

AFRICA TODAY

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1957

**25
CENTS**



ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI

PORTRAIT OF A 'TRAITOR'

**THE AUTONOMOUS REPUBLIC
OF TOGOLAND**

By Sylvanus Olympio

THE CAPRICORN SOCIETY

By N. Kirilo Japhet

UN REPORT

By Keith Irvine

ACOA NOTES

TALKING DRUMS

REVIEWS

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Portrait of a 'Traitor'

The article which follows was written about the President of the African National Congress in South Africa, Albert J. Luthuli, before he was arrested on the charge of "treason" last December 5. The writer is someone close to Luthuli who understandably prefers to go unnamed. As an introduction to the article, it is appropriate to give a word of background about the arrests.

At the moment of writing (late December) 156 persons are being held without bail in a Johannesburg prison accused of treason. More than a year ago, the police conducted sudden raids upon the homes of hundreds of persons in South Africa with the object of finding evidence of disloyalty to the government. Masses of material were confiscated. No announcement was made of the government's next move until April 30 when the Minister of Justice stated in Parliament that before the end of 1956 about 200 people would be arrested for treason. Various leaders of non-white organizations in South Africa whose homes or offices had been raided knew they were bound to be imprisoned whenever the government struck.

Without any advance notice whatsoever, the arrests began early in the morning of December 5. Those arrested came from many parts of the country—Johannesburg, Capetown, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Worcester, Maritzburg. These centers are found in three of the four provinces making up the Union, no arrests occurring in the Orange Free State. Planes had been chartered by the government and were waiting for their prisoners to be loaded still in the early hours of the day. All of those apprehended were flown to Johannesburg.

Noted Persons in Custody

Among those in custody, in addition to Luthuli, are:

Professor Z. K. Matthews, well known to many Americans. He was in the United States most recently as the Visiting Professor of World Christianity at Union Theological Seminary for the academic year 1952-53. He is a leading layman in the Anglican Church. For many years he has been President of the Cape Branch of the A.N.C. He is the Acting Principal of the University College of Fort Hare.

Reverend J. A. Calata, Anglican priest in the diocese of Grahamstown. He is 63 years of age. He was at one time secretary of the Provincial Board of Missions and also was president of the Transvaal African National Congress.

Reverend W. S. Gawe, about 50. He is a priest of the Anglican Church in the diocese of Queenstown, and for some years has been chaplain to the African Congress.

M. B. Yengwa is about 35 and a member of the Bantu Congregational Church. He was formerly secretary of the Natal Branch of the Congress.

Rev. D. C. Thompson is a Methodist Minister in charge of the large circuit of Springs in the Transvaal. He is president of the Witwatersrand Mental Health Council. His community was so shocked by his arrest that his wife reported she had 250 phone calls in one day.

A complete list of those in custody has not at this writing reached the United States. Undoubtedly the case of the government will be based upon

the Suppression of Communism Act and the treason law. The Communism Act is so broadly worded that anyone may be labeled as a statutory communist whom the government states "aims at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between European and non-European."

The "Crime of Treason"

The crime of treason in South Africa, according to the *London Times*, is committed by those "who with hostile intention disturb, impair, or endanger the independence of the State, or attempt or actively prepare to do so."

The word "treason" brings to mind the speech Father Huddleston made before a meeting of the American Committee On Africa in the Spring of 1956. He said: "Although I am a South African citizen . . . and do very greatly love South Africa—I do not love the government of South Africa, nor its policies. . . In the eyes of the government that constitutes treason. And so you have before you a traitor to his country. I'm sorry but there it is."

* * *

Albert John Luthuli, President General of the African National Congress of South Africa, is a man outstanding both as a personality and as a symbol of the spirit of his people. In appearance and personality he is very much the leader: tall and broad-shouldered without being stocky, his broad, serene face with piercing yet kindly eyes and a firm mouth mirrors clearly his two outstanding qualities—a tremendous physical and emotional vitality, and a quiet but radiant something that many people, meeting him, have tried to analyze, and have generally ended by calling simply "goodness." He walks in dignity, as befits a man who has been in his life-time, teacher, lay spiritual leader, tribal Chief and the highest political leader of his people. Many an European aristocrat or Prince would envy him the nobility of his bearing and the easy, yet slightly formal courtesy of his manner.

Albert Luthuli, more than any other South African leader for many years, seems to observers to command the respect and affection—amounting almost to adulation—of his people, in almost every walk of life. Perhaps this is because he comes closer to being "all things to all men" (to quote Saint Paul out of context) than any of the others. He is not simply an educator—although for 15 years he lived and taught at Adams Mission College, in Natal, where he obtained his own education. Nor is he just a Christian leader, although the American Board of the Congregational Church in 1948 brought him on a nine-month tour of the United States, India and Ceylon, as the outstanding South African Christian layman. He is a third generation Christian, a lay preacher, and one whose faith pervades every area of his life. To tribal Africans his seventeen-year Chieftainship of the Makolwa (Zulu) Tribe, to which he was elected by popular vote and for which he gave up him comfortable home and the much more remunerative position at Adams College, clothes him in the dignity of that traditional office, even though the power and pomp which once went with it has long since vanished—and even

though the South African Government deposed him, in 1953, for not being politically "amenable." And to politically-minded Africans, he has been since 1951, Provincial President of the Province of Natal, and since 1952 President-General for all South Africa of its by-far-most-influential "non-white" political organization—The African National Congress. It is in this last capacity—that Albert Luthuli is today most widely known.

Defiance of Unjust Laws

The years of his leadership of the African National Congress have been stormy and difficult ones, and present indications seem to point to even stormier ones ahead. In 1953, Chief Luthuli, with the aid of many able lieutenants, continued and intensified the famous Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, begun under the leadership of former President Dr. Moroka. Almost ten thousand Africans and Indians—and a handful of "liberal" Whites—went voluntarily to prison for three months, as a protest against the Pass Laws, Segregation Ordinances, and other unjust government measures. This Passive-Resistance Campaign was conceived and carried out in the Gandhian spirit of "Non Violence"; Chief Luthuli, himself a Christian pacifist, is very proud of the fact that not a single act of violence in the more than a year-long struggle can be attributed to Congress "volunteers," although police provocation and brutality was at times severe. The Campaign was finally brought to an end only by a panicky government's passage of new and extremely severe laws, which the resisters were not psychologically or financially prepared to defy.

Chief Luthuli himself, during the Defiance Campaign, had received a government "ultimatum": "Resign as President of the A.N.C., or be deposed as Chief." The Chief replied that he did not see any inconsistency in being at one and the same time a Tribal Chief and a political leader, but if he must make the choice he would continue to serve his people in the wider capacity—that of A.N.C. President. (I might comment here that this, although an honor, is an office quite without financial remuneration,—and Albert Luthuli has a wife and seven children.) The result of this private defiance was ex-Chief's first "Ban," in June of 1953. At that time he was prohibited for one year from attending public gatherings, or being found in the larger cities of the Union. At the expiration of this first ban, the ex-Chief took up his duties as leader of the A.N.C. with renewed vigor, but he was allowed his "freedom" for only a month. In early July, 1954, a Mass-Meeting had been planned in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, to protest against the government's removal plan, and President-General Luthuli was to have made his first big speech to his people since his banning. A huge, expectant crowd had gathered. As the ex-Chief set foot to the ground at Johannesburg Airport that day, he was served with two notices by the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart: one prohibiting him from attending public gather-

ings, the other confining him to the magisterial district of Lower Tugela, Natal (a radius of about fifteen miles around his Groutville home) for two years. This second ban expired in July 1956.

In spite of the physical immobilization of President Luthuli and many other of the African and Indian Congress leaders—also banned or exiled—significant progress, particularly toward a spirit of unity among non-Whites, has taken place under the ex-Chief's planning and administration. The cooperation which has been consistently growing during the last five years between Africans, Indians, Coloreds and a small group of "liberal" Whites—was demonstrated in startling fashion in June of 1955, when the African National Congress called all the above groups to a two-day conference in Johannesburg for the purpose of formulating and adopting a "Freedom Charter." The police did not forbid the meeting because they were sure it would not amount to much—most of the leaders were banned anyway and could not attend. To everyone's astonishment more than three thousand accredited delegates came by bus, by train or private auto from all parts of South Africa, and about the same number of interested listeners swelled the crowd. This "Congress of the People" as it was called, was the first significant demonstration of Non-White unity in the history of South Africa, and was a tremendous step forward for the Liberatory Movement, as well as a personal triumph for Albert Luthuli, who has long championed the idea of unity and interracial cooperation as opposed to that of the narrow African Nationalism advocated by minor, but sometimes quite vocal, groups.

Freedom Charter

In this regard it might be interesting to note what Mr. Luthuli has to say on the subject of "African Nationalism." In his Presidential Message to the Annual National Conference of the A.N.C., held in Bloemfontein in December, 1955, he writes: "The African National Congress, having accepted the fact of the multi-racial nature of the country, envisages an ALL-INCLUSIVE AFRICAN NATIONALISM which, resting on the principle of 'Freedom for all and unity of all in this country,' embraces ALL people residing in Africa and paying her their undivided loyalty and allegiance, regardless of their racial and geographical origin.

What does this man of great tolerance and broad humanity see for the future of South Africa? I heard him answer that question once, and I remember his very words: "South Africa will be free," he said with calm confidence. "South Africa will rise again. I may not live to see that day, but my children will surely see it. I know that God is good—so I know, too, that our beloved land will be free. It is for us to devote ourselves to the task of human welfare, to the cause of making liberty and happiness the possession of not only our own country but of all the oppressed people in the world."

The Autonomous Republic Of Togoland

By SYLVANUS OLYMPIO

Introduction

On May 9, 1956, in a plebiscite conducted by authority and under the supervision of the United Nations, after four months of intensive preparation, a majority of the people of Togoland under British Administration voted for the integration of their territory with an independent Gold Coast. The UN Trusteeship Committee, on December 5, approved the results of the plebiscite and thus the end of UN trusteeship over this area when the Gold Coast becomes the independent country of Ghana on March 6, 1957.

One of the arguments advanced against this integration has always been that it would embolden France to attempt to end UN trusteeship over its slice of Togoland. On October 28, the French, after some two weeks of preparation, conducted a referendum in French Togoland giving the voters the choice between, on the one hand, the integration of the area, as an autonomous republic, into the French Union, and, on the other, the continuation of the trusteeship status. Three fourths of those voting chose the first alternative, but it is said that the opposition, or nationalist parties, boycotted the referendum altogether. France is now asking the United Nations to end its trusteeship over French Togoland, although the UN, not having authorized the referendum, had refused to lend it a semblance of legitimacy by sending observers to it.

The following brief comments by Mr. Sylvanus Olympio on the newly established "Autonomous Republic of Togoland" should be read against this background. Mr. Olympio is the leader of the All Ewe Congress in French Togoland and, for several years now, has been the chief spokesman of the nationalist group in French Togoland before the United Nations.

Salient Features

Since my arrival in New York I have been questioned by all kinds of people about the new so-called Autonomous Republic of Togoland. "Is it a real republic?", "Have we an African President?" "What is his name?" "What does our new passport look like?" etc. Quite obviously the press campaign launched by the French Government has worked. A favorable impression has been created to the effect that the new Autonomous Republic of Togoland is the "real" thing. I am therefore very glad to have this opportunity of giving the readers of AFRICA TODAY a short account of the salient features of our new Autonomous Republic.

By means of decree No. 56-847 of August 24th, 1956, the French Government instituted the new Autonomous Republic. It was inaugurated on August 30th, the day on which the decree

appeared in the Togoland Official Gazette.

The affairs of the Autonomous Republic are managed by a Legislative Assembly, a Council of Ministers and the French Governor, now called High Commissioner. The decree gives a detailed list of the matters which fall within the competence of the French High Commissioner and those which come under the local Legislative Assembly and the Council of Ministers. The Prime Minister is appointed by the French High Commissioner, but such appointments must be ratified by the Legislative Assembly. The French High Commissioner presides over cabinet meetings.

According to article 26 of the decree, the French Government, through its representative, the High Commissioner, has powers of legislation and regulation in the fields of internal affairs and defense; personal and property status of French citizens; the penal code, the criminal investigation code, the commercial code and administrative disputes; the administration of justice under French law and the organization of administrative tribunals; the system of public freedoms and the protection of their exercise; the currency and foreign exchange system, external trade and the regulation of customs matters; curricula and examinations in secondary and higher public education; the labor code and the laws and regulations relating to mineral resources.

The Autonomous Republic continues to be represented in the central organs of the French Republic, such as the French Parliament and the Assembly of the French Union.

Steps in the Right Direction

It is thus clear that the Autonomous Republic is far from being a truly self-governing republic, let alone an independent sovereign state. The new democratic institutions which have been created in Togoland under French administration are steps in the right direction, but they must be made to become real and effective. Today in Togoland under French administration, democratic liberties such as freedom of speech and assemblies exist only on paper. Elections are not free; all the local councils and the Legislative Assembly are made up of members of one party only—the Government or Administration party. Maybe the French are experimenting with the establishment of a totalitarian state in West Africa.

The Capricorn Society

By N. KIRILO JAPHET

The CAPRICORN CONTRACT adopted at Salima, Nyassaland in June, 1956, can, with its 5 implementing PROVISIONS and APPENDIX, be obtained from the London Office of the Capricorn Society at 9 Grosvenor Street, London, W. This is the proposal for which the Tanganyika National Society (the local organization of Capricorn) is attempting to enlist "an irresistible weight of multi-racial opinion" in this UN Trust territory, and which, in the form of "Capricorn Citizenship Bills" it says it will introduce for acceptance in the Legislative Council.

The CONTRACT declares, "The vote is NOT a natural right but a responsibility to be exercised for the common good. . . . If the vote is not a right open to everyone but a responsibility of those who have shown themselves fit for it, there must be degrees of fitness among those who have earned the privilege." With this introduction to its unique scheme of "the multiple vote" the Capricorn CONTRACT sets forth a multitude of restrictions which it calls "broadening the franchise."

Voting

Under the CONTRACT's franchise PROVISION most adult Europeans would qualify in many ways for many votes. Only one or two percent of African men and women now living in Tanganyika could reasonably hope to get any vote in their lifetime! Almost every European would be given not only one but up to six votes—only two years after arriving from overseas. A few thousand European residents would thus have no difficulty in perpetuating their domination in the Legislative Council over 8,000,000 Tanganyikans. Under the present Parity Principle, introduced by His Excellency, Governor Sir Edward Twining, we have already progressed far beyond these Capricorn improvements. Could the Government in London condone this Capricorn scheme for reversion to unfair representation which it has not allowed in any other colonial area? Could the Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee of the UN General Assembly permit such unusual manipulation of affairs under their Trusteeship?

The Preface of the Capricorn Handbook concludes: "When all human beings in Africa can aspire to the full status of citizenship then we believe we will have achieved a living partnership between the races, and only then will Capricorn Africa fulfill its destiny." It is our experience that the existence and rapid growth of TANU is a living demonstration that large numbers of our people do aspire right now to responsibility for the state which governs them, whether self-appointed guardians will admit their readiness or not.

The land we depend upon for security as well as a daily living is a much more serious matter. Here, again, the Capricorn CONTRACT PROVISIONS show an appalling lack of understanding of human and civilized values. PROVISION II says, "All existing and individual rights in land shall be recognized and confirmed by law." To overseas observers who don't know Africa this sounds reasonable enough, doubtless. However, the key words are "individual" and "existing." The rights of all European individuals would be protected. All existing European landholders have title on freehold or long term leasehold *as individuals*. No Africans under the existing laws are permitted to hold land *as individuals*. What follows then takes on a very different meaning.

Land Reform

Under the CONTRACT all land would be made available gradually for purchase by all persons without regard to their race. But we ask immediately, who would be able to afford to "purchase"—for money—any sizeable amount of land, except, of course, the immigrant from overseas with accumulated wealth or credit backing? Certainly not for a long time many Africans; for few have cash to spend for land. Our customs of land use and transfer are based not on buying and selling and speculation manipulated by those with the most money. Our customs are based upon the actual primary needs and usage of each head of a family with his wife, children and other dependents.

Examine this "Land Reform Provision," as Capricorn calls it, closely. It confesses in print that ". . . legislation to implement this principle may in certain instances involve the abrogation of treaties and of solemn pledges to various communities." After having removed the protection of Her Majesty's Government by obtaining "Dominion Status" and then being unwilling (according to their franchise provisions) to permit the majority to have any real proportion of representation at all, the Capricorn CONTRACT goes on to suggest that "the state" (*their* state) set aside the solemn contract promises and treaties of HM Government. Such a public proposal is an amazing confession.

Maintaining African Tradition

It is transparently obvious that the CONTRACT lavishes most of its attention on ensuring such standards as are native to the European community. Many Africans are not convinced of the self-advertised "superiority" of western standards. Their sheer materialism, in spite of their claims to the Christian philosophy, and their anarchic individualism often seems to produce the most frustrated masses of individuals and the most savagely deestructive nation-states. If "Western civilization" does not succeed in giving us more godly character, lawful human relations and joyful living than most of the European nations have, there is no good reason for Africans to rush to desert African traditions.

Report From the UN

By KEITH IRVINE

The Anglo-French attack on Egypt, which preceded the opening of the Eleventh General Assembly in November, succeeded, among other things, in still further crystallizing the anti-colonial mood shared by the majority of delegations. The UN's anti-colonialism has not been lessened by the entry of the newly-independent African states. The full implications of the situation were summed up in the comment of one American lady correspondent who remarked, after a glance at the sea

of faces in the General Assembly "The United Nations is turning brown!"

The Assembly's first official act was to admit three African states—Tunisia, Morocco, and the Sudan—bringing the present membership of the UN up to a total of 79 states. Meanwhile, while the great powers struggle over Suez and Hungary, the question of Algeria is not to be raised in January. M'hammed Yazid and Abdul Kadi Chanderli, both members of the Algerian Front of National Liberation, have both been active at the UN where they have found much sympathy for their cause—so much so that the French, increasingly isolated, are weighing the advantages and disadvantages of another walk-out when Algeria comes up on the agenda. Nor have French spirits been raised by the visit to the UN of Ferhat Abbas, once a pro-French moderate, but now also with the F.L.N., who recently passed through New York on his way home after a three-months tour in Latin America, devoted to advocating the Algerian cause. It is of interest that the U.S. delegation has shown itself distinctly friendly to them, and that Cabot Lodge has not infrequently been heard offstage during debates, briefing Senator Knowland in a loud diplomatic voice

on such subjects as the short-sightedness of French policy in North Africa, and the inevitability of Algerians winning independence.

British to Leave Togoland

More inconspicuously than the General Assembly, its Fourth Committee has meanwhile been concerned with the future of British Togoland. After hearing nine African petitioners, the committee heard Kobla Gbedemah, the Finance Minister of the Gold Coast, give guarantees that the South Togoland should enjoy equal rights with the people of the Gold Coast should the result of the recent plebiscite be approved, and the two territories be united. Minutes later a problem that has been occupying the UN in general and the Trusteeship Council in particular for the past nine years was officially settled. It was decided, 58 to nil, that British administered Togoland should be unified with the Gold Coast when the Gold Coast—renamed Ghana—achieves independence on March 6. The British were requested to notify the UN as soon as this was done.

Sanctions Against South Africa?

South Africa is still boycotting debates on South-West Africa, the UN Trust Territory which South Africa has seized in defiance of UN and world opinion. For years UN debates on the subject have been primarily concerned with the legal position concerning the hearing of petitioners, etc. However on June 1, 1956 the International Court of Justice ruled that the UN was legally entitled to grant hearings to petitioners on matters relating to South-West Africa—a ruling which at last and at least permits the Fourth Committee to move forward to a consideration of what might be done. Meanwhile it listened to two petitioners — the Rev. Michael Scott (representing the Herero, Berg Damara, and Nama tribes of South-West Africa), and Mburumba Getzen, the only Herero who has succeeded in leaving the territory in

recent years, and who is now studying at Lincoln University. Getzen quoted a Herero proverb—"He who swallows a large stone has confidence in the size of his throat"—remarking that South Africa must take care in swallowing South-West Africa, or she might be choked. Scott noted that South Africa refused to answer the charges made against her, refused technical help for the peoples of South-West Africa, and even spoke of withdrawing from the UN altogether. "Under these circumstances," he said, "surely the time has now come for the UN to consider whether some form of sanctions by member states may not be necessary if South Africa is to be saved from herself."

French in Trouble Over Togo

The Trusteeship Council has been debating French Togoland, where the situation has been altered by two unilateral actions taken by the French — firstly the holding of an unofficial "referendum" (see AFRICA TODAY Sept-Oct 1956) which was boycotted by the African nationalist parties and was refused UN recognition, and secondly the lightning creation of a puppet African government under the pretense that French Togo is now an autonomous republic within the French Union. The French are now attempting to get the UN to accept this highly dubious situation as a *fait accompli*. Their task, however, is proving even more difficult than it might otherwise be in view of the presence of such able representatives of Togo as Sylvanus Olympio of C.U.T., A. L. Santos of JUVENTO, and Dr. Andre Akakpo of the Mouvement Populaire Togolais. Although at this stage there is no clear indication of what the outcome may be, African observers do not discount the possibility of a sudden change in French policy, such as French acceptance of a legal plebiscite in place of the invalid October referendum, or even of the granting of total independence as "an experiment." French policy towards West Africa has been so erratic and unpredictable since the

"loi-cadre" of June 1956 (which opened up vistas of local autonomy hitherto unthinkable) that no new development need now cause surprise.

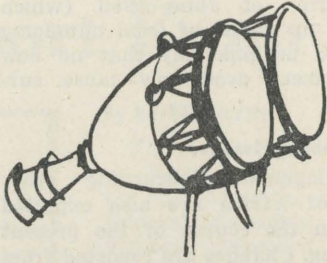
Forthcoming Issues

Developments concerning other parts of Africa are also expected later in the course of the present situation. Changes are reported from the French Cameroons, where 70-80 per cent of the electorate are reported to have boycotted the municipal elections in November. The Fourth Committee has agreed to hear Kingue Abel of the Jeunesse Democratique du Cameroun — the Cameroonian nationalist party banned by the French after the events of May 1955. It has also agreed to hear Julius Nyerere, the Tanganyikan nationalist leader, now visiting the States under Catholic auspices.

Apart from this the General Assembly may consider the Somali-Ethiopia frontier dispute. There may also be some developments as a result of the investigation of the constitutional aspects of Portugal's attitude towards her African colonies. These colonies are notoriously mal-administered, and forced labor is alleged to be widely practiced there. Yet Portugal refuses even to supply the UN with information on conditions there, since she contends that these colonies are not colonies but in reality "parts of Portugal" that happen, by some quirk of fate, to be located overseas in another continent.

AFRICAN PAMPHLET SERVICE

New pamphlets from varied sources are recommended by the American Committee on Africa from time to time and may be ordered from its office at 4 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y. A complete listing of pamphlets carried by the ACOA will be sent to those requesting it. New titles are continually being added.



talking drums

U.S. and Colonialism

Has there really been a fundamental shift in U.S. policy on Colonialism? This is a question, to which many of us are seeking the answer, these days, in the lobbies of the United Nations.

Senator Humphrey, who has been very active at the United Nations during this session of the General Assembly, as one of the Five official U.S. representatives, believes that "a basic change has come after Suez." He stated that the United States could not now go back to the old policy of going along with Britain and France on their colonial policies at the risk of alienating our new friends in Asia and Africa. The Senator from Minnesota felt that this would be revealed by a new attitude of the United States on the Algerian question. Previously the U.S. had opposed discussion of this subject by the United Nations. However, there is now some talk about supporting a "cease fire" resolution and UN offers of conciliation of the two year old war.

There appears to be a dawning realization in our State Department that the balance of power now lies in the hands of the Asia-Africa bloc and the United States will have to reframe its policies accordingly. This could mean that the UN will become much more of an instrument for the realization of freedom and independence for African peoples.

Treason in South Africa

If ever there was a nation bent on a course of self-destruction it is South Africa. Blinding her eyes to the experience of other nations and closing her ears to the appeals of the world community, South Africa has "temporarily" withdrawn from the United Nations so that the pow-

erful white minority can continue to bully the colored majority into submission.

The round up of some 140 suspects of "treason" since December 5th is one more big step on the path of self-destruction. Among this group are several of South Africa's most respected citizens both white and colored. Such courageous Christian leaders as Chief Albert Luthuli and Professor Z. K. Matthews are among the many liberal enlightened leaders against whom the incredible charge is made of "treason" and "communist subversion."

There may be communists among this group of 140 but the South African Government is obviously using the fear of communism as a camouflage for their real intentions of crushing the genuine democratic aspirations of the people. For more than a year the Government has planned this move. The trap has been sprung. What will be the reaction of the leaders of America and Western Europe to this act? Will they leave it to the communists alone to denounce the South African tyranny? This is not treason for which these men are being imprisoned but the love of freedom.

Nothing now will stop the march of these tyrants except unified and direct action by the freedom loving nations in the United Nations.

Last Chance in Kenya

British officials captured Dedan Kimato, leader of the Mau Mau rebellion, indicating that the shooting phase of the war between Africans and Europeans in Kenya has come to a close. Many will agree with the warning stated in the British paper the *News Chronicle* under the heading "Last Chance in Kenya," that now the Government must press

ahead with the much needed reforms despite the resistance that will inevitably be raised by the Settlers. This paper points out that the present reforms were wrung out of the Government by the emergency and if they are blocked by reaction, "the ultimate result will be to destroy the Europeans."

Dominion Status for the Central African Federation?

With the accession of Sir Roy Welensky to the Prime Ministership of the Central African Federation, the Settler demand for self-government and freedom from control by London is already becoming intensified. They fear that a Labor Government will not look kindly on their aspirations because of African opposition. Therefore the Settlers are anxious to achieve this aim before the fall of the Conservative Government in England. Sir Roy Welensky believes that if the Gold Coast is entitled to dominion status so is the Federation. He threw out the warning that Settlers might take matters into their own hands with these words: "If Her Majesty's Government do not recognize that we have a reasonable claim for her to reconsider advancing the date for reconsideration of the Constitution then I believe we shall have to consult the electorate on the next step to be taken."

From Gold Coast to Ghana

"If not with reason then with emotion the name Gold Coast will be changed to Ghana," K. A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance to the Gold Coast, said at a public meeting in December sponsored by the Gold Coast Students' Association in New York. To him "Gold Coast" connotes

wealth extracted from the country, the impoverishment of and the subjection into slavery of its citizenry. Mr. Gbedemah, talking on the constitutional evolution which has led to the setting up of March 6, 1957 as the day of independence for his country within the British Commonwealth, explained that Ghana was a flourishing kingdom lying in the Southern Sudan in the Middle Ages. It had trade with Spain and Portugal and the North African countries, and exchanged professors from its famed university with those of the University of Córdoba. When Ghana was sacked by invaders, the country's inhabitants fled southward to what is now the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, giving the people of the contemporary Gold Coast an emotional tie with that medieval kingdom.

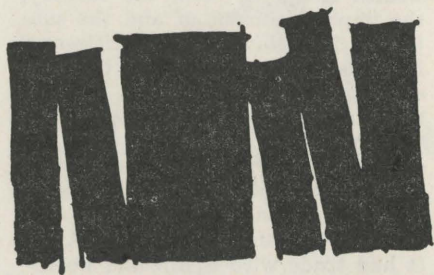
A bizarre and spectacular Celebration of Independence costing some \$2,240,000 will begin at a midnight March 5th session of Parliament in which all M.P.'s are to swear allegiance to the new Ghana. The following night will see every village and town of the bush as well as the cities and Accra, the capital, flooded by the light of bonfires and fireworks symbolizing the freedom that follows the break in the last link of the colonial chain with Britain. In between these two events will come the State opening of Parliament, State church services, the unveiling of a Monument to Independence, (which is being feverishly rushed to completion), banquets and dances and formal receptions to which all UN members have been invited. The British Crown will be represented by a member of the Royal family.

Appreciation To Keith Irvine

For about two years, the publication of *Africa Today* has been due primarily to the creative efforts of one person, Keith Irvine. Both in its original mimeographed form, and in its new printed format, Keith Irvine devoted the same tireless effort and devotion to it. This was truly a labor of love by Keith Irvine. His time was volunteered.

But now Keith Irvine's "other" work is more demanding, and at least for the foreseeable future, he will not be able to undertake the total editing responsibility. The Editorial Board, which Keith was responsible for calling together, wish to express their deeply felt gratitude for all he gave to this publication. We are glad to announce that he will continue to write for *Africa Today*. We look forward to continued close cooperation with him.

The Editorial Board



African Review

AFRICA'S CHALLENGE TO AMERICA. By Chester Bowles. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956. 134 pp. \$2.75.

Mr. Bowles has fired another literary shot that will be heard around the world with his forthright call for a reconsideration of American policy of support for European colonialism in Africa. In this volume, a series of lectures which were delivered at the University of California, Mr. Bowles places Africa within the context of our world in revolution. He maintains that it will be fatal for the West to attempt to withstand the tremendous surge of nationalism that is taking place throughout the Dark Continent. In a concise manner he sketches the history of the conquest of Africa and the interests that have shaped the differing colonial policies of Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and Portugal. He warns that only the British in West Africa seem to be showing any real understanding of how to ride with the tide of nationalism. However, this is not a blanket denunciation of colonialism, and Mr. Bowles points to the constructive aspects of various colonial programs. Concerning the areas of white settlement, especially South Africa, he raises the question that Gandhi asked: "Is the white man's pride incurable?"

The section on "An American Approach to Africa" is of basic importance. Here Mr. Bowles demonstrates how U.S. policy in Africa has tended, on the whole, to support the colonial powers. It is his opinion that we should return to the five princi-

ples that Cordell Hull enunciated prior to formation of the United Nations. One of these requested the setting of target dates for independence of colonial peoples. Mr. Bowles goes on to propose a charter for Africa that would go beyond the declaration of principles in the UN Charter, and would contain a scheme of evolution toward independence for all colonial peoples.

George Shepherd, Jr.

THE HAT SHAKING DANCE AND OTHER TALES FROM THE GOLD COAST. By Harold Courlander assisted by Albert Kofi Prempeh. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1957. 115 pp. \$2.95.

Centered around the spider, Anansi, the key character in West African folk tales, the authors have put together a charming book of stories for young people that have universal appeal. Humorous, wry, philosophical but always interesting with an undercurrent of wisdom reflecting some aspect of life, one will find this collection worthwhile in its effort to inform, instruct, entertain, and communicate. Colorful pen drawings add an attractive quality to the unusual animal characters and colorful exaggeration that pervade these folktales.

H. H. S.

SOUTH AFRICA IN TRANSITION. By Alan Paton with photographs by Dan Wiener. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956. 100 pp. \$5.00.

A book of superb pictures of contemporary South Africa in transition with captions and commentary by the most distinguished writer of the Union, Alan Paton. The volume pictorializes scenes and people in and around the three largest population centers of Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Natal, vividly brings across some idea of the store of mineral wealth and industrial growth that has followed its discovery, panoramicizes how urban life has changed the living patterns of the motley population, and starkly portrays the complex nature of the racial problem. There is a succinct introductory overview of the people,

history, and geography that provides knowledgeable substance for interpretation of the South African kaleidoscope as it unfolds. This is an excellent book whose lasting value will continue long after scenes it records have faded into the misty past.

H. H. S.

THE APPROACH TO SELF-GOVERNMENT
By Sir W. Ivor Jennings. Cambridge University Press, 1956. 204 pp. \$3.00.

Sir Ivor Jennings's investigation into the technicalities of self-government is indeed timely, coming, as it does, at the twilight of Colonialism. The words "Self-Government" have a magic romantic quality in our day, visualising as they do a proud march to freedom out of the darkness of servitude, after years of struggle. And because the legitimate flush of victory can so completely overshadow all else, Sir Ivor provides the cold water shock of reality without which any struggle for freedom would be futile.

He outlines the real practical problems of Administering; of conducting elections on a fair basis; of enabling peoples of a country with strong religious bias to see the difficulties that beset them and of course to direct a path through the dilemmas of representation.

This is a valuable book and one which could easily serve as a text book for those on whom freedom

will bestow the burden of leadership.

M. N. H.

OUR FLIGHT TO ADVENTURE. By Tay and Lowell Thomas Jr. Doubleday. 318 pp. 1956. \$5.95.

In a world daily becoming tighter, the professional traveller is fighting a losing battle and looking for the more unorthodox approach when writing for the public. Tay and Lowell Thomas have added little to travel literature in their new book written after a journey in three continents and certainly nothing to justify the use of the word "Odyssey" although they have had the unusual experience of flying on a bombing mission with the R.A.F. against the Mau Mau.

Carrying this type of passenger is a new rôle for the R.A.F. and one to be discouraged.

In these days the problems of underdeveloped territories are such that the occasional tid-bit in a travel book is far more annoying than thought-provoking.

M. N. H.

THE THOMLINSON REPORT. By D. Hobart Houghton. Johannesburg South African Institute of Race Relations. 76 pp. 70 cents.

A concise summary of the findings of the Commission established by the South African government to recommend territorial apartheid.

AFRICA TODAY

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ACOA Notes

Reception For New African States

On November 16, the American Committee On Africa sponsored a reception for the Ambassadors from Morocco, Tunisia, and the Sudan. This was part of a conference on the United States, the United Nations, and Africa. More than 300 participated in the reception and conference, among them many representatives of delegations to the United Nations, and high United Nations officials. Special cables came from Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, Abdullah Issa, Prime Minister of Somaliland, Dawit Ogbagzy, Acting Foreign Minister of Ethiopia, K. Hajeri, Secretary General of the Tunisian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and others.

Announcing "Africa-UN Bulletin"

ACOA has launched a bi-weekly bulletin on items affecting Africa being debated at the current session of the UN Assembly. The first issue was published on December 7, 1956. Anyone interested in receiving the bulletin may request copies at the Committee office, 4 West 40th St., New York City.

Tanganyika Leader Here

Julius Nyerere, the President of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), most powerful of political organizations in Tanganyika, was in the United States from November 13 to early January. He participated in the November conference of the ACOA, addressed

a meeting sponsored by the ACOA in New York, spoke before the Fourth Committee (on Trusteeship matters) at the UN and visited other cities such as Washington, Chicago, and Boston.

Want A Trip To Africa?

Two African tours are being planned in which readers of AFRICA TODAY will be interested. One will be a 22 day trip to West Africa at the time of independence celebrations next March in the Gold Coast. More information can be procured by writing Evelyn Scheyer, 43 W. 54th St., N.Y.C. 19.

The other is a summer tour to Nigeria, by way of London, arranged by the Council on Student Travel. It leaves New York June 12 and returns August 15. Participation is not limited to "students" of college age. More information may be secured by writing to Council on Student Travel, 179 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

African Student Announcements

Two announcements have come from the All Afriran Student Union of the Americas. First is for an essay contest for African students with prizes from \$50 to \$10 on the subject "The Necessity For Mutual Understanding Among the Peoples of Africa." The second concerns the establishment of a Student Mutual Aid Fund for African students. For details contact: AASUA at 2225 First St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

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