

Here's
My Story
By PAUL ROBESON

A Thousand Years?
No — Now's the Time
For African Freedom

"DISCOVERED" AFRICA in London. That discovery — back in the Twenties — profoundly influenced my life. Like most of Africa's children



in America, I had known little about the land of our fathers. But in England, where my career as an actor and singer took me, I came to know many Africans. Some of their names

are now known to the world — Azikiwe, and Nkrumah, and Kenyatta, who has just been jailed for his leadership of the liberation struggles in Kenya.

Many of these Africans were students, and I spent many hours talking with them and taking part in their activities at the West African Students Union building. Somehow they came to think of me as one of them; they took pride in my successes; and they made Mrs. Robeson and me honorary members of the Union.

Besides these students, who were mostly of princely origin, I also came to know another class of Africans — the seamen in the ports of London, Liverpool and Cardiff. They too had their organizations, and much to teach me of their lives and their various peoples.

As an artist it was most natural that my first interest in Africa was cultural. Culture? The foreign rulers of that continent insisted there was no culture worthy of the name in Africa. But already musicians and sculptors in Europe were astir with their discovery of African art. And as I plunged, with excited interest, into my studies of Africa at the London University and elsewhere, I came to see that African culture was indeed a treasure-store for the world.

Those who scorned the African languages as so many "barbarous dialects" could never know, of course, of the richness of those languages, and of the great philosophy and epics of poetry that have come down through the ages in these ancient tongues. I studied these languages — as I do to this day: Yoruba, Efik, Benin, Ashanti and the others.

NOW FELT AS ONE with my African friends and became filled with a great, glowing pride in these riches, new found to me. I learned that along with the towering achievements of the cultures of ancient Greece and China there stood the culture of Africa, unseen and denied by the imperialist looters of Africa's material wealth.

I came to see the root sources of my own people's culture, especially in our music which is still the richest and most healthy in America. Scholars had traced the in-

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Freedom

"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"

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AFRICA: KEY TO WAR OR PEACE

By W. E. B. DuBOIS

In Africa, today, the lure to war, the temptation to murder and violence, is greater than formerly in Asia. Africa has more free, rich land in proportion to population; it has relatively more strong, cheap labor, more capable of being hammered into a modern industrial proletariat by brute force.

Its potential wealth is fabulous: thick priceless forests and miraculously growing vegetation; invaluable minerals and unharnessed water power. Africa's gold and diamonds tempt to robbery and greed; Africa's copper, tin, zinc and uranium feed electricity and atom bombs to our factories, armies, navies and airplanes.

Let Firestone Rubber, Republic Steel and Lever Brothers tell what fabulous profit the white world can reap in black Africa today, if only the white man's grip can be riveted and the Black Man's subservience bought.

The familiar cormorants of world graft, theft and murder are gathering now over Africa: unrepentant Britain with its ancient and blood-smeared jaws; France, who sells to greed the freedom she once at fearful price bought for the world; Italy, who began World Wars to restore an empire once holy but now sunk in poverty and crime; little Belgium following Holland to buy peace, beauty and security by sucking the blood of eleven million black slaves on territory eighty times the size of the homeland and a thousand times as rich.

U.S. Taking Over

But above all looms the United States of America, who by trade, force, bribery, and investment, owns today the owners of Africa, dominates missions and philanthropy, and leads the present effort to re-enslave the Dark Continent.

Against all this, against power and wealth and empire, Black Africa struggles up today, its head "bloody, but unbowed." It depends for guidance on its own intelligentsia and on the descendants of Africa strewn over the world. It looks also toward Asia, colored India and China, and the dark islands of the South Seas. Africa looks to Egypt and the Middle East; and last but far from least, to the one world power which has renounced colonialism and color preju-

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THE FACE OF AFRICA

(The expression of a young Sudanese woman mirrors black Africa's determination to be free.)

ATTENTION CHICAGO!

On Sunday afternoon, July 5, the world famous artist, PAUL ROBESON, will appear in concert at Washington Park under the auspices of Freedom Associates of Chicago. Plans are being made for an audience of 25,000, so don't miss it! Bring the family.

Is African Civilization Backward?

By ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON

The western world has traditionally arrogated to itself the name of "civilization." Only those Americans who are fortunate enough to have studied archeology, anthropology, or comparative sociology are able to recognize that the western civilization is only one of the world's civilizations. They know that Africa and Asia have had their own highly developed cultures that have contributed much to the culture of the West.

The African's culture, prior to the coming of the Europeans were highly organized and well integrated systems, perfectly adapted to their economic and environmental requirements.

Black Africa then, has a history reaching back to the very dawn of human consciousness. Black empires existed for centuries in the Sudan, Central Africa; well established empires with regular succession of rulers, graded organization of court officials and provincial governors, and all the ceremonial incidental to such a political structure. There were temples, towns, records; there were flourishing markets attended by thousands of people.

The Hausa Police maintained order at their markets. Sociologists point out that a police



Mrs. Robeson

force, paid out of public monies is a very late development in the history of European cities. When Africans had their police, it was still the custom for wealthy people in England and on the Continent to take their retainers and servants with them for protection against robbers when going out after dark.

The law abiding nature of

the African has often been commented upon by travelers and explorers. African tribes love to settle their disputes in their courts by discussion, called palaver. Every tribe has a clearly developed code of law. There are imposing volumes on Ashanti Law and Custom, and on Hausa Law, in most good university libraries.

Most people think of Africans' so-called witch-doctors and medicine men as primitive, ignorant men, playing upon the superstition of their people. Reliable investigators—white investigators, mind you—point out that these medicine-men do not generally resort to magic and spirits, but have a considerable knowledge of materia medica, and often treat diseases on purely scientific principles; that is, they examine the patient, diagnose the ailment, and prescribe specific medicine and diet.

Smelted Iron

In very early times, Africans were smelting iron. Dr. Franz Boas, the dean of American anthropologists, says: "It seems likely that at a time when the European was still satisfied with crude stone tools, the Africans had invented the art of smelting iron. Neither Ancient Europe, nor Ancient Western Asia, nor Ancient China knew iron, and everything points to its introduction from Africa."

The Ashanti people knew how to make cotton fabrics, turn and glaze earthenware, forge iron instruments and arms, embroider rugs and carpets, set gold and precious stones. The fashioning of musical instruments is one of the industries found throughout the length and breadth of Africa. It is quite possible that the African invented the harp, violin and

The Bahima, a tribe in Uganda, Central Africa, weave baskets so fine that they can contain milk without leakage. Boas points to the products of African craftsmen—the blacksmith, weaver, wood carver—as furnishing cultural achievements of no mean order.

Great modern artists have said that the whole school of art known as abstract representation derived its inspiration from African handiwork—from wood carvings of cere-



An Ife Woman's Head in Bronze.

monial masks and figures, and the famous bronze castings in Benin, West Africa. Some of these brilliant African works of art make stunning exhibits in some of the finest museums in the world today.

And what was the nature of the life of these so-called primitive people. It is worth noting that in traditional African society, land has always been held in common, and used for the benefit of all the population. A man could not retain his land unless he used it, that is, unless he actually lived on it or cultivated it. The simplest village life of the African tribe has developed forms of common action which might well be copied by more civilized and complex societies. The politeness and the ceremonial consideration of the African people have received exceptional tribute from many early explorers.

African languages are rich and expressive, and almost all tribes have many proverbs and tales and riddles which embody their experience of life, folk humor and wisdom. Every tribe has a well established code of morals, scrupulously adhered to and enforced. One investigator writes: "The Negro Tribe that has no moral conceptions is yet to be discovered and described."

The Answer

They call it the "Dark Continent." Their movies show ignorant, ridiculous savages. They must be inferior, so say the school books, and learned men. If not, why haven't they advanced beyond the stages the white man found them in the 15th century when he was looking for new routes to the East?

The answers are many and horrible. It is the answer of the slavers and European adventurers who destroyed over 100,000,000 Africans. Who knows the untold wealth and property destroyed when the "enlightened" Europeans destroyed cities, villages, and uprooted entire social systems?

They came with guns and lust for gold and the wealth of Africa. Since the beginning of the 19th century Africa has been partitioned and re-partitioned by European nations competing with each other for her wealth. The science and learning of the West has been denied Africans, who were regarded only as an unlimited source of cheap labor.



A Bronze Mask of Nigeria.

An African Folk Tale: Why the Smith Couldn't Make a Man

A very long time ago there was a king who called Walukaga, king of the smiths, and gave him a great quantity of iron and said: "I want you to make a real man for me, one who can walk and talk, and who has blood in his body, and who has brains."

Walukaga took the iron and went home, but he was at a loss what to do, and no one could advise him how to set about making the real man. He went about among his friends telling them what the king had said, and asked what he had better do. No one was able to give him any advice. They all knew that the king would not accept anything short of an honest trial, and would punish the man for not carrying out his commands.

On the way home one day Walukaga met a former friend who had gone mad, and who lived alone on

some wasteland. Walukaga did not know that he was mad until he met him. When they approached each other, Walukaga greeted his old friend, and the madman asked him where he had come from. Walukaga reasoned for a moment and then said to himself: "Why should I not tell him my story? Even though he is mad, he used to be my friend." So he answered: "I have come from some friends where I have been trying to get advice."

The madman asked what advice he wanted, and Walukaga told him all the king had said, and about the work he had given him to do, and how he had given him the iron, and then added: "What am I to do?"

The madman answered: "If the king has told you to do this work, go to him and say that, if he really wishes to have a nice man forged,

he is to order all the people to shave their heads and burn their hair until they have made up a thousand loads of charcoal, and he is to get one hundred large pots of water from the tears of the people with which to slake the fire and keep it from burning too fiercely."

Walukaga returned to the king and said to him: "My lord, if you wish me to make this man quickly and well, order the people to shave their heads and burn their hair, and make a thousand loads of charcoal out of it for me to work the iron into the man. Further, make them collect a hundred pots full of tears to act as water for the work, because the charcoal from wood and the ordinary water from wells are of no use for forging a man."

The king agreed to the request and gave the order to all the people to

shave their heads and burn their hair into charcoal, and to collect all the tears. When they had all shaved their heads and burnt their hair, there was scarcely one load of charcoal, and when they had collected all the tears there were not two pots full of water.

When the king saw the results of his endeavors, he sent for the smith Walukaga and said to him: "Don't trouble to make the man, because I am unable to get the charcoal or the tears for the water."

Walukaga knelt down and thanked the king. He then added: "My lord, it was because I knew you would be unable to get the hair for charcoal and the tears for the water that I asked for them; you had asked me to do an impossible thing."

All the people present laughed and said: "Walukaga speaks the truth."

Africa: Key to World Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

dice, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic.

Not that insurgent Africa today can depend on all those to whom it looks. Its own intelligentsia is divided and uncertain in aim. Its members have been educated mostly in the reactionary nations of the world: mainly in England, the United States, and a few in France; fewer in the Soviet Union. Nkrumah of the Gold Coast knows something of the Soviet Union and was once jailed as a Communist; but he knows more of British capitalism and, as the first prime minister of a West African state, faces the temptation of yielding to British investors. Azikiwe, leader of Nigeria, the largest Negro state in the world, now approaching autonomy, also is not unaware of the Soviet Union and socialism; but faces within his own group endless difficulties arising from racial and cultural differences and from poverty, ignorance and disease. His wisdom and finesse will be sorely tried. In old colonies like Gambia and Sierra Leone lie little hope of understanding from colored leaders who are more English in culture than African.

But despite all this, British West Africa is unified and driven left by South African intransigence and the determination of Malan to force white supremacy on all blacks. If this attitude continues to be backed by white West Europe and financed by America, black West Africa will inevitably be forced left and into greater sympathy and cooperation with the Communist nations of Eastern Europe and Asia.

In North Africa, including Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt, long subjection to Europe and resident Europeans have so buried native culture and native unity of ideal that a new culture must rise in the midst of a struggle for liberty. But for what, toward what shall this struggle be? And is it orientated toward black Africa, the land of slaves; or toward white Europe, the home of Imperialism?

Turning south we face first the vast stretches of French West and Equatorial Africa, where so long integration with France has prevailed in the small territory of Senegal; and elsewhere almost unbridled exploitation of every kind including mercenary soldiery to help subdue Europe, Asia and Africa. The black leaders of Senegal have usually proven more French than the French in exploiting blacks despite a few liberal leaders. On the other hand, in the rest of French Africa there has lately arisen a powerful mass movement of Africans whose program and outlook are distinctly anti-imperialist.

The Sudan Boils

In Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, a distinct color-line has long been drawn. Although the majority of Egyptians are of Negro descent, a very few of those noticeably Negroid arise to place and power. Most of them are poor

and ignorant peasants. Yet today, pushing desperately up from below, they are the driving power back of revolutions like that of Naguib; and more particularly in the Sudan, black British-educated civil servants; black members of trade unions; and black tribesmen of the lower Sudan which was ancient Ethiopia and once conquered Egypt, will increasingly play a part in the future of central Africa. Today both Egypt and Britain are bidding for this part of Africa. Anything could happen here, but complete white European control and exploitation is unlikely.

This brings us to modern Ethiopia on the east, and, far to the west, Liberia. These we bracket together because they were long the only African black nations recognized as independent. Their future is today uncertain. Liberia has become an American colony, completely dominated by American corporations and the American navy. Ethiopia is still independent but subservient to the West; she is accepting, albeit cautiously, European and American investment; has helped a little to murder Koreans and has a medieval system of government. But her emperor is well-meaning promotes education and fights disease. If his younger, educated followers conceive a more liberal economy, a more democratic government and a wider socialism, Ethiopia may emerge from the world of exploiting imperialism into the modern socialist world. There is as yet no sign of this.

The Belgian Congo is trying desperately by enlightened state capitalism, industrial training, total disfranchisement and restricted education, to keep the Africans in contented serfdom, protected from revolt by the vested interests of Europe and America. This plan has worked so far, but it has grave dangers for world peace.

Will War Come?

In Kenya and soon in Tanganyika, British greed and stubbornness has driven some of the population into murderous revolt and turned the small black leadership into irreconcilable hate. Open rebellion would spread rapidly if arms and ammunition were available. Suppose West Africa or North Africa should furnish them, and Europe and America should start to aid repression there? Here a new world war might bring in both Asia and the Soviet Union.

With fatuous stubbornness, Britain is allowing the creation of a new dominion where a few hundred thousand whites will rule 25 million Negroes in the Rhodesias and Nyassaland.

The United States is furnishing Malan all the capital he needs for enslaving blacks. If this eventually does not end in war, human nature has altered entirely.

This then, is Africa today. This is its threat to Peace, its call to War, its challenge to civilization.



A Nine-Year-Old Negro Boy Visits South Africa

By PAUL ROBESON, Jr.

Some things you don't forget, even though they happened when you were very young. I'll never forget 1936, when, at the age of nine, I was in So. Africa with my mother.

I remember the family trudging the hot, dusty road through the plains—a sharecropper and his family who had rebelled against slave conditions on the white man's farm. They had left without permission—that is a crime under South African law.

We passed them at a lonely spot more than 20 miles from the nearest town. We wanted to give them a ride, but our small car was full. We stopped

and I got out and walked toward them, the half-crown (65c) mother had given me clutched in my hand.

They stopped as I approached. The man carried a little boy of about three on his shoulders; his wife carried their few belongings on her head. Their clothes were ragged, their faces dusty and tired; but in their eyes was determination and quiet dignity. I walked up to the father and held out the coin to him. He looked at me with eyes full of pride and said nothing. His free hand did not move.

I wanted to say something but I didn't know his language. I stepped closer, dropped the

half-crown in his pocket; then I grabbed his hand and shook it. He looked down at me and smiled—his eyes told me he understood. . . .

We were in the compound of the "Robinson Deep" gold mine outside Johannesburg. It was a concentration camp pure and simple: barbed wire and dogs surrounded the compound to keep the workers from getting out; food was miserable; 36 men lived in a stone hut with one vent in the roof for air and light, and concrete slabs along the wall to sleep on.

As we entered the compound, miners began to surround us; they talked freely—word had spread that friends had come to see them.

They cheered when mother told them she had come to help—to tell their story to the people of England, America, and other countries. One of them wore a medallion from around his neck and handed it to me through the bars. "Remember us," he said, "tell others about our fight." Then he raised his clenched fist with the thumb turned up and started to sing. I didn't understand the words, but I knew it was about freedom, from their faces and the way they sang. . . .

The African people—the family on the road, the miners—are going to win their freedom. I saw it in their faces.

World's Foremost Expert on Africa

For over 50 years Dr. W. E. B. DuBois has studied and written about the peoples and history of Africa. He has always been an advocate of cooperation between peoples of Africa origin, and was one of the first to proclaim that until the people of Africa are free of imperialist exploitation, there will be no world peace.

Among his notable books bearing on Africa are "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade"; "The Gift of Black Folk"; "Color and Democracy"; and "The World and Africa." He was the initiator of the Pan-African Congresses, and his latest book is "In Battle for Peace."



Dr. DuBois

Lott Carey: First Negro Missionary

By JOHN HENRY

He bought his freedom to preach the gospel. And when he still wasn't free in his native land, he went to Africa, the land of his fathers, and became the first Negro missionary.

Lott Carey was born a slave in Virginia about 1780. After growing to manhood he was a tobacco packer in a Richmond warehouse, where he saved enough money to buy freedom. It is said that Carey had such a miraculous memory he could produce on an instant's notice any one of the hundreds of hogshead of tobacco he shipped. He was never known to make a mistake.

Studied Bible

A black man of great stature and commanding appearance, Carey heard a sermon from the third chapter of St. John, and was so moved by the story of Nicodemus he vowed to learn to read, so he could tell the story word by word. A New Testament was the first book he bought. This was around 1807.

The former slave was soon "called" and began preaching on the plantations around Richmond. His sermons were so powerful that his fame spread throughout the area.

And then around 1815 he heard a white man telling about the Burgess and Mills report of an exploration to Africa. It so thrilled Rev. Carey, he startled his friends and associates by declaring his intention to go to Africa and preach the gospel. But before leaving he turned his great

zeal to the cause of African missions in this country. The Rev. John J. Coles, president of the Baptist Vey Mission in his 1886 book "Africa in Brief," declares Rev. Carey "contributed probably more than any other person in giving origin and character to the African Missionary Society," established in 1815.

Many people were amazed that Carey wanted to give up a great career in the U.S. for the physical hardships of Africa. But he replied to a friend, "I am an African, and in this country, however meritorious my conduct and respectable my character, I cannot receive the credit due either. I wish to go to a country where I shall be estimated by my merits, not by my color."

And so, accompanied by Rev. Collin Teague, another Negro, Rev. Carey went to Liberia for the American Baptist Missionary Union, arriving there in the spring of 1820.

Acting Governor

Rev. Carey immediately began caring for the spiritual and health needs of the colonists and the natives, but soon he found the administration of Gov. Ashmun oppressive, and demanded reforms. He founded a church and in 1826 was elected vice-agent of the colony, and in 1828, upon the return of Gov. Ashmun to the U.S., he was named acting governor.

But shortly thereafter, he was wounded in an explosion, and died on Nov. 10, 1828. He was mourned throughout Liberia and in the U.S.

Leaders and Laymen View Social Role of Missions

By EUGENE GORDON

It would take several pages to list the tens of millions of dollars sent by Christian denominations to Africa last year. Every Christian group—plus Jehovah's Witnesses—has a Mission in French Equatorial Africa or in Liberia or in Nigeria or in the Belgian Congo or in Kenya or in the Rhodesias or in South Africa.

There were, at the end of 1952, four million African Christians in Nigeria alone, 3,000,000 being Protestants and a million Catholics. And, in all parts of the continent, 21,000,000 professing Christians are to be found among the peoples of Africa.

Take just one U.S. Negro

denomination, the Baptists. The 72nd annual report of the Foreign Mission Board to the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., shows they collected in this country between July 1, 1951 and June 30, 1952, a total of \$362,581.77. Fifteen out of 19 missions supported by U.S. Negro Baptists are in Africa.

The eminent African scholar and teacher, Professor Zachariah K. Matthews, said in a speech in New York recently that "the record of the church in Africa is impressive." He admitted that the Christian mission in Africa "has been subjected to much adverse criticism, some constructive and some reverse"; but said "the slightest acquaintance with the facts will show that the Missions are unsurpassed in the positive contribution which they have made or are making to the development of Africa."

Others have described the missions' work somewhat differently—especially when referring to white missions. Charles Williams, a Negro Presbyterian elder, for instance, returning to Boston from a trip to the Congo in 1929, was quoted by the Associated Negro Press:

"Rum, syphilis and illegitimate children are the result of 50 years of missionary work of white people in the Congo," and he added: "The black



MISSION TO AFRICA: In 1951 the Baptist leaders shown above, under the leadership of Dr. Wendell C. Summerville (second from left), executive secretary of the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention, conducted a pilgrimage to African missions supported by the Convention.

"The Man in the Moon Knows More About the Moon Than All the Astronomers on Earth..."

By DR. E. C. SMITH

A vote was about to be taken in the United States Senate on a problem of vital concern to the Negro race. A colored bootblack, while shining the shoes of a distinguished senator, sought to do a little lobbying on the question with the senator. To this the senator informed him that he needed no suggestion from any member of the colored race on the question, and that he had thorough knowledge of the problems of all minority groups.

The Bootblack Said

The old bootblack, who was well versed in senatorial politics from long years of association, patted the senator on the toes gracefully, indicating that the job was finished; but as the senator stepped down from the bootblack stand, the bootblack replied, "See here, senator, the man in the moon knows more about the moon than all of the astronomers on earth."

Western Christians through the Foreign Mission Enterprise, have sought to impose Western Christian Culture upon the social processes of other peoples, apparently forgetting that our Christian Culture and our economic, social and politi-

people of Africa are crying for the advent of their blood brothers from America as missionaries, who, they believe, will bring them the teachings of real Christianity, void of the white man's lust for gold and thirst for power."

Malan Eans Bishops

And what is meant by "paganism?" A white South African minister, Rev. Frederick B. Bridgman gave an indication when he said in 1925 that "the interests of the Kingdom" should be "more precious" to the Africans "than those much coveted rights and privileges and honors of recognition" which mission-educated Africans were even then demanding in the social and political life of South Africa.



Dr. E. C. Smith

cal idocyncracies are inseparable, and that while transplanting one, we necessarily transplant the other.

The success of the Foreign Mission Cause has been greatly curtailed because, in the past, the missionary to the Foreign Field, while understanding the potentiality of Christianity, did not properly understand the social implications of the environments in which Christianity was to be transplanted.

It should be the hope of

every lover of Foreign Missions to have the peoples of Foreign Lands to develop their own cultures in ways so that the highest possible attainment of their innate natures may flower forth. We should not be so selfish as to desire a transplantation of our cultures on other peoples as the summum bonum of the social process. We must remember that when the social techniques of others are developed to the highest points of ethical achievements, then it is that we have comparative racial and national progress. People are, by nature, heterogeneous. Hence, their cultures, whether developed or undeveloped, are compelled to take on the heterogeneous aspect.

"The man in the moon knows more about the moon than all of the astronomers on the earth."

Dr. E. C. Smith, an eminent clergyman, is minister of Metropolitan Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., and president of the Virginia Baptist Convention. His article is excerpted from a report to the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention on "Educating Tomorrow's Foreign Mission Workers."

different from the tribesmen, the farm laborer and the factory hand"; they are "doctors, teachers, businessmen, professors, politicians, priests and ministers, and trained welfare workers . . . in large measure the gift to Africa of the Christian missionaries."

All reports from Africa indicate that "the tribesmen, the farm laborer and the factory hand" are joining with this mission-trained minority to build powerful movements that will eventually lead to African liberation from colonial bondage.

The Negro church in the United States has made, and we may expect it will continue to make, an important contribution to this development.

Freedom
Where one is enslaved, all are in chains

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Let Africans Speak for Africa!



JOMO KENYATTA, President of the Kenya African Union, was recently jailed for seven years for alleged Mau Mau activities. A brilliant scholar, he lived in England, studied at Moscow University, and is author of "Facing Mount Kenya."

Western Europe and the Pentagon have their plans for Africa—but here Africans speak about their own plans for the

Africa & the "Free World"

"They tell us we are in a Free Country. . . . Yes, we are Free. Free to starve, free to live in shacks, free to be idle and unemployed, free to die for want of medical attention. Free to work for low wages, free not to have anything to save, free to vote only if you own so much, earn so much or pay so much rent, free to have a legislature loaded with government hacks of one kind or another.

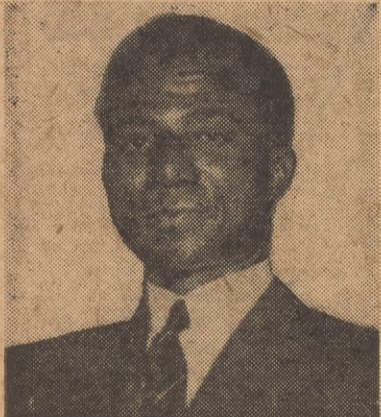
"It is possible that democracy and freedom have different meaning for different people."
—(African Standard, organ of West African Youth League, Freetown, Sierra Leone.)



KWAME NKURUMAH, 43 year-old Prime Minister of Ghana (Gold Coast) is the only black man holding such post in Africa. Election while in a British jail, forced his release. Studied in U.S. at Columbia, worked as dishwasher. Founded Convention Peoples Party.



DR. NNAMDI AZIKIWE, 48 year-old President of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. Popularly known as "Zik" was educated in U.S. at Lincoln U. Publisher of several papers, he is advocate of self-government for Nigeria.



SYLVANUS OLYMPIO, 51 year-old representative of the Ewe peoples, has made three appearances before the U.N. Trusteeship Council pleading for unification and freedom of Eweland, partitioned first by Germans and English, then English and French.

Terror—British or Mau Mau?

"We do not feel that we have received justice or the hearing that we would have liked. We also feel that this case, from our point of view, has been so arranged as to bring Mau Mau on us as a scapegoat, in order to strangle the Kenya African Union—the only African political organisation which fights for the rights of the African people.

"What we have objection to and shall continue to object to is discrimination in the government in this country and we shall not accept that, in jail or out of it. What we have done and shall continue to do is to demand rights for the African people as human beings, that they shall enjoy the same facilities as other people. We look forward to the day when peace shall come to this land.

"I am not asking for mercy, but we are asking for justice, and that injustices that exist among Africans will be righted."
—(Jomo Kenyatta, outstanding leader of the Kenya African peoples, upon being sentenced recently for leading his people towards freedom.)



GABRIEL d'ARBOUSSIER, 45 year-old Secretary-General of Rassemblement Democratique Africain (African Democratic Rally). Once vice-president of the Assembly of the French Union, and vice-president of World Peace Council, was barred from U.S.



ABDOULAYE DIALLO, 56 year-old secretary-general of the Regional Trades Council of Trade Unions in the French Sudan, a vice-president of the World Federation of Trade Unions, he made report on bias, to U.N. Economic and Social Council, N. Y. 1950.

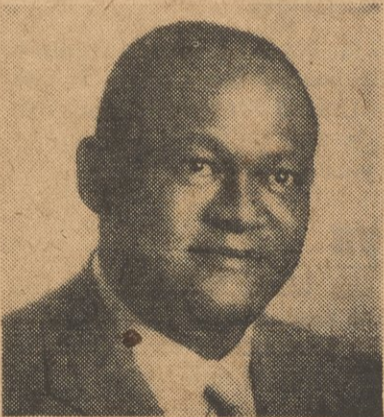
"Threat" of Communism

"As for us, the Negroes in Africa, when we are threatened by a certain bogey, we simply say: 'We do not know whether the Soviets want war, but we can state that so far we cannot see a Soviet base in the whole of Africa.'

"We know, on the contrary, of some which belong to the U.S. We also remember that already in 1945, immediately after the victory of the United Nations, Mr. Truman declared that the security line of the U.S. passed through Dakar and Casablanca. . . .

"All the anger of the reactionaries directed against the Soviet Union is also directed in other forms against the colonial peoples. The latter have learnt, thanks to these reactionaries, that there is a natural alliance between the country of socialism and the oppressed people the world over."

—(Gabriel D'Arboussier, Vice-president of the African Democratic Union, the million-strong national organization of French Africans below the Sahara.)



PROF. Z. K. MATTHEWS, scholar, author, and teacher is President of the Cape Province African National Congress. Recently in the U.S. as guest lecturer at Union Theological Seminary, he was denied right to petition U.N. His son, Joseph, was jailed in South Africa.



ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI, President-General, African National Congress, in South Africa. A teacher and leader of the fight against racial laws, government removed him from a chieftainship held for 17 years when he refused to sever connections with the Congress.



SERETSE KHAMA, hereditary chief of the Bamangwato peoples of Bechuanaland, was exiled by British in 1950, after he married English woman. He and wife were lured to England then return was refused and chieftainship taken.

"I resent the suggestion that the African people require Communists to teach them to defend their rights. Even since the Bantu encountered the Europeans on the banks of the Great Fish River long before the Communist Manifesto was even thought of, they have struggled for equal rights in the land of their birth. They will continue that struggle, and not allow themselves to be browbeaten by smear tactics in their determined fight for their liberation."

—(Z. K. Matthews, chairman of the Cape Province section, South African National Congress, former Henry Luce Visiting Professor at Union Theological Seminary, in interview this year by Ted Poston of the New York Post.)

U.S. — Friend or Foe?

"What the Americans understand as 'colonial development' is precisely what we (in the colonies) condemn as 'economic imperialism.' . . . Let the people of the non-self-governing areas take warning against the 'Point Four' program, for, as at present constituted, it will only mean their enslavement to a new imperialism."

—Kenya Daily Chronicle (Nairobi).



HAILE SELLASSIE, Emperor of Ethiopia since 1930 led his people's resistance to Mussolini invasion. Sellassie shifted his ties from London to Washington after war, gave U.S. business big rights signed military treaties, with U.S. and sent troops to Korea.

Africa—Ready for Freedom?

"There is now a rising tide of nationalism among our people. Our national spirit, now rife, is an up-thrust from our long suffering. There is no going back. We are a race and, like any other race on earth, we love to rule ourselves.

"How shall we achieve a home rule? We shall respect and protect the interests of the minorities in our nation. But the last word as to the form of government we shall have, shall be for us to decide."

—Harry M. Nkumbula, President, Northern Rhodesian African National Congress.



WILLIAM V. S. TUBMAN, President of Liberia, was re-elected in 1951 after banning opposition Reformation Party and exiling its leader Didwhe Twe. Tubman regime has granted big concessions to U.S. corporations, but no more wages for workers.



DIDWHO TWE, opponent of the Tubman clique in Liberia, won world renown in 1929 before League of Nations upon exposing West Africa slave traffic. Educated in U.S. Twe is exiled here, after opposing Tubman. He is taking medical treatment.

THE CONTINENT

Continental Africa is a highly diverse land mass which spreads out over 11,000,000 square miles or one quarter of the earth's surface. It is the second largest of the continents after Asia. It is a land of mountains coastlines, changing into immense plateaus and grassland plains and forests in the central interior. Some of the world's greatest deserts are found in the north and the south. Four mighty rivers cut the continent, the Nile, the Congo, the Niger, and the Zambezi in the South.

Stretched throughout the continent are more than 500 main tribal units and twice that number of languages. Her 200,000,000 native peoples include the Berbers, Taurig, Tibu, and Fulani in the North; in the central Sudanic region there are the Kanem, Bornu and Bagrimi. Farther south along the western coast are the Kru, the Ashanti, Ewe, Yoruba and Hausa. Below the equator most native African peoples speak some variation of Bantu and in central south Africa the predominant Bantu-Zulu peoples include the Bamangwato, Basuto and the Herero-Ovambo. In central Africa the principle peoples are the Barotse, the Bakogo, the Bateke and the Fang; while in east Africa they are the Bagenda, the Kikuyu, the Akamba, the Masai and the Kavirondo.

Nigeria

This 383,000-square-mile British colony of 30 million people, primarily Yoruba, Hausa, and Ibo, is one of the main peanut and palm oil centers which feeds Britain's oleomargarine industry. Having behind it one of Africa's oldest civilizations, Nigeria today is the scene of widespread political demonstrations and agitation for "Self-Government by 1956."

Ghana (Gold Coast)

About two times as large as the state of Louisiana, Ghana (Gold Coast) has an African population of four million, of whom 900,000 are Ashanti. Its youthful Prime Minister is an African, Lincoln University-educated Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Ghana produces almost one-half of the world's cocoa.

Belgian Congo

Belgium's sole possession, a land of eleven million Bantus and fifty thousand Europeans, the Congo is the source of more than half of the United States uranium ore supply. Its tin, cobalt, diamonds and palm oil add up to well over 750 million dollars a year in profit

Kenya

Bordered by Uganda on the west, Ethiopia on the north and the India Ocean on the east, Kenya has been for the past fifty years regarded by Europeans as a favorite land for settlement. The chief economic enterprise in the colony is land-stealing from the native peoples—the Masai, the Kavirondo and the numerically strong (one million) Kikuyu. The 225,000 square mile colony has thirty thousand Europeans settled on vast and choice lands while five million Africans are herded into reservations in the least fertile areas.

Union of South Africa

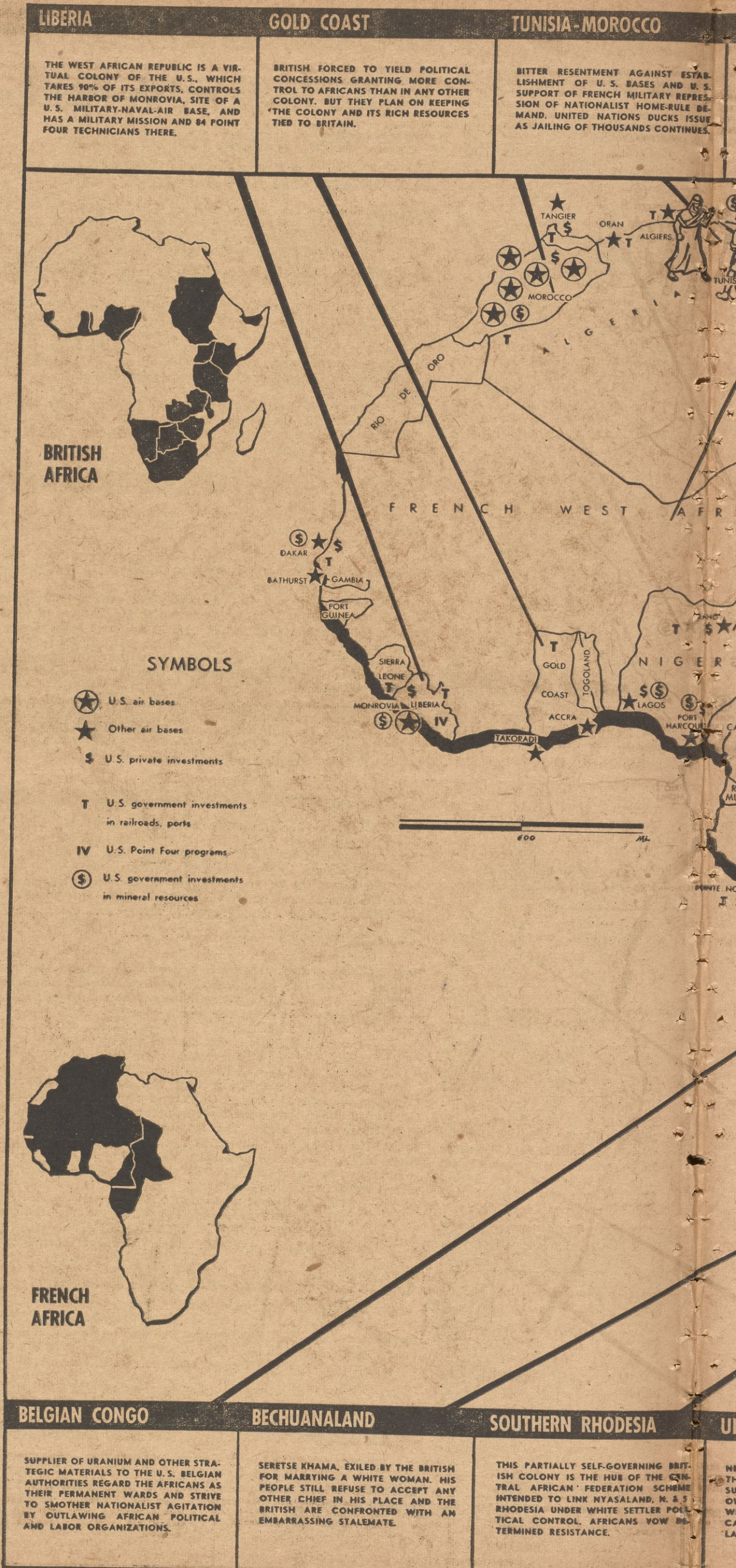
Situated at southernmost end of the continent and a member of the Free Commonwealth of the British Empire, South Africa has a population of eight million native African people, mainly Bantau and Iwo, two and a half million whites and close to a million Asians.

Liberia

About the size of the state of Pennsylvania, this African nation with a population of one and one-half million people, is the producer of the world's richest iron ore.

Ethiopia

An ancient country of 18,000,000 people ruled by Emperor Haile Salesse, Ethiopia's main industry is cattle and sheep breeding. The principle language of the country is Amharic and the population is divided into about 10,000,000 Christians and 3,000,000 Mohammedans. It is a mountainous, volcanic country of 350,000 square miles. The capital is Addis Ababa.



FRENCH WEST AFRICA

NIGERIA

EGYPT

STAB. U. S. PRES. DE- ISSUE NUES.

LABOR SOLIDARITY AND STRIKE ACTION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS RECENTLY FORCED THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT TO APPROVE A LABOR CODE FOR THE AFRICAN COLONY GUARANTEEING BLACK WORKERS THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE, GO ON STRIKE, ETC.

POLITICAL EXPLOSION LEAVES SCORES KILLED AND HUNDREDS WOUNDED AT KANO AS RESULT OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE NORTHERN FEUDAL ARISTOCRACY SUPPORTED BY THE BRITISH AND NIGERIAN MASSES WHO DEMAND "SELF-GOVERNMENT BY 1956."

DULLES BACKS UP BRITISH ON KEEPING SUEZ CANAL UNDER FOREIGN CONTROL. DICTATOR NAGUIB SUPPRESSES LABOR AND PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS BUT VOICES POPULAR DEMAND FOR BRITISH TO QUIT SUEZ AND THE SUDAN.



UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

NORTHERN RHODESIA

KENYA

BRIT. U. S. PRES. DE- ISSUE NUES.

NEW SOURCE OF URANIUM SUPPLY FOR THE U.S. AND MAIN CENTER OF WHITE SUPREMACY DOMINATION IN AFRICA. OVER 9,000 AFRICANS AND OTHER NON-WHITES HAVE GONE TO JAIL IN THEIR CAMPAIGN OF DEFIANCE OF UNJUST LAWS.

HEAVY U.S. INVESTMENTS IN COPPER HERE. 40,000 IN THE AFRICAN MINE WORKERS UNION STRUCK FOR HIGHER WAGES LAST FALL AND WON AFTER SHUTTING DOWN THE MINES FOR THREE WEEKS. A GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST THE FEDERATION SCHEME OCCURRED IN APRIL.

WHITE SETTLERS AND BRITISH TROOPS JOIN FORCES IN A BRUTAL MALAYA-STYLE WAR AGAINST THE DESPERATE, LAND HUNGRY, DISPOSSESSED AFRICANS. ON THE PRETEXT OF COMBATING MAU MAU, THE BRITISH AIM TO SMASH ALL AFRICAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

THE WEALTH

In Africa wealth accumulates in the hands of a small band of reckless parasites.

Some sit in ease in Johannesburg and other capital cities of the "Mother of Continents." But the great majority take their pleasure in Brussels, London, Paris, and New York.

Who are these who fatten off the sweat and toil, precious blood and needless death of millions of Africans?

The companies they control are familiar names to Americans. But how much do we know about their plunder of Africa? How do they operate? Where are their investments? Here is part of the story.

Africa is a classic example of the economic meaning of colonialism: foreign control over industrially undeveloped countries for the purpose of continuously extracting raw materials from them, with cheap labor power and high profit rates, for the benefit of foreign interests. That is why colonial countries are poor and economically backward.

The foreign interests that profit from this system in Africa are not only the British, French, Belgian and others who directly rule most of Africa; it is American interests which are today grabbing the lion's share of many of Africa's most important resources—and the profits that go with them.

As the accompanying map indicates, American corporations and the United States government work closely together in many areas of Africa. You, as a taxpayer, contribute toward the big money being poured into Africa by U.S. government agencies to build railroads and port facilities, power plants, etc., so that the Neumont Mining Corporation, Republic Steel, Kennecott Copper Co., and other giant U.S. corporations can expand their grasp on African iron ore, copper, manganese, cobalt, chrome, industrial diamonds, uranium and dozens of other raw materials.

In 1951 nearly a billion dollars worth of such raw materials were brought into the United States from Europe's colonies, principally in Africa.

U. S. Companies Reap Profits

There are well over a thousand U. S. corporations engaged today in making profits in the Union of South Africa. Kennecott Copper Company is one of those with a big stake in gold-mining and in the new uranium-producing industry, which is mainly financed by the U.S. government through Export-Import Bank grants.

In the Belgian Congo Rockefeller interests have bought into the uranium market through Tanganyika Concessions. In Uganda, Monsanto Chemicals Co. is exploring the territory's strategic minerals resources. Johns-Manville is exploiting Southern Rhodesia's asbestos. The Aluminum Corp. of America operates in many areas through subsidiaries and sub-subsidiaries. Union Carbide and Carbon is in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Gold Coast.

In Northern Rhodesia, three of the biggest copper mining companies are dominated by the American Metal Company and Newmont Mining Corp. (whose Board of Directors includes Gov. James E. Byrnes and Gen. Lucius Clay.) The two companies have other joint holdings in South Africa and South West Africa, and Newmont has additional stakes in French Equatorial Africa and Morocco.

Republic Steel is entrenched in Liberia, Bethlehem Steel in Nigeria and South West Africa, U.S. Steel in French Equatorial Africa. Likewise with the oil barons; apart from the South African market which is dominated by U.S. oil companies, we find Sinclair Oil prospecting in Ethiopia, Gulf Oil in Mozambique and Tunisia, Conrado (California) group in British Somaliland, and Standard Oil with technicians busy in many different areas of Africa.

Such is a thumb-nail sketch of the network of American financial stakes in Africa. We hear a lot about the importance of keeping that great continent within the orbit of the "free world." Yes, the American financiers and their European allies have big plans for Africa. But the PEOPLES of Africa have somewhat different plans.

JIM CROW

United States of America



IN THE SOUTH—USA bathing beaches are reserved, as this Louisiana sign indicates, for whites only. Hundreds of Negro children, for lack of a decent place to swim, drown in creeks and mud-holes each year.



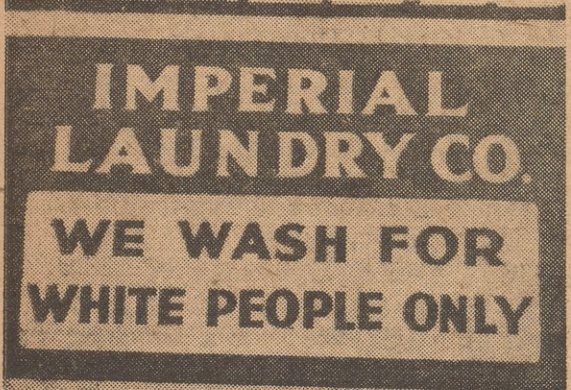
SCORES OF NEGROES have died at hospital doors in the South because of signs like this. When they are admitted, it's inevitably to the "Negro ward," often in the un hospitable environment of the basement.



NOT ONLY are theatres, restaurants, movies, schools, and churches Jim Crow in the South, but in this sign an innocent ice cream cone is made the symbol of prejudice. The kids must learn young.



A NATIONAL magazine recently reported on the last "decade of progress" of American Negroes and pointed to the growing number of Cadillacs among them. A Cadillac owner could not park his car in this Southern lot, however.



THIS SIGN, prominently displayed on a main street in Birmingham, Ala., tells its own story. While Negroes can't take their clothes to the Imperial laundry, they wash "white" clothes for miserable wages.

A Myth Dies — and A New Day Dawns

— An Editorial —

AMERICANS HAVE BEEN TAUGHT for centuries that Africans were docile, backward and "naturally dependent" people, only slightly removed from a sub-human level of existence. This lie "justified" European murder and looting.

To entrench the lie has meant to bury the truth. And in this paper we have made but the merest start at the restoration of the TRUTH ABOUT AFRICA. We have but begun.

Space has not permitted a chronicle of the glorious resistance against the slave trade and foreign domination which runs like a bright thread through all of African history.

We have not told the story of Chaka and Degan and the great Zulu warriors who left the bodies of Boer invaders piled high on the banks of the Fish River.

Menelik can only be mentioned—the great Emperor who led the Ethiopians against the Italians and drove the invaders into the sea at Adowa as late as 1896.

And the never-ending wars against imperialist encroachment—of the Ashanti, the Yorubas, Kikuyus and Masai—all have been hidden and all must be told.

For the myth that only white men have valor, that only Britons, Belgians and Frenchmen are ready to die for liberty, is a prop used to sustain the oppression of black men, not only in Africa, but in London and New York, Birmingham and New Orleans, Trinidad and Jamaica, San Juan and Rio de Janeiro—wherever they may live.

THE MYTH IS DYING.

Kenyatta can not be kept out of the headlines of the world. Malan can not wish away more than 8,000 resisters against "white-is-right" laws who overflow his jails.

No device can convince the mass of American Negroes that their fate is not bound with the future of a rising black Africa.

Some, well-placed among us, seek to deny this. They feel that their own precious "integration" may be impeded, that the rate of acquisition of Cadillacs may fall, if our struggles are bound with Africans. It is time for every section and trend in Negro life to put all differences aside and unite in a vast movement to lend moral and material support to the liberation battles in Africa.

A thunderous roar must rise throughout the land—**FREE KENYATTA!**

Eisenhower and Dulles must hearken to our cry—**STOP DOING BUSINESS WITH BUTCHER MALAN! BREAK DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS!**

Our pennies, dimes and dollars must go to feed the hungry, house the orphaned, build printing presses, finance the organizations, and defend the leaders whose struggles are bringing closer the dawn of African freedom.

MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT. If we do this, we will run afoul of McCarthy. To him "loyalty" means accepting every scheme of the millionaire cabinet, including the rape of Africa.

But the price need not be nearly so great as Africans are already paying in their sturdy struggles.

The same voices which defend the South African National Congress and the Kenya Africa Union must defend the Council on African Affairs and its renowned leaders, DuBois, Robeson and Hunton.

The throats that roar **FREE KENYATTA** must call for the release of Benjamin Davis. Davis is no more guilty of force and violence against this government than Kenyatta is of any crime against Her Majesty's imperialists.

The crimes are the other way around. They are the crimes of those who talk of freedom and spawn the Jim Crow and apartheid signs which border this page. They are the crimes of power-mad men intent on ruling the world and sweeping from their path all opposition.

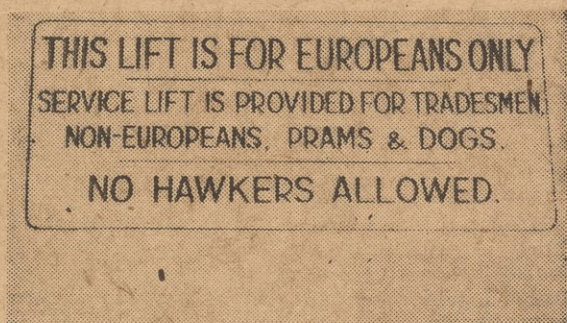
They will not succeed. In today's world we are the many; they are the few. Freedom awaits—for Africa and for Afro-Americans. We need but conquer our fears and petty differences, join hands and hearts, and march forward.

APARTHEID

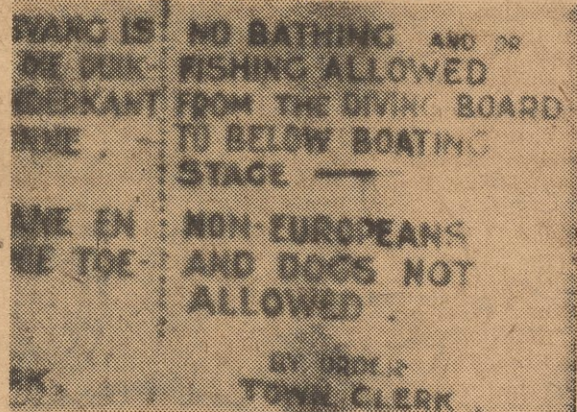
Union of South Africa



THIS IS SOUTH AFRICA. Malan claims that the Boers have just as much claim to this rich land as the Africans, that the whites are "Africans." But, to separate the races, this bench says "Europeans Only."



TRADESMEN, PRAMS (baby-carriages) and hawkers take their place with Africans and dogs in being barred from this elevator. This is on Twist Street, Johannesburg.



AT PARYS, ORANGE FREE STATE, South Africa, this notice on a swimming pool typifies white arrogance by lumping non-Europeans and dogs as beyond the pale.



THIS ROAD SIGN APPEARS on a farm on a national road in South Africa. In the South of the United States there are still signs which warn Negroes to "read and run."



ALL PUBLIC CONVENIENCES are reserved for Europeans only. This sign appears on a ladies rest room in Johannesburg.

Unions Grow in Africa; Spark Freedom Drives

By NATHAN BREWSTER

"The living and working conditions of the African transport and port workers, however different from one region to another, are dominated by some common features: capitalists plundering the national wealth, ruthless exploitation of the natives, brutal repression of the workers, racial discrimination, misery, slums, disease, unemployment and illiteracy. To be brief: all the evils brought about by colonial oppression."

These were the words of the first speaker at the African Conference of transport and port workers held last year in Algeria. Coming from Madagascar, from the various territories of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, more than 120 rail, port and trucking workers met to show their hatred of colonialism and their determination to fight to put an end to their servitude and misery.

This conference was only one of a series in French Africa.

1952 General Strike

These conferences, reflecting the growth of trade unions in French Africa south of the Sahara—French Black Africa—into coordinated organizations with regional councils in the east and west and displaying united activity of the General Confederation of Labor, affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Christian and splinter trade unions, was also accompanied by broad mass activity. The highlight of this upsurge to date: the united general strike of November 3, 1952, is described by Abdoulaye Diallo, General Secretary of Regional Trades Council of Trade Unions (French Sudan), as follows:

"On November 3, workers in all industries struck throughout French West Africa, Senegal, the Sudan, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey and the Upper Volta. In Conakri, Bamako and Abidjan, taxi owners and butchers joined in the workers' strike. Monday, Nov. 3, will enter the annals of the history of the African trade union movement. Not one train ran. Not one boy made a bed. Not one cook boiled water for his European master. All the manoeuvres of the fish carriers and the ice manufacturers failed to force the workers to save the perishable fish catches. Everywhere the Africans coolly and firmly avoided provocation, to the great disappointment of the colonialists."

Right to Organize

And the French African dock workers whose daily pay is 67c, the agricultural workers who make 22c per day, have already won a great victory on the basis of their united struggle. Immediately after the November general strike, the French parliament on Nov. 23d voted the long-fought-for Labor Code for Overseas Territories, their "Bill of Rights." The Labor Code contains the right to organize, the principle of a 40-hour week, family allowances and benefits to pregnant women, and it explicitly bans forced labor.

In South Africa also, trade unionists are in the heart of the peoples' struggles. Several African trade union officials, including J. B. Marks (African

Mine Workers' Union,) L. Bhoola (Secretary, Johannesburg branch Tinworkers' Union,) and T. Gwala (Rubber Workers' Union) have been arrested for participation in the Campaign Against Unjust Laws, the Civil Disobedience Campaign. Drawing upon the large urban centers, that is, upon the African workers, the African National Congress membership has risen from more than 20,000 since the start of the campaign, and the great majority of the more than 8,000 Passive Resisters sent to jail by the Malan government are workers and trade unionists.

It is the strength of the Civil Disobedience Campaign and the African working class that was reflected in the policy statement issued last March by the two main trade union centers in South Africa, the South African Federation of Trade Unions and the Trades and Labor Council, asserting that unions should be open to all, "irrespective of race or color."

Rhodesian Mine Workers

And in Rhodesia the heart of Black Africa and the center of the struggle now being waged around the proposed Central African Federation, a great union, the 40,000 strong Northern Rhodesia African Mine Workers' Union has developed on the basis of victorious struggle against colonialist oppression. The Union's three week strike beginning last October 20th, against copper bosses dominated by the J. P. Morgan-controlled American Metal Co., won a further wage increase. Nine wage groups were established. In the lowest, wages for 30 days work were raised from \$6.20-\$9.38 to \$11.20-\$14.35. In the highest "special group" wages were set at \$49.60-\$56.70 for 30 days.

Thus, when Mr. Harry Nkum-

bula, president of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, burned at a public meeting last March the British White Paper setting out the Central African Federation Plans as "a symbol of the bitter African opposition" and announced April 1-2 as days of national prayer against federation, African organized labor was the substance of this call. The overwhelming majority of African workers, including the strong copper-belt union, stayed away from work.

Unions Oppose Federation

A Supreme Action Council of nine, including five seats filled by the Trade Union Congress, has been formed to lead the anti-Federation fight in Northern Rhodesia. This Action Council has declared, "Should federation be forced against the wishes of the African people, it will be taken as a final betrayal of Africans and treaty obligations. We will not submit to federation. We will take our case to the courts of the world. We will resist it at home."

And similarly in Kenya, Nigeria and Ghana (Gold Coast,) in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, African labor is in the vanguard of the struggle for working class and national liberty, fighting effectively on the political as well as economic front. Trade unions, a new and most important factor on the African scene, are playing a vital role within the upsurging African liberation movements.

What the Northern Rhodesian correspondent of the London Financial Times wrote about the copper strike is true for the entire continent: "This is the first time that a major African union has managed to bring its members to the point of using industrial force. Clearly a new power has arrived in Africa whose potentialities are tremendous."



WORKING MEN AND WOMEN are the main backbone of the campaign for equality led by the South African National Congress. Here they are participating in a huge demonstration in Johannesburg.



A GROUP OF WOMEN participants in the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws are on their way to defy the apartheid (Jim Crow) law at the railway station at Alice, Cape Province, S. Africa.

"Under These Conditions We Are Like Dead People"

The women of Africa, wives and mothers of small children, workers in the fields; women made widows by the savage "justice" of white settlers in Kenya or South Africa, or through the unsafe conditions their husbands are exposed to in the mines; women living in terror of the policeman's boot come to arrest her husband on some flimsy charge and send him to slave labor on the white man's farms; or fighting off with their fists the advances of the lecherous white overlords—the women of Africa are fighting back, moulding the future of Africa and of their children.

African women by the hundreds and the thousands, teenagers and mothers carrying small children, were in the front of the campaign to defy Malan's racist laws in South Africa.

Karabo Sello

Among the first resisters arrested in the campaign was Karabo Sello, only 17, and an executive member of the African National Congress Youth League. She was among the initial 30 volunteers to defy railroad jimcrow in Port Elizabeth.

Last summer, at the height of the campaign, scores of women resisters were rounded up in Cape Province, stripped, and

forced to stand for hours in an open jail-yard, pelted by the fury of a South African rain-storm.

An African woman, Mrs. Florence Mapomela was among the 45 African and Indian Congress leaders arrested under Malan's fascist "Suppression of Communism Act" for organizing resistance to the racist laws of that land.

Mrs. N. Mquose, mother of an 18-month-old child, told the judge who sentenced her to prison for defying jimcrow in Capetown why the women have volunteered.

"We are volunteers," she declared, "because we are opposed to the oppressive laws of this government. Under these conditions we are like dead people. We are defying the laws because we want our children to have a future."

Mrs. Ransom-Kuti

And women have taken leadership not only in South Africa. In Nigeria, West Africa, Mrs. Funmilayo Ransom-Kuti, a teacher who founded and is now president of the Nigerian Women's Union has built an organization which has a membership of some 80,000 women in the town of Abeokuta, where her husband is a minister, and its surrounding villages alone.

The union has pressed for free education, free hospitals and clinics, and full democratic rights—including proportional representation for women on local councils and higher organs of government.

In 1949, when 58 women in Enugu, Nigeria were arrested for carrying water to their striking coal-miner husbands, over 800 women from the town surrounded the court and demanded that the arrested women be immediately released or the government would have to arrest all the women in Enugu. The judge dismissed the accused.

It is the same story in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, where women have joined their husbands to fight the hated Federation plan of the British to enforce white supremacy throughout the area of Central Africa; it is the same in Kenya, where women and men both are herded into concentration camps because they want an end to British terror and white settler pillage.

An African Leader Exposes Max Yergan

By DR. Z. K. MATTHEWS

Dr. Max Yergan, described as "America's foremost authority on Africa," has recently through the medium of a long interview with the "U. S. News & World Report" given the American public the benefit of impressions gained by him during a "tour of Africa's trouble spots."

As an African who has lived all his life in Africa except for occasional visits abroad, and as an accredited representative of the African National Congress, the premier political organization of the Africans in the Union of South Africa, I feel that I cannot allow Dr. Yergan's observations to go unchallenged, especially as they are addressed to a public which, for obvious reasons, may not possess the necessary background of African experience and information on which a critical assessment of the value of his impressions must be based.

Unlike Dr. Yergan who has taken the greater part of Africa for his province, I shall confine myself to the Union of South Africa, the area which he himself, on the basis of his long residence there as a YMCA Secretary would probably claim to know best and for whose white rulers he has emerged as such a fervent apologist in his interview.

No Contact Made

During his long stay in the Union of South Africa, he had little or no first hand contact with African political organizations, such as the African National Congress. To my knowledge he first made contact with an African political organization in 1936 when he attended some meetings of the All-African Convention. This was shortly before he returned to the United States where, as all the world knows, he was one of the foundation members and executive secretary of the Council on African Affairs. Through that organization he maintained contact with the Union of South Africa until he broke with that organization.

About his recent visit to South Africa in 1952 the extent to which he made contact with the dynamic movements then in progress among the non-whites may be gauged from this statement by Mr. Nelson Mandela, an African attorney practicing in Johannesburg who is an active member of the African National Congress: "I was struck with the



The Rev. Michael Scott, Anglican minister of South Africa has been barred from his homeland because of his outspoken support of the Herero people of South West Africa whose lands the Malan regime seeks to annex. Rev. Scott has recently fought the proposed Central Federation scheme.

Note

The writer (Chairman of the Cape Province African National Congress) answers in this article, a 12 page interview with Max Yergan, (former YMCA Secretary) in the May issue of the magazine, U. S. News & World Report, entitled "Africa: Next Goal of Communists." The Yergan interview has aroused widespread resentment among U. S. Negroes. Typical of the reaction is the editorial of the May 9 Baltimore Afro-American which hits Yergan's defense of white supremacy. Noting Yergan's years in Africa the Afro declared "It is a sad situation when a person with this background boldly voices the fantastic belief that the three-centuries-old oppression of Africans is to be free from criticism."

fact that Mr. Yergan made no attempt to meet the Non-European leaders and discuss the defiance campaign with them direct. He came to this country to study the campaign, he said. Yet all his impressions were second hand or gleaned from newspapers which cannot speak for the campaign."

In other words while Dr. Yergan apparently made a special effort to get into touch with the advocates of apartheid in order that he might develop the "sympathetic and constructive approach" to their problems which he is now seeking to communicate to the American public, he did not consider it necessary to do so as far as the leaders of the victims of the policy of apartheid are concerned. For that reason he can perhaps claim to have special knowledge and concern for the hopes and aspirations, "the high stakes," as he calls them, of the white man and act as their spokesman, but as far as the non-whites are concerned, they will have no hesitation in repudiating the suggestion that Dr. Yergan speaks with any real knowledge of their situation and/or any solicitude for their welfare.

Dr. Yergan may of course have special knowledge or aptitude for identifying "communists" which is not available to those who have not at any time been closely associated with them, but I think it would only have been fair to his readers for him to indicate that this word is used in different ways in different countries and in particular by the whites in South Africa whose point of view he has shown such pains to get across to the American public. Both legally and otherwise the term "communist" in that country is applied to those who, yielding to no one in their loyalty to their country, seek to work for the amelioration of the lot of the majority of the inhabitants of South Africa. They will not of course be deterred from their work by vituperation and abuse or by veiled suggestions that movements for liberation must always be "communist-inspired,"

but as one who has been closely associated with the African National Congress both as a member of the National Executive and as President of the Cape Province section of that organization I have no hesitation in saying that Dr. Yergan would be hard put to it to substantiate his statement that "communists" exercise a powerful influence in that organization whatever the sense in which he uses the term.

False Statements

Besides errors of judgment, this interview shows mistakes of fact which are surprising in one who claims close acquaintance with developments in South Africa. Questioned about "riots" in South Africa he gave a version of them which even a casual reader of newspaper reports about them would realize was wide off the mark. No "white religious sister" lost her life in a riot at Port Elizabeth; no "white religious sister" tried "to persuade Africans to disband a meeting either at Port Elizabeth or at East London."

In fairness to the African and other non-white groups who have been connected with the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, an impartial observer might have noted that although over 8,000 persons were arrested for their participation in the Campaign in no instance was there any violence connected with the Campaign. It is this peculiar combination of errors of judgment and mistakes of fact which will make those who are interested in the resolution of the problems with which black and white are confronted in South Africa dubious about the value of his contribution.

Malan Cops Search Dr. Matthews

When Dr. Z. K. Matthews returned to South Africa on May 19, he was searched by detectives, in Johannesburg. Dr. Matthews returned to Fort Hare college for Africans after serving as visiting professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

"I was ordered to turn out my pockets and my wallet was examined," Dr. Matthews declared. "Detectives took some of my private papers. They looked through every scrap of paper I had, also my books."

"I take the strongest exception to this," declared the noted African leader, "as I do not know of any crime I have committed to warrant this."

The white supremacy government of Malan refused to renew Dr. Matthews' passport. Prior to this, C. R. Swart, Justice Minister complained that Dr. Matthews had appealed to U. S. Negroes for aid to Africans in their struggle against the racial policies of Malan. This was evidently Dr. Matthews "crime."



DR. Y. M. DADOO, right, Indian leader, and J. P. Marks, African union leader, after trial of 20 in Johannesburg under Suppression of Communism Act.

Indians in Africa

By KUMAR GOSHAL

The story of Indians in Africa furnishes another illustration of colonial exploitation of cheap labor for huge profits, of the imperialist method of "divide and rule," of the need for unity among the exploited in their struggle for liberation.

Of the approximately 400,000 Indians in Africa, more than half—nearly 300,000—live in the Union of South Africa, while in Kenya and Tanganyika there are about 50,000 each. The majority of South African Indians are concentrated in the province of Natal. Eighty per cent of the Indians in South Africa are descendants of indentured laborers brought the Natal almost a hundred years ago.

Deprived of Rights

The first indentured Indian laborers arrived in Natal in 1860. By 1870, after finishing their terms of service, many of them decided to settle in Natal. Trouble started almost immediately, for the British residents refused to allow any but the most menial occupation to the Indians. A series of laws were enacted depriving the Indians of all political rights, restricting their movements and residence, and denying them the right to own any property. In 1895, the Natal government imposed a \$12 annual poll tax on all Indians; failure to pay the tax was punishable by perpetual re-indenture, imprisonment or deportation to India.

Between 1885 and 1945, the central and provincial governments of South Africa enacted 66 laws discriminating against the Indians. By the time Dr. Malan came to power, Indians were already forbidden from living in the Orange Free State and had to secure permits to enter one province from another. If unemployed, they were barred from securing employment in another province. They had no political rights and only severely restricted trading rights. Skilled trades were not open to them, nor did they enjoy unemployment insurance.

Wherever there have been sizable numbers of Indians, the white people of Africa have tried to pit them against the Africans, and both against the Coloreds (people of mixed descent). As late as 1949, they managed to foment riots between Africans and Indians in

Natal. Even today the white rulers are looking for opportunities to utilize the Indians against the Africans. Hugh Latimer, a writer for the (London) Observer, suggested (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 1/21/53) that "with a little encouragement" the "native gift for loyalty" of Sikh and Punjabi Indian settlers in Kenya "could be harnessed" to form "a specifically Asian fighting unit, of the army or police..." (Sikhs and Punjabis in the past supplied excellent mercenary soldiers for the British army.)

Gandhi Was There

From the time when the late Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi—practicing law in Natal at the turn of the century—organized Indian passive resisters in South Africa to the present day, Indians in Africa have learned many political lessons. Despite widespread illiteracy and strict government censorship, the story of the accomplishments of colored peoples in the Soviet Union has gradually spread among the non-whites in Africa. The fact that the socialist countries have been the only consistent supporters in the United Nations of the rights of colonial, colored and exploited peoples of the earth has not failed to impress the Indians and Africans.

The progress in political understanding the Indians in Africa have made has been demonstrated in the solid African-Indian-Colored unity displayed in the recent civil disobedience campaign launched by them in South Africa; the openly fascist character of the newly-elected Malan regime in South Africa will undoubtedly help cement this unity more firmly. The Indians in Africa have at last learned that only by uniting with the Africans and other oppressed peoples can they secure freedom, justice and equality for themselves.



The White Man's Burden

Unrest in Africa Due to Oppression

By **ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON**

When, at the United Nations, I had the good fortune to be granted special interviews with the delegates from Liberia and Ethiopia, I learned many things. Not the least of these was that it is not simply the color that is tending to unite Africans among themselves and with other peoples as never before. Most important, it is a common resistance to oppression.

The struggle of the African people in Kenya for the return of their land; the struggle of the African, Indian and colored people in South Africa against segregation and discrimination; the struggle of the North African people in Tunisia and Morocco for control of their land, resources and internal affairs; the struggle of the people of Indo-China and Malaya for control of their natural wealth—all these are closely related to the struggle of the Negro people here in these United States for truly representative government and full equality.

And these struggles are essentially another part of the successful struggle of the people of India and of Indonesia for self-government and independence. Their victories are our victories.

And, to go a little further back in history, the successful struggle of the Chinese people under the War Lords, and of the Russian people under the Czars, for control of their land, resources and government, were and are part of this whole picture, and their victories are

also our victories.

The struggle of women, and labor, and minorities here in the United States and everywhere for equality, human rights, and truly representative government are all part of this same picture.

Same Pattern

In this universal struggle by people everywhere for freedom, there is always the same general pattern:

There is always the beating of drums and the calling to arms, the name-calling, the flood of pious declarations of peaceful intentions, the "benefits" of civilization by the oppressors, who scream about the evil intentions, the savagery and backwardness, the trouble-making, disloyalty, subversiveness and sedition of the people who insist upon equal rights, self-government, human rights, an end to oppression, and payment for services rendered.

In this general pattern there is always the jailing and exile and persecution of the freedom leaders, the confiscation of their lands and resources, the use of real force and violence—the army, navy, air force. There is always the attack upon the freedom organizations, the banning of the publications, the forbidding of public meetings, the threats and the terror.

From Jail to Power

North, East, South African leaders against oppression; Malayan, Indochinese, American freedom leaders are now in prison or in exile. Not so long ago freedom leaders in India, Indonesia, and the Gold Coast in West Africa came out



SOUTH AFRICAN RESISTERS: Volunteers in the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws are shown being loaded into a truck at Boksburg Location last June 26. One raises thumb in the Afrika salute.

of prison to lead new governments. Just so freedom leaders now in prison and in exile will soon also lead new governments.

In this world struggle of people against colonialism and oppression the local circumstances and methods of resistance may vary, but the objectives are always basically the same—in Asia, Africa, the Americas—the objectives are self-government, independence, freedom, equality, human rights.

In South Africa and in India the method is and was organized passive resistance. In Kenya it is active resistance. In West Africa it was strike, boycott, demonstration. In North Africa it is now active resistance. In Indonesia it was war. In Malaya and Indochina it is war. In the United Nations

it is the ever-growing consolidation of the Arab-Asian-African bloc.

Part of Majority

I believe all this double-talk of the Western nations about Free Nations, Free World, Democracy, the Four Freedoms, Human Rights and Peace is reverberating and will echo back to blast the colonialism and oppression right on out of existence. Too many people in too many places have set their sights on Freedom and will not settle for anything else. When more than two-thirds of the population of the world decide—as they have decided now—that human rights must be fought for, then that's it, brother, that's it. And we American citizens, Negro and white, who are insisting upon equality and our civil

rights no longer find ourselves a minority, but part of a fighting—and winning—world majority. I feel comfortable and confident with so many people on our side, fighting oppression.

Students From Africa in U.S.

According to the Institute of International Education, there were 1,173 African students in United States colleges during the school year 1951-52. The students came from 21 countries and dependencies and were scattered in institutions throughout the United States.

Among Negro colleges, Lincoln U. in Pa., Howard in Washington, D.C., Fisk at Nashville, and Tuskegee in Alabama, have for many years attracted a sizeable number of African scholars.

Of the 1,173 students reported on, the largest numbers came from Egypt (349) and Nigeria (334). Liberia with 108 and Gold Coast with 101 were next in line. Other areas represented were Sierra Leone, 49; Ethiopia, 41; Algeria, 31; Angola, 14; Morocco, 12; Kenya, 9, and Uganda, 6. It is estimated that of the 96 students who came from the Union of South Africa the vast majority, if not all, are white.

A majority of African students in the U.S. come on full or partial government scholarships, and a growing number receive aid from such business-controlled groups as the Ford Foundation.

A Thousand Years? . . . No, Now's the Time!

(Continued from Page 1)

fluence of African music to Europe — to Spain with the Moors, to Persia and India and China, and westward to the Americas. And I came to learn of the remarkable kinship between African and Chinese culture (of which I intend to write at length some day).

My pride in Africa, that grew with the learning, impelled me to speak out against the scorners. I wrote articles for the *New Statesman and Nation* and elsewhere championing the real but unknown glories of African culture. I argued and discussed the subject with men like H. G. Wells, and Laski, and Nehru; with students and savants.

Now, there was a logic to this cultural struggle, and the powers-that-be realized it before I did. The British Intelligence came one day to caution me about the political meanings of my activities. For the question loomed of itself: If African culture was what I insisted it was, what happens then to the claim that it would take 1,000 years for Africans to be capable of self-rule?

YES, CULTURE AND POLITICS were actually inseparable here as always. And it was an African who directed my interest in Africa to something he had noted in the So-

viet Union. On a visit to that country he had travelled east and had seen the Yakuts, a people who had been classed as a "backwards race" by the Czars. He had been struck by the resemblance between the tribal life of the Yakuts and his own people of East Africa.

What would happen to a people like the Yakuts now that they were freed from colonial oppression and were a part of the construction of the new socialist society?

I saw for myself when I

visited the Soviet Union how the Yakuts and the Uzbeks and all the other formerly oppressed nations were leaping ahead from tribalism to modern industrial economy, from illiteracy to the heights of knowledge. Their ancient cultures blossoming in new and greater splendor. Their young men and women mastering the sciences and arts. A thousand years? No, less than 30!

So through Africa I found the Soviet Union—a beacon, a tried and tested way for whole

nations, peoples, continents to revive the mother-roots of culture, to flower in freedom.

A thousand years? No, Africa's time is now! We must see that and realize what it means to us, we American brothers and sisters of the Africans. We must see that we have a part to play in helping to pry loose the robbers' hold on Africa. For if we take a close look at the hands that are at Africa's throat, we will understand it all: we know those hands.

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National Church Confers Title On Paul Robeson

AN AFRICAN VIEW OF ROBESON:

The article reproduced above from the "West African Pilot," most influential newspaper in Nigeria, tells the story of the granting to Paul Robeson of the award Champion of African Freedom by the National Church of Nigeria. Others who received the award were Kwame Nkrumah of Gold Coast and Dr. Namdi Azikwe of Nigeria.

The award, given amidst "deafening applause," was granted for "selfless service to Africa."

Paul Robeson Given The Title Champion Of African Freedom

ABA.—On January 29, at 9 a.m., at 161 Ebi Road, over 5,000 people from various parts of the country witnessed the first ordination ceremony of the first priest of the National Church, according to the original African form of ordination.

Three other types of awards were given to various people. Several Western and Eastern leaders who took part in the defence of the Etingu mine recently were awarded the title "Defender of Nigerian Liberty," while others who had been convicted of sedition and other political offences received the title "Victims for Nigerian Freedom." A deafening applause followed the announcement.

Robeson Begins Concert Tour

Paul Robeson, begins his second nation-wide concert tour on May 31, with an appearance in Detroit, at the Greater St. Peter's Baptist Church. Sponsored by Freedom Associates, the tour spanning five months will take him to the West Coast, and the Deep South.

The noted singer's June dates include concerts at Macedonia Baptist Church, June 7, San Francisco; The Embassy Auditorium, June 14, Los Angeles; and Grace Memorial Parish, June 28, St. Louis.

A Conversation from Life

What Does Africa Want...? Freedom!

By ALICE CHILDRESS

Marge, you can't understand anything if you don't get up and go, in order to keep in the know. . . . Now, you take all this talk about Africa—what do you know about Africa? . . . That's right—nothin'! Or even worse than nothin' because we don't know anything but a pack of fancy lies.

All our education about Africa comes from bad moving pictures . . . you know how they show us bunches of "wild folk" goin' crazy and bein' et up by lions, tigers and snakes. We see pictures about Africans dancin' all day and drummin' all night . . . and ain't it funny Marge, how the animal always eats the African and not the white man?

Yes, girl, I went to an African meetin' tonight. No, it wasn't given by African people, but it was all about Africa. . . . Well, the evenin' started out with speakers tellin' things about Africa and how Africans are different groups of people and not all one single thing. . . . Well, like in Europe—you know there's English, French, Italians and Germans but yet you can plainly see and hear how they are different even though they are all Europeans. . . . That's right, there are even more groups of Africans than there are different Europeans.

Then someone explained all about African art and sculpture, and they showed us beautiful photographs of the things. . . . No, Marge, we didn't get to see any of the real stuff. How could we when it's all in the British Museum?

Another speaker told us about history and slavery and all such as that, finally ending up with today and what's going on now. And believe me



THESE MEN WANT FREEDOM! Grim-faced and strong-willed, men of the Kikuyu tribe in Kenya sit on the ground in a concentration camp where they have been herded by the British because of their fight to regain their land from the tiny minority of 30,000 whites who rule with an iron fist the destinies of five and a half million Kenyans.

when I say THINGS ARE POPPIN'! . . .

Wait, Marge. . . don't get excited . . . save that for later. It seems that the South Africans are breakin' the Jim Crow laws! . . . Just like if you was to walk in a Mississippi waitin' room, tear down the "white sign" and sit yourself down! HOW 'BOUT THAT AFRICA! . . . Oh, honey, thousands of 'em are doin' that in trains, in the parks and every-

where! . . .

But what bugged me was the "discussion" they had at the meetin'. . . . Marge, you should have been there to hear the people arguin' back and forth about "WHAT THE AFRICAN WANTS" and "WHAT THE AFRICANS DON'T WANT" . . . Yes, that took up all the discussion time, and it kept battin' around from one person to the other: "The African wants this and not that" . . . and on and on it went. . . .

All of a sudden I jumped straight up and hollered, "There ain't no mystery about that! Africans want to be free! . . . How in the devil can you sit and hear how they're starved, whipped, kept out of schools, jailed and shot down and then ask WHAT the African wants?" . . . I went right on. . . . "You folks been talkin' so uppity 'bout 'Are Africans fit to govern themselves?' . . . 'are they educated enough?' and all such trash." . . . "Let me tell you one thing," I says: "If educated folk can't do anything but jail, whip, starve and abuse, what in the devil makes you think they are anything but unfit to rule!"

Yes, I did! . . . I squared right off: "There's two schools of thought over there . . . one says privileges for white folk alone . . . while the other says FREEDOM FOR ALL. I shook my fist at them, Marge. "Shame, shame, shame!" I cried. "I hear Jesus call for water and I see the soldier put vinegar to his lips! Why don't you people debate that—what did Jesus want!" . . . Marge, I have often wondered how a multitude could have stood and watched Jesus drag the cross, when all they had to do was close ranks and take it off his shoulder. . . .

I tell you, they got quiet when I laid down the law. . . . "Stop all this pussyfootin' pretense about 'you can't understand'. . . . Right is right and

wrong is wrong. FREE AFRICA! Then I turned and asked, "Now who don't understand that?"

. . . Well, maybe I did make a scene, Marge, but I'm sick and tired of folks pretendin' they don't know the score just so they can duck the issue, 'cause we all got to go when the wagon comes and it behooves each and every one of us to "put up or shut up" as the gambler said. . . . Sure, Marge, the truth is just pure beautiful!

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