SOVIET ARTICLES ON AFRICA

[Translation]

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FOREWORD

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FOR THE COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

[No 12, December 1959, Moscow]

Sekou Toure

During the sojourn in Moscow of Sekou Toure, the president and chairman of the government of the Republic of Guinea, the exalted guest held a meeting at his residence in the Kremlin with representatives of the Soviet press.

"What, in your opinion, are the perspectives of a further struggle against colonialism in Africa?" — was a question posed to Sekou Toure by a correspondent of our journal.

The president of the Republic of Guinea gave a detailed answer to this question.

"After World War II," he said, "the process of the decolonization of Africa began, and a broad national liberation movement developed. In our time, the last stage has arrived of the disintegration of the disgraceful system of colonialism, which has been forcefully thrust upon us by the imperialists. Now no one in Africa, not even the direct agents of imperialism — the corrupt puppets who have been bribed by the alien enslavers — dares to come forward openly before the people in defense of colonialism. However, colonialism still exists on African land, and it does not wish voluntarily to return the riches which it has appropriated.

"There are at least four factors which can hasten considerably the decisive elimination of colonialism. These factors are as follows:

"First of all, more expansion and organizational consolidation of the liberation struggle of the African peoples themselves is necessary. Reports arriving from all ends of the African continent testify to the
fact that in contemporary Africa there is no country in which the people, in one form or another, have not conducted a struggle for their freedom and independence. The most important element in this struggle is unity of action.

"The graphic example of the positive activities of the countries of Africa which have already achieved independence must be an impelling stimulus for the struggling peoples. Each success of the young, sovereign African states enhances the faith in their own powers of those persons who are still languishing under the yoke of colonial enslavement.

"The most important factor is the activity of all the anti-imperialistic forces throughout the entire world, directed toward the support of the just cause of the peoples of Africa who are struggling for freedom. Speeches from the rostrum of the United Nations and radio broadcasts which expose the nature of the policies of the colonizers also promote the cause of the elimination of colonialism. Only support on an international scale can preserve the young African states, which have achieved political independence, from economic pressure by the imperialistic powers.

"The genuine unity of the peoples of Africa for the purpose of achieving a single and just goal is another powerful factor in the struggle for the final elimination of colonialism. The platform of unity of the peoples of Africa must be opposed to the artificial, illusionary unification, federation, and association which are devised by the imperialists for the purpose of deceiving public opinion and continuing the past colonial plundering under a new mask."

During the meeting with the Soviet journalists, Sekou Toure wrote the following words of greeting to the peoples of the USSR, to be passed to them through the journal Sovremennyy Vostok:

"The grandiose accomplishments realized by the peoples of the Soviet Union, as well as their struggle for a new world, delight the people of Guinea, who are inspired by this example to strive as much as possible to serve the causes of justice and humanity — liberty, peace, and international cooperation.

Sekou Toure
21 November, 1959"
AN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE IS NECESSARY

Felix-Roland Moundie, president of the Union of Cameroon Populations

I have carefully familiarized myself with the article by Professor P. S. Mahalanobis, the Indian scholar-economist, and I declare without hesitation that the calling of an international economic conference for studying the problems of the underdeveloped countries is not only desirable, but it is vitally necessary.

Of course, some may express bewilderment over the fact that I, a representative of a political party of a country which has not yet enjoyed even nominal independence, allow myself to express an opinion in such a categorical form. Allow me to clarify this matter completely. Yes, our beloved homeland, our Cameroon is indeed experiencing hard times. The colonizers have converted it into a police state. All progressive organizations have been dispersed and suppressed. Thousands of patriots have been thrown into concentration camps. Drumhead courts-martial are sentencing the most honorable and devoted patriots to death. In order to frighten the people, the executions are held publicly in the squares.

Our party, the Union of Cameroon Populations, after exhausting all possibilities of conducting a political struggle without the use of violence, has been forced to call on the people to take up arms. (Incidentally, a large portion of these arms taken away from the chastizers by our partisans bear the stamp: "Manufactured in the USA"). The Cameroon national liberation army is conducting the struggle with the active support of the broad people's masses, and local democratic committees and soviets are being created in the villages.

During these difficult years, our party has created a special commission for economic planning. Members of the commission are not idle dreamers; they are economists who know their country well. Of what we know from history, during the first and most difficult years of Soviet rule, Lenin and the Bol'sheviks found time to work carefully on the preparation of plans for the economic development of the first state of workers in the world — the Countries of Soviets. We believe it our duty to learn by such examples.

Our economic commission works extremely productively. Its first task is to take stock of all the resources of the country. Everyone knows that Cameroon possesses vast natural resources. But the colonizers, who are ruthlessly exploiting our land and our people, have not yet succeeded in completely prospecting all the mineral wealth of Cameroon. Today, I have reason to affirm that we possess more complete data on the
potential of the country than do the bureaucrats of the colonial administration. With the support of the people, our economic commission has succeeded in discovering many new deposits of useful minerals. The Cameroon people must have sovereign use of these deposits.

Cameroon is an agricultural country. Eighty-five percent of its population consists of the peasantry. The colonizers are plundering us. Today, every peasant in Cameroon, even the illiterate, understands that I will cite several examples. Our land yields rich crops of excellent bananas; fine coffee (the famous brands "Kamerun" and "Arabika"); cocoa (fifth largest producer in the world); the famous tobacco "Kop", which is considered the best in France; and peanuts — arakhis. Purchasers for the colonizer's trade company pay a Cameroon 5 francs per kilogram of arakhis and then sell it to wholesalers at a price of 32 francs per kilogram. A peasant receives 16 francs per kilogram of cocoa, and the purchasing company puts it up for sale for 95 francs per kilogram.

So long as the colonizers do not permit the development of the manufacturing industry in Cameroon, cocoa will be exported to France. There chocolate will be made from it, and, if a Cameroonian peasant decides to taste a piece of this chocolate, he would have to pay a price equal to 20 times the real value of the product.

The rivers and waterfalls of Cameroon possess a colossal potential. It is true that we have a huge electric power station which is the second most powerful of those located in all the countries of the Franco-African Association (the most powerful one is located in France). But, not one franc of the revenue from this powerful station is used for the benefit of the Cameroon population. It belongs to the foreign capitalists. Electric energy is produced three times cheaper in Cameroon than in France, Canada, or Norway. Therefore, it is profitable for the colonizers to import bauxite into Cameroon and use the cheap electric energy to process aluminum from it.

Foreign companies are exploiting the gold and diamond mines of Cameroon. In mining our diamonds, they are not taking those which are in the so-called category of industrial diamonds, but instead they are taking the best grades of precious stones.

Rubber is another resource of the country. After the loss of the French colony in Indo-China, Cameroon became the most important supplier for the mother country. Cameroon supplies many neighboring countries with meat, and it supplies Nigeria with fresh fish.
Our people could live very richly. According to the testimony of European travelers, Cameroon was a country of abundance before the colonial seizures. Now the people here are enduring hardships and are even starving. The low cost of industrial raw materials and agricultural produce exported by the colonizers is achieved by monstrous exploitation of the Cameroon workers.

The average salary of a Cameroon worker is only 15 francs a day, whereas a kilogram of rice costs 25 francs and a kilogram of meat costs 125 francs. The workers have tried to fight for their elementary rights, demanding increased salaries, housing construction, and schools for children. The colonial administration invariably answered them with repressions. The heads of trade unions have been thrown in prison, and others have been shot.

We are now conducting a struggle and placing before ourselves the goal of achieving the situation whereby our people possess all the wealth of their native country.

The economic commission of our party has already developed an Economic Charter which is a program document of the Union of Cameroon Populations. In it are set forth the goals and tasks of our party in providing for the well-being of the Cameroon people. This is our economic program. The commission is now continuing its work.

The Cameroon economists could make their contribution to the work of the international economic conference by recounting their experience in preliminary prospecting, and, with the highest gratitude, they would adopt from the economists of the socialist countries their rich experience in the practical assurance of the improved well-being of the people’s masses.

A conference for studying the problems of economic planning in underdeveloped countries is extremely important for the young states which were colonies until recently. Such countries which do not possess planning experience and which have no highly-qualified cadres of specialists can fall into traps set in their way by the "neo-colonizers" — the economic enslavers. As is known, the economic form of enslavement is no less dangerous than the political form. Moreover, after seizing key positions in the economic life of a young state, the "neo-colonizers" would not fail to put political pressure on it also.

Proceeding from all these considerations, I feel it my duty to declare that the calling of such a conference would be an exceptionally valuable matter.
A VISIT WITH THE TUNISIAN PEACE PARTISANS

[No 12, December 1959]

A. Sultanov

Pages 43-44

"The Tunisians, as a small nation, are all peace partisans and wish to be friends with all peoples, especially with those of the Soviet Union."

These words were spoken by Habib Bourguiba, president of the Tunisian Republic, in his talk with the delegation of the Soviet Committee for the Protection of Peace which visited Tunisia in September 1959.

The Soviet peace partisans came to Tunisia at the invitation of the Tunisian Committee for the Struggle for Freedom and Peace. This committee was created in 1949, long before the Tunisian people gained their national independence after a persistent struggle. Members of the committee participated actively in the work of the First Congress of Peace Partisans. At that time, this organization mobilized the people's masses under the slogan of the struggle against French imperialism, for independence for Tunisia, and for peace throughout the entire world.

Dr. Slimane ben-Slimane has been the head of the Committee since its very beginning. In Tunisia, 100,000 signatures were collected under the Stockholm Appeal. In 1950-1951, the committee conducted a mass campaign against the shipment of military equipment to the port of Bizerte for the French army in Indo-China. At that time, meetings and gatherings were being held throughout the entire country in connection with the preparation for the Warsaw Congress of Peace Partisans in December 1950.

In 1951, despite the repressions and persecutions of the colonizers, the Tunisian Committee for the Struggle for Freedom and Peace was able to create a National Congress for the Struggle for Peace, and it also participated in the work of the Congress of Peace Partisans in Helsinki.

In recent years, the Tunisian peace partisans have been very active in mobilizing the masses in the struggle for halting the colonial war in Algeria. Recently, they undertook a collection of signatures from among the intelligentsia and the workers of Tunisia under a petition of protest against atomic tests in the Sahara. The Tunisian people responded warmly to this campaign.

The Committee is actively supporting the slogans of the struggle against colonialism and war and for freeing the colonial peoples of Africa and strengthening peace and friendship among peoples. It is
cooperating with the Association for Friendship between Tunisia and the USSR, the chairman of which is Habib Chakroun, who is a member of the Committee for the Struggle for Peace.

The aktiv of the committee includes many progressive youths, artists, and teachers of the Arabic language, literature, and history in secondary educational institutions. The aktiv of the Tunisian peace partisans includes a member of parliament — Sheikh Chedly Nifer, a prominent historian and expert on the Arabic Middle Ages.

At the invitation of the Tunisian Committee for the Struggle for Freedom and Peace, our delegation traveled throughout the country and saw the sights of Tunis, Kairouan, Bizerte, and other cities of the young republic, as well as its historical monuments and sprouts of new life.

Accompanied by Dr. ben-Slimane, the Soviet delegation paid a visit to President Habib Bourguiba, the chairman of the National Constituent Assembly, and several ministers and public figures. We had useful talks with the editors of the newspapers Al-Amal and As-Sabah, and we were invited to speak on a Tunisian radio network.

Everywhere the common people of Tunisia met our delegation with great cordiality. The Tunisian people know about the launching of the Soviet sputniks and the cosmic rockets, and they consider these achievements to be a manifestation of the powerful development of Soviet science and technology which have been put in the service of the cause of peace, progress, and friendship among nations. The Tunisians and the Algerian refugees who found sanctuary in this country spoke especially warmly and cordially of the peaceable foreign policy of the USSR. They value highly the enormous moral assistance rendered by the Soviet government and people to the fighters for the independence and freedom of Algeria and other countries of Africa and Asia.

At the reception for the Soviet delegation, Habib Bourguiba, president of the Tunisian Republic, said that he was highly pleased with the arrival of the delegation of peace partisans from the Soviet Union. The president emphasized that there is no reason for discord or animosity between our countries, but that there is every reason for developing and strengthening friendship. Habib Bourguiba expressed satisfaction over the fact that two Tunisian ministers had visited the Soviet Union and told of the warm reception and attention given them in Moscow. The development of trade and cultural relations between Tunisia and the Soviet Union, said the president, is the best basis for the exchange of ambassadors in the near future.
Masmoudi, the Minister of Information, and Messadi, the Minister of Education, spoke warmly of their trip to the USSR. Mr. Messadi said that he had been delighted with the new Moscow University and that he had benefited greatly from his meetings with professors and from his encounters with the programs of the Soviet educational institutions. In connection with the forthcoming opening of the first national university in Tunisia, he emphasized, we wish to study the experience of the work of the Soviet vuzes [vyschiye uchebnyye zavedeniia — higher educational institutions] and, for this purpose, we intend to visit the Soviet Union again. The minister said that he was prepared to give several Soviet students and post-graduate Arabists the opportunity to improve their knowledge of Arabic and to study the history of Arabic literature in the Tunisian University.

After a number of meetings and talks with members of the Tunisian Committee for the Struggle for Freedom and Peace, a joint declaration was adopted and published in the Tunisian press.

The joint declaration stated in particular that: "The friendly discussions have permitted the representatives of the Soviet and Tunisian organizations for the protection of peace to exchange their opinions, mainly those concerning the problems of strengthening friendship among nations, the relaxation of international tensions, the struggle for peace throughout the world, and freedom for the colonial nations.

"They summon the political and public organizations and the public figures of both countries to struggle for the complete cessation of atomic weapons tests, disarmament and the destruction of thermo-nuclear weapons, and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes as is suggested by the World Peace Council.

"The Tunisian and Soviet peace partisans salute the trip to the USA of N. S. Khrushchëv, chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as President Eisenhower's forthcoming trip to the Soviet Union.

"They salute the statement made by the president of the Tunisian Republic to members of the Soviet delegation, in which the president assured the delegation that there is no reason for discord between the Tunisian Republic and the Soviet Union and, on the other hand, there are numerous factors for the development of friendly relations between these two countries.

"On this basis, the peace partisans in Tunisia and the Soviet Union will work to develop and strengthen friendly relations and cooperation between the peoples of both countries in the name of the preservation of peace in Northern Africa and throughout the entire world."
The trip to Tunisia by the Soviet peace partisans has undoubtedly promoted a further development of friendly relations between our countries.

PHOTO CAPTION

Meeting of the Soviet delegation of peace partisans at the Tunisian Airport.

BLOODY EVENTS IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

[No 12, December 1959] Unsigned Article

Seventy killed and 20 wounded Africans — this, by obviously understated official data, is the bloody total of the tragic events which broke out in latter October 1959 in the city of Stanleyville.

The Belgian authorities threw Patrice Lumumba, the president of the Congo Nationalist Movement, into jail. But this measure, as well as the transfer of troops to the Belgian Congo, merely aggravated even more the political situation. A wave of protest strikes spread throughout the country.

The reprisal in Stanleyville was one of a series of similar reprisals against the Africans in the Belgian Congo which began in January 1959, at which time mass demonstrations were held in Leopoldville. Then the colonial administration attempted to account for the people's agitation in the sole fact that many thousands of unemployed Congo people had gathered on the outskirts of Leopoldville. The authorities undertook immense operations of forced, mass banishment of the unemployed Africans.

Actually, unemployment is a frightful scourge which fell upon the proletarian strata of the population of the Belgian Congo. But the chief motivating force of the national liberation movement of the Congo people is the will of the peoples of this country to achieve independence in the near future.

When it became clear that mass banishments, imprisonments, and executions would not "bring peace," the Belgian government promised to give the Congo people their independence. However, the January declaration concerning the concession of independence was of a very generalized nature; it did not indicate any dates. On 16 October 1959, Schriver, the Minister for Affairs in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, was compelled to make new promises. They consisted essentially of the following: In the Congo, elections of deliberative soviets will be
held in the provinces, in which the Belgian government retains the right to enter a specific number of its proxies as members of these soviets. It has been promised that, as of September 1960, a local National Assembly will be created in the country, but not until 1964 is a referendum promised for drawing up a constitution and ratifying a specific statute for the Congo. Of course, the progressive parties of the Congo have rejected such a plan of procrastination which is obviously calculated to lull the vigilance of the Congo people, hait the rise of the national liberation movement, and drag out for at least another 4 years the "quiet" robbery of the treasures of the Congo. During this time, collaborators — betrayers of the Congo people — would be selected and placed in deliberative organs.

The peoples of the Congo have guessed the secret of this unworthy policy and urgently demand that their country be given independence in the near future.

CENTRAL AFRICA IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

[No 11, November 1959] W. E. Hanton
Pages 10-12

William Elvis Hanton, the progressive American scholar and public figure, is well-known as an active fighter for civil rights for Negroes in the USA and for liberating the peoples of Africa from colonial oppression. He has written a book, The Destiny of Africa, which is an irate accusatory document against the colonizers. The Publishing House for Eastern Literature under the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences USSR recently issued a Russian translation of this book.

The article by W. E. Hanson which is presented by us was published in the American progressive journal Political Affairs, No 4, 1959. The article is presented in abbreviated form.

Extraordinary conditions! The colonial powers in Africa have been vested with the unquestionable right to introduce a regime of so-called extraordinary conditions, first in one, and then in another, of the territories subordinate to them. This enables the colonizers to take off the velvet glove with an outward show of imaginary legality and put the naked, mailed fist into action against the people.
Despite the fact that the yoke of colonialism has been thrown off and weakened in a large portion of the globe, including several countries of Africa, the colonizers continue to apply the "extraordinary conditions" as the order of the day. They are doing this particularly frequently in the eastern, central, and southern regions of the continent, where European colonists also live among the masses of the African population. Recently Nyasaland felt the blows of the mailed fist of the colonizers. During the first 7 days of the "extraordinary conditions," which were introduced in this country on 3 March, the police, according to understated data, killed 39 Africans and imprisoned 249...

The emotions of the people's masses in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia came to a head and, from time to time as far back as 1953, they have burst out into the open. At that time, the Africans protested against the forced annexation of these countries to Southern Rhodesia, where authority is exercised on the basis of the racist principles practiced in the South African Union.

Under the pressure of the European settlers and against the will of the vast majority of the population of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, the creation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland into a Central African Federation was proclaimed. The protests of the Africans were scornfully rejected. In accord with official declarations, the Ministry of Colonies in London had supreme authority over Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. But the leadership of the white settlers of Southern Rhodesia regarded these declarations only as a tactical course, as a temporary shift.

From the moment that the federation was formed, this leadership put forth the question of giving the federation the status of an independent dominion. Recently, the leadership has been stubbornly insisting that this demand be carried out, considering that it must be accomplished in 1960. And this is not by accident. If the federation is given the status of an independent dominion, over 7 million Africans will fall under the complete, unchecked rule of the racist leadership of the white minority which barely numbers 250,000 people in all three territories.

Along with increased pressure by the white racialists in Nyasaland, where only about 8,000 European settlers and almost 3 million Africans live, a resistance movement has grown. From the time that Dr. Hastings Banda, head of the Nyasaland African Congress, returned to the country in July 1958 the organization became a force with which even the colonizers had to reckon. The congress presented demands concerning the withdrawal of Nyasaland from the federation bound to it and the establishment in the country of the rule of the African majority. The people of Nyasaland have not gone for the bait of "racial partnership."

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Neither have they been frightened by the political bludgeon of violence. At that time, the colonial authorities resorted to the traditional methods of suppressing the "stubborn and active subjects" with repressions and terror.

Official propaganda attempted in every way to conceal the murders and mass arrests in Nyasaland. The main version of this propaganda was that the Nyasaland African Congress and its leaders had allegedly undertaken a conspiracy for the purpose of destroying the white settlers. The authors of these deceitful fabrications were unable to cite any reasons, any evidence, any facts which would confirm in any way their slanderous lie. The facts showed that even a week after publication of the "incriminating" materials on the fantastic plan of mass murders, not one white person was killed in Nyasaland or in the territory of the federation. The lies regarding the arming of Africans have been proven to be absurd. Except for the doubtful event concerning the discovery of only one gun, official propaganda did not succeed in producing any evidence concerning the possession of firearms by the Africans.

The fantastic history of the Nyasaland "conspiracy" was presented for world public opinion under conditions highly unfavorable for the English colonizers. The fact is that during that very period of time, they had to clear themselves in every way possible of the scandalous proceedings in Kenya. At these proceedings, a former paid informer, sneak, and perjurer confessed that, at the order of the police, he had given false testimony which was meant to confirm a similarly fantastic history. Seven years ago in Kenya "extraordinary conditions" were also declared and, in the same order, a mythical accusation was made. It was fabricated so that Jomo Kenyatta and other leaders of the Kenya African Union could be imprisoned under the mark of "legality," thereby destroying this progressive organization.

The facts irrefutably show that the entire responsibility for the people's emotions in Nyasaland lies with the ruling faction of the European settlers and, above all, with Roy Welenskiy, the Prime Minister of the Central African Federation, and Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. One of the provocations of the colonizers was the transfer of troops by planes from Rhodesia to Nyasaland over 10 days before the introduction of the extraordinary conditions and at the very time that the governor of Nyasaland announced that the situation in the country "had been settled."

In Southern Rhodesia, the alarm signal — the order concerning the "extraordinary conditions" — was sounded on 26 February, a week before introduction of the "extraordinary conditions" in Nyasaland. This first order was followed by the arrest of 450 Africans. Even the authorities were unable to explain the reasons for introducing the "extraordinary conditions" or for the arrest of the patriots. The colonial officials announced that the arrests had been made "just in case."

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However, the purpose of all these provocative activities of the colonizers and their servants seems absolutely clear. They were directed toward creating a precedent in Southern Rhodesia for the use of "decisive measures" in Nyasaland.

In a letter addressed to Governor Armitage, Dr. Banda wrote:

"Long before the introduction of the "extraordinary conditions," back in October 1958, the press, reflecting the views of the European colonists in Central Africa, conducted a loud campaign demanding for a transition to "open, decisive operations" against the leaders of the national liberation movement in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. This campaign assumed an especially hysterical nature after the Conference of African Nations held in December 1958 in Accra. Therefore, the transfer of troops to Nyasaland was not a complete surprise to us Africans. This operation is only one portion of the transition toward "open, decisive operations" about which the European colonists have shouted. We demand that Nyasaland be separated from the federation, and also that a new constitution be drawn up which would guarantee for our country the creation of a government consisting of persons, elected by the people, who actually represent our people, in place of the present government consisting of bureaucrats. This is a political problem. It cannot be settled by crude, barbarous pressure or by the use of armed forces. Our people want their freedom."

In light of developments of recent months, Dr. Banda's speech, which was delivered at the conference of African Nations, testifies to his insight. On arriving in Accra, the leader of the Nyasaland African Congress emphasized that: "In evaluating the situation in East, Central, and South Africa in general, and in Nyasaland in particular, I must say that I envy our brothers in West Africa, for they do not have to cope with the problem of the European settlers. This problem stands in our way to an extreme degree. The presence of European colonizers makes our struggle for freedom and independence especially difficult and complicated. It is not only the open and direct manifestations of imperialism and colonialism against which we must struggle. Our situation is deteriorating sharply as a result of the fact that plenipotentiaries and agents of imperialism and colonialism are operating very close to our home. These agents have settled in Salisbury, the capital of Southern Rhodesia. They are particularly merciless and cruel in suppressing our liberation struggle."

Dr. Hastings Banda told the delegates of the conference about the provocative, slanderous campaign which has unfolded in the colonizers' press in Central Africa and London. Banda, the leader of the Nyasaland African Congress, has been deliberately portrayed "not only as a supporter of extreme measures, not only as an agitator and a troublemaker, but also as an extremely ambitious, bitter enemy of foreigners."
Dr. Banda also told of the growing power of the Nyasaland African Congress and of the fact that the meetings organized by it are attended by 10,000-40,000 persons. He stated that the political policy of the colonizers' government was directed toward using any means to frustrate the calling of such meetings and to disperse their participants.

"My political concept regarding Nyasaland," said Dr. Banda, "is simple and clear. It is a natural, component part of my general political views regarding the entire African continent. I am a democrat. I am firmly convinced that everywhere in the world power must belong to the people's majority. In Africa the majority of the population consists of Africans. Therefore, in Africa, including Nyasaland, the power must be in the hands of the African people. I am not at all guided in my political ideas by a spirit of hatred toward the Europeans or the Indians. Those Europeans and Indians who are people of good will and who wish to live in the territory of Nyasaland as our guests, our friends, our neighbors, and fellow citizens enjoying equal rights, have nothing to fear. We have no intention of throwing the Europeans into the Atlantic Ocean, or the Indians into the Indian Ocean. All the people of Nyasaland are of one and the same opinion regarding the question of withdrawal from the federation. There are no contradictions among us. The very broad people's masses and the tribal chiefs maintain one and the same position regarding this matter."

Several hours before the blow of "extraordinary conditions" fell upon Nyasaland on 3 March 1959, Dr. Banda wrote the following lines:

"Rumors are spreading that I might be arrested at any moment. Well, I am ready for this. But I have doubts about the consequences of such an arrest. The colonizers are mistaken in their appraisal of my personal influence here. They cannot turn back the people's movement by arresting me. Despite the fact that soldiers have been stationed everywhere and planes are buzzing in the skies, our people are determined. There is no panic among the Africans. In our land, only the Europeans show evidence of panic." This was the last address of Dr. Banda to his countrymen. The colonial police soon seized him and quickly removed him from Nyasaland.

Does the English government consent to sanction the separation of Nyasaland from the so-called Central African Federation, acknowledging that it was built on sand and was a gross mistake? Or will it continue to support the regime of white racists of Southern Rhodesia and wallow in activities which can lead to the rise in Centre Africa of events similar to the Algerian tragedy with all its horrors, grief, and disgrace? As yet, no signs have been detected, even on the part of the Laborites, of any readiness by the English to examine directly and honorably the nature of this problem.
However, it is time for everyone to understand that the usual tricks of the ruling circles in England, who often intentionally bring about confusion in examining some problem which is embarrassing for them, can lead to serious consequences in this case. In fact, a typical peculiarity of the political life of all the African countries where the domination of the white minority is directly displayed is its exceptional tension. From time to time, first in one and then in another region of the continent, this tension breaks into the open. Nyasaland was one such region. Earlier, emotions burst out in the Belgian Congo. One of two things must happen: either the main source of tension -- political supremacy of the white settlers -- must be eliminated, or it will be necessary to be prepared for a widespread struggle by the tribes.

It should be remembered that any events in this part of the African continent are far from unimportant for the USA. A number of large American corporations have key interests in the exploitation of Rhodesian asbestos, manganese, chrome, copper, and other natural resources. For example, the "American Metal Company" holds in its hands a controlling package of shares of the Rhodesian "Selection Trust," one of the two main owners of the Copper Belt -- zones of copper mines which provide the greater portion of all the profits acquired by the colonizers in the federation.

The United States has played an important role in the creation of the Central African Federation. "British Central Africa was drawn into a new, single federal state in order to attract the investment of the American capital needed to develop exploitation of the local rich natural resources," reported the New York Times newspaper with cynical frankness.

The peoples of Africa, firmly resolved and inspired by the feeling of solidarity as was especially vividly displayed at the conference in Accra, will steadfastly continue the struggle for complete equality and freedom.