTRAL AFRICA

Dear Honourable Chiefs,

I wish to draw your attention to a subject of great importance. I am sure you are all aware of the fact that King Lewanika of Barotseland signed a treaty or alliance with the British South Africa Company in 1891 for protection by Her Majesty's Government. This treaty gave power of administration to the British South Africa Company in this country. It also gave to the company the right to the ownership of all minerals in the whole country. In this treaty King Lewanika was allowed an annual subsidy of £850. This money comes from the profits which the British South Africa Company gets from the minerals worked on the Copperbelt and any other mines being worked in any part of the Protectorate.

When the British South Africa Company handed over the administration of this country to the British Government in 1924, all the land in this country became the property of the Queen of England. Whether you know it or not there is not a single Africa, clan, or chief who owns land in this country which was the case before the white people came to this country. You Chiefs and your people have only the right of occupancy to the lands where you happen to be now. The so called Native Reserves and Native Trust Lands all belong to the Queen of England. She can do what she pleases with these lands through the Government of this country. That is why the Government of this country can move you away from where you live now at any time when they want to use the lands you now occupy. You will remember that quite a good number of you together with your people, had been moved and are still being moved from the lands of your fore-fathers which are your legitimate heritages.

I do not know how many of you know that all the Gwembe people - that is, Chief Sikonga and his people, Chief Sinadambwe and his people, Chief Simamba and his people, Chief Munyumbwe and his people, Chief Mwemba and his people, Chief Chiipepo and his people and Chief Sinazyongwe and his people - are all going to be moved to some unknown country because where they now live the Federal Government is going to build a large dam and they are also going to have a big sugar plantation. In all, more than 100,000 people are going to be moved from Gwembe. Furthermore, the Sala people of Chief Shakumbila and the Kaonde-Ila people who live in Mumbwa District will also suffer from evictions because the area they now occupy has been parcelled out into a number of concessions. The Europeans are going to sink mines up there. That will mean another 100,000 people who will have to be moved in course of time to another unknown land. In other parts of the country the Federal Government have plans afoot to carry out various schemes for development and the people who occupy these lands will have to be moved to any place where the government will think fit.

My honourable Chiefs, you have always asked me where the Government got the power to disown you of your legitimate rights to the ownership of your lands. I am telling you now that they got this power from the treaty which was signed between King Lewanika of Barotseland and the Chartered Company. It was this treaty which enabled the British Government to pass an Act of Parliament to proclaim this country as a British Protectorate. That declaration was made in the year 1900. It was then when your rights to the ownership of the land passed on from you to the Queen of England. In other words, you lost your land ownership in 1900 but both the British South Africa Company and the British Government did not tell you so.

Now, my honourable Chiefs, you are no doubt aware of the fact that the British South Africa Company signed no treaties with your ancestors nor yourselves for protection by the British Government. Nor had your ancestors signed treaties with the British South Africa Company giving them exclusive rights to the ownership of their lands and the mineral deposits thereof. There might have been some of your ancestors who gave trading concessions to the British South Africa Company or to the North Charterland Company. But these concessions were trading concessions. They did not give the Trading Companies power of administration over the Africans of this country.

I have taken serious trouble to trace records of these concessions and I have only been able to find trading concessions signed by only twenty chiefs. During the period of the British South Africa Company's rule there were more than 600 Chiefs in this country who were not under Lewanika's jurisdiction and who did not sign any treaty with the Company or gave trading concessions to any company.

I am at the moment seeking a legal advice from Lawyers in England to prove the validity of the British South Africa Company's claims over these lands and the minerals. So far I am told by at least two of them that if we fought out this case in Court of Law there is every evidence to prove that the British South Africa Company have no legal rights to the ownership of your lands and the minerals in this country apart from Barotseland. They told me too that if we fought out the case and won it the lands that we have lost will return to us. Furthermore, the British rule in this country, apart from Barotseland, would be seriously questioned. The Lawyers further state that if we won the case the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Federation in as far as Northern Rhodesia is concerned (Barotseland excluded) would be proved illegal.

Sd/- H.M. NKUMBULA
PRESIDENT-GENERAL

FLOODLIGHTS ON FRENCH AFRICA

The French empire is mainly located in Africa, and taking the size of her empire, France is easily the biggest colonial power in Africa. If the island of Madagascar is excluded, French Africa covers an area of 4,000,000 square miles. It includes Algeria, the Protectorates of Tunisia and Morocco, French Equatorial Africa, French West Africa together with the Trusteeship territories of Cameroons and Togoland administered by France.

The total population of the area is 53,000,000 of which 15,000,000 are Arabs and Berbers. Most of the inhabitants are Africans of the negroid stock.

As for the political status of these territories, Tunisia and Morocco as stated earlier, are protectorates while Algeria, French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa are integral parts of the French Republic. Before the last World War French possessions were administered in strict accordance with the French colonial doctrine of "Assimilation". Under this system the Government in Paris held absolute control over cultural, political and economic affairs of the dependent territories. The French had a purely mercantilist attitude towards their possession. "Assimilation" was a utopian concept where by the elite among indigenous people were given a chance of becoming full-fledged Frenchmen, save their colour. Theoretically the assimilated and the natural Frenchman has equal rights and made equal sacrifices. To the casual observer this is a fantastic political ideology. However, it is interesting to note that its obvious practical difficulties have escaped the observation even of intelligent Frenchman in France to the present day.

This pre-war French colonial policy was abandoned in 1944 as a result of a conference at which the Constitution of the French Republic was reviewed under the Chairmanship of General de Gaulle, head of the Committee of National Liberation. "Assimilation" was superseded by the policy of "closer association". In other words, what is called in French "L'Union Francaise" was formed. At that conference the demand by Africans for complete self-government was unceremoniously rejected. This was done despite the glaring fact that Africans had made enormous contribution in men and materials in both wars towards the prevention of the downfall of France. In the Second World War Africans in North Africa provided France. "The Free-French" were harboured on Africa's soil. All these heroic contributions were by-passed after the war and the French Union was established.

The Union has a bi-cameral Legislature. The first chamber is the National Assembly. 544 of its members are elected from and represent constituencies in metropolitan France; 83 members represent "overseas departments" and "associated territories" to which groups French possessions in Africa belong. The Trusteeship territories representatives are also included in the number 83. The Council of the Republic is the other chamber. It has 320 members, 249 of whom represent France while 71 members represent French dependencies. It should be noted that in both chambers metropolitan France has an overwhelming majority of seats. Stating this fact in mathematical language France has a guaranteed majority of 639 seats over dependent territories. This is not accidental but is a planned political contrivance. Under this set-up supreme political power in the Union is ingeniously repositied in metropolitan France.

Today the so-called French Union stands exposed to the world as a bogus and fraudulent device for the perpetuation of French bureaucracy and domination over dependent peoples. The fact that to the present day the man at the helm of affairs in the Union have been unable to define the relationship between parts of the Union is a further testimony of its fraudulent character. Nobody knows whether it is a federal or unitary system. Nor have the rights of member territories been specified. However, to all intents and purposes "French Union" is only a euphemistic designation for the pre-war French empire.

I should like to make it abundantly clear at this juncture, that the Legislative and Executive Councils in British colonies have more powers than their equivalents in French dependencies. Similarly the much professed British colonial ideal of developing dependent peoples up to a stage where they would be granted their self-government of complete independence is not even a distant dream under French regime. The Africans aspiration of self-determination is repugnant to and is not tolerated by all political parties in the French Union. The French maintain that their sole mission in Africa is to civilise the subject people; hence their colonial doctrine of "assimilation" which is the ideological basis of "L'Union Francaise".

It should not be misunderstood to mean, by the foregoing assertions, that one colonial system is better than the other, most emphatically not. In this connection my considered opinion is that colonialism in all its manifold manifestations is a cosmic evil and that its immediate liquidation is a pre-requisite to international amity.

With this background we are in a position to view the upheaval in French North Africa in its right perspective. Newspaper readers are familiar with reports of a wave of terrorism in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, which has been going on for some years, especially after the Indo-China fiasco. The basic problems in French Africa should be considered, not in isolation but in the context of African nationalism which is pervading the whole continent and is attaining increased dimensions day by day. Barbarous repression of the Africans is no solution. The discredited system of colonialism whereby subjects are kept in perpetual ignorance and in a state of passive acquiescence, must go immediately. In Algeria, for instance, an official report of 1948 declared that half the population lives in "complete destitution". It also revealed that in the Civil service there, only about 1.5% are Africans; that although the French rule in Algeria stretches so far back as 1830 that is for 125 years, there are no schools for 5 African children in every six.

In Morocco the people's Sultan was arbitrarily deposed and exiled by the French in 1953 for resisting French repression. In all French possessions in Africa the R.D.A. which was political organisation whose objective was to fight for political economic and social rights of subject peoples by constitutional methods was branded as communist inspired and was ruthlessly repressed. Leaders have been imprisoned or exiled in thousands.

Is resurgent Africa going to accept this inhuman treatment like a "good" child? It would be futile and idle for anybody to give a positive reply to this question. For, Africa today stands at the end of an era and on the threshold of a new period of history. No power under the sun will arrest the forces of African nationalism. Till complete independence is achieved by colonial peoples in Africa no scheme however generous or ingenious it may be will cope with Africa's resurgence. The sooner this is realised by colonial powers the better for them.

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EAST AFRICA

"News Items from Home"

(Our Correspondent)

KENYA

The emergency has entered its third year, yet even the most optimistic observers cannot venture to predict when it will end. Vast changes are taking place in Kenya, although unfortunately the basic problem of land hunger has not been faced. The Kenya Settler like a rapidly ageing lion, has clung to the idea of keeping white highlands white. The Imperial Government true to its colonial tradition of never letting down its kith and kin on a vital issue has arrested the Settlers stand. With the Tories back in power, the settlers need have no anxiety.

In the Central Province where the Kikuyu live a scheme of grouping Africans into villages is well under way. This is a measure adopted to provide for closer administration of the Africans so as to avoid a recrudescence of a national upheaval like the Mau Mau. The process of "Villagization" is accompanied, by "forced" or to use a nicer word "compulsory" manual labour. The homeguards with their guns are a common sight in the reserve. More District commissions and District Officers will be recruited for this scheme, of closer administration all over the colony. More jobs and a boon for young energetic European administrators.

In the camp where thousands of suspected Africans are kept the missionaries are active to instil the message of the gospel into the detainees and to bring about a change of attitude in them. It seems that a proper dose of ecclesiastical pill would cure the land hunger. More work and abbon for young energetic chunkmen.

The political picture is still very gloomy. So far despite of working responsible African leaders, the Government has refused permission for the Africans to form a Political organisation. Tribunal organisations yes but responsible and enlightened Africans have discounted the formation of tribal organisations which only engenders Bigotry and undermine national Solidarity. There is a simmering desire for political expression but there is no outlet. At present, the Government propaganda machine and the vast powers of repression the Government under the Emergency state has cowed down the Africans completely. Only the opportunists and stooges can speak. A happy sign however is that of the stand taken by Mr. Tom Mlsoya the young trade Union leader. He has indicated that the Africans have a right to give expression to their political ideas through the True Unions, Settlers of course do not like this, but Tom has history behind him. Trade Unions in Britain constitute a formidable political force.

The politics of Indians in the colony is being marred by the separatist activities of the Sikhs. After the split between the Muslim and the Hindus some years back, now the Hindus are confronted with a demand from the Sikhs who want separate representation in the legislature. Some important European Politician has agreed to champion the demand of the Sikhs.

WHY NOT RECOGNISE THE FACT ?

Kenya: The British traditional way of deliberately creating a discrepancy between the theoretical and the practiced has been the cause of tragic scene wherever British Colonialism has its way. In Kenya this fact has been freely exposed by the two and half years national war. The concept of the paramountcy of African interests has always been

bitterly opposed by the Settlers. The African leaders have certainly had good cause to charge the British Government with "betrayal" on this issue.

In 1930 a British Government white paper entitled "Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa" repeated the words of a previous white paper issued in 1923 by the then Secretary of State for the colonies, the Duke of Devonshire "Primarily Kenya is an African territory it is necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail".

In 1923 the Hilton Young Commission abandoned the Devonshire declaration, since then the Government has always danced to the tune of the settlers.

Settlers Voice: There are three distinct sections of European opinion in Kenya. The extremist Kenya Empire Party, led by Leo Vigar, is out for open and unashamed white domination.

Then there is a group of settlers which is all out for partnership of races on the basis that the European is the Senior partner and the African the Junior partner.

The third group is that of the Elector's Union whose policy is "benevolent European dominance".

The United Empire Party led by Leo Vigar, has declared that "it is only right, that we (European settlers) should look for help to our blood-brothers in South Africa," Vigar's policy is based on the Slogan "coming out Fighting" -

1. To maintain European leadership in Kenya;
2. To obtain Home Rule for Kenya under-European Settler leadership at the earliest possible moment;
3. To fight for Federation of the Six territories of East and Central Africa;
4. To maintain effective and permanent representation in English in order that the lies, calumny and ignorance so prevalent there, can be combated at once.

One of the Chief European Spokesman 73 year-old Colonel Ewart Grogan was once highly cheered by whites when he said at a meeting "We Europeans have to go on ruling this country and rule it with iron discipline-tempered by our own hearts."

At present the white Highlands Party stands for "Self Government for the white highlands."

KENYA

Education: Current expenditure for the year is:-

Arabs -	£55,600
Asians -	£1,176,000
Europeans -	£880,000
Africans -	£1,310,500

AGRICULTURAL EXPORT

There has been an increase due to favourable climatic conditions.

1953	1954
£ 16,718,264	£17,323,241
Tea, maize, and pyrethrum are the major crops of export. Coffee production decreased from 12,190 tons to 11,350 tons in 1954.	

Flax, Kapok and sugar also decreased, sisal increased from 27,732 tons (1953) to 34,411 tons in 1954.

Makerere College Kenya Students submitted a memorandum to the Cout's Commission which was set up to advise the Government on African political advancement. The students that equalities among the inhabitants of Kenya influence and condition our future political thoughts and plans." The memorandum told the colonial Government "That numerical inadequacy in the legislature stand as a hindrance to African political advancement."

Uganda girls at Ngora who were given money by the church to enjoy the Empire Day considered four ways of spending it to buy meat and sugar for a feast; a picture for the school; books for the school library; or to send it to help Kikuyu orphans and refugees in Kenya. The girls decided to send the money to the Kikuyu orphans and refugees. Eight Kikuyu women who were sentenced to death for participating in the National war won their appeal in the east Africa Court of Appeal.

TANGANYIKA

The "Party Legislative Council" is holding its first session. Under the new constitution there are 10 Europeans, 10 Asians and 10 Africans. Asians include one Arab representative.

UGANDA

The Uganda Colonial Government in a reply to Katikiro (Prime Minister of Buganda) stated that "His Excellency wishes to say that the sole object of his statement was to make clear that the inevitable inclusion that the Protectorate estimates of provision for Government was in no way intended to prejudge the forthcoming meeting of the Lukiko or the attitude of the Baganda to participation in the reforms of the protectorate of Government.

The complaint arose over the colonial Government's announcement that ministerial system of Government would be introduced in Uganda on July 1st.

UGANDA

Bunyoro's Rukurato (Legislative Council) has approved the agreement with the British Government establishing the ruler, the Mukama, a constitutional head. Bunyoro is one of the provinces of Uganda.

The agreement is similar to that approval for Baganda.

The "Observer" a popular British journal has stated that Lennox Boyd favours kabaka's return but he is embarrassed by Lukiko's demands.

The Lukiko stated earlier that it would not consider any agreement which was not signed by Kabaka. The "Observer" warns Boyd that he "would be ill-advised to ignore the strength of the Baganda sentiment on these points."

Speaking at a mass meeting in Kampala, the President of the African National Congress (Uganda) stated that "Asian and European businessmen are birds of passage and there is no Justification for having equal number of representatives in the local Legislature."

He went on to say that "African nationalists had not yet produced Moderates and Liberals among themselves who could support the Presence of Asians and Europeans in Uganda."

UGANDA

Most of the recommendations of the Hancocks reports have been accepted but the Baganda are keen to have the kabaka back immediately.

The doctrine of a multi-racial government which has suddenly become very popular with politicians who consider themselves liberal has not impressed the Africans in general. The Africans in Uganda have opposed the appointment of ministers on a multi-racial basis. They have pointed out that Uganda is an African territory and should be developed as such and therefore it is futile to play about with the idea of multi-racialism.

WEST AFRICA

Nigeria: Through her five legislatures, will be spending £75,000,000 during the next financial year. Ten years ago Nigeria spent less than £ 10,000,000. The Bill to convert the Nigerian Railways into a corporation will come before the House and with its announcement come another promise that for the first time in many years the Railway will manage to clear the groundnut pyramids of Kano and carry them to the ports.

GOLD COAST

Philip Ghebo, music master at Achimota College, told his large London audience that "Traditionally the African is extremely fond of dancing. He dances sorrow, he dances for joy, he dances for worship. Hence at funerals one sees men and women seriously engaged in dancing. At this particular moment the dancers are expressing their sorrow through the dance. This is a special aspect of African culture which only Africans can comprehend."

"This love for dancing", he added, arises from our love for rhythm instilled in us by the drum. The early missionaries did not understand this aspect of our culture and condemned it as the work of the devil and primitive man."

Ghebo is so popular that a number of Europeans have joined his music and dancing group.

WEST AFRICA

Last month in Nigeria was a month of minute yet reasonable panics.

A gift of tinned milk from U.K. Government to the Government of the Eastern Region (Nigeria) led to a rumour that the milk would render the children barren, consequently parents withdrew all their children from schools. To prove the case otherwise Premier Ziki and his Ministers went on a milk drinking tour. A fine was later imposed on an Evangelist who reaped on Sunday a letter containing the alarm.

In the Western Region (Nigeria) parents heard a rumour that all the children were forcibly to receive injections. Luckily the rumour got off before the Ministers were forced to go on an injection receiving campaign.

Anti-Colonial Bureau Asian Socialist Conference

" D E P E N D E N T P E O P L E S' F R E E D O M D A Y "

30TH OCTOBER 1955

Remember that 30th October is the occasion of world-wide observance:

1. For the Freedom of Mankind
2. For Social Justice
3. For Equality without prejudice to Race, Colour and Creed.
4. For better Race Relations
5. For Harmony among Nations.
6. For Peace, Security and Prosperity
7. For a World free from Domination, Exploitation and Discrimination.

NOTE:

Millions in Asia and Africa with many others in the world are still under the yoke of Colonial Exploitation, Foreign Domination and Racial Discrimination.

It is a threat to World Peace and a danger to Peaceful race relations.

It is against the dignity of mankind and the Declaration of Human Rights as well as Principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is our earnest request to ALL to attend the celebrations, join the Demonstrations to build up World opinion against all forms of Domination.

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MPH

ANTI-COLONIAL BUREAU

NEWS LETTER

CABLES :
SOCIALIST RANGOON

4, WINGABA ROAD
RANGOON BURMA

No. 23

July 1956

" STILL NO LESSON FOR COLONIALISM IN AFRICA "

A. It is reliably learnt that Mr. Garfield Todd the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia accused the African National Congress of Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia of working for racial governments and advocating the cessation of Nyasaland from Central African Federation. It is said that the governor also accused the leaders of Nyasaland African Congress as "swaying an uncivilised people by every device they can muster" and he described the Congress as "Seditious Organisation".

It is very important to be mentioned here that both Nyasaland African National Congress and African National Congress of N. Rhodesia are genuine National organisations with thousands of members. The leaders and the organisations as well are recognised by all lovers of freedom and Anti-colonial movements as "vanguards for National Independence and Self-determination" in Africa. They are at all times opposed to the establishment of Central African Federation where white supremacy still prevails under different shades and patterns from that of S. Africa.

A few months ago, Harry Nkumbula, President of African National Congress N. Rhodesia and Mr. Chirwa, M.P., from Nyasaland have visited England and put forward the problems of Africa to the people of the world. They are the recognised leaders in the Anti-colonial world and they are the champions and fighters in the eyes of the people in Africa. The strength of the organisations is increasing beyond any shadow of doubt and it is no wonder that the Colonial authorities are very unhappy over these growing movements in Africa. As for us who have sacrificed and struggled for the independence of our countries, can easily realise how the ruling authorities can never symbolise with the growth of nationalist movements until and unless they are driven away or colonialism subdued in their own games. The lessons are not far to seek if anyone cared to study the struggle for independence in Burma, India, Indonesia and the biographies of Asian leaders.

We would therefore draw the attention of all concerned that the international solution of Colonial issues is an important problem for the members of U.N. The fact that colonial powers, trying to seek refuge under the infamous clause of Domestic Jurisdiction is a deliberate attempt to ignore the strength of colonialism. It should be remembered that ones own interpretation of U.N. Charter will never help the interest of colonial powers and the present disturbances in colonial empires i.e. in Kenya and Cyprus should be lessons enough to show the oppressors "the grave consequences of Colonialism". We would therefore like to urge the colonial powers not to ignore the aspirations of oppressed people and no more take refuge under the banner of Domestic Jurisdiction.

MR.W.M. CHIRWA, M.P. IN BRITAIN

Mr.W.M. Chirwa, M.P., toured parts of Great Britain to address meetings and covered such places as London, Oxford, Bristol, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Darlington, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Mr. Chirwa was accompanied by his wife and wherever they went, they were received with much respect.

In all these places Mr. Chirwa denounced the racial policies of the Federal Government. He told the people of Britain that the British Government had no right to impose Federation upon the Nyasaland people against the overwhelming opposition of the African people. He maintained that Britain is a Foreign State so far as Nyasaland was concerned and that the whole imposition of Federation was immoral, unjust and illegal. He was emphatic that Nyasaland Africans want to contract out of the Federal scheme in which there was no future for their children. He quoted all the motions on Equality of all races, Opportunity in the Civil Service, Gwebi Agricultural College and Sir John Moffat's one which have been rejected by the Federal Government and Lord Malvern's statement in which he said that partnership was forced upon him by the Colonial Office and that he refused to allow African people to queue together with Europeans because they (the Africans) are dirty. He also re-referred to the refusal of the Federal Government to employ Africans as shunters and conductors on the Rhodesia Railways. He attacked the Immigration Policy of the Federal Government which he believed was aiming at filling responsible jobs with Europeans and thus prevent Africans from doing skilled jobs. He said that Africans are quite upset by the limitation that has been placed upon their political leaders in Central Africa who can no longer move freely. He cited the prohibition of entry into S. and N. Rhodesia of Messrs. Nkumbula, Kaunda and Sangala respectively. He warned the British people that the position in Central Africa was alarming and explosive due to Federation.

FOR NYASALAND

About Nyasaland, he demanded Self-Government within the British Commonwealth of Nations and that Nyasaland be declared an African State like Uganda. He criticised the British Government for refusing to grant Africans parity between non-Africans and themselves on both the Legislative and Executive Councils. He stated that it was an insult to the African people to deny them the franchise while the minority groups of Europeans, Asians and Colours were allowed to vote. He then demanded African majority in the Legislative Council and the appointment of African Ministers as was the case in Uganda, with full universal adult suffrage.

ADMINISTRATIVE JOBS FOR AFRICANS

In the Civil Service, he urged the appointment of Africans as Administrative or Agricultural Officers and the creation of one single service for all Government employees irrespective of race or colour and that they should all receive the same basic salary except that officers recruited from Overseas be allowed additional allowance in the form of Inducement Pay as is the case in British East African Territories. He then asked for improvement of houses of African Civil Servants and for the general improvement of their conditions. He said that he should like to see the **Africanisation** of the Civil Service and that more promotions be made among the African Civil Servants and that recruitment of officers from Overseas be discontinued except in special cases.

He asked that more scholarships be granted for the training of Africans in Britain for various courses such as Engineering, Law, Education, Technology, etc. and that Africans be sent to suitable centres in Britain to attend Overseas Service Courses.

He expressed his disappointment that very few students came from Nyasaland as compared with Uganda, Nigeria, the Gold Coast and other British Dependencies.

SAW MR. LENNOX-BOYD

He had three meetings with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, with whom he had several discussions about the general development of the Protectorate and asked that Chiefs who were deposed during Federation talks be reinstated and that the chieftanship of Inkosi Gomani be given back to his children. He also asked that the Restriction Orders placed on Messrs. Chibambo and Mission Bvumbwe be removed as a gesture of goodwill on the part of the Government.

BIG THREE TOGETHER

Messrs. Chirwa, M.P., Rev. Doig, M.P., and Nkumbula, President-General of the Northern Rhodesia Congress addressed a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party Group together putting forward the views of their people.

AWAY IN SCOTLAND

In Scotland, both Mr. Chirwa and Rev. Andrew Doig had great success and addressed several meetings as well as the Church and National Committee. Mr. Chirwa urged the Church of Scotland to exercise much vigilance in the affairs affecting Nyasaland for they were not without responsibility to the African people who had been brought up by them mainly. He stated that Nyasaland was looking for support from the Church of Scotland to defend the rights of the African people which were being threatened to-day as a result of the imposition of Federation.

ON XMAS SUNDAY

On Christmas Sunday, Mr. Chirwa was asked to give an address to an international Church gathering and told the audience that the greatest challenge to Christianity was in Africa where the common brotherhood of man and the common Fatherhood of God was being replaced by racial discrimination in State and called upon all Christians of all nations to condemn colour bar in the world. The service was held in Wellington Church in Glasgow.

SECRETARY OF STATE TO VISIT NYASALAND

Finally, Mr. Chirwa has asked Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State, to visit Nyasaland as soon as possible and see for himself the opposition of the African people to Federation and the frustration, despair and resentment that exist in the once happy country.

Mr. Chirwa's speeches made much impression on the people of Britain and here is what the famous newspaper the "Observer" says about him:-

MANOAH CHIRWA
"Observer" - 1-1-56

The voice from the Central African Federation (the top "white-dominated" Rhodesias and the "nearly all-black" Nyasaland) most usually heard is that of its Prime Minister, Lord Malvern, formerly Sir Godfrey Huggins. Now we hear the quiet tones of Manoh Chirwa, thirty-eight-year-old M.P. for Nyasaland, who is at Oxford attending a special course in parliamentary institutions.

Chirwa, one of six African M.Ps in the Federal Parliament at Salisbury, is sophisticated, moderate, wise and statesmanlike, a solid citizen and a loyal member of the Church of Scotland. Moreover, his word carries much weight throughout Southern Africa. When he says that Federation has produced a decline in the rights and opportunities of Africans in Nyasaland as swift as it is grave, he is heeded by millions.

He is due to give a Press conference in London this week. It will be interesting to hear what he has to say on the prospect before the Federation and how he deals with questions.

MR. CHIRWA MEETS THE BRITISH PRESS

Mr.W.M. Chirwa, M.P. - Federal M.P. from Nyasaland said the Central African Federation was imposed despite the solid opposition of the African people and caused a tremendous loss of faith in the British Government. To-day the Africans of Nyasaland are even more firmly opposed and in fact desire to contract out of the Federation.

In the United Kingdom people have been given the impression that everything is going well in the Federation, but this is far from the case.

When the Federation was imposed, the British Government undertook that the Federation would foster partnership and co-operation between the various inhabitants. But from doing this, and thus trying to regain lost African confidence, the Federal Government has ignored many opportunities for co-operation with the Africans, and has contained to pursue the discriminatory racial policy of Southern Rhodesia.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REFUSED PARTNERSHIP

For example - the Federal Government has rejected motions which sought to end the policy of racial discrimination on the Rhodesia Railways, and in Southern Rhodesian Post Offices, and which sought equal opportunities for all races in the Civil Service, as they have in East African territories. It refused to accept Sir John Moffat's motion seeking investigation into the principle of a multi-racial community. It refused to employ Africans as shunters and conductors on the Rhodesia Railways, although for many years Africans have performed all tasks, including engine driving, on the Nyasaland Railways. Instead, the Government is recruiting white immigrants from Britain and the Continent for these jobs. And the Federal Government has passed a law like the Cadet Corps Act which has the effect of discriminating against Africans.

As far as the Copper Belt is concerned, the advances made there are almost entirely due to the Rhodesian Selection Trust, and particularly to Mr. R.L. Prain. No credit at all is due to the Federal Government. In fact, while discussions about African advancement on the Copper Belt were going on in Northern Rhodesia, the Federal Government was refusing to consider giving equal opportunity to all races in the Civil Service.

SKILLED WORK FOR AFRICANS

It is claimed that Nyasaland will benefit from the Shire Valley Development Scheme. Africans would prefer this scheme to be carried out through Colonial Development and Welfare Funds and that they should be associated with it in all its stages. They had always been led to believe that it was intended to ease the acute land shortage for Africans in Nyasaland, but when the scheme was discussed in the Federal

Parliament, a Southern Rhodesian member at once raised the question of white settlement in the Valley. This naturally causes Africans to have deep misgivings about the scheme. Africans in Nyasaland do not want European immigrants unless they have special skills to train Africans, and have not come to settle. It is an indisputable fact that the more the European immigrants, the less chance the Africans have of being trained for, and doing, more skilled jobs in the Federation, and the greater the friction and conflict between the races. Under the Federation, there is no longer an African member of the Immigration Board, as there formerly was for Nyasaland.

CITIZENSHIP A TRICK

I must emphasise that the people of Nyasaland regard themselves as still enjoying the status of a British Protectorate. Under the Federal Constitution this status was guaranteed and carried with it certain rights and safeguards concerning land and political advancement - as specified in the preamble to the Federal Constitution, and in Section 33. They cannot be tempted to accept a form of citizenship of the Federation which will in effect undermine their status as a Protectorate of Britain. Nor is there any reason why granting the franchise should depend on changing their status. In Nigeria, for example, Africans who are Protected Persons have the right to vote.

REPRESENTATION IN TERRITORIAL COUNCILS

In Nyasaland, we Africans have been very dissatisfied with the constitution changes. We had been led to expect that the two Northern Protectorates would be given reasonable African representation in their Legislative and Executive Councils. But the British Government refused to grant us parity representation with Europeans and Asians on these Councils. Further, by granting the franchise only to Europeans, Asians and Coloureds (mainly immigrants and numbering about 14,000) and refusing it to the Africans (the indigenous inhabitants numbering 2½ million), the British Government has caused deep resentment, and made good race relations extremely difficult. Africans feel that they are being treated as second class citizens in their own country. We cannot but feel that Britain is influenced by the Federal Government and this should stop.

NYASALAND AN AFRICAN STATE

As Nyasaland, like Uganda, is a black man's country, our demands now are that the Protectorate should be declared an African state, and should be allowed to develop on lines similar to Uganda towards democratic self-government within the Commonwealth. Africans should be appointed as Ministers, and there should be an African majority on the Executive and Legislative Councils. Africans should have full, universal, adult suffrage. There need be no fear of the position of European and Asian minority groups whose rights would be protected under the constitution. Africans are anxious to live in peace and harmony with members of other communities and do not want to oust them from Nyasaland, but cannot tolerate domination by them.

" MIGRATION OF LABOUR "

The idea that the migrating of able-bodied Nyasaland men to seek work in Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, leaving their families behind, has had a disastrous effect on the farming system in the rural areas of Nyasaland and the suggestion that such position can only be improved by migrating "whole families" in the case of labourers going to Southern Rhodesia as reflected in the African Weekly of November 23, 1955 is utterly nonsense and is calculated to mislead members of the public about the true position here in relation to the so called "farming system in Nyasaland" and the "migrating of African families to Southern Rhodesia."

When a man's family is left behind, it is always possible to keep the farm going with money remitted by the husband under deferred pay system which is enforced to any recruitment labourer going to the Union of South Africa and, under the present law which encourages any ~~recruited~~ labour to remain on ~~re~~ employment for only two years, it is therefore unjustified that families should be allowed to migrate. In fact, we are pretty aware that the scheme to migrate African families to Southern Rhodesia is aimed at reducing the rural population in Nyasaland so that white immigrants should fill the gaps created by the absent African families and as Nyasaland is predominately agricultural country these white settlers will then begin to engage themselves on the land formerly occupied by Africans who may now be staggering in Southern Rhodesia where no suitable land could be found for them to settle. The migrated families, with no land on which to grow food will be forced to accept any employment even if the condition of service may be hard so long they are able to feed their families.

On the contrary, the European population will be expanding so that in ten years' time the White settlers will now look to the Colonial Office with their hats off and say well done Colonial Office we are now numerically strong in Central Africa and please give us Dominion Status and following the United States' history under the reign of King George the Third Britain will be forced to accept the white settlers' demands as they have done with Federation without regarding the Black man's opposition on his own native land for fear the White men in Central Africa might disassociate themselves with the home Government. Above all, is it not futile under the present law to encourage African women accompany their husbands when it is specifically laid down that any recruited labourer shall not be allowed to remain on contract for a period exceeding two years but that such labourer shall have to return home at the end of such period....." mwana ndani".

We should make it perfectly clear that Nyasaland Africans are opposed to any system of recruitment of labour, particularly in this country where the recruiting companies pay few dozens of pounds sterling to the Nyasaland Government per each recruited labour who in turn is made to work like a semi-slave in order to recover the money which the company spent to the Government concerned at the time of recruitment plus the small wages paid to him.

Nyasaland Africans prefer free choice of employment and that condition of employment will be determined between the employer and the individual worker under the supervision of both the Government and African Trade Union Bodies. In the meantime the recruited labourer does not know about the prospects of his employment save the Government and the only condition the recruited labourer knows about or told in plain language is that he is to be fed on good m'gaiwa and a cupful nourishing beans per diem plus meat supplied at reasonable intervals, and free medical attention.

While we are appreciating the value of improved methods of agriculture we shall once again remind our readers and those in authority that Nyasaland Africans do still adhere to the principles of Resolution No.5 passed at the Emergency Conference at Lilongwe from 29th to 31st July which appeared in our issue of September 1955 under the caption of "Mass Exodus of Nyasaland Women Into Southern Rhodesia" which reads:-

"Conference was alarmed at the proposal made by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Garfield Todd, that there should be mass emigration of Nyasaland women into Southern Rhodesia and Conference stated in no uncertain terms that Congress is opposed to any such scheme aiming at the reduction of population of Africans in Nyasaland which would occur if women were to accompany their husbands to Southern Rhodesia for it would result in permanent settlement of Nyasaland able-bodied men and families in Southern Rhodesia and thus lead to the disruption of traditional rights and village settlement. Conference, therefore resolved that such a scheme be resisted by all Africans in Nyasaland and further, Conference calls the Nyasaland Government to make a full explanation why it agreed to such a plan without consulting the African people themselves.

Finally but not least, the educated Africans should make it as their bounden duty to explain to their neighbours wherever they live that they should not be attracted by sweet words which they may happen to be told by any Recruiting Agencies.

Note: These articles are reproduced from KWACA Organ of the Nyasaland African Congress dated January, 1956.

ELECTIONS IN NYASALAND

The people of Nyasaland are now faced with the election of five members to go to the Legislative Council and this responsibility has been placed upon the Seventy six members of the three Provincial Councils whose final decision will have a great effect on the future of the Protectorate. However, we are not afraid because in the past, our Chiefs and leaders have always elected the right people. Nevertheless, we should like to remind our Chiefs and leaders that they must be very careful in choosing our new members. European electors are selecting their best educated people, two of whom are lawyers. Some of these men have very strong imperialistic ideas and want to see that the rights of the Europeans are protected at the expense of the African population. For example, they will continue to resist increased African representation on the Legislative Council and will not allow an African member on the Executive Council. Already, they have stated that they want to federalise European Agriculture and the Police. They want to convert leasehold land into freehold. These are but few of their main intentions and above all, they want to rule Nyasaland for ever.

What our people must remember is that there will be another revision of the Nyasaland Constitution in four years' time which shall determine the future of our country. This shall be the most decisive and fatal constitutional revision. Europeans are already alarmed about it and want it to take place one year after the revision of the Federal Constitution between 1960 - 1962. According to the announcement made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Constitutional changes for Nyasaland should take place about 1959. That is, before the Federal Constitution is revised.

The reason why Europeans want the Constitutional changes in Nyasaland not to take place until one year after the revision of the Federal Constitution is that they want to make their position strong and entrenched. They believe that at the

time of the revision of the Federal Constitution, Africans will have lost much of their power. They fear that if the Nyasaland Constitution will be revised earlier than the Federal Constitution, the British Government might give Africans majority representation in the Legislative Council and appoint African Ministers with the grant of the franchise. If these three concessions were to be made by the British Government, the Africans would be in a stronger position to bargain for their freedom. It must be remembered that there are only about 6,000 Europeans and 3 million Africans in Nyasaland. Logically, in view of the vast African population, it is inconceivable and undemocratic for the Europeans to have majority representation in the Legislative Council.

From this brief outline of the coming events which will have to face our new members of the Legislative Council, our Chiefs and leaders will understand why Europeans are sending their best brains into the Legislative. It behoves us, therefore, that we too should elect some of our educated men. The two European lawyers who are being elected by Europeans are young but educated. We have also some young men who are educated and can compete and equal these lawyers in debate. We have also some old people with experience who will guide our young members. Let us, therefore, elect both young and old so that we must benefit from their education and experience.

We must strongly warn our people against some individuals who are seeking election whose ideas are against their own people and who want to please Europeans in their speeches. Such people might have been leaders before, but they are now a danger to the African people and should not be elected. We hope that our wise Chiefs and leaders upon whom the country depends, will not support such discredited leaders who have no backbone and are unreliable.

Finally, we appeal to our 76 electors once more to elect people whom we want to lead us to victory. They must be men of education, courage, wisdom, experience and possessed of patriotism and love for their people. We pray to God, our Father, to help our Chiefs and leaders to choose the best people so that in four years' time, we may see great developments in Nyasaland.

We want fearless men who will lay the foundations upon which Self-Government will be built for the African people. So, let us not miss the opportunity of electing our best brains in the country. Remember that God helps those who help themselves.

AFRICAN OPPOSITION TO CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION HAS INCREASED

Although the Secretary of State for the Colonies is not directly responsible for the acts of the Federal Government, it will be recalled that, when Federation was imposed, the British Government gave the undertaking that the Federal Government would foster a policy of Partnership and cooperation between the various communities. But since its inception, far from following such a policy and trying to retrieve lost African confidence the Federal Government in fact has deliberately rejected many opportunities available to it to carry out such a policy. It has continued to pursue the discriminatory racial policy of Southern Rhodesia to which Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are opposed and which is contrary to the policy of the Colonial Office.

Among examples that indicate that the Federal Government has no intention of carrying out a policy of co-operation with the Africans, are the following:-

1. Rejection by the Federal Government of Mr. Yamba's motion on equality for all races in the Federation, which sought to end the policy of using separate entrances for

Europeans and Africans in the Post Offices of Southern Rhodesia. It also sought to remove racial discrimination on the Rhodesia Railways where Africans cannot go to a dining car or railway restaurants or sit in first and second class railway waiting rooms, even if they have first class tickets. All Africans can only use 4th class waiting rooms.

2. Rejection of Mr. Yamba's motion for equal opportunities for all races in the Civil Service. This sought to ensure that Africans possessing the same qualifications as Europeans would be entitled to the same pay and conditions of service as in the case of East African territories.

3. Rejection of my motion asking that Africans be admitted to Gwebi Agricultural College for higher training which is at present for Europeans only. There is no higher college for Africans in Central Africa at present.

4. Refusal to accept Sir John Moffat's motion seeking investigation into the principle of multi-racial community.

5. The passing of such laws as the Cadet Corps Act and Military (Peace Time) Training Act, both of which were introduced in the House as intending to discriminate against Africans in practice.

6. The refusal to employ Africans as shunters and conductors on the Rhodesia Railways, although for many years Africans have performed all the tasks on the Nyasaland Railways, including engine driving. Instead, the Government is recruiting white immigrants from Britain and the Continent for jobs which could effectively be done by Africans after training.

7. Removal of Nyasaland African representation on the Immigration Board and the absence of Africans on the Cotton Board although in Nyasaland Africans are leading cotton growers.

8. Restrictions within the Federation on the free movement of African political leaders. Mr. Harry Nkumbula, President-General of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress and Mr. K. Kaunda, his Secretary-General, are both prohibited immigrants into Southern Rhodesia, and Mr. J. F. Sangala, President-General of the Nyasaland African Congress, has been similarly prohibited from entering Northern Rhodesia.

The Federal Prime Minister, Lord Melvern, has made it quite clear that Partnership was forced upon him by the Colonial Office, thus implying that it is not his Government's responsibility to carry it out. Rude and shocking words have been used by the Prime Minister, calling Africans dirty and so on.

When Federation was imposed, Africans were promised that it was to be to their economic advantage, but we notice that the greatest economic advantage has been to maintaining the standard of living of Europeans in Southern Rhodesia, and in much of the economic development, Southern Rhodesia has been given precedence over Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The imposition of Federation against the wishes of the African people, the continued irreconcilable policy of the Federal Government and the insults which Africans are receiving, have engendered a spirit of frustration, despair and ill feeling, which mounts daily. The state of the Federation cannot therefore be said to be a healthy one, and the position may be described as alarming and explosive.

Consequently, in Nyasaland the opposition to Federation has increased and Africans demand that they be allowed to contract out of the Federal scheme, for they maintain that Britain acted illegally, immorally and unjustly in imposing Federation without their consent. Events are now proving Africans right in their fears of the consequences of Federation.

CONGRESS GATHERS STRENGTH

While it is true that the Nyasaland African Congress has recently met with resignations from some of its officers in the executive Committee, it is of vital interest to Congress

Members to see that the President-General, Mr. J.F. Sangala, is not taking matters lying down. He has already started reorganising Congress very energetically and with the assistance of his co-workers, he will soon be able to put up a better disciplined organisation.

It is unfortunate that some of our leaders are so impatient, emotional and disloyal and they do not find it easy to accept the views of other leaders. The success of a leader depends upon his ability to work together with others amicably. If he keeps on resigning from one organisation to another, he cannot be relied upon and trusted by the people. If there are faults in the Congress, let us put them right from within and not try to escape our responsibilities. Let us show wisdom in doing things and avoid acting hurriedly and irresponsibly.

We want to impress it upon our people that whatever happens, Congress will remain the only National Organisation of the African people, run by the people, and for the people. A true nationalist cannot find true happiness outside Congress, for it is the only home of all sincere nationalists. No other organisation in Nyasaland will even succeed as long as Congress still exists and its foes and opponents will fail to put up other strong organisations.

Now, seeing that those who were hampering its success have gone away, Congress is once more gathering momentum and its true voice will soon be heard everywhere in the Country. It is the duty of every true Congressman to help our leaders in building up Congress and we thank our President-General for having taken immediate steps to re-organise Congress. We want to assure him of the co-operation and loyalty of the Nyasaland Chiefs and their people.

Awake, Awake, Sons and Daughters of Nyasaland for your freedom is nigh and support Congress in its efforts to liberate you from your bondage. Do not hesitate and don't delay. Above all, do not follow and be misled by those who run away from their duties for they cannot be relied upon to lead others because they are afraid to face realities of the situation. A true leader cannot desert his people at this critical period. Beware of those who leave you alone at this desperate time and be suspicious and watchful of their dangerous activities. Let us rally behind our brave and honest leader, Mr. J.F. Sangala, who will lead us to victory and triumph in our political struggle.

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MPH

ANTI-COLONIAL BUREAU

NEWS LETTER

CABLES :
SOCIALIST RANGOON

4, WINGABA ROAD
RANGOON BURMA

No. 25

September 1956.

STOP KILLING OF ALGERIANS: WORLD PEACE AT STAKE DUE TO FRENCH BARBARITIES: FRENCH COLONIAL AGGRESSION IN NORTH AFRICA MUST END

The whole world has been hearing with great horror the brutal massacres of the Algerians by the French colonialists. The French have started a war of extermination with 400,000 well-equipped troops armed to the teeth with latest NATO weapons against an unarmed people whose only "sin" is the desire to be free and to live peacefully on an equal basis with other free nations.

The guns and bombs of the French have already killed over 150,000 innocent and helpless Algerians - including old people, women and children. We would like to declare to the whole world that we, though living thousands of miles away from the unfortunate land, consider the tragedy as our own, and we feel that every bullet fired by the French barbarians against our helpless Algerian brothers and sisters are aimed at our own chests. Let the whole world of justice and humanism rise to the occasion and say that the killing must stop. Let the U.N. carry out its responsibility and tell France, one of its leading members, to stop the massacre and quit North Africa. Let the people of France, for whom we have every respect, themselves come out and agitate against the foolish policy of their Government, for they should know that their glorious history is being blackened by the events in Algeria.

We would appeal to all the nations of the world in the name of humanity, the U.N. Charter and the Bandung Conference Resolutions to intervene in the matter and exhibit their concern.

The Al-Maghrib Committee (Burma) strongly condemns the French brutalities in Algeria and thanks all the nations, organisations, press and individuals who have raised their voices in support of the just and righteous struggle of the Algerian nationalists.

MOROCCO AND TUNISIA

The Al-Maghrib Committee (Burma) expresses happiness at the recognition of Morocco and Tunisia by the Government of the Union of Burma as sovereign independent states.

We ardently hope that very soon diplomatic and friendly ties between our country and the two new independent states will be established.

AL-MAGHRIB COMMITTEE,

27th June 1956

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PAN-AFRICAN FEDERATION

Hope for the Future

by
Dr. R. N. Duchein, Monrovia, Liberia

The idea of a Pan-African Federation is not new. The great Marcus Garvey, of world fame, strove five years in the U.S.A. to build a powerful organisation whose aim was to free black Africa and to create a great republic there. He failed in his endeavour because circumstances were unfavourable. But thirty years have passed and the fight for freedom has gone a long way, in the black continent, so much so that it can be said that a quarter of a century will not pass before all the regions south of the Sahara are free and independent nations.

It is certain that British West Africa will be free under African rule. For French West and Equatorial Africa it is not likely that the dearest dream of France to amalgamate the Africans with white France and make a "Union Francaise" will materialize, as the Africans under French rule are becoming increasingly aware of the truth that their future is tightly bound with that of their neighbours and kins, and not with white Frenchmen thousands of miles away; especially now that the Sun of France is obviously setting.

In the other regions, East, South and Central African, the Europeans are striving to create European-dominated free African states. In Central Africa, they have succeeded in building a shaky Federation of Central Africa, comprising the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, while plans are afoot to increase the white population to one million within the next twenty-five years. (The black population of the whole federation is estimated to be about five millions.) But the Africans are very suspicious at that makeshift of federation and consider it only as a crafty move towards the materialization of the plan of the Union of South African to extend its dominion up to the Ethiopian boundary, thus constituting a powerful white-dominated African nation with a tight anti-African policy. In Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, the expressed aim of the white man is to make a federation of the three African territories to be ultimately linked with the Federation of Central Africa.

Everywhere in black Africa, it seems that Europeans and Africans are becoming every day more aware of the danger that each group constitutes for the other. The Africans have realized that if the whites are allowed to consolidate their power in Africa, the rightful owners of the soil will be definitely enslaved in the same way as the Indians in South America have been enslaved by the Spanish element. The Africans have a deep feeling that their future is being decided during this last half of this twentieth century, and that extinction is awaiting them if the white population is given the time to increase to a proportion which with the control of modern weapons will definitely place it in a position of superiority over the more numerous, but ill-organized blacks. This feeling of insecurity has pervaded all Africa. Even in areas where the African have a brighter future and are more likely to become the masters of their own country like Nigeria, Gold Coast and others, it is felt that they would be in great danger if one day they are surrounded by white-dominated nations.

If one studies closely countries like Belgian Congo, the Portuguese colonies, East and West, the same policy of mass immigration and march towards the creation of free African nations

under white rule is not to be doubted. There, the implementation of the plan has a quite different character. While elsewhere, it is the white population settled in those areas which is carrying on the policy of immigration in the Congo and Angola, it is the Belgian and Portuguese governments themselves which have assumed all initiative.

As a consequence of this feeling of insecurity a racial ideology is slowly evolving in the soul of the African. Tribes and groups of tribes which have been bitter enemies all through their history are trying to come together, and a strong national concept is growing among the African masses. In all the territories which the white man is strenuously struggling to make white man's countries, the black population is striving to build black nations.

An event of great psychological importance has taken place recently in East Africa when the leaders of Uganda have on June 8th, 1955, issued their "declaration of the will of the people of Uganda for total independence by 1960". The declaration stated that the Uganda people have two ways along which they can work to achieve their goal: first within the existing administrative system; second outside of it.

But, what is most dangerous for the colonialists, a Pan-African concept is slowly but surely making its way among an important section of the intelligentsia. Many Africans are now thinking in term of Africa, rather than in term of Nigeria, Gold Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Zululand or Tanganyika. The new ideology is pervading the whole of the African continent south of the Sahara, and many black men cannot see why there should be one Sierra Leone distinct from Togo, Cameroon or Rhodesia.

A spirit of solidarity is nowadays characteristic of many Africans. Prominent barristers from Nigeria spontaneously offered their services to Jomo Kenyatta when he was accused of being the driving force behind the Mau-Mau, and travelled at their own expenses to defend the Kenya leader.

The Gold-Coast Africans boycotted the goods from the Union of South Africa in retaliation for the ill-treatment meted out by the Malan government to their brothers, the Bantus of the southern part of the continent.

It is true that the conception of one Africa is in infancy, but as a British writer, seeing the danger, put it "it is a healthy infant and the Europeans instead of fighting it (as it would be of no avail) should endeavour to direct it in a way when it is materialised, there will be an African nation friendly to Europe instead of embittered by remembrance of centuries of sorrow."

Dreamers and idealists see a greater Africa in the near future, but to the masses it is a gigantic task above human possibilities. How is it possible to bring unity in a race so divided that Europeans have always succeeded in opposing each tribe, each group of tribes against the others? How to link together two hundred million people conquered by Belgians, French, English, Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch: a land extending over nearly nine millions of square miles. The work seems to be above human imagination.

To answer this question would take much more space than can be afforded us today, and the answer is to be given by instalments.

(Extract from The African & Colonial World, LONDON, April-May, 1956)

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THIS IS AFRICA

His Excellency, The Secretary-General,
United Nations Organisation,
Lake Success,
NEW YORK
U.S.A.

25th June 1956

Sir,

The fate of the African

As a rank and file member of the Wahehe people and an intrinsic Mhehe of Tanganyika Trust Territory, it is incumbent upon me to seriously take up with you any problem which happens to befall us here. The Wahehe people are not in the habit of squabbling with the authority but the attitude of the Government of this country on land and land alienation is now intolerable. What the Administering Authority is doing in Uhehe with regard to land is a totally disregard of the future African generations and we surmise is also a direct contravention of the Trusteeship Agreement. Very large areas of land are being taken from the Wahehe without their consent and for no valid reasons. The indigenous inhabitants are being driven from the agricultural lands into areas which are barren and uncultivable. The fertile regions are being taken over by immigrants foreign planters and at times Government itself is taking the lands under the pretext of forest reserves or "Queen's Game Reserves". A total of more than 300 Wahehe of Idodi Sub-chieftancy have been turned out of their land. Their houses have been burned and they are now wandering about in the country homeless and foodless. Askaris were put around the boundaries to see that these people did not return. No compensation has been awarded to them in respect of their houses and farms. At Mahenge Sub-chiefdom, in the area of Headman Mkatulungemba Mwamusola, some 50 families have been driven out of their farms and houses. At Nyumbanitu in Kilolo Sub-Chieftancy more than 100 people have been made homeless and foodless. So are some other few people at Kibengu Sub-Chieftancy. All these affected Sub-chieftancies are the most fertile countries in Uhehe and Europeans always look upon these areas with great envy.

European Domination

At Mufindi the population in the fertile areas is predominantly European. There is a very alarming pressure by Europeans on Africans there. The European settlers there are too domineering. They regard themselves as Government and they feel entitled to treat the Africans in anyway they please. Cattle and other livestock of Africans are not to touch the lands of white settlers, but cattle and livestock of the white settlers can go and do go and graze on the African's lands. Africans are forbidden to walk or go about hiking in the white settlers' areas, and if seen they are liable to be shot, but the white settlers can and do walk about in the lands of Africans and can and do cut firewood and shrubs in the lands of Africans. The late Lord Chesham had bought several hundred square miles of agricultural land. But the Lord was not using most of this land. He used to give part of it to his fellow whites. When this Lord died the Africans asked to have their land back, but the Government would not hear them. The position as a whole is appalling, especially in the above mentioned four fertile areas of the subchieftancies of Mahenge, Kilolo, Kibengu and Mufindi (both Kalinga and Kasanga). The Wahehe have very great fears that one day they will wake up to find that their fertile lands are declared "White Highlands" as was the case in Kenya. The Subchiefs of these subchieftancies have no voice. Unlike other Subchiefs in other places of Tanganyika, the subchiefs of Uhehe are chosen and

put by the orthodox imperialists, i.e. District Commissioners in consultation with the "Mtwā" (Chief). They are not elected by their people. Seven Subchiefs (out of 12 Subchiefs of Uhehe) do not belong to the areas which they rule. They are picked up from various places and are sent to rule. Hence, unlike other places in this Territory a subchief in Uhehe is a mere employee who holds the office at the pleasure of a white British Imperialist, and consequently, should such a sub-chief cease to behave like a stooge he goes.

This attitude must change

The new ordinance, Incitement to Violence Ordinance, which the United Nations know, has entirely murdered the freedom of speech and press in this country. As I have said Europeans, be they settlers or not, regard themselves as autonomous authority. Because they are white and have brought in capital to the country Government is very much inclined to be influenced by them. A few days ago, an elderly responsible settler who is a member of Legislative Council, Colonel C.L. Towne, a settler in Uhehe land, during the Budget Session debates, told the Tanganyika Legislative Council that Government should not spend any more money on the African education. All money that Government had set aside for the Education of Africans that year should be used in nursing wild Animals in National Parks, he said. This very preposterous suggestion of an educated white settler, and a Member of Legislative Council is indubitably an implication that to him Animals are of greater value than Africans in Tanganyika. He spoke with emphasis that he was now experiencing difficulty in obtaining cheap African labour in his farm and he feared that to educate more Africans will result in a serious shortage of cheap African labour in white settlers' farms. Another Honourable Member of Tanganyika Legislative Council, Mr. A.L. Le Maître who is also an O.B.E. spoke in similar tone. He said that to educate the African was to ruin him. "Why not spend that money in the maintenance of our National Parks so that we can attract tourists to Tanganyika" he dogmatized. This is the kind of atmosphere which prevails in Tanganyika, the sort of the "very good racial harmony" that you Gentlemen of the United Nations have heard. Europeans are free to affront and speak of many abominable things on Africans, both in the Legislative Council and in the press. If an African speaks in similar vein he will be rebuked by either the Member for Legal Affairs or the Speaker. For your information, gentlemen of the United Nations, the other day an African Member of Legislative Council, Mr. Paul Bomani, was vehemently rebuked by the Member for Legal Affairs, just inside the Council Chamber, because he (Mr. Bomani) took a firm stand in protesting against a Bill. (This was the Incitement to Violence Bill I have mentioned). I am sending you a copy herewith). Mr. Paul Bomani was only acting according to his conscience, and was not speaking of hard things as those spoken by Messrs. Towne and Le Maître, but yet the Member for Legal Affairs, I mean Mr. A.J. Grattan-Bellow, rebuked him very sharply. If Mr. Bomani would have spoken those words outside the Legislative Council Chamber he would, I am doubly sure, have been arrested and imprisoned under the new Ordinance. What does that amount to? Is that not a positive mortality of freedom of speech and opinion? If any person outside Tanganyika sympathise with us in this plight he is called a menace to the good racial relations which Tanganyika is said to be enjoying. Is that good racial harmony at all in its truest sense, or is it so only in the sense of the British Imperialists of this country?

They demand to repeal the unjust law

We must declare that this state of affairs, these acts of high-handedness of our Government on one hand and the selfishness of the expatriate whites on the other hand is very frustrating to us Wahehe. We pray the United Nations to ask the Government of

this country and the expatriate white settlers that we Wahehe own our bodies on the land that we were born. The fact that we were backward and ignorant before the coming of the whites, and that it is them who have educated us, does not in the least entitle them to take our land and drive us to unlivable areas where we probably meet with diseases and poverty, and expect us to sit silent because they have shut our mouths by introducing a very bad law. We must state in no uncertain terms that we Wahehe are now at the zenith of tolerance. In sure we are very grieved and very bitter, and we would be more so if we cannot express our grievances, because there exists a law which shuts our mouths. We do not want our country to be a second Kenya. The United Nations will, we believe, agree with us that a law so obviously bad as this will not help. If the Government of Tanganyika is of the opinion that there are discontentments amongst the people of Tanganyika it should set to work to remove these discontentments; not to introduce a law which has no parallel in a true democratic world. A law like this will only make possible the exuberant accumulation of grievances in the people with very disastrous consequences to follow.

We earnestly solicit the United Nations to urge the Government of this Trust Territory to return the confiscated lands of the subchiefdoms of Idodi, Mahenge, Kilolo, and Kibenngu to the Wahehe concerned. All those fertile lands along the Kilembelo scrap which Government is proposing to declare "Queen's Forest Reserves" must not be declared such. We also implore the United Nations to urge this Country's Government to hand back the late Lord Chesham's lion share of land to the Wahehe people. We are very serious about this.

Your most obedient servant,

Julius Mwasanyagi
FOR AND ON BEHALF OF THE WAHEHE
PEOPLE CONCERNED.

* * * * *

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN KENYA

Views of the Kenya Africans on the
proposed Constitutional changes.

The constitutional changes proposed by the European elected members, as reported in The Times on April 14th, 1956, and The Observer on April 15th, 1956, are, we presume, to be discussed by the racial groups which comprise the present Kenya Legislature, and will not be recommended for approval to the British Government unless agreement between them can be reached. As the African members of the present Legislature are nominees of the Governor we hold it unfair both to them and to the Africans of Kenya to involve them in any negotiations of such far reaching significance without the necessary mandate of their constituencies, without which any agreement they may reach will not be considered by Africans in any way morally binding on them.

Since the banning of the Kenya African Union in 1953, and the consequent suppression through the pressure of European politicians of all forms of political activity among the Africans, there has been no representative organisation to voice African opinion. The present policy of the Government is to encourage the formation of so-called district political organisations, but as yet few of them have been formed and they are still not yet in a position to claim to speak convincingly on behalf of Africans of any district. Further, under an amendment of the Societies

Emergency Regulations published on March 6th, 1956, it would seem that a legal limitation on political expression extends to these district organisations.

We, therefore, feel that to embark on constitutional changes on the lines suggested by the European elected members would be unwise until Africans have been elected to the Legislature and until there are African organisations able to freely express the views of Africans as a whole. Mr. E.A. Vasey, the Finance Minister in the Government of Kenya, has on several occasions suggested a conference between representative leaders of all the races to discuss constitutional changes. We consider this the most constructive suggestion yet made. All efforts should now be concentrated on creating the right atmosphere in Kenya in preparation for such a conference, the object of which should be to produce constitutional proposals mutually satisfactory to all races in Kenya, instead of one race waging a struggle for power such as European elected members seem bent on doing.

There are at the moment six African members in the Legislative Council representing 5½ million Africans. It is physically impossible for an African member to keep in touch with and care for his constituency with any degree of satisfaction. There is therefore, a good case for increasing African representation to enable each African member to have a smaller and a more manageable constituency with which he can effectively keep in touch. However, while we welcome the European suggestion for more African members, we cannot but deplore the suggestion that to achieve so-called parity, the Legislature should be packed with another seven Europeans. The present elected Europeans (14 in all for a population of 40,000) have smaller constituencies. This makes the Europeans by comparison more adequately represented than either the Africans or the Asians. The population of the latter which comprise 120,000 are represented by six members. European politicians in Kenya like to tell the world that African politicians seek black domination. By insisting on European and non-European parity, and by not conceding an increase in African representation without a corresponding European increase to retain such parity, the European elected members, including those who pay lip service to multi-racialism, are demonstrating for all the world to see, their determination to keep Kenya in everything but name - a white man's country.

We deplore the racial politics which prevail in Kenya today. Our politics is marred by fear, suspicion and race prejudice. European elected members by seeking to exploit the present political vacuum among Kenya Africans and to rush through constitutional changes before African elections next year, are not acting in good faith, and are not making good advertisement for themselves or their good will. Kenya needs non-racial politics, but this is not possible as long as the support of the British Government is lent to the view that there must always be European and non-European parity whereby European elected members in the Legislature must be equal to those elected for the other races put together. The steps taken in Uganda and Tanganyika provide a basis on which a start can be made on building political stability. There is no justification whatever to prove that the African in Uganda or Tanganyika is more ready for these changes than the Kenya Africans.

It is perfectly obvious that the European proposals are not inspired by the alleged motive to provide an effective opposition in the Legislature, but by a desire on their part to take advantage of the emergency by accumulating power in the hands of the settlers, and consolidating and entrenching their position in the Government and in the Legislature before African elections. These proposals far from achieving freedom from political controversy until 1960, will, if accepted, strengthen the influence of those Africans who hold that Europeans cannot be trusted and that Kenya should develop exclusively as a black man's country.

The responsibility for any constitutional changes in Kenya must rest with the British Government, and in order to win African confidence and remove the existing suspicion that the British Government favours settlers, the British Government should not precipitate Kenya into the constitutional changes proposed by the European elected members with what we regard indecent haste; but should insist that any changes will only be made with the full approval of the Africans as expressed through their elected representatives and organisations.

Signed J.M. Wambua
G.P.A. Mboya
Mugo Waiyaki
B.C.W. Lutta
Kimani Waiyaki
M. Njeroge
J. Gekonyo-Mbogo
M.J. Seroney
Joseph Murumbi

Kenya Africans in London.
London, April 15th, 1956.

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THE FIVE KWACA MEN IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL:

The Nyasaland Government and all Europeans in Central Africa and abroad have their eyes set on our African Legislative Council Members who are all Congressmen.

Indeed, they form a wonderful combination of experience, Thus:

Bambo J.R.N. Chinyama brings in his congress experiences and the whole history of Nyasaland. What can the Government say about Nyasaland that he does not know?

Bambo, D.W. Chijozi has been a teacher and his knowledge of the history of his people will help our country. As advisor to the Chiefs, his word carries weight and he knows the traditions of our ancestors.

Bambo N.D. Kwenye is the father and master of Southern Rhodesia secrets. He knows all about the deeds of Lord Malvern and his followers, their tactics and subtle ways. He understands the pros and cons of Newspaper work.

Bambo M.W.K. Chiume has all the knowledge from East Africa. He knows how Uganda has succeeded to move towards Self-Government. In Tanganyika, he learnt the dangers and follies of multi-racial Government.

Bambo, H.B. Chipembere is the political philosopher of the party. He is deep in Malan's racial policies and he knows all about South Africa.

Now, what else can the Europeans South of the Zambesi cheat us about. We have produced the men and they should hand over the reins of Government to the African people. We are confident that the Kwaca men will do the job in the Legislative Council.

Is it not God's plan that the new Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, has just come in time to meet our new Kwaca men!!!

Prayer Meeting in Salisbury

Leaders and Committee Members met to offer prayers and thanksgiving to God for all help that He has given to Congress to win the elections. Prayers were said to ask for God's blessing upon the five Members of the Legislative Council. Mr.W.M. Chirwa, M.P., attended the meeting and gave a brief address. Father Chemboga closed the prayer meeting.

Sincere and Insincere African Leaders

It is very important for all right-thinking and decent Africans to differentiate between sincere and insincere speeches,

between sincere and insincere writings emanating from mouths and pens of some educated Africans. There are two types of leaders among Africans.

In the first place, there are those leaders who speak and write something which, in their heart of hearts, they know full well that it is not true but is, nevertheless, calculated to please Europeans and having pleased Europeans, these insincere leaders know that the Europeans will at once regard them as sincere and sensible leaders who ought to be followed by all the Africans.

There is hardly any need to mention the names of these leaders because some of them are already known by some shrewd Africans who move about with their eyes wide open. In fact, it is true to say their words and works easily betray them more than anything else.

As we have already said, such leaders are mainly concerned with saying and doing things which they know will please Europeans. They get some advantages for this. For one thing they are usually well-treated and receive special favours sometimes. It is perhaps needless to say in the majority of cases they are responsible for the ill-treatment of Africans in various walks of life. When a European asks a question they usually study his mood and then say yes when they should say no and say no when they should say yes and so on. But fortunately, most Africans know them and do not trust them any more. It is a good sign, indeed, when Africans distrust and discard such leaders as traitors and sell-outs because they are really not good to either side. They deceive Africans and Europeans alike and are, therefore responsible for misunderstandings which exist between Africans and Europeans. They exploit each situation which arises for their own personal gain.

In the second place, there are those, African leaders who are sincere both in their speeches and writings. They do not believe in deceiving Europeans. They speak and write openly and fearlessly even if in doing so they become unpopular with Europeans. It is, however, true that as soon as the Europeans know that they are true leaders, leaders who have the full backing of their people four-square behind them, they respect their views. It should be pointed out that it would be infinitely better and wise if traitors and sell-outs are disregarded by sensible Africans.

Sincere African Leaders are sometimes stigmatized by Europeans as trouble-makers, hot-heads, agitators, communists and, what not, for the simple reason that they truly represent the desires and aspirations of those they lead who, as is known, are, generally speaking, inarticulate. But as time goes on, some Europeans on discovering the truth about these leaders immediately change their minds and give them the respect which is due to them. Those who see what goes on in the world today know how doubly true these words are. Leaders of other races are true leaders. They are not crooks, traitors and sell-outs. They have the real welfare of their people at heart. We venture to say it is much better for a leader to hold extreme views on some big issues than for that leader to be a crook, a traitor or a sell-out because such a man may probably be influenced to change his views if he is in a good company. A liar, a crook, a traitor and a sell-out never changes. He is always what he is in every company. He is like a leopard that does not change its spots in all surroundings.

All leaders, be they white, brown dark or yellow, are fundamentally speaking, very much concerned with the general success and prosperity of their people in all respects. It is therefore, in this context that the speeches and writings of Mr. Wellington Manooch Chirwa, Federal M.P. for Nyasaland, should be viewed. Mr. Chirwa is an acknowledged top-ranking leader of Nyasaland Africans. Mr. Chirwa is to the Nyasas what Lord Malvern is to the Europeans. His political views pertaining to Nyasaland are shared by a large body of Nyasas in Nyasaland and what Mr. Chirwa says in and outside the Federal Parliament is fully supported by a considerable proportion of his people.

Some educated Africans fulminate against Mr. Chirwa for criticising a small African organisation in Nyasaland which seems to be at cross-purpose with the Nyasaland African National Congress. It is understood the leaders of this new organisation are thinking of their big names than the general welfare and liberation of Nyasaland Africans. If this is true then it is very bad, indeed.

Recently, Mr. Chirwa criticised this new organisation and clearly said that he and the Congress would in future see that organisation was destroyed because of its nuisance value. What Mr. Chirwa actually meant was that he and Congress leaders would act as a pressure group to bring an end to this organisation whose ulterior objective, if it can, is the destruction of Congress for private and selfish ends perhaps. Both sides are perfectly entitled to do that if they wish. In fact, Lord Malvern did it last year at Kafue when he took a team of powerful leaders to convince the electors of Kafue not to return Mr. van Eeden at the by-election because, so they said and truly too, that his partition scheme was cutting right across the partnership scheme which had been accepted by an overwhelming majority of the people of Central Africa. But, as we know, now that talk made no impression whatsoever to voters of Kafue. They returned Mr. Guy van Eeden by even a large majority than the majority he got when he won that seat for the Federal Party.

And yet the Bantu Mirror in its editorial of last week accuses Mr. Chirwa has indicated his desire to have it destroyed because of its contrary policy to that espoused by the Congress. There can be no motive for this other than to please Europeans who are not happy with Mr. Chirwa's utterances. No sincere African leader could write in that provocative strain unless he did so with his tongue in his cheek. How can this man tell the majority of the Africans of Nyasaland who want their country and who have sent Mr. Chirwa to the Federal Parliament to fight in that ticket not to do that. In the eyes of Nyasaland Africans, who is he? We think it is about time other people stopped interfering in other people's affairs. This is a domestic matter between Nyasaland alone and has absolutely nothing to do with the intruders who have ignominiously failed to organise themselves into a national organisation. The insincerity of some African leaders of the day is disgusting in the extreme.

African Home News, dated 3rd March, 1956

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PEACEFUL STRUGGLE IN CENTRAL AFRICA

Keen Observer on boycotts:

The economic boycott which was started in Lusaka on 2nd April has left certain landmarks which cannot go without comment from us. Never in the field of human conflict was so much selfishness displayed by men who profess to know all. In their confusion of mind, the white and a few Indian leaders said some of the things they shouldn't have said. We wish to take this opportunity of showing them through our eye without any smug conceit. Before we do that, let us have a look at some of the things that were said during the boycott days. Some leaders of the white community and a few Indian leaders suggested that Mr. Nkumbula and some of his colleagues should be dealt with - this 'dealt with' was never at any time explained. Some of them suggested that the African National Congress should be banned (surprising enough Moslem Indians were very strong on this point forgetting that just a little less than two years from now they were struggling exactly in the same way in order to put some of the wrongs committed against them right - what moral right have they to suggest such to the Northern Rhodesia Government? We can only hope they know what they are doing. To the best of our knowledge Pakistan people are not discriminated against on

grounds of colour in the country of their birth, are they?). The crowning one came from a member of the Lusaka Chamber of Commerce when the said Chamber was interviewing the Central African Federal Prime Minister Lord Malvern in Lusaka. His question was,

"At what stage would the Federal Government become interested in our internal dissensions in the North, when we started shooting?"

"Theoretically any active interest would only be when they asked the Federal Government for troops," was the reply from the Prime Minister.

these are only a few of the many absurd things that have been said by our European and Indian friends.

Comment:

We know very well that among members of the white and Indian communities there were those who posed to find out why the African National Congress had started this economic boycott. These very unfortunately for our race relations are not among those who are public figures, they control no Radio Services and have no newspapers. The people who matter in the way just described did not want to ask why Africans organised themselves in the way they have done. For years now the African people have with a slavish timidity accepted everything that was said by a white man. For years now the African has through the so called Government instituted bodies asked for better treatment in shops, cafes, restaurants, post offices, railways etc., but without any real success. Government and all concerned have dismissed these requests - genuine requests too - with a shudder. What next? The African people of this country thought, and rightly thought, that to get heard in their legitimate demands they had to organise themselves and struggle for their right place in this multi-racial society so that they will be number 4 in the society only if their social stand required that and not be a 4th class citizen because of their colour - It is most wrong and any right thinking man knows it is wrong.

Now instead of finding out what prompted African people to start boycotting the shops in question for the simple reason that they control the means of spreading anything that they want to say whether it be right or wrong took to saying the terrible things they said from dealing with Mr. Nkumbula and his colleagues, to banning Congress and down to asking the Federal Premier whether if the Northern Rhodesians started shooting the Federal Government would become interested in their affairs. In a decent way we tell all these worried friends of ours that the answer to their fears is not far to fetch, they have it, they can employ it and then all would be well for all of us and it is this, "Do unto the African as you would have him do unto you." Herein lies the answer to all their fears. They can do what they please with Mr. Nkumbula and any of his colleagues; they can ban the African National Congress today and they can even start shooting and maybe they would meet with some temporal success - But, and a big one at that, 'Shall they have answered the question?' Nay, we very much doubt. The African leadership especially that of the African National Congress is aware of the troubles that meet all sincere political indigenous leaders in any colonial country and so is sincerely (of course with a true appreciation of the fact that there are other races that have founded homes in this country and whose interests must be just as safeguarded as those of the indigenous people themselves) going ahead with its plan for shaking the dust off this present structure that gives and denies man his chances because of his colour and it is just not prepared to call an elephant a whale for fear of personal trouble - we will see to it that everything is given its right name all the time. We stand for what is right and nothing will shake us from this truth. The ruling class can do what it

likes with us but at the bottom of their hearts they know that we are right and they are in the wrong. Man, it doesn't matter what colour, is different from a beast. You might succeed in pushing him around for a while but you can't do so all the time. In this country, Congress or no Congress the African has realised that he has not received a fair deal in the country of his birth simply because he happens to be black which is no fault of his of course. With this rediscovery of their true selves, the African people are more than ever before determined to go on with their non-violent struggle of putting the wrong right; and, we might mention here again, the only force that can delay the final result of their national aspiration is treating them as all other people are treated.

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NATIONALIST STRUGGLE IN MADAGASCAR

Madagascar and the Gandhi road to Freedom

by

Patrick Duncan, only European Members of the 1952
"Defence Campaign" against Segregation in the Union
of South Africa, now a Resident of Basutoland.

Recently I sat in a small office in a two-storied building in Tananarive, the capital of Madagascar, talking to a newspaper editor. Outside the shuttered window were tall jacarandas, loaded with violet blossom, shading a fine bronze statue of Gallieni, the French general, who "pacified" the island just fifty years ago.

The editor was Gabriel Razafintsalama, who controls an outspoken weekly paper published in the Malagasy language, with its leading articles in French. Physically, he was a typical member of the Merina people, who had unified and ruled the island during the hundred years 1795-1895. His hair was long and straight, his complexion light brown, rather like that of a Malay, and his eyes were friendly and intelligent. His surname means "Son of Peace."

Unlike others that I met on the island he was not afraid to talk politics. Razafintsalama had been introduced to me as "the leader of His Majesty's Opposition" and for two years the outbreak of the 1947 rebellion he had been in gaol. His paper is frank in its discussion of French policies, but he spoke of the French with no trace of bitterness or hatred. As a self-respecting nationalist he clearly longed for his homeland to be free, but I soon realised that he was of the school of Gandhi.

Colonialism Destroys Dignity

He spoke of the forced labour which was exacted until abolished by law in 1946, of its survival in outlying districts even today, of the lack of democratic institutions, of the destruction of the historic kingdom and civilisation evolved by his people under the old Merina monarchy. "And yet," he said, "we do not forget that we owe many material advances to the French. But man does not live by bread alone - one of his most fundamental needs is self-respect. And colonialism, whatever its advantages may be, always destroys the dignity of the colonial peoples."

I asked him if, when freedom came, the people would wish to go back to the old monarchy. He said: "No, that was a feudal regime and not suitable for the present day. We need a democratic republican regime today."

Dark Memories of 1947 Revolt

The Malagasy, a gentle people of mixed Asian and Polynesian origin, are apparently submissive and this has misled the French at times into a belief that they could be harshly treated

with impunity. Since the conquest of the capital in 1893 there have been four major outbreaks of rebellion, but much the most important was that which began in March 29, 1947.

During and after World War II local grievances had mounted. The constant devaluation of the franc caused general hardship, particularly among the labouring class. To try to combat inflation the Government held the price of rice paid to the grower down to one fr. twenty-five per kilo. When after much agitation this control was removed the price of rice soared to twelve fr. per kilo. This meant that the peasant-producer had been getting only one-tenth of the market value of his staple crop.

Forced Labour

But the severest complaint of the war years was the increasing scale of forced labour exacted by the Government. The nationalists have estimated that in one year four million days' norms - which they say means about eight million actual days on the job, as the "norms" were rarely completed in one day - were exacted by the Government from a peasant population of only 700,000 (the total population is 4,500,000).

When the war ended there was a general hope of political freedom. Malagasy conscripts in the French army had learnt that the war was being fought for the Atlantic Charter, for freedom. Culturally, the Malagasy were closer to the Asian nations, who were fast achieving their freedom than to the nearby African colonies. This hope found expression in over thirty-five eager nationalist newspapers which started appearing in the capital alone (population 200,000). All that was needed to start trouble was a weak Government, and this island got when High Commissioner de Coppet landed in the island in May, 1946. His policy wobbled between the French settlers and the nationalists, and his reliance on the police was sufficient to provoke, but insufficient to repress, disorders. The temper of the people grew ugly.

Estimates 20,000 Dead

In March 1947, the Mouvement Democratique de la Renovation (MDRM), the principal nationalist group, sent a telegram round the island appealing for calm. The police suspect that the message was in truth a code message appealing for revolution, not calm. Be that as it may, the rising began in widely isolated French places on the night of March 29-30, and several French settlers were murdered and their farms pillaged. Disorder continued for over a year, and when all was over about 100 Europeans and a large number of Malagasy had been killed. Estimates vary between 10,000 and 100,000 of Malagasy dead, but a probable figure would be 20,000.

The rebellion did not shake the determination of the French to hold the colony, but their policy has changed. It is now a combination of (a) maximum economic and social advance to steal the thunder of the nationalists, with (b) an efficient police and military system of government. Before 1947 there were only 800 troops in this island (which is considerably larger than France) and in 1947 tribes hostile to the Merina had to be armed to help suppress the rising. Now there are impressive African and French (not Malagasy) garrisons at all strategic points, equipped with modern weapons and vehicles and kept at a high level of discipline. And then there is the Surete, which from its red-brick H.Q. next to the High Commissioner's residence, watches the whole situation with a Beria-like thoroughness.

The Hope - Freedom without Violence

The French dilemma is this: To make their rule acceptable they must press on the social and economic advance of the Malagasy. But as they increase their skills the Malagasy will demand an ever-increasing share in the control of their own lives. Thus either the success or the failure of French colonial rule in Madagascar will increase the demand for political independence. Whether it is achieved within or without the French Union nobody can yet foresee.

Towards the end of my talk with Razafintsalama we moved out to a dusty bench under the peaceful jacarandas. He spoke soberly of the bitterness and frustration of many of his fellow-countrymen, and how he continually sought to influence them to fight for their freedom without hatred and without violence. I felt that his gentleness and his strength were a sign of success—the success not only of his own people, but indirectly of the French, too, who despite deviations, represent a political doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity that they carry with them.

(By Courtesy of "Toward Freedom", Chicago, U.S.A.)

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STATEMENT MADE BY THE PRESIDENT-GENERAL ON THE
ALLEGED BOYCOTT OF EUROPEAN AND INDIAN
OWNED SHOPS AT KABWATA ON THE
8TH. OF APRIL, 1956

The alleged boycott of European and Indian owned shops as the Press put it is in fact not intended to paralyse the economy of this country but it is intended to improve the social welfare of the inhabitants of the Protectorate.

I do not know how many people realise that in this country there is a great deal of monopolist trade mixed up with racial intrigue. Needless to say there are European, Indian and African tradesmen who are cutting each other's throats on the market. A large percentage of European traders engaged in trade which most African tradesmen cannot at the moment cope with except where they indulge themselves in selling sand and maize which they collect from the rural areas and also fish from Lake Districts and the Kafue River which to our opinion could be carried out by African tradesmen. The Indian trader enjoys a complete monopoly in trade which is essentially African. He is not only supplying consumers' goods at a higher price but he is also the wholesaler distributing the resources at distorted market price to his African competitor. He is, in short, a greedy boy at a table who not only seizes more than his fair share of the cake but also in the scramble causes some cake to be spoilt.

The African trader in his short experience of trade hardly distinguishes between sale and cost price. His main source of supply is the Indian tradesman who sells goods to him at retail price. In order to get a marginal profit the African trader has to charge a higher price than the actual sale price. As a result of this hundreds of African traders have been put out of business. The remaining African traders are on the brink of bankruptcy. The situation of the African trader is so bad that Government has generously voted a sum of £15,000 to subsidise the African tradesman by the way of small loans. We as Congress and African tradesmen, can only hope that this offer will continue until some amount of stability among African traders has been realised. Unless there will be a continued support to the African traders the situation which

now exists in East Africa will be inevitable. That is, all African tradesmen will be thrown out of business and eventually all Europeans. This does not of course mean that the Indian should not be allowed to open up trade in this country but he must end his monkey tricks and also we suggest to the Immigration Board that no one person, European or Indian, should be allowed to enter this country unless he is to open up trade which is not essentially African.

Furthermore, in supplying consumers' goods to the African consumer, the Indian trader has not been honest. In some Indian shops one article is being sold at different prices to different customers. And in some shops one cannot buy a pound of sugar unless he can also buy a loaf of bread - willy-nilly.

With regard to the proprietors of butcher shops, we are withdrawing custom from those proprietors who import meat from Bechuanaland and New Zealand. It has been reported by the authorities that the supply of meat in this country is sufficient not to necessitate importation. But the proprietors choose to get their supplies from outside this country at abnormally high prices. In so doing they rob this country of its money and at the same time whittle down the consumers' pocket. When the Meat Pool buy cattle from Africans they get the support of the Government in getting their supplies at a shocking lower price. The Government has introduced a system of grading and I must say that I have seen more than one thousand head of African cattle being graded and in this thousand not one has passed 1st. or 2nd. grade. The average grade of this thousand head of cattle was between 4th. and 5th. grades. The 6th. grade beast has no fixed price. In the Mazabuka District the 6th. grade cattle are going at £2 per piece. This has tended to restrict supplies from African cattle owners. The fallacy about this grading is that prices of meat in the Butcher shops are not according to the grading. A pound of steak from a 5th. grade beast is sold at the same price as a pound of steak from a 1st grade beast. The same applies to meat imported from Bechuanaland and New Zealand. It is here we, Congress, ask the regulatory authority not merely to find a price at which the monopoly is making normal profits but also the lowest price at which normal profits can be made.

We are making the consumers of meat to withdraw their customs from such butcheries and to spend more and more of their money in butcher-shops which entirely depend on supplies from this country and which do not get assistance in getting their supplies in this country at lower prices unless there will be a general fall in price of meat.

The allegation that the boycott is partly of a political nature is to some extent true. But it is not true that the boycott is in preparation for some future political trouble. Apart from withdrawing custom from European and Indian owned shops, we are withdrawing custom from certain business firms which indulge in the evils of racial discrimination.

All the catering firms but one in the Protectorate, for some reason best known to them, refuse to serve Africans in a decent manner. These will also suffer when our withdrawal of custom reaches its maximum unless of course in the meanwhile they change their attitude of mind towards the African customers.

If at all we intend to use the boycott for political reasons at a later date, it will be because we seek the support of business men in exerting pressure on the Government to end the present mal-administration of the Protectorate and also to end the racial and discriminatory policies now being pursued.

It is important I think to point out that the withdrawal of custom from European and Indian owned shops will be confined to purely African trade and will be conducted without picketing.

HARRY M. NKUMBULA
PRESIDENT-GENERAL.

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Anti-Colonial Bureau
Asian Socialist Conference

" DEPENDENT PEOPLES' FREEDOM DAY "

30TH OCTOBER 1956

Remember that 30th October is the occasion of world-wide observance:

1. For the Freedom of Mankind.
2. For Social Justice
3. For Equality without prejudice to Race, Colour and Creed.
4. For better Race Relations.
5. For Harmony among Nations.
6. For Peace, Security and Prosperity
7. For a World free from Domination, Exploitation and Discrimination.

NOTE:

Millions in Asia and Africa with many others in the world are still under the yoke of Colonial Exploitation, Foreign Domination and Racial Discrimination.

It is a threat to World Peace and a danger to Peaceful race relations.

It is against the dignity of mankind and the Declaration of Human Rights as well as Principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is our earnest request to ALL to attend the celebrations, join the demonstrations to build up world opinion against all forms of Domination.

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MPH