

# FIGGETING TALK

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**SPECIAL ISSUE:**

## **Africa, 1960**

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**THE FULL STORY:**

# **THE CONGO**

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A JOURNAL FOR DEMOCRATS OF ALL RACES, AFRICANS, INDIANS,  
COLOURED AND WHITES, IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

Produced by the FIGHTING TALK Committee, P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg.

## FIGHTING TALK OUT AGAIN : 2 ISSUES A MONTH NOW

FIGHTING TALK was due to bring out its Special Africa Issue in April. Three days before we went to press the State of Emergency was declared. The emergency regulations gave the government and police power to detain, without charge or trial, and brought in regulations which tied the press hand and foot.

In the countrywide swoops in which two thousand South Africans of all races were rounded up, and detained, FIGHT-

ING TALK lost writers, readers, editorial and circulation staff, sales agents and our most staunch supporters over the years. Four months later, some are still behind bars. Normal political life in the country is in many ways in a state of suspension, and political opposition to the Verwoerd Government verges on subversion, in the eyes of the Special Branch of the police.

With writers in prison, sales machinery disrupted, the bank balance depleted,

FIGHTING TALK did not manage to produce that April issue, nor issues during May, June and July.

We can now resume publication. We aim to produce two issues a month instead of one as formerly. The State of Emergency still rules the country, but as far as we are able to, this little magazine will once again feature the fighting talk and spirit which distinguished it as one of the front-rank opponents of the Nationalist Government.

## AFRICA AND THE WORLD AGAINST THE NATS

Africa, it has been said, 'is like a living body. If one finger is sore, the whole body feels the pain.' There could be no more timely reminder to South Africa, on the eve of the visit of the United Nations General Secretary, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, that the rest of Africa is no longer prepared to tolerate the policy of the Nationalist Government against the people of the Union.

Mr. Hammarskjold will hear his fill from Cabinet Ministers and their underlings of the fairy tale miracles of 'Bantustans' and 'Apartheid' and the good

they are doing for the African people. All this he can take with a pinch of salt. We are past the age of make-believe.

The true facts of life in South Africa are too well known to bear repeating here. They have been debated so often in the councils of the United Nations and elsewhere that there is a powerful and ever-growing movement on our Continent and in the world at large against South Africa.

The boycott of South African goods is already having crippling effects on our economy. The boycott may spread to

our oil supplies. The Union faces the threat of international trade sanctions. South Africa has become the leper out-cast of the world.

Here is proof — if proof were still needed — that those whom the Government jails and persecutes have the only real solution to the Union's troubles, for theirs is the policy that moves with the times, and the stream of world opinion, and not against them. The Nats are trying to stop the wheels of history moving, and they must be put out of office before they plunge us all into ruin, and disaster.

### OUR SPECIAL AFRICA ISSUE

Here, between covers, is your ready-to-hand guide to the Continent of 1960—Africa: its countries, movements, political leaders, and problems. It is a measure of the speed with which Africa is forging ahead that much of the material prepared for the issue promised in April became out of date in three months, and has had to be re-written and brought up to date.

EXTRA COPIES ARE AVAILABLE: WRITE TO US, enclosing postal orders.

KEY TO OUR COVER PICTURE—TOP ROW, left to right: Patrice Lumumba (Congo), Pres. Kasavubu (Congo), Chief Awolowo (Nigeria), Dr. Banda (Nyasaland), Ntsu Mokhehle (Basutoland), Chief A. J. Luthuli (South Africa).

BOTTOM ROW, left to right: Tom Mboya (Kenya), Walter Sisulu (South Africa), Julius Nyerere (Tanganyika), The Sardana of Sokoto (Nigeria), Haile Selassie (Ethiopia), Dr. Azikiwe (Nigeria).

### WHO'LL BUY ?

*In South Africa lives are cheap today;  
Cheap as dirt — bargain for pampered police  
Who buy with bullets. A life for a lump of lead.  
Black man's blood for Baasskap's altar,  
And costs them — nothing: Verwoerd will pay.  
A life for a bullet in heart or head.  
Lives are cheap — who'll buy?  
Yes, Verwoerd WILL pay. The price will be—Baasskap.  
Buy while you can, for the price will rise.  
Buy now, for lives will be dear indeed.  
For this is our Closing-Down Sale.*

# The Congo Enters the Political Kingdom

- The forces of independence and freedom from White domination are more powerful today than the forces of colonialism and imperialism.
- The Belgians have only themselves to blame for the rout they have suffered in the Congo.
- The troubles of the people of Africa are far from over once they enter the Political Kingdom.
- While a tiny section of the Congolese have been guilty of reckless acts of violence against Europeans in the Congo, the overwhelming majority of Congolese merely expressed legitimate demands in a legitimate manner during the recent disturbed period.

These are some of the conditions that must be drawn from a sober analysis of recent events in the Congo.

## A PEEP AT THE NASTY BACKGROUND:

### Savages and Kings

Our history books tell us that the Congo was "discovered" by the Portuguese in 1642. The benefit the Africans of the area were to receive for being so "discovered" was to see an estimated 13 million of their number seized and transported by Europeans as slaves during the next two centuries.

During the 19th century, however, the Europeans found that human beings were not the only riches which could be stolen from Africa, and the scramble for Africa's raw materials was on. In 1884 King Leopold II of Belgium decided that the royal purse was a little low and the royal grounds a trifle cramped, so he annexed as his private property the 900,000 square miles (4 times the size of France) of African territory which later became known as the Belgian Congo.

He announced at the time that he would "open up the area to civilisation", and in 1885 was pleased to see his act of plunder ratified by the Great Powers at the imperialist Berlin Conference.

For 20 years the Congolese received the blessings of civilisation in such a savage form that eventually there was an international outcry, reforms were promised, and the Congo was handed over to chartered Belgian companies, eventually to become a fully-fledged Belgian colony run by and for the benefit of these monopolies.

Some of the more vicious practices of King Leopold's men, such as the chopping off of the hands of Africans who fell behind in the delivery of produce, were stopped, but the exploitation of the African for the benefit of the Belgian monopolies has continued to this day.

## BELGIUM'S "FAULT":

### Fathers and Sons

For 50 years the monopolies ruled the Congo and extracted enormous profits. Their policy of paternalism was to have

an important effect on the nature and the course of the freedom struggle of the Africans. The Africans were increasingly drawn into an economy almost completely dependent on that of Belgium. Tribalism was encouraged, but the emergence of an African middle class with independent economic aims almost completely prevented. Education was virtually confined to the primary school level, and not a single African doctor or engineer was trained in all these years.

The result was that when the freedom fires began to burn higher and the lid of paternalism was finally blown off in the riots of unemployed workers in Leopoldville in January last year (when hundreds of Africans were shot dead), there was no middle-class-led movement to carry the struggle further on a nationwide scale as there had been during a comparable period in, say, the Gold Coast. Furthermore, the complete ban on political or trade union activity had prevented the emergence of a politically organised working class movement such as had led the people of French Guinea to freedom.

Instead a whole host of political parties, largely based on tribal affiliations, came into being. Individuals vied with one another for positions, opportunism was rife.

Liberal opinion now blames the Belgians for their neglect in training Africans in administrative posts and says that this was the cause of the recent confusion in the Congo. This criticism, though it correctly attributes the blame for the Congo's difficulties to the colonialists, does not hit the nail on the head. The example of Guinea proves that it is not administrators and technicians that are essential to a newly independent state, for the now thriving and stable Guinea had none of these when it broke away from the French Community, but that it is a clearthinking and cohesive political movement with a mass nationwide backing from the people which counts. Secondly, it was not a case of neglect on the part of the Belgians, but of deliberate policy which aimed at trans-

ferring power to a weak and divided Congolese people who would be still at the mercy of the monopolies.

The Belgians no doubt relied heavily on the Force Publique to maintain their effective power while the Congolese merely had nominal power.

## HOW IT ALL BEGAN:

### Blue-eyed Boy and Black Man

The first sign that things were going wrong for the Belgians came when the election results gave much more support than was anticipated to M. Patrice Lumumba's MNC party. Lumumba, who had once been the blue-eyed boy of the Belgians, campaigned for a united Congo and spoke ominously (for the monopolists) of following up political independence with economic independence.

To the dismay of the Belgians it was Lumumba who became the first Prime Minister of the Congo, and their alarm was complete when on June 30th, Independence Day, Lumumba, instead of fawning, hit out at his former masters and roundly denounced Belgian imperialism.

All was quiet in the Congo during the first few days of independence. The troops which the colonial governments of territories neighbouring the Congo had placed on the Congolese border (avowedly to receive refugees, but really to stop the tide of African liberation from spilling over into their own territories) had nothing to do but pull faces at Lumumba.

Then the first signs of a profound movement which was to shake the whole of the Congo began to appear. In Leopoldville and Coquilhatville strikers demanding increased pay and greater Africanisation in their industries, appeared on the streets.

These strikes by workers, who in some cases seized their overseers, but never went over to indiscriminate violence, were to be followed by a whole wave of strikes affecting every industry except mining (which was closed down for other reasons). The workers wished to see political independence for the Congo reflected in their own lives, and particu-

# VILLAIN ON THE WORLD STAGE

Giving the annual Reserve Bank report the other day, Dr. de Kock harped on the old theme that people abroad do not know anything about this country. True enough there was a time, not so long ago, when most of the outside world knew and cared little about what went on in South Africa. But those days are gone.

Today there can hardly be a politically literate person anywhere in the world who doesn't know all about Dr. Verwoerd and apartheid, Chief Lutuli and the treason trial, Sharpeville and the Boycott.

## THAT REPUBLIC

(Continued from page 3)

### The Desperate Gambler

In doing so, Dr. Verwoerd is prepared to wreck the economy — the certain result if South Africa is kicked out of the Commonwealth and loses the imperial preference.

He is prepared to set the seal on South Africa's international isolation — if South Africa is expelled from the Commonwealth, she loses her last, tenuous overseas link.

He is even willing to gamble with the Nationalist Party's future — if the referendum vote is lost his party must suffer and his own position will be gravely jeopardised.

But the Nationalist Party has its back to the wall. And like a desperate animal it is prepared to take any reckless gamble to survive.

Therein lies the hope — and the danger — for South Africa.

But one thing is, however, clear: The republic is part of the overall Nationalist drive to aggrandise their power.

A Verwoerd republic is intended to give permanent expression to organised herrenvolkism in the Union.

Those who want to rid South Africa of racism — and are enfranchised — must do all in their power to prevent a republic. A defeat for Verwoerd will strike a heavy blow for a better South Africa.

What is at stake is not the nature of the external constitutional trappings of the South African State. These can be adjusted — if necessary — at the right time.

The only issue on October 5 will be the policy of apartheid, of human humiliation and political repression, of the 20th century barbarism of which Verwoerd is the symbol.

It is vital that Verwoerd be defeated in the referendum. If he is, it could well mean the turning of the tide in South Africa.

From de Kock's point of view, the trouble is that they know too much, and they don't like what they know. Ever since the end of World War Two the limelight has been shining more and more intensely on the South African scene; and the world audience is expressing its disapproval more and more actively. From booing and heckling they are moving to the stage of pelting the villain with rotten eggs and tomatoes.

When UNO was established, the Union was quite a respectable foundation member. It had been a part of the anti-Axis alliance which founded the U.N. The late General Smuts, as a senior statesman, played a not unimportant part in framing the Charter.

But even at that stage voices were heard murmuring that the caste system in South Africa was in contradiction with the Charter.

### India Sets the Pace

India came to the General Assembly, newly independent and in crusading mood. She began raising with increasing impatience the innumerable examples of discrimination against South Africans of Indian origin. When the Union proved unwilling to negotiate on this matter, as decided, India broke off trade and diplomatic relations.

Official reaction here was to play down the importance of these events. Indeed India's sanctions did not seem to make much difference. Substitutes, or alternative supply sources, were found for jute bags and other former exports. Life went on much as usual.

But more far-sighted people saw the real significance of the "Indian-South African dispute" less in its immediate effects than in its long-term implications. India was among the first of the countries of Asia and African to achieve independence; clearly, she would not be the last.

It would not be long before there would be very many independent African and Asian states, more and more important in numbers in the United Nations. And, for that matter, in the "Commonwealth", upon membership of which the Union Government relied to shield it from isolation.

The astute and experienced Smuts perhaps had a premonition of these implications. While taking a strong stand in public against "outside interference in our domestic affairs", he at the same time called a number of African leaders to Cape Town, and began making tentative overtures towards concessions and reforms of the more blatant aspects of apartheid — then known as "Segregation". Of course these proposed reforms were very timid and mild. More powers for Advisory Boards, an enlarged Natives' Representative Council . . . But

even these tiny gestures were too much for White South Africa. Smuts' Party found itself thrown out of office at the next election, in 1948: replaced by the Party of Baasskap.

You know the rest: Group Areas, Suppression of Everything Acts, Bantu This and That Acts, a dismal tale ranging from the "versuivering" of Parliament to Sharpeville, the Emergency and the Republic.

### The Changing World

And world reaction inside and outside U.N. has been growing sharper year by year. It's not merely that under the Nationalists, South Africa has been moving steadily further away from the Charter. It's also that the world and the United Nations is changing year by year, and very rapidly, too.

When Mrs. Pandit first moved her resolution about this country she had to struggle for a two-thirds majority — and even then she had to tone it down to get Scandinavian support. America and the West voted against it.

These days, the resolutions are infinitely sharper in tone. They don't deal only with the Indian question and South West; they go quite explicitly to the root of apartheid and race discrimination.

The reason is clear.

When U.N. was formed there were only a minority of members from African and Asian states. Today these states command almost two-thirds of the total U.N. votes. And whatever differences of outlook may exist among the Afro-Asian bloc, they are absolutely united and unambiguous about one thing: they detest colonialism, and most of all what they regard as a particularly offensive and intolerable form of it practised by White South Africa.

More — the bigger this group grows (and nowadays hardly a week seems to go by without its quota of successful applications for U.N. membership from yet another African republic) the more attention has to be paid to its views by the other nations.

In the international war of ideas, the "West" has suddenly realised it cannot afford to go on letting Krushchov and Mao score all the points with their outspoken policy of anti-imperialism and anti-racialism. Hence, the pro-South African vote has shrunk, year by year, at the General Assembly. Last December only Britain, France and Portugal stood up to be counted on Verwoerd's side.

When Macmillan came here he made it clear that we couldn't count on Britain's vote in future. And in fact when it came to the Security Council meeting on March 30 both Britain and

## CONGO DIARY

15.6.60. M. Patrice Lumumba declares: "We are not Communists. We are simply nationalists setting up a democracy in the heart of Africa. I stretch out my hands in an appeal to the Europeans, and especially the Belgians, to stay here and help us through this difficult period."

16.6.60. The Argus African News Service advises people to remember the name of the Belgian commander of the Congolese Force Publique — Lieut. General Emile Janssens. "General Janssens' army, a superbly equipped and disciplined force of 25,000 men, is virtually the only stable element in a situation full of confusion and uncertainty. If chaos reigns after June 30th, it might easily happen that some sort of military rule will be needed. This possibility was mentioned by Sir Edgar Whitehead (Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia) in a speech yesterday."

17.6.60. The 13 member States at the Addis Ababa Pan-African Conference issue a special communique expressing concern that "troops from neighbouring countries are assembling on the frontier of the Congo."

25.6.60. A spokesman for the Uganda Colonial Government announces that a company of the 4th Battalion of the Kings African Rifles and a special police force have been moved to the border of the Congo to deal with a "possible influx of Belgian Congo refugees after independence."

30.6.60. Independence Day. Congolese Government headed by Lumumba (Prime Minister) and Kasavubu (President) in coalition, takes over. Lumumba declares: "I dedicate the Congo Republic to the liberation of all Africa," and denounces in ringing terms Belgian colonialism. The Belgian Minister of Congo Affairs, in a "towering rage" threatens to tear up the newly signed Belgo-Congo treaty of accord.

4.7.60. Lumumba states: "We intend safeguarding the personal security of everyone — rich or poor, Black or White — and personally I mean to be quite ruthless with lawbreakers."

5.7.60. Police disperse strikers at Otraco Company in Leopoldville. At Coquilhatville, hundreds of armed strikers demand pay increases. A rebel government is set up in the central Kasai Province by Albert Kalonji, a leader of the Baluba tribe and a dissident member of Lumumba's MNC (National Movement of the Congo).

6.7.60. Orders given by the Central Government for Kalonji's arrest.

7.7.60. Several crack soldier units mutiny, arrest their White officers and, waving their belts, mass outside Parliament and Lumumba's house in Leopoldville, shouting 'down with the Whites'. Lumumba parleys with them, promises a speed up of Africanisation, has Janssens recalled to Belgium, and declares in a broadcast to the nation that measures were to be taken soon against "European officers and non-commissioned officers at the base of the agitation."

Five Belgian police chiefs are jailed by their subordinates in Leopoldville.

Before the mutiny, someone spreads rumours that Russian troops are landing at Leopoldville airport in pursuance of a Russian-Belgian plot to take over the Congo.

8.7.60. Congo unanimously accepted into the United Nations Organisation. The Belgian representative says that the

## Some Basic Facts About The Congo Up to the Time of Independence

**POPULATION:**  
13 million Africans, 110,000 Whites.

**OCCUPATIONS:**  
50% of adult Africans are wage earners on mines, plantations, transport etc. The rest are engaged in subsistence farming. 50% of Whites are employed by monopolies, 9% "colonists" (owning capital as planters or merchants); the rest equally made up of civil servants and missionaries.

**INCOMES:**  
African wage earners received one-fifth of national income. African per capita income about £40 per annum. African wage total about £85 million per annum. Profits accruing to Belgian capital about £85 million per annum.

**ECONOMY:**  
Banking, mining, trade, insurance, transport wholly Belgian.

**INVESTMENT:**  
Belgian 97%. British nearly 2%. American .5%.

**MINING PRODUCTS:**  
Copper, uranium and cobalt.

**EXPORTS, IMPORTS:**  
Imports £3.5 million per annum from South Africa; exports more to the U.S. (about £45 million p.a.) than does South Africa (about £35 million p.a.) but imports less from U.S. than does South Africa.

**AFRICAN LANGUAGES:**  
400 dialects.

**PROVINCES:**  
6 provinces and 24 administrative areas.

**COMMUNICATIONS:**  
River and rail. Congo River not navigable near the sea. Port — Matadi.

Congo is "directed by men of responsibility, willing and capable of upholding all obligations imposed by the UNO Charter."

Striking dockers at Leopoldville port seize senior Belgian officials.

After breaking jail in Stanleyville, prisoners demand an amnesty.

9.7.60. Lumumba meets main demands of mutineers' leader at Thysville, near Leopoldville. Kasavubu appointed head of the armed forces. All quiet at the mutineers' camp. Disciplined Congolese free disarmed Belgian officers. Rebels demand removal of white officers and resignation of Lumumba with Kalonji suggested as a possible replacement. With an all African command of the army, the crisis is reported to be over.

A group of Europeans attempt to assassinate Lumumba.

Belgians send 300 troops to strengthen 2,300 garrison.

10.7.60. Congolese troops mutiny in copper-mining Katanga province, and kill 5 Whites. Katanga Premier, M. Moïse Tshombe, wealthy son of a chief and

friend of the mine-owners, calls for intervention by Belgian and Rhodesian troops. The British hold back, but Belgian troops clash with Congolese.

Belgian paratroops are dropped in Luilaborg in the central Kasai Province.

Lumumba "warmly" thanks Soviet Premier Khrushchov for his greetings to the new Congo state. He strongly attacks the Belgians for interfering in the Congo.

UNO may intervene. The U.S. Ambassador confers with UNO representative Ralph Bunche and Congolese leaders.

In Leopoldville Congolese postmen go on strike, and telephone, teleprinter and meteorological workers meet the Congolese Minister of Communications to demand the replacement of Belgians by Africans.

11.7.60. Tshombe declares Katanga to be an independent republic.

Belgians and Congolese troops clash at the port of Matadi.

In Leopoldville peace is restored without Belgian intervention. Sabena workers strike demanding more Africanisation.

Lumumba asks fleeing Whites to stay.

12.7.60. After fierce fighting in which 50 Congolese are killed, Belgian forces capture Jadotville.

13.7.60. Belgian troops occupy Leopoldville after fight at airport. The Congo Government appeals to UNO and Ghana for aid.

14.7.60. The UNO Security Council agrees by 8-0, with Britain, France and Nationalist China abstaining, to send troops to the Congo, and calls for the withdrawal of Belgian troops.

The Belgians continue to fly troops into the Congo.

Lumumba and Kasavubu are mobbed by Whites at Leopoldville, who strike Lumumba.

Lumumba and Kasavubu announce the breaking off of relation with Belgium.

15.7.60. Khrushchov announces that the Soviet Union will give all help to the Congo and denounces an imperialist plot to knock off the independent African States one by one.

UNO troops arrive and are cheered by the Congolese who urge them to chase out the Belgians.

300 more Belgians arrive. Whites kill two Congolese.

"Earlier reports of casualties appear to have been exaggerated."

20.7.60. Nyasaland Congress leader Dr. Hastings Banda declares that the African States will refuse to recognise the Katanga as an independent state.

By now 40,000 Whites have fled the Congo in the past 3 weeks, leaving 50,000 Whites still in the country.

Lumumba declares that if Belgian troops do not leave immediately, he will call for Soviet troops. "We will accept aid from the devil if it helps the Congo."

21.7.60. Belgian troops start to withdraw as UNO forces take over. White refugees begin to return. UNO Security Council calls for the speedy withdrawal of Belgian troops.

22.7.60. Gleeeful American multi-millionaire, L. Edgar Detwiler, announces U.S. 'coup' in the Congo. A vast U.S. financial combine is, in terms of an agreement with the Congolese Government, to invest 2,000 million dollars (nearly £800,000 million) in the Congo and will take over the administration and the running of the country's economy for the next 50 years.

# NIGERIA—Next Independent State in Africa

Unlike Kenya and Nyasaland there has been no popular upsurge of revolt in Nigeria against British rule in recent years. Its advance towards political independence has been marked more by constitutional talks with the British Government than in open mass opposition. Yet, in many respects it is the cradle of the national movements in Africa. The struggle for liberation took on a mass character before it had developed to any extent in other British territories in Africa.

Nigeria is now on the way to becoming an independent African State on October 1 this year. The final elections under British rule were held on December 12, 1959. The first session of the new Federal Parliament unanimously approved a motion (in the presence of the British Prime Minister) to request the British Parliament to give legislative sanction to Nigeria becoming an "independent sovereign State" on October 1. It also urged the British Government "at the appropriate time" to approve Nigeria's desire to "become a member of the Commonwealth".

No one doubts that these measures will be adopted soon in the British Parliament. When Nigerian independence comes, it will take away from direct British rule more than half the population (35 million) of the remaining colonial empire.

## Blood and Tears

At a farewell party to the British Prime Minister, on the eve of his departure to Southern Rhodesia, the Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, Premier of Northern Nigeria, boasted that independence had been achieved "without blood or tears" and that:

"Never had a people progressed so smoothly and so quickly from dependence to independence."

(Guardian 18/1/60).

The Premier chose to forget that Nigeria has been the scene of big mass resistance movements for the past 30 years. There were the mass disturbances at Aba in 1929 against increased taxation, and the formation of the Lagos Youth Movement in the early 30's under the leadership of Herbert Macauley, pledged to resisting imperialist rule.

In 1944 came the formation of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NIGERIA AND THE CAMEROONS (N.C.N.C.), led by Herbert Macauley and Dr. Azikwe, which blazed the trail for the advance towards Nigerian independence. Together they campaigned all over Nigeria in 1946 against the so-called Richards Constitution, which first divided Nigeria into three regions. Herbert Macauley

died during the tour and Dr. Azikwe led the delegation to Britain in 1947 against the partition of Nigeria.

Later landmarks of the resistance movement were the upsurge in 1949, arising from the shooting of the Enugu coal miners, the victorious strike of 1950 (important advances had already been won in the 1945 general strike) and the mass opposition to the subsequent Macpherson Constitution of 1951 — which maintained the division of Nigeria into three regions.

## Regional Divisions

It was in the 1951 elections that new political parties sprang up — the ACTION GROUP mainly centred in western Nigeria; the NORTHERN PEOPLES' CONGRESS (N.P.C.), confined to the northern region, together with the NORTHERN ELEMENTS PROGRESSIVE UNION (N.E.P.U.), which became the northern ally of the N.C.N.C. It was the British imperialist division of Nigeria which enabled these regional political movements (the Action Group in the west and the N.P.C. in the north) to impede the N.C.N.C. (with its main influence in the eastern region) from achieving its objective of one single nationwide political movement to lead the struggle for liberation.

At the same time, the political objective of the N.C.N.C. (and its ally the N.E.P.U.) had an impact on the mass of the Nigerian people beyond the artificial boundaries. For a time both the Action Group and the N.P.C. (more concerned with regional than with all-Nigerian interests) were able to present the British Government with an excuse to hold up Nigerian independence. At successive constitutional talks in London from 1953 onwards either one or the other stressed its narrow regional interests, with the result that not until 1959 was the British Government forced to agree to Nigerian independence in 1960.

Alhaji Ahmadu Bello's claim of a "smooth and quick" transition from dependence to independence is an attempt to obscure the obstructive role of the N.P.C. (of which he is the leader) and to gloss over the unstable political relations which still exist among the Nigerian political parties. The artificial division of Nigeria has been a big factor in preventing the growth of one united liberation movement for the whole of Nigeria, recognised as such by the overwhelming majority of the Nigerian people. Here Nigeria suffers from a serious handicap which does not exist (or at least only on a small scale) in other British territories of Africa.

## Political Line-Up

The political line-up is revealed in the result of the elections in December last year. The constitutional pattern favoured the position of the N.P.C. The northern region has 18 million people, more than half of Nigeria's total population. So it was allocated 175 seats out of 312 total seats in the Federal Assembly. If the N.P.C. won all these seats it would have constituted a majority in the Federal Assembly on its own.

Actually, no one political party succeeded in getting an overall majority in the elections. The N.P.C. won 142 seats (all in the northern region); the N.C.N.C. 89 seats (including 8 won by its ally the N.E.P.U.), and the Action Group 73 seats, with 8 going to independents. The result is a coalition government of the N.P.C. and the N.C.N.C., with the Action Group in opposition.

On the surface, it looks as if the N.P.C. still retains a strong political hold on the Nigerian people in the northern region. This is clearly the case, but its electoral gains are not only due to its political influence. They are also due to the powerful grip of the N.P.C. on government administration in the north, especially in the "Native Authorities."

Expressing mainly the interests of the feudal emirs, the N.P.C. holds the key positions among the chiefs, the police and local judiciary. It makes use of all these key positions to man opposition meetings, put N.E.P.U. "agitators" in prison without trial, and to prevent the democratic expression of opinion.

While it is true that the majority of Nigerians live in the northern region, the exclusion of women from voting rights actually means there is a minority of electors in the north. Though the northern region was allocated a majority of seats the total electors were only three million in a total of nine million for the whole of Nigeria — of whom 75 per cent voted in the December elections.

## The N.P.C. Machine

Moreover, there was little opportunity to express opposition to the N.P.C. in the elections. The weekly journal WEST AFRICA (invariably sympathetic to the N.P.C.) published an eye-witness account of the elections in the Bornu Province. It pointed out that:

"If the farmers and herdsmen of Bornu, of whatever tribe, were dissatisfied with the government very few of them felt free to express it in the general election booth. The N.P.C. had begun the campaign with a con-

(Continued on page 16)

# MOST GO-AHEAD STATE IN AFRICA

Probably the most go-ahead country in all Africa today is the 18-month old Republic of Guinea. All visitors to the country are impressed by the selfless drive of its leaders, their close contact with the people both in town and country, the enthusiasm of the people of Guinea for the forbidding task of building up their homeland into a prosperous modern state and the almost complete absence of the corruption which bedevils the governments of many another West African state.

Even the French, still smarting from Guinea's almost unanimous vote in September 1958 to break away from the French Community in Africa grudgingly concede that the country has made rapid progress since independence, and view with alarm the disintegrating effect that Guinea is having on the swiftly collapsing Community.

One of the noteworthy features of Guinea at the time of independence was its lack of what is often called a "trained middle class ready to take over the responsibilities of government." Guinea had no African middle class to speak of, there were few African traders or merchants, and fewer than 50 university graduates.

## Policemen's Helmets and Lavatory Seats

When Guinea voted for independence, the French did everything in their power to bring the new Republic to its knees. The Guinea economy, completely colonial in character, was tied to that of France, and much of the administration of the country was in the hands of Frenchmen. As the French withdrew from Guinea they took everything with them — administrators, files, dismantled building parts, policemen's helmets and even lavatory seats. (When Guinea President Sekou Toure later visited Ghana Premier Nkrumah in his vast castle at Christian-bourge he expressed amazement not at the splendour of the building but at the fact that the British had not taken the ashtrays with them when they left Ghana!)

How is it then that Guinea not only managed to survive the drastic snapping of the "imperial connection", but managed to advance economically with seven league boots?

There was nothing special about Guinea's geographical position, nor about its size (there are larger and smaller countries in West Africa), nor about its prosperity or lack of prosperity (it is, e.g., richer than French Sudan yet poorer than the Ivory Coast).

The answer must lie in the nature of the leadership of Guinea's national liberatory struggle.

The Democratic Party of Guinea (P.D.G.) is today the only political party in the country, for at the time of independence the small opposition party merged itself with the PDG, with its leader becoming Minister of Education in the new Government.

The Party has 4,000 local communities throughout the country, and it is on these committees that the Government relies for the realisation of its policies. The PDG is truly popular in character — every village, town ward, office and workshop is represented, and membership of the organisation, far from leading to riches and power, involves greater responsibility and self-sacrifice than is demanded from non-Party persons.

## Freedom Architect

The leading personality in the PDG, and the architect of Guinea's independence (is, of course, President Sekou Toure, who has emerged in recent years as one of the most important personalities in Africa.

At 38 years of age, Sekou Toure can look back on a lifetime devoted to the service of the emancipation of his people. A grandson of a Moslem leader who rallied his people to resistance against the French colonialists, Sekou Toure was from his earliest days a bitter opponent of colonialism. Unlike most of the other West African political leaders, he did not receive a foreign university education, but is largely self taught. In fact he never got beyond primary school, and when eventually he managed to get into a technical school he was soon expelled for leading the students on a food strike.

He thereafter threw himself into the growing trade union movement in West Africa, which after the war was allied to the French General Confederation of Labour (CGT).

In 1956, however, by which time he was one of the leading trade unionists in West Africa, he helped bring about the creation of an independent West African trade union federation.

A brilliant and moving speaker, he is quite unabashed by his surroundings, whether they be the White House, UNO, Whitehall or the Kremlin, in all of which he recently delivered powerful addresses on behalf of the cause dearest to his heart — the liberation of all Africa.

To Sekou Toure the liberation of Africa means in the first instance the government of Africa by the peoples of Africa, but not only that. It also involves the social and economic emancipation of

the peoples of Africa, and the building up of a continent that will contribute its fair share of material and cultural riches to the world.

Working closely with Sekou Toure to achieve these aims are hundreds of devoted fellow party members, a large proportion of whose backgrounds are similar to his. They are dedicated men, many of whom have thrown up cushy jobs in order to help the advancement of the people of Guinea.

## Mecca for Free Africa

Guinea has in fact become a Mecca for all the independence-minded youth of French Africa, of whom quite a few have enthusiastically volunteered their services to the Guinea Government. A number of French experts and technicians, mostly, according to the Manchester Guardian, of the "extreme left", have also gone to Guinea to help train Africans in their various fields.

All these people rest their hopes on the common working men and women of the country. There is no division between rich and poor, administrators and governed, as is found in other West African states. Sekou Toure has declared that he is not prepared to go cap in hand to foreign countries for loans or investment. Although Guinea has accepted a £12 million loan from the Soviet Union, the main capital in Guinea is, according to Sekou Toure, "human energy."

In this respect he points to the Peoples' Republic of China as an example of a country which through the energy of its masses has produced industrial and technical wonders.

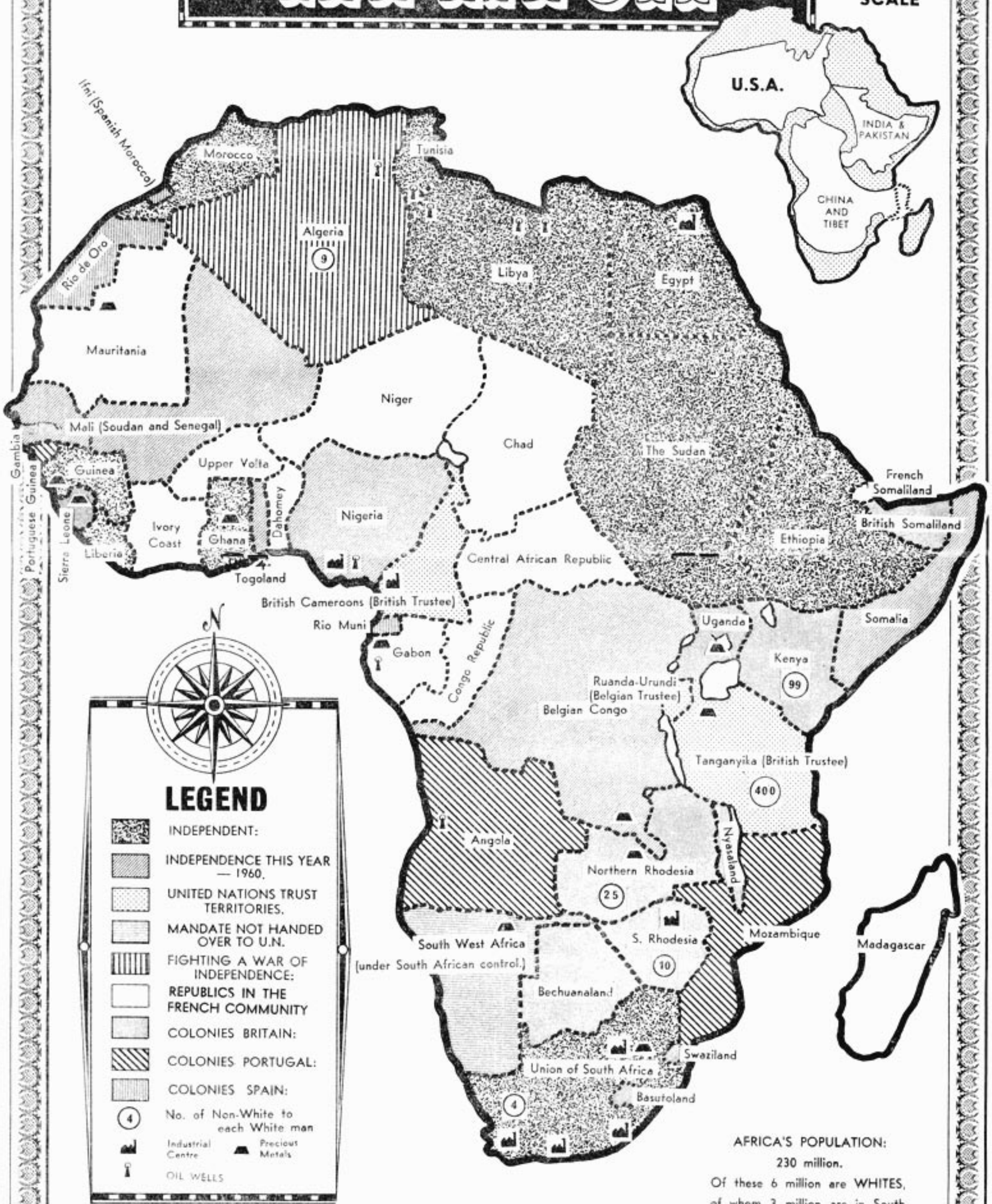
At the beginning of this year Guinea embarked upon her first Three Year Plan for economic development. The main emphasis of the Plan is on the complete transformation of agriculture to increase output on a basis of state operated plantations working side by side with village co-operatives.

Guinea is still faced with immense problems, not the least of which is the ownership of foreign capital of its main sources of industrial wealth, the bauxite mines and aluminium plants. But the Guinea Government and the PDG have shown in the past that difficulties serve merely to spur them on to greater efforts.





Already the rapid advances made by the people of Guinea have had a powerful impact on all the countries of West Africa. As the news of Guinea's progress spreads through the rest of Africa, so will more and more Africans look to that brave Republic for inspiration in their struggles for total liberation.

# FIGHTING TALK'S 1960 POLITICAL MAP OF AFRICA

SAME  
SCALE



## LEGEND

-  INDEPENDENT:
-  INDEPENDENCE THIS YEAR - 1960.
-  UNITED NATIONS TRUST TERRITORIES.
-  MANDATE NOT HANDED OVER TO U.N.
-  FIGHTING A WAR OF INDEPENDENCE:
-  REPUBLICS IN THE FRENCH COMMUNITY
-  COLONIES BRITAIN:
-  COLONIES PORTUGAL:
-  COLONIES SPAIN:
-  No. of Non-White to each White man
-  Industrial Centre
-  Precious Metals
-  OIL WELLS

AFRICA'S POPULATION:  
230 million.  
Of these 6 million are WHITES,  
of whom 3 million are in South  
Africa and 1½ million in Algeria.



# BAYONETS in BULAWAYO

"Bayonets in Bulawayo" headlined the Star at the end of July in a very inadequate description of the culmination of a week's events in Salisbury and Bulawayo. But there was more than inadequacy in the reports of both South African and Rhodesian press; there was political exaggeration and obscurity.

Generally the press painted a picture of rampaging, irrational race riots successfully crushed by a determined government. At the same time the press failed to give any emphasis to the sudden and eruptive nature of the events and their working class character.

These are certainly the most remarkable features of the Rhodesian events.

For the first time in the history of the country mass action was seen; and so strong was this action that for the first time troops in Southern Rhodesia were called up in support of the police and the first lives in the struggle for freedom were lost.

The other distinctive feature was that it was African workers who dominated events to the exclusion of all other groups.

In Salisbury the strike was one hundred percent effective in all factories and eighty percent effective in other industries.

In Bulawayo the workers seized control of the industrial area and factories.

The government found itself off balance. Despite the closest police attention to African political movements, they did not expect mass reaction to the arrests of African leaders and even less did they expect to have militant support. After a day's delay reinforcements were flown to Salisbury to deal with the situation, and meetings were banned in that city. The government was confident that Bulawayo would remain unmoved by events to the north.

However before the week was out, the troops had been flown back to Bulawayo and the Prime Minister appeared personally in order to deal with the situation.

How are we to account for the suddenness of the Rhodesian campaign in July and the nature of the support that it attracted? An answer can be approximated in tracing the development of a number of facts, political and economic.

## ECONOMICS:

### Farmers and Workers

Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing colony with primarily an agrarian economy based for the most part on the tobacco farm.

None the less, the economy is being industrialised at a rate which in 1958 was the highest in the world. This economy however has not proved viable and it was for this reason, more than any other, that Southern Rhodesia linked up with the North in Federation in 1953.

In return for a degree of political security for the north, the south obtained a measure of economic security from the revenue of the copper mines.

The arrest of three leaders of the National Democratic Party sparked off fresh crisis in S. Rhodesia. Our SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT traces the background to these events.

Over the past eighteen months Southern Rhodesia has been hard hit by a recession which started with the fall in the price of copper at the end of 1958. All of a sudden economic growth has come to a standstill.

There is a lack of detailed information on the extent of this decline and its effects especially in terms of rising costs and unemployment. However, the recession has been a major cause of the extent and militancy of the campaign.

Southern Rhodesia differs from South Africa not only in that it is more backward and unstable economically but also in terms of its social structure and government policy.

Firstly, the reserves of Southern Rhodesia are much larger in area than in South Africa and also are more prosperous. African farmers supply 80 per cent of the total agricultural output (excluding tobacco) for the market.

A labour supply has been insured by the Land Apportionment Act which functions much as the various Land Acts in the Union.

However, in 1951, a new policy was formulated in the Native Land Husbandry Act. This measure, unique in Africa, provided for the institution of individual land tenure in the reserves, improved methods of farming, and the limitation of one family to one plot of a minimum size, which could not be sub-divided.

By this means an increase in the flow of labour to the towns would be achieved (farm labour is mainly foreign), and a permanent settled urban African population formed which would have no ties with the land.

By June this year this act had been effectively applied to 75 per cent of the reserve area.

At the same time the wage level in Southern Rhodesia has always been far lower than in South Africa. Due to the prosperity of the reserves it was a widespread practice in the past for the family in the reserves to make an appreciable contribution to the support of those members temporarily working in the towns — notably in the way of food parcels.

The Native Land Husbandry Act has ended this practice by making a marked division between the rural and urban African, and surplus production in the reserves has become almost wholly orientated to a market. The result has been a drop in income for Africans in the towns and this gap has not been filled from any other source. These factors

have been cumulative and led to the situation in which the urban African population was ready for action.

## POLITICS:

### The Rise of the N.D.P.

Southern Rhodesia was without an organisation representing Africans until 1958 when in August the A.N.C. was founded by Guy Clutton-Brock at his mission station. It grew rapidly, but before it could adopt a clear programme or conduct a campaign a state of emergency was declared at the beginning of 1959, the A.N.C. banned and some two hundred leaders detained.

The government took this action not so much in the light of a threatened campaign, but to ensure security in the South while troops were moved to Nyasaland to deal with the situation which had developed there.

At the beginning of this year the National Democratic Party was formed after a year of political uncertainty and defection, due no doubt to the loss of leadership.

At the onset of the July events the N.D.P. was relatively small but growing rapidly.

As yet it had not formulated a detailed policy and programme of action, but it is a non-racial party which stands opposed to tribalism, racialism and imperialism. It aligns itself with the Pan-African independence movement and fights for political and economic equality for all. It differs from the still-banned Southern Rhodesian A.N.C. in that it concentrates its work more in the urban than in the rural areas, where the A.N.C. made its main impact.

From the first moment the N.D.P. was harassed by the police. Political work became increasingly difficult. Finally, three members of the national executive were arrested and charged under the Preventive Detention Act (an act which originated under Todd's premiership). The charge was an attempt to identify the N.D.P. with the banned A.N.C. and thus give grounds for the banning of the former.

Meanwhile the Congo had gained its independence and Rhodesia found itself for the first time with an independent African state on its borders. The national stay-at-home in South Africa, the release of Dr. Banda and other leaders from the Bulawayo prison due to pressure from Nyasaland, added to the feeling that the time had come for action.

The campaign which followed was quite spontaneous. The N.D.P. had neither the organisation nor the intent of planning mass action. For the same reasons the government too was caught unawares in the quick violence of the campaign.

Rather it was the N.D.P., finding themselves in a critical situation, who decided to give a lead and it was due to political and economic factors, some of

(Continued on page 16)

capital (Mogadiscio) on "Complete unification of the two territories under one flag, one President, one Parliament and one government."

Population: 500,000 from former British Somaliland and 1,250,000 from the former Italian zone. One million Somalis also live in French Somaliland, Northern Kenya and the Ethiopian area of Ogaden, and there is a powerful Pan-Somali movement throughout the Horn of Africa.

Ruling Party is Somali Youth League (S.Y.L.) aims at ending of tribalism and unification of all Somalis. Moderate wing of S.Y.L. regards immediate unity of five regions as impracticable. Extreme group of S.Y.L. headed by ex-S.Y.L. President Hagi Muhammed Hussein expelled in 1958 and formed opposition Greater Somalia League aiming at immediate unification.

Grows bananas, cotton.

**THE CONGO**  
see the articles in this  
issue

## MALI

Independence in 1960 as a Federation of SENEGAL and SOUDAN. Dahomey and Upper Volta were member states originally but dropped out later. Capital of Senegal: Dakar. Capital of Soudan: Bamako. Population: 6 million.

President of the Assembly: M. Leopold Senghor (the famous poet from Senegal).

Prime Minister of Soudan and Mali: Mr. Modiba Keita (Soudan).

The governing party in both countries is the Parti Federaliste Africain (which in Senegal, absorbed Senghor's Union Progressiste Senegalaise) which won all seats in elections in both countries.

The P.F.A. decided that Mali would obtain her independence by negotiation with France according to Article 78 of the French Constitution defined by M. Senghor as 'the more friendly procedure', rather than by the 'more brutal method of holding a referendum.' A French commentator observed that in contrast to the way Guinea got her independence Mali was trying to get 'Independence without Tears' — without being economically penalised by France.

Economically there are strong bonds between Senegal and Soudan, as the Soudan uses Senegal's port.

## MALAGASY REPUBLIC

Formerly Madagascar. Independence on June 26, 1960. Capital: Tanarive. Population: 5 million.

The popular post-war movement the Mouvement Democratique pour la Renovation Malgache (MDRM) was dissolved during the repression in which 90,000 lost their lives.

The Parti Social-Democrate led by President M. Philibert Tsiranana has a majority in the Assembly.

The traditional Malagasy rulers (mostly Queens) were of Malay-Polynesian stock mixed with African.

FIGHTING TALK, AUGUST 5TH, 1960

Africa's impatience to govern itself is based on a principle — that no one has a right to govern the continent of Africa, or any section of Africa, even for one minute. That is a principle, it is not a principle because we happen to be black, or we happen to live on this hot continent of Africa. It is a human principle anywhere in the world.

Julius Nyererere.

At a meeting in December 1959 of the Prime Ministers of the autonomous African republics within the French Community, M. Philibert Tsiranana said the independence of the Malagasy Republic must come at the same time as that of Mali.

## TOGOLAND

French Togoland became independent in April 1960 with an elected Assembly. The ruling party is Unite Togolaise, and the Premier M. Sylvanus Olympio. Its policy is for a fully united and independent Togoland.

Capital: Lome. Population: 1 million. Main crops: copra, cocoa, coffee, oil, groundnuts.

The division of the Ewe people of Togoland goes back to 1894 when four-fifths of them became a German Protectorate and the rest part of the British colony of the Gold Coast. Anglo-French forces occupied German Togoland and after World War II French and British Togoland were placed under United Nations Trusteeship. Until 1957 Togoland was administered in two parts, one by the British and one by the French as U.N. Trust Territories. In that year British Togoland was integrated in the new state of Ghana. The Government of Ghana favours the integration of French Togoland — a long, narrow strip on her eastern border — into Ghana so as to unite the Ewe people, but this has been rejected by French Togoland which wants, instead, that the part of Togoland now a region of Ghana to be returned to form one Togo state.

Economy based on coffee, copra, cotton, palm kernels.

The independence of Ghana will be meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa.

Kwame Nkrumah at the Accra  
All Africa Peoples' Conference

# The Plunge Ahead

**Independence later  
this year**

## NIGERIA

Independence on October 1, 1960. Capital: Lagos. Population: 35 million, about half in the Muslim North. Largest state in Africa.

Nigeria will achieve independence as a Federation of 3 regions: the northern, western and eastern. Independence struggle started in 1938 led by Dr. Azikiwe's Nigerian Youth Movement, and in 1944 the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) was formed. Nigeria's division into 3 regions has

led to the development of political parties on regional and largely tribal lines. In the East is the NCNC led by Azikiwe, in the West the Action group led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, in the North the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) which holds the majority (142 seats) in the Federal Parliament and is led by Sir Ahmadu Bella, the Sardauna of Sokoto, and is representative of the feudal Emirs of the North. Also in the north is the Northern Elements' Progressive Union (NEPU) ally of the NCNC.

The present federal government is a coalition of the NPC and the NCNC. The Action Group is in opposition. Federal Prime Minister is Alhaji Abuker Tafawa Balewa (NPC).

Nigeria produces coal, tin, peanuts. (See article on Nigeria on page 6).

# Algeria's Freedom War

**In Contest**

## ALGERIA

Fighting a war for independence.

Capital: Algiers. Population: 10 million including 1,250,000 White settlers.

Algeria is ruled as a part of France. The settlers dominate the country's economy, owning two-thirds of the good farming land and monopolising wheat and wine production.

The independence movement is led by the FLN (National Liberation Front) which has a Provisional Government operating from outside Algeria. Prime Minister in exile: Ferhat Abbas. (see article on Algeria).

"When we ask for equality we are told we are Moslems and Algerians, when we ask for independence, we are told we are Frenchmen."

Ferhat Abbas, Prime Minister  
of the Provisional Government  
of Algeria.

We invite all the non-African countries to declare themselves and to choose. It is time that Africa knows clearly which are the powers for her independence and those which are in favour of colonialism.

Sekou Toure at the  
United Nations.

# First Steps to Self-Government

## The French Pattern: Republic in the French Community

### FRENCH WEST AFRICA

#### Ivory Coast

Republic in the French Community.  
Population: 3,250,000.

Capital: Abidjan. More Whites live in this city than in the whole of Ghana. Potentially the richest of the French African countries with manganese, diamonds, cocoa, coffee, palm oil and banana crops. Artificial harbour at Abidjan.

Governing party: The RDA Party (Parti Democratique de Cote D'Ivoire) led by Felix Houphouet-Boigny who is one-man ruler of this territory and was a member of the French Cabinet for many years and a brake on independent movements in French West Africa.

Ivory Coast, together with NIGER are the two conservative strongholds in West Africa, charged with bringing economic pressure against Upper Volta and Dahomey to stop them joining MALI. The Ivory Coast and Volta have concluded a customs union in finance, transport and communications, with common control of the port of Abidjan.

#### Upper Volta

Republic in the French Community.  
Capital: Ouagadougou.  
Population: 3,250,000.  
President-Prime Minister: M. Maurice Yameogo.

Governing party of RDA holds 64 of 75 seats in the Assembly. Originally joined the MALI federation but withdrew under pressure of the Ivory Coast, the main route to the sea of this country. Member of the Customs union with Coast.

#### Dahomey

Republic in the French Community.  
Capital: Porto Nuovo. Population: 1,200,000.

Dahomey has a rich early civilisation famous in all West Africa.

Coalition government between three parties under premiership of M. Hubert Maga.

Dahomey originally joined the Mali Federation, but later withdrew.

#### Niger

Republic in the French Community.  
Capital: Niamey. Population: 2,500,000.  
Prime Minister: Hamani Diori.

The RDA Party pour la Communauté Franco-Africaine came to power in 1958 elections in a swing away from the government of the former Premier Djibe Bakary.

Niger is allied to the policies of the Ivory Coast.

### FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA

#### Chad

Republic in the French Community  
Capital: Fort Lamy.  
Population: 2,500,000.

Prime Minister: Francois Tombalbaye.

Governing Party: RDA and Chad Progressive Party.

Chad has had four governments since 1959, instability caused by differences between Moslem north and the south.

#### Central African Republic

(formerly Middle Congo and Oubaguishari).

Republic in the French Community  
Capital: Bangui.  
Population: 1,125,000.  
Prime Minister: David Dacke.

Governing party: MESAN (Movement for the Social Evolution of Black Africa)

#### Gabon

Republic in the French Community  
Capital: Libreville.  
Population: 420,000.  
Prime Minister: Len M'Ba.

Ruling party is an RDA party: Bloc Democratique Gabon.

Rich in manganese, iron, oil and timber.

#### Congo Republic

Republic in the French Community  
Capital: Brazzaville.  
Population: 700,000.  
Prime Minister: Abbe Youlou.

Ruling party: Union Democratique de Defence des Interests Africains.  
Main opposition leaders arrested after 1959 disturbances.

### MAURITANIA

Member of the French Community, aiming at independence.

Capital: Nouakchott.  
Population: 620,000, mainly Arab and Berber nomads.

Prime Minister: Moktar Ould Daddah.  
Governing Party: Parti du Regroupement Mauretania.

Morocco claims Mauritania as part of her kingdom.

Country is known to have rich iron deposits.

### FRENCH SOMALILAND

Capital: Djibouti. Population: 63,000 Muslims, 6,000 Arabs and 3,000 Europeans.

Overseas territory of the French Republic, with an elected assembly and almost complete control over domestic affairs since 1957.

Ruling Party is the Party for the Defence of Economic and Social Interests. Former premier Mahmoud Harbi of Union Republicaine was deposed by French in 1958 for vigorously demonstrating against federation with France. Demands for unification with Somalia have been intensified by the granting of independence to Somalia in July 1960.

## UNITED NATIONS TRUST TERRITORIES

### RUANDA-URUNDI

Capital: Usumbara. Population: 4,500,000 Africans and 7,000 Europeans.

The sister kingdoms of Ruanda and Urundi first fell under German domination, and after World War I were mandated to Belgium by agreement with the League of Nations. After World War II, they became U.N. trust territories administered by Belgium.

The population of 4,500,000 consists of some 200,000 Batutsi feudal overlords and 3,500,000 Bahutu peasant serfs. There are also a few Batwa, pygmy bush hunters and potters. The Belgian authorities use the Batutsi overlords to maintain colonialism, and present the bloody uprising of the Bahutu peasants against these overlords as 'inter-tribal' conflicts'. Mr. John Kale of Ruanda and a member of the steering committee of the All-Africa Peoples' Conference describes this tribalism 'as not prompted by tribal needs but agitated by colonialism in an effort to create national confusion.'

The Belgian authorities suppressed political parties. Previously Ruanda-Urundi was administered as part of the Congo, now the authorities have suggested some superficial reforms. On the other hand Mr. John Kale proposes preparatory reforms such as the restoration of human rights, the Africanisation of the present administration and the transformation of feudal chieftainship into a local government administration. He demands for his people direct elections by universal suffrage, the constitution of a national assembly, and a two-to-four year transitional stage to independence.

A U.N. visiting mission in 1960 will report on conditions in Ruanda-Urundi.

Economy: Tin, Coffee, Cotton, Gold.

### CAMEROONS

Before 1960 the whole of the Cameroons was under international trusteeship, first as a League of Nations mandate and then as a U.N. trust territory. Part of the territory was administered by the French and part by the British. This division dates from World War I when Anglo-French troops occupied the country and split it among themselves.

In 1960 the Cameroons comprises an independent republic (see Cameroons Republic under INDEPENDENCE in 1960) and the British Cameroons. The struggle of the Cameroonian people is for a united and full independent Cameroons.

### BRITISH CAMEROONS (NORTH AND SOUTH)

U.N. Trust Territory administered by British. Capital: Buea. Population: 1,400,000.

Premier is J. N. Foncha, leader of the National Democratic Party, which wishes to unite with the Republic of the Cameroons. Plebiscites are to be held some time between September 1960 and March 1961 to decide whether it joins the Nigerian Federation or integrates with the new Cameroons Republic.

# Grooming for Self-Rule

## TANGANYIKA

United Nations Trust Territory, administered by Britain.

Capital: Dar Es Salaam. Population: 9 million Africans, 112,000 Asians and Arabs, 23,000 Whites.

Leading political organisation is TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) led by Julius K. Nyerere. TANU has a mass following and swept the board with candidates of all races at the last elections to the Legislative Council. It has demanded an African majority in government and an end to the parity system. General elections are to be held in September 1960. TANU already has 58 of its candidates unopposed in the nominations for the 71 seats for unofficial members of the Legislative Council. Among Nyerere's Ministers of Government are 1 Asian and 1 White the rest being African leaders of TANU.

TANU slogan was 'Uhuru' (freedom), now changed to 'UHURU na KAZI' (Freedom and work.) Tanganyika has the world's richest diamond mine, grows sisal, coffee, cotton.

# Formula for Constitutional Advance

## The British Model

### SIERRA LEONE

British Colony.

Capital: Freetown.

Population: 1,767,000.

Prime Minister: Sir Milton Margai.

A conference in London this year will negotiate the date of independence for Sierra Leone. The date set down is April 27, 1961.

Economy based on iron ore, diamonds, coconuts, palm kernels.

### GAMBIA

British Colony.

Capital: Bathurst. Population: 275,000 mainly Muslim.

Governor appointed by Britain who rules with Executive and Legislative Councils.

Gambia is an enclave in Senegal which aims to incorporate it.

Main party: The Gambia Democratic Party led by Wallace Johnson.

Elections to the House of Representatives under the new constitution were held in May 1960. There was universal suffrage for the first time.

### BASUTOLAND

British Protectorate.

First National Council (40 out of the 80 members are elected by indirect vote) set up in January 1960.

Capital: Maseru.

Population: 800,000.

Leading party is the Basutoland Congress Party, led by Ntsu Mokhehle.

Main export: labour to the South African gold mines and farms.

## The Old Colonial Order

# Governed from London

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION: 3 Sides to the Triangle —

African Freedom Struggles, Settlers, the Colonial Office.

Population: 7,500,000 Africans, 280,000 Whites, 30,000 Indians.

Federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland enforced in 1953 by the British Government in the face of African opposition. The Federal Government deals with economic and foreign affairs, and governments of the three territories with local government. In the Federal Assembly of the 59 members only 12 are Africans. The United Federal Party led by Sir Roy Welensky holds 46 seats.

The Federal constitution is to be reviewed in 1960 and the white settlers governments have been pressing for greater Federal government authority and the relinquishing of Colonial Office control in N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Nyasaland's opposition to Federation and demand to secede from it (the demand also of the N. Rhodesian Congress movement) led to Britain declaring a state of emergency in the territories and the persecution of African freedom movements.

### NYASALAND

British Colony.

Capital: Blantyre.

Population: 2,250,000 Africans, 7,000 Whites, 10,000 Indians.

Chief export: Labour.

Widespread opposition to Federation came to a head in mid-1958, just at the time Dr. Hastings Banda returned home to lead the Nyasaland African National Congress. In 1959 when disturbances occurred the British charged the Congress

with plotting a massacre (rejected by the Devlin Commission) and under a state of emergency imprisoned Banda and some hundreds of others only to release them and then invite them to take part in London talks to map "further constitutional changes for Nyasaland."

### NORTHERN RHODESIA

British Colony.

Capital: Lusaka. Population: 2,250,000 Africans, 65,000 Whites, 5,000 Indians.

Rich copper mines yielding enormous profits.

The United Federal Party holds a majority in the Legislative Council. Qualified franchise keeps Africans off the voters' roll.

The Zambia National Congress split off from the African National Congress (led by Nkumbula) after charging that the older body's policy was one of collaborating with the authorities and Zambia (led by Kenneth Kaunda) was banned during the Emergency. A new party The United National Independence Party has been formed.

Economy based on copper and tobacco.

### SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Capital: Salisbury.

Population: 2,250,000 Africans, 65,000 Whites.

Self-governing colony. All-White parliament. Majority party: United Federal Party led by Sir Edgar Whitehead.

The African National Congress was

banned during the Emergency, and Congress leaders and members rounded up and placed in detention camps and prison. ANC representative in Britain is Joshua Nkomo.

The National Democratic Party now spearheads the freedom struggle and the arrest of three of its leaders sparked off the massive end-July protests in Salisbury and Bulawayo.

### KENYA

British Colony.

Capital: Nairobi. Population: 6,500,000 Africans, 65,000 Whites, 200,000 Indians.

White settlers own 24 per cent of the best land: The White Highlands.

Emergency regulations enforced during the so-called Mau Mau rebellion resulted in the banning of the Kenya African Union, the trial, imprisonment and exiling of its leader Jomo Kenyatta, and the loss of about 1,500 Kikuyu lives (as compared with 150 Whites dead). After 7 years the emergency regulations have been suspended but Kenyatta remains in exile and others still in detention.

The Peoples' Convention Party led by Tom Mboya and Kiano has made great strides forward, though it is still not permitted to organise on a national scale or hold meetings without special permission. As a result of the growing strength of the African political movement the recent constitutional talks in London promised an African majority in the Legislative Council, several seats for Africans in the Cabinet, a common voting roll and expanded franchise and land ownership changes. These moves are being strongly resisted by the White Settler movements.

# Censor in the Theatre

In the Publications and Entertainments Bill, submitted to Parliament during the last session, and now before a Select Committee, the Nationalist government is turning its mania for "controlling" everybody and everything to the live theatre. If the bill becomes law, it will strangle not only the press but the theatre. The Bill states:

"The Board may in writing or by telegraph . . . prohibit the giving of any public entertainment, provided the Board is satisfied that such public entertainment . . .

- (a) can have the effect of . . .
  - (i) giving offence to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Union; or
  - (ii) bringing any section of the inhabitants of the Union into ridicule or contempt; or
- (b) is contrary to the public interest or good morals."

The Board is to be appointed by the Minister of the Interior. It will be empowered to delegate to a single member of the Board its functions and authority in any area determined by the Board.

This could mean that one day Brian Brooke might receive a wire from someone representing himself as 'the Board' instructing Brooke to close down a new show because the show "is in my opinion contrary to the public interest." It would be too bad that Brooke will have invested a few thousands in the show!

The bill is one further step in the Nationalists' inexorable process of regimenting our MINDS, WHITE as well as BLACK.

Something could perhaps be said for powers to prevent the exhibition or dissemination of obscene material.

Democrats would abhor the publication in South Africa of racialist filth: the importation of degrading comics for children and pornographic novels for teenagers.

But we must not lose sight of some paramount facts about censorship.

Censorship cannot be based on the judgement of one individual or a few individuals. It would depend now, on the presence or absence of taste, learning, breadth of experience, religious convictions, wholesomeness of personality of a small number of people.

There would be a grave danger of warped, distorted judgements, based on personal, obsolete, neurotic prejudice, controlling what the people read and see on the stage.

The only satisfactory, lasting safeguard against undesirable stage and film shows is the power of educated public opinion.

This present bill could give one person power to close down a live theatre show. Supposing that person were a rigid Calvinist. One can easily picture such a person condemning and banning quite a few shows that have recently been pro-

vided — to the public's delight — by our professional managements. Should we have seen 'Look Back in Anger', 'View from the Bridge' and 'Tea and Sympathy'?

Supposing such a person were a supporter of 'Apartheid'. How quickly 'in the public interest' might he have banned 'Deep are the Roots', 'The Respectable Prostitute', 'The Kimberley Train', 'Try for White'?

The bill lays down that any person in charge of a cinema or theatre must admit 'free of charge any policeman or any

## Ring the Curtain Down

The publisher's blurb describes Garry Allighan as a journalist with "pungent style and descriptive phraseology." Maybe. But it requires something more than that to cover up the triviality of his much-publicised, glossy volume, "Curtain-up on South Africa." Mr. Allighan's prologue — pardon me, 'Proscenium' — is at great pains to explain that herein he deals with facts, only facts and nothing but the facts. Unlike all those, at whom he sneers so glibly, who have held up a distorting mirror to the South African scene ". . . with the benefit of no more than two weeks' stay in the country," (Page 13, middle of page) or "some for as long as three whole weeks." (Same page last line.) Mr. Allighan's facts may, perhaps, best be judged by his potted reference to the Sharpeville shooting, which contrasts so strangely with the facts produced to the Commission of Inquiry: "25,000 Bantu" says the pundit, "besieged 100 policemen in the police station to defy the Pass laws and, when faced with that huge mob of screaming Black people, the police opened fire out of what might be regarded as rather natural fear for their own lives." The rest of his facts are as fancifully coloured by his theories.

One of Mr. Allighan's facts, stated over and over again is that the Bantu people were 1000 miles north of the Cape Peninsula when the first White settlers established their community there and began spreading northwards. At that time, more or less, "the blood-fevered Bantu were on the war-march south." Later, "they advanced on the scattered (Dutch) farm settlements like hordes of crayfish in crustaceous armour brandishing fiercely-waving pincers." By publishers' standards this may be pungent; by mine it stinks. The imagery is false and deliberately misleading; the language is overcoloured like glorious Technicolor. But to continue: ". . . There were constant and murderous attacks on isolated farmsteads as they (the Bantu) sought mindless satisfaction of their animal desires."

". . . Xosas crossed the river nightly to raid the Boers' farms and capture their cattle. The first Kaffir war resulted and the Bantu were driven back across the river. For the following twenty years

person carrying a prescribed authority for admission'. It must be assumed that the policeman — as in the brothel cases — will not be sent to the theatre for pleasure but for duty as an agent of the Board, to which he will submit his report on the show. Will we see the day when a show will be banned on the recommendation of a constable?

The provisions of this bill for the control of live theatre must be thrown out in their entirety. Live theatre has led a precarious existence in South Africa for over a century and a half. I challenge anyone to prove that it has ever functioned 'contrary to the public interest or good morals'. Then let it carry on as it always has done.

the Boers kept the Bantu at their distance and a state of peaceful co-existence existed." Thus Allighan sets right the facts of history which others only distort.

It might appear from this that Allighan's technique is one of crude partisanship. Not so. His is a tricky technique, whereby he lashes out impartially at everyone, but draws a veil of utter silence across those facts which do not substantiate his "savage Bantu" theories. Thus there is no mention — no word whatsoever — of the causes of the clashes between Moshesh and the trek-ers, no mention of the conquest of the Western and fertile valley areas of Basuto territory, no reference to the European conquest and annexation of Natal, the O.F.S. or the Transvaal. On the subject of the Western Areas Removal Scheme, there is much blood-curdling local colour about the sink of iniquity and filth that was Sophiatown, much lavish praise of the cleanliness of Meadowlands, much sneering at Father Huddleston and those who opposed the removal — and not a word about the fact that Sophiatown was a freehold township where Meadowlands is not; no word that Sophiatown was "free" while Meadowlands is ringed by barbed wire fences, permit regulations and restrictions on freedom of movement; no word to indicate that if the aim were only slum-clearance houses could have been rebuilt in Sophiatown; no word of mention that the whole scheme was part of a Government plan to erase "black spots" from what is said to be a "white area." There is also a great deal about education for Africans and not a word about Bantu education.

But why go on? If these are 'facts', then I prefer to stick to fancies from a more honest — if less lengthily domiciled reporter. The publishers would be doing a service to themselves and the journalistic profession generally if they quietly rang 'Curtain-down' on Mr. Allighan's ham acting, before he gets given the bird. And for 21/- too!

Curtain-up on South Africa. By Garry Allighan. Published by Purnell. Price 21s.

## SOUTH AFRICAN PROTEST TO THE OLYMPIC GAMES

The South African Sports Association, representing more than 70,000 sportsmen in South Africa who are opposed to racial discrimination in sport, has formally charged the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association with racial discrimination in violation of the Olympic Charter.

SASA's letter to the International Olympic Committee says:

"We request that this charge be placed on the Agenda

of the meeting of the International Olympic Committee in Rome, and that the Association be required to answer the charge.

"We wish to point out that in no code of sport was an open unsegregated, non-racial trial conducted to determine the composition of the South African Olympic team, despite the efforts made by the various non-racial sporting bodies such as Weightlifting, Athletics, and Boxing to secure fair trials for the Olympic Games.

# The Class Cheered When Ex-Detainee Professor Returned

KGOSANA, LIBERALS AND LEFT AT CAPE TOWN UNIVERSITY

(By a Special Correspondent at U.C.T.)

The recent spectacular emergence from obscurity to international notice of Philip Kgosana, leader of the P.A.C. anti-pass campaign in Cape Town, has focussed attention on political trends at the University of Cape Town. It has been asked whether the fact that he was a student there had any influence on his political development. The answer to this question is probably no, though it is probably more than a coincidence that Nana Mahomo, "Minister of Culture" in the P.A.C. shadow cabinet and the "master mind" of the Cape Town anti-pass campaign, who escaped from South Africa in March and who is now engaged in propaganda work overseas, was also a student at U.C.T.

Until the beginning of this year Kgosana was not known as a political figure on the campus. His only activity was the selling of "Contact" — which he said he did because he needed the money.

Though it is unlikely that students in this country will in the near future play a leading role in the democratic struggle, unlike students in Turkey, Korea and Japan, for example, political activity at the U.C.T. is by no means insignificant. Like most of the White population many of the White students are uninterested in politics and are worried only about their own careers. But there are, however, a large number of students who are politically conscious.

### No Nats

Nationalist support at U.C.T. is so slight as to be negligible. The few students who do support Verwoerd keep very quiet about it! Most of the "non-political" students were passive supporters of the U.P. but recent events in South Africa have forced even these students to take an interest in politics and many of them are now supporters of the Progressive Party and can be seen running round the campus putting up posters urging the white electorate to reject the republic.

### Left and Liberal

By far the most active groups are the liberals and the socialists. The socialists strive for more than the abolition of racial discrimination as such and are by far the most militant group in opposing apartheid. Their total support is far less than that of the liberals — who are the dominant group on the campus — though their greater activity results in their having considerable influence. The general pattern when it comes to activity is that it is the left students who take up issues first. The liberals counsel caution and often oppose them at first but are forced later on to follow the lead of the more militant leftists. Examples of this pattern are the bus boycotts, the graduation ball demonstration, and the demonstration in town during the anti-pass campaign.

Many of the Non-White students have, in the past, been firm supporters of the various sections of the N.E.U.M., but its negative approach and the constant squabbles among its leaders have resulted in most of its supporters leaving it and

joining more dynamic and militant groups such as the Congress Movement and P.A.C.

### Bus Boycott

In September of last year apartheid was introduced, by government order, on a bus service operated by City Tramways specially for students to get to university. Left-wing students immediately called a protest meeting and a boycott of the bus service was decided upon. This boycott was so successful that within a couple of weeks the bus company withdrew the service owing to lack of passengers. The students organised a lift service whereby those students with cars gave lifts to the students and staff who had previously used the bus. This was a case where the socialist group took the initiative and were first opposed but later followed by the liberal group.

The boycott lasted until the beginning of this year. Only when all efforts to obtain a non-segregated bus-service failed, was the boycott called off and the bus returned.

### Dance Picketed

At the end of last year about 20 students of all races picketed a Whites-only dance held on the campus to celebrate graduation. They held placards with the slogans: "Away with all Apartheid" and "EQUAL STUDENT RIGHTS". For this they were ordered to appear before the Principal. They were not, however, disciplined. Mr. Duminy, the Principal, merely told them that he was hurt that he had been made out to be an apologist of apartheid. He said that he was against apartheid but that time was necessary to break it down. The students obviously thought that the time was now!

### Professor Cheered

During the anti-pass campaign in March this year, the students were by no means inactive. Six students (two Africans, one of whom was Mr. Kgosana, and four Whites) were arrested under the Emergency Regulations for their alleged political activities. Prof. H. J. Simons, one of the most popular lecturers at the university, was also arrested. The arrests caused widespread protests and when Dr. Simons returned to take his class he was greeted with cheers from his students.

Several mass meetings were held to protest against the police brutality at Sharpeville and Langa. One speaker told the students: "The time has come for students to show their support for the African people." This statement was greeted with cheering, and on Monday the 28th March — the Day of Mourning — businessmen going home in the evening saw nearly a hundred students standing on street corners in the centre of Cape Town with placards protesting at the shooting at Langa and Sharpeville.

At the present time there is little political activity at U.C.T. but this does not mean that the students have forgotten the events of March.

## CONGO DIARY

(Continued from page 9)

**August 8.** Lumumba discusses the Congo situation with Guinea. He protests at the U.N. refusal to enter Katanga. He is assured of support from Ghana, Tunisia and Morocco. The Abako Party, led by President Kasavubu is reported to be sliding out of its alliance with Lumumba.

**August 9.** The Security Council votes for a speedy withdrawal of all Belgian troops from the Congo. The Abako Party revives its pre-independence call for a Federal Congo.

**August 10.** The U.N. Secretary-General wants to freeze the position in Katanga until a new constitution for the Congo can be worked out. Tshombe claims that the Belgian Government has 'let me down'. He will continue to oppose the entry of UN troops, he says.

Lumumba calls for the "total liberation of the Congo."

**August 11.** Premier Lumumba is reported stoned and injured by a mob of Congolese rioters who attack his car. Later reports deny this. Lumumba announces that arrests will be made of those "plotting against the Congo."

**August 12.** There is more division between Lumumba and the Abako Party which continues to call for a federal government. Some Abako Party members are arrested.

**August 15.** A compromise agreement is reached between Mr. Hammarskjold and Mr. Tshombe which 'upholds the principle of non-interference by UN troops in the affairs of Katanga.' Mr. Tshombe interprets this as meaning that "All police tasks devolve on Katanga. U.N. contingents are here only to assure the security of persons and goods." The Katanga police and army would keep all their equipment. Katanga police continue to screen all Africans arriving from other parts of the Congo at the Elizabethville airport.

Financiers are discussing the Congo's Central Bank into which a balance of £14 million offered by Belgium earlier this year is to be paid. The World Bank "expresses a preference for this amount to be handled by Belgian Government agencies."

**August 16.** Mr. Hammarskjold flies back to report to the emergency session of the United Nations Security Council. He refuses to allow a Congolese deputation to travel with him in his UN aircraft, though the Congolese deputation will attend the Security Council meeting.

N. Levy of P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg is responsible for all political matter in this issue.

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Mr. Lumumba says that the Congo government has lost confidence in Mr. Hammarskjold's handling of the situation. He calls for a 14 nation group of neutral observers from the Afro-Asian group to be sent by the Security Council to ensure "the immediate and integral application" of its resolutions on the Congo.

Mr. Hammarskjold says: "The Security Council itself must judge the value of Mr. Lumumba's allegations."

**August 17.** The Soviet representative on the Security Council charges that Mr. Hammarskjold acted "in clear contradiction of the spirit and the letter" of all three resolutions on the Congo problem.

The United States State Department says Mr. Hammarskjold has the complete support of the United States in his "tremendously difficult task" of restoring peace in the Congo.

Mr. Hammarskjold proposes a delay of the Security Council session so that Mr. Lumumba can present his country's case in person.

**August 18.** The African states take part in behind the scenes discussion at UN headquarters to try to find a solution to the Congo problem.

## Bayonets in Bulawayo

(Continued from page 10)

which have been outlined above, that the N.D.P. found itself a mass base prepared for militant action. Support from other quarters was notably absent. The Central Africa Party failed to partake in the campaign, and Garfield Todd, one of its leaders, made an appeal to Britain requesting the suspension of the constitution. The appeal was ignored.

What of the future? The N.D.P. is undoubtedly in a stronger position than ever: political consciousness among the masses is at an unprecedented level. We can expect a more experienced leadership with a clearer view of its aims to emerge from the events. It should be stressed that the N.D.P. sees the struggle ahead as extra-parliamentary. They view themselves as a predominantly mass organisation and consider that a constitutional struggle, at least under the present franchise laws, which exclude the vast majority of workers and peasants from the vote, would be in the interest of only the emergent African middle-class. For this reason formal co-operation with the C.A.P. would be difficult, for the C.A.P. attempts to work exclusively in the parliamentary sphere and attracts no mass-following. Finally, the N.D.P. unreservedly supports and will do all it can, to work with the South African liberatory movement, in the fight for a free and independent Africa.

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