

AFRICA NEWSLETTER

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CONTENTS:	Page
Editorial	1
Freedom Charter in South Africa	2
Angela and the Belgian Congo	2
State of Emergency in N. Tanganyika	4
Sensitive Mr. Lyttolton!	5
State of Emergency in S. Rhodesia	6
State of Emergency in Buganda	7
News Briefs	8

May/June 1964.

Gekry by... *[Handwritten signature]*

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To... *[Handwritten address]*

Datum... *[Handwritten date]*

Verwysings No.

Lyttolton has only one answer to the growing movement in the colonies for liberation from imperialist rule - the mailed fist and the bullet. The British imperialists can no longer rule in the colonies without resort to declarations of "emergency" to provide a cover for their policy of ruthless armed aggression and mass murder.

June 20th marks the sixth anniversary of the "state of emergency" in Malaya, and the end is not yet in sight. In Kenya it has lasted 20 months, and still goes on. In British Guiana it was enforced last October to remove elected ministers and suspend the constitution. Now there is a reign of terror in that country.

Last November it was declared in Buganda to cover up the deportation of the Kabaka. It was abolished on March 31st, but when the people organised an effective trade boycott it was again re-imposed at the end of May. On May 18th a new "state of emergency" was declared in Northern Tanganyika, and on June 4th a state of emergency was declared in Southern Rhodesia.

"States of emergency" have now become a normal technique of British imperialism in its desperate but unsuccessful efforts to destroy the rising liberation movement of the colonial peoples. The scope of this growing movement was revealed in the recent conference (April 21-23) of Communist and Workers Parties of countries within the sphere of British imperialism. There were delegates, observers or written reports from seventeen different countries. In its manifesto the conference declared its unanimous support and solidarity with the struggle of the colonial peoples, ending with this declaration

Once again we must apologise to our readers for May and June issues being combined into one. This is due to the Communist Party Congress held in April, and the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in countries in the sphere of British imperialism which followed the Congress, and the subsequent additional work entailed for the already very limited staff, made it impossible to produce a separate May issue.

FORWARD IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND NATIONAL LIBERATION !
BUILD THE MIGHTY ALLIANCE OF OUR PEOPLES AGAINST THE REACTIONARY ALLIANCE OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM !
LONG LIVE THE FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION OF OUR PEOPLES !

FREEDOM CHARTER FOR SOUTH AFRICA

The Congress Movement of South Africa is to organise a Congress of the People, to which the people, the ordinary men and women of all races, are to send representatives to frame a People's Freedom Charter.

At a joint meeting in Port Elizabeth the Executives of the African National Congress, the Indian National Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats (the last named representing, in the main, progressive Europeans) decided to call on the entire people of South Africa to participate in a "general election" for the People's Congress.

The Congress is to be held towards the end of the year and in the meantime the Congresses have set about to popularise the idea - to bring it home to the remotest villages in the land.

It is hoped that this democratically elected Congress will draft a Freedom Charter round which the people will rally in their struggle for emancipation from white supremacy and Malanazi fascism.

Moses Kotane, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party before it was banned, has welcomed the Congress as opening "the way for a great advance towards a democratic future".

Walter Sisulu, General Secretary of the African National Congress, in launching the campaign for this Congress said it will be an assembly of Africans, Europeans, Coloureds, Indians and Chinese. It will be a Congress of people of different political and religious views, whose common interest is the building of a united nation in South Africa, a nation which will be free from prejudice, ignorance and chauvinism.

Moses Kotane emphasised in a May Day Manifesto, that the Charter must "do more than express pious hopes in words which mean all things to all men".

ANGOLA AND THE BELGIAN CONGO

The Belgian Congo is about half the size of Europe; it covers nearly a million square miles and has nearly 12 million inhabitants. The Portuguese colony of Angola has about half the area and about a third of the population of the Belgian Congo. Together they cover about one-eighth of Africa and have about one-twelfth of its population.

Because there is only the merest pretence of democracy in Angola, and no such pretence whatever in the Congo, we hear very little of what

4 3

goes on inside these territories. Officially, (according to Basil Davidson, to whose recent articles in the "New Statesman and Nation" and "West Africa" we are indebted for most of the facts given below) only eleven Congo Africans have, since 1885, been permitted to leave the Belgian Congo for the outside world.

Forced Labour in Angola

In Angola all Africans except the 30,000 granted Portuguese citizenship (assimilados) must, by law, work for six months in every year. In theory you may work where you like; in practice you work where you are told, and if you resist you are handed over to the police for flogging. (The police also flog those reported to them for rudeness to European employers or for "politics".)

The official number of forced workers in Angola at the end of 1973 was 379,000, nearly one half of the whole labour force of the colony and about one tenth of the whole population.

All skilled work is reserved for Portuguese immigrants, and this industrial colour bar is causing an increasingly general and rigid social colour bar to develop.

Major employers include the Anglo-U.S.-Belgian Angola Diamond Company, with 11,000 "free" and 4,000 forced workers; in 1947 this company paid its African workers an average wage of £10-10-0 per annum, and its shareholders a 32% dividend.

The Benguela Railway (90% owned by Tanganyika Concessions) has 13453 "free" and 2,018 forced workers. Wages on the coast plantations run at 20s. to 30s. a month; inland wages are lower. The provision of 16 water taps for 20,000 Africans in Lobito is reckoned an "improvement".

Labour Conditions in the Congo

Conditions in the Congo are somewhat better, partly because the country, with its uranium, copper, forest products, etc. is far richer, but chiefly because the devastation of the land and the decimation of the people under Leopold and the Belgian Government in the 1885-1913 period resulted in such a labour shortage that the Belgians were forced to make conditions of work (as these things go in colonies) relatively attractive. Many highly skilled and responsible posts are open to Africans, at, of course, salaries considerably below the "European" rate: the African captains of Congo river "liners" are to get a little over £30 monthly.

Unskilled workers earn from about 1s.8d. rising to 2s.4d. daily; a semi-skilled worker, after 28 years service, may rise to something like £2 a week. At 138 frs. to the £1, unskilled rates are from 11 to 16 frs., semi-skilled 30 to 51 frs., skilled 113 to 167 frs. daily. Forced labour is to be abolished shortly.

The People Fight Back

Both in Angola and in the Congo the complete denial of trade union

9

- 4 -

and all other democratic rights forces underground all progressive movements; but it is quite clear that resistance to Anglo-American imperialism, and to the Belgian and Portuguese colonial administration which act as the agents of the imperialists, is active and increasing.

In the Congo the Kitiwala and other secret organisations are so active that even in 1952, the government had 3,818 political prisoners relegated to remote villages, while the number of political prisoners, classified as particularly dangerous, increased from 612 in 1951 to 631 in 1952. A Belgian official told Davidson that such prisoners by no means represent the dregs of the population; on the contrary they are very often among what the official termed "our best workers".

No figures of those detained for political offences in Angola are available; but the "worst" offenders are admittedly sent to the infamous cocoa plantations of Sao Thome. The Portuguese head of the Native Affairs Department in Angola told Davidson that he was probably not sending more than five prisoners a month to Sao Thome. Others are sent to Baia dos Tigres on the coast of the Kalahari Desert.

Open Revolts

The underground movement in the Congo was already causing the administration serious concern in 1940 and there were open revolts in 1943 and in 1944, news of which was carefully kept from the outside world. In 1953 in Sao Thome there was a popular rising which was repressed with much bloodshed. The facts are hard to get, but it appears that in the Sao Thome rising government forces killed at least 200 and possibly over 1,000 Africans.

The African peoples of the Congo and Angola are, under the most difficult conditions, waging a long and serious struggle against Anglo-American imperialism - a struggle which deserves the wholehearted support of the progressive forces in all countries.

It is in particular the concern of the workers in Britain and the United States to give very serious attention to the crimes "their" imperialists are responsible for in these two colonies.

STATE OF EMERGENCY IN NORTHERN TANGANYIKA

On May 18th 1954 a State of Emergency was declared in Northern Tanganyika, on the pretext of Kikuyu "terrorists" entering Tanganyika from Kenya and penetrating into Arusha and the Mount Meru forest area. Since then several Africans have been shot and killed by armed police.

It will be recalled that it was from this area of Northern Tanganyika in October 1951 that 3,000 Meru people were forcibly evicted from their land, their crops and homes destroyed, and their cattle confiscated. The Meru people subsequently sent their representative, Mr. Kirilo Japhet, to plead

their case at the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

After spending almost twelve months in a fruitless endeavour to get some satisfaction from the Trusteeship Council, Mr. Japhet, on July 8, 1953, delivered a speech to the Council in which he again referred to the serious plight of his people, and to the fast deteriorating situation of those who had been evicted from their land. He said that the Meru people were now on the verge of starvation, and are surrounded on all sides by white settlers who were making life unbearable for the Meru people by seizing their cattle and sheep and then fining the owners in the hope that they will move out and leave the land to the settlers. He also said that the confiscation of land from the Meru people was being extended.

Finally, he quoted from a message sent to him by his people:

"We, the Meru people, request our Gracious Government to return to us our land at Engare Nanyuki. At present the settlers are prospering at our most painful expense. Those of us who were evicted have nowhere to live, even to this very day. Between November 1951 and 1953, the evicted Wa Meru have continued to live a destitute life. They have no land, or livestock to live on. Poverty and suffering have followed them because of their homelessness, as they await the return of their lands to them. The settlers live in comfort."

On July 29th, 1953, the "Times" carried a report that the "worst famine in its history faces Tanganyika's biggest food-bearing area in the northern province". And on December 12th, 1953, the "Manchester Guardian" made reference to the fact that corporal punishment is in existence in Tanganyika, and its retention was recommended as "imprisonment had little deterrent, punitive, or reformative value", as prisoners "lived in better conditions than in their own homes".

Such, then, is the background to the present "state of emergency" in yet another of the British African territories. No amount of propaganda about the infiltration of "Mau Mau terrorists" from Kenya can hide the fact of the intense suffering and privation of the African people in Tanganyika. The declaration of the state of emergency is a pretext to suppress the just demands of the Africans for the return of their stolen land, and to impose still further privations on them.

SENSITIVE MR. LYTTTELTON !

The whole Committee of the Arab Association in Zanzibar, comprising ten members, are being charged with possessing and publishing in its journal "Alfalaq" seditious matter culled from the "Africa Newsletter". The particular sentence which has led to the charge was culled from the "Africa Newsletter" of November 1953, in which it refers to the fact that the policies and actions of Mr. Lyttelton since he has been in office, have resulted in mass killings of Africans and Malaysians and the destruction of the elementary civil rights of

millions of people. Among the ten members of the Committee being charged are two members of the Legislative Council, Sultan Khandis and Ali Mhsin Barwani.

The Arab Association is a political organisation representing the national aspirations of the Arab people of Zanzibar who comprise approximately half the total population. The Committee members feel that this attack is an attempt to suppress the Arab association, which is growing in strength and popularity, and is causing much embarrassment to the Government. Its journal "Alfalaq" is banned in Kenya, and the editor Ahmed Lamki is declared a prohibited immigrant by the Kenya Government.

STATE OF EMERGENCY IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

On June 4th, a state of emergency was declared in yet another African territory - this time Southern Rhodesia - on the pre text of a strike for increased wages by European railway firemen.

Two strike leaders, Mr. C. R. Taylor and Mr. W. Raeburn were immediately arrested, and the Government declared Mr. Taylor an undesirable immigrant and ordered his deportation under emergency regulations.

The strike spread to firemen in Northern Rhodesia, and railway guards and drivers in Southern Rhodesia decided to strike in protest against the deportation order.

Mr. Taylor was given no reasons for his deportation, and was consequently not in a position to lodge an appeal. The matter was therefore taken to Mr. Justice Beadle by fellow strikers, and a temporary interdict was granted forbidding the Southern Rhodesian Government to deport Mr. Taylor until it had shown cause why the order declaring him a prohibited immigrant should not be set aside.

The correspondent of the "Financial Times" on June 7th, reported:

"Mr. Garfield Todd assured me last night that Mr. Taylor had been declared a prohibited immigrant on a report received from another government."

This same correspondent further went on to say "international Communism is now officially blamed for the strike".

The High Court on June 9th confirmed the order declaring Mr. Taylor a prohibited immigrant. The only reason given, apparently, was that it was essential that Mr. Taylor should be removed from the colony as soon as possible "for reasons of security". Mr. Taylor now has the right of appeal, but this will not prevent his immediate deportation from the country.

It is quite clear that the state of emergency was declared in order to make possible the deportation of the leader of the firemen's strike.

STATE OF EMERGENCY IN UGANDA

At the end of May, according to the "Manchester Guardian" several members of the Uganda Legislative Council (52 members, including 20 Africans, none elected), were pressing for the declaration of a state of emergency in Uganda and the deportation of all African National Congress leaders.

Remembering Kenya in 1952 this demand from white "unofficials" has an unpleasantly familiar ring. The fact is, with the Jinja Hydro-electric power plant now open, the Kilembe copper-cobalt mines with their new railway to their smelter at Jinja opening in 1956, the Uganda Development Corporation's cement factories are to supply all East Africa, and the increasing importance of Uganda's coffee and cotton, the country is growing more and more attractive to the imperialists as a field both for investment and for local production (Monsanto Chemicals and Calico Printers are reported to be particularly interested).

But the price for investments is a regime subservient to imperialist interests and plenty of cheap and docile labour. With these ends in view, the Tories deposed the Kabaka of Buganda in November 1953, and are now engaged in trying to foment a palace revolution to get him replaced by someone who will do what he is told and forget about self-government. They are also going all out to smash the boycott which expresses the resentment of the whole Buganda people at the deportation of their Kabaka, the symbol of their right to national independence (the Uganda National Congress has declared a boycott on all buying, except of necessities, until the Kabaka is reinstated).

Mr. Lyttelton, once more obedient to the demands of the white "unofficials" announced in the Commons that the governor of Uganda had declared a state of emergency in Buganda as from 31st May. The excuse was that the boycott was being enforced by intimidation.

Asked what intimidation, Mr. Lyttelton said that some trees had been cut down. It remains to be seen whether he will accede to the second demand of the unofficials and proceed to the arrest of the Congress leaders.

According to the Manchester Guardian of 2.6.54, three vernacular newspapers, the Uganda Post, the Express, and Byogers have already, under the emergency powers, been suspended. The Fourth (Uganda) Battalion of the King's African Rifles is in Jinja ready to move on Kampala at short notice. Further, "The special constabulary was being called up, and the Commissioner of Police was appealing for volunteers of all races to undertake police patrols in and around Kampala so as to release the regular police for duty in the rural areas".

Considering that the only violence, even according to official sources, has been to a few trees, and that the African National Congress has publicly forbidden all forms of intimidation, these preparations might be considered somewhat disproportionate.

The comparison with Kenya in 1952 is unavoidable. The people organise

- 5 -

a movement for independence in a law-abiding but determined manner. The Tory Government attacks the movement with the uttermost violence. It is interesting to note that this is the situation which Mr. Hopkinson, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, described in the House of Commons on June 4, 1954 as "imperceptibly improving".

BLUNDSELL'S BLUSTER

Speaking to the delegates of European organisations in Kenya, Mr. Blundell boasted that the 70th Brigade in South Nyeri had killed 435 Africans in four weeks, and that security forces had killed altogether some 5,000 Africans since the emergency began. He threatened the Kenya Africans that their casualties would increase until they gave in.

His second point was that the emergency was producing in Kenya a shortage of man-power; to meet this 500 people had been recruited from "overseas" and 750 more were to be brought in.

Major General Hinde appeared to favour this plan for wiping out the Kenya Africans and replacing them by white labour. In a speech at Nairobi on June 7th, he said that the military wanted a "swill tub" where 100,000 Kikuyu could be put out of the way for life.

In the meantime it is clear that large and well-armed African resistance forces, working in units of 30 to 100 strong, and armed with rifles, grenades and automatic weapons, are successfully recruiting among what the "Manchester Guardian" of 8.6.54, calls "other tribes". The Manchester Guardian also reports that four units are very active in recruiting African women to the resistance movement.

Some Recent Figures:

African resistance forces killed since the beginning of the "emergency" in Kenya:		5,000
Africans sentenced to death in the past year (to 30.4.54.)		566
Number already executed:	289.	
Charges: Murder	262	
Unlawful possession of arms, etc.	204	
Conspiring with "terrorists"	52	
Administering unlawful oaths	27	
Acting with intent to further "terrorism"	3	

NEWS BRIEFS

Without Comment 1

In reply to a question in the House of Commons (May 26 1954) in connection with education in Tanganyika, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lyttelton, gave the following figures of school children in Tanganyika receiving full time education in 1953:

	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>Total</u>
European	94%	95%	2,324
Asian	97%	46%	16,835
African	31%	-	247,173

NOTE: The population of Tanganyika is: Africans 7,410,269; Europeans 16,299; Indians 44,435; Arabs and others 16,302]

£4 Million More for Killing Africans

In a written reply to questions, (Hansard June 2 1954) Mr. Lyttelton said, referring to the cost of the Emergency in Kenya:

"Her Majesty's Government are prepared, subject to Parliamentary approval to make a grant of £4 million towards the emergency expenditure during the present financial year. The question of any further assistance is to be discussed with representatives of the Kenya Government later this month."

The Kenya Committee, London, has issued a statement, calling on the British people to demand that their M.P.s. oppose the grant, and to protest to the Colonial Secretary against the use of British tax-payers' money for a war against Africans who ask only for the "freedom which we enjoy", a war which is bringing a legacy of hatred.

Nyasaland Africans' Demand for Land

The African National Congress of Nyasaland has put forward, among other things, a demand that more land be made available for African settlement. They are also demanding that Africans and Indians between them should have a further ten seats in the Legislative Council. At present African unofficial membership is 3, Indian 1, and European 16. The population of Nyasaland is Africans 2,400,000; Asian 5,248; European 4,073.

Universal Adult Suffrage in Eastern Nigeria

If draft proposals for reform of the electoral law are put into operation in the Eastern Region of Nigeria, there will be universal adult franchise,

with no tax qualifications, for the coming elections to the Central House of Representatives. These proposals have been submitted by the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, but they will have to receive the approval of the Governor.

Opposition to Nkrumah in the Gold Coast

The recent statement of Kwame Nkrumah, "Prime Minister" of the Gold Coast, inviting foreign capital into the Gold Coast while at the same time making an attack upon Communism, has not, apparently, increased his popularity.

According to an official announcement, there are 117 members of Nkrumah's own organisation, the Convention People's Party, standing as Independents in opposition to the C.P.P.'s 104 official candidates, for the coming elections to the Assembly.

Nkrumah issued an ultimatum that unless these 117 candidates withdraw, they will be expelled from the C.P.C. Since then, 64 of the candidates have been expelled, while 6 had agreed to withdraw. The elections take place on June 15.

N.C.N.C. Nigeria, Reaffirms its Aims

Mr. Kolowole Balogun, National Secretary of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, stated recently that the four main aims of the N.C.N.C. were the achievement of a united Nigeria, the attainment of Self-Government, the realisation of a Socialist Commonwealth, and the practice of parliamentary democracy.

British People Protest At Savage War in Kenya

On Empire Day (May 24) a National Deputation, representing over one million people from all parts of Great Britain, and led by the Kenya Committee, London, visited the Colonial Office to lodge their protest against the war in Kenya, and to demand the immediate cessation of hostilities, the release of the African leaders, and the lifting of the ban on the Kenya African Union. Mr. Lyttelton refused to see the deputation, which immediately put its protest at his refusal in writing, and said they would return in a few hours. On their return to the Colonial Office, Mr. Lyttelton again refused to see them. Their protest was left with an official for transmitting to Mr. Lyttelton.

The delegates, representing organisations of the Labour movement from all over the country, are reporting back to their organisations, and will carry on the campaign to put a stop to the slaughter in Kenya.

The Kenya Committee, which has been in existence for just over twelve months, has been actively campaigning against the Government's policy in Kenya, and is winning wider and wider support from the British people, and especially from the British working class.

cc 2 Communist Party

1 J.M. 59

AFRICA NEWSLETTER

KENYA APPEAL & NEWS
KANO RICES
NIGERIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE
GREEN HELL OF CENTRAL AFRICA
FRENCH IMPERIALIST ACTION
IN NIGERIA
COPPERBELT NEWS

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An editorial on the Nigerian Conference in London, appeared in the Daily Worker of September 4th. We publish this editorial below, in an abridged form:

three separate Regions of Nigeria. In the East and West there is a good prospect of direct elections. But the North will still have indirect elections, with the dice loaded against the progressive elements.

Grip Still on Nigeria

"The Government White Paper on the results of the London Conference on the Nigerian Constitution makes it clear that the British imperialists have not relaxed their grip on the people of Nigeria.

"There will be a smaller Council of Ministers, but British officials still hold the three key positions of Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary, and Attorney-General.

"Lyttelton's tactics of "divide and rule" bluff, and minor concessions, have enabled the British Government to hold its key positions and to smooth over the Nigerian crisis - at least for the time.

"The British Governor-General still holds his former powers, with the right to veto decisions of the Council of ministers on all vital matters of policy (defence, finance, police, etc.) The three British Regional Governors have similar rights in each of the three Regions.

"It was the overwhelming demand of the Nigerian people for self-government in 1956 for a united Nigeria that caused the breakdown of the existing undemocratic Macpherson Constitution.

"Even the former powers of the central Federal Government have been reduced. In doing this, Lyttelton has made it easier for these reactionary elements who are more concerned with maintaining artificial regional divisions than in working for a United Nigeria.

"In the new elections after January next year to a reconstituted Central House of Representatives, there will be no uniform system of election for the

"The conference accepted a declaration for Regional self-government "in respect

of all matters within the competence of the Regional Governments". And this only providing it "does not impede or prejudice the exercise by the Federal Government of the functions assigned to it now, or amended by agreement in the future".

"This provision gives full scope to the British Government and other reactionary elements to impede or prevent even Regional self-government in 1956 on

the plea that it would jeopardise the position of the Federal Government.

"It is clear from all this that the real battle for Nigerian self-government in 1956 has still to be waged. Success in this battle will depend upon achieving greater unity of the national movement throughout Nigeria and on the extent to which the working class comes forward in the struggle for a free and united Nigeria.

KENYA AFRICAN APPEALS

The following is an exact text of the letter written by a Kikuyu, and published in the D.W. 7. ix.53. The original letter was published in Kikuyu.

This letter is to greet you and to give you news from here.

Things here have grown terribly bad and I am sure that you don't get the whole truth of how things are here, because it is only the papers you read, which are written by the White Mau Mau in Kenya.

The Home Guards you hear about are the greatest enemy of the country because of what those people have done together with the white settlers, things which no one will forget for many hundreds of years to come.

Those among the Home Guards who had previously had disputes about land or cash crops or of any kind, took advantage of the emergency to eliminate their adversaries.

If you happen to be well off and a certain Home Guard happens to be jealous of you, this is the time when they get rid of you

Paying off

They find this is a good time to exterminate those people. The Home Guards are given permission to do whatever they like, to kill anybody without reference to any higher authority.

Such things are happening more in places where people are less educated like Githunguri, Kianwangi and Gatundu.

In their meetings the Home Guards jot down lists of names of those whom they want to kill, take it to show the district officer who gives them a motor-car at night, and then they fetch every man from his home, put them in the car and then shoot them, some in the car, others at a cross roads leaving the bodies there, and others they take to the forests and shoot them there.

Some of the bodies they take to Kiambu and in the morning they are said to be terrorists.

This sort of thing has been going on for a long time, and those who are doing that work are both Home Guards and White Mau Mau - the Kenya Police Reserve.

What I would like to tell you, which I know is true, is that with the exception of Laris there is not a single place in Kiambu district which has ever been attacked by terrorists, yet no other has had so many people killed by the Home Guard and the White Mau Mau, the Kenya Police Reserve.

Many killed

I cannot tell you the names of all the people who have been killed, but I can make mention of a few like Njorogo wa Kago (Simeoni) and Stefano, the father of Thiani; those are from Waidake school and were taken from their houses by the Kenya Police Reserve on denunciation from the Home Guards.

From the Githunguri side the people who were also killed on April 1 are: Naftari Boro, a popular doctor, Kageche wa Gacagwi Muiruri wa Gacagwi, Gathua wa Wakagiki, Kinyanjui wa Mwathi, Gathita wa Kinganga, Ngumba wa Gatuku, Wainana wa Njogu, Karugari Ndaba wa Kanugu, Githare wa Njiri, Njungana wa Kuru, Mbatia wa Kierere Mbogo wa Rungatho, Kamau wa Wakierere, Kamanu wa Waikanga, Makena wa Njuki Muya and many others.

All those were killed by Home Guard and White Mau Mau, the Kenya Police Reserve, and they were taken from their homes at night on Wednesday. Gikuni wa Wang'ang'a was killed the same night and many others.

Men castrated

On Limuru side Wakiru, Mbuthia wa Mukoma, Muika wa Maye, Kimrubi wa Kungu, Muiru wa Gikanga, Gathitu, Wakari, Kihugu wa Njuguna, Njoroga wa Githu and many others.

The people I am telling you about were all fetched from their houses and killed though innocent.

Because of these killings of innocent people whenever those concerned feel li it, many young people feel compelled to go away from home for fear of death. Even the elder men are no longer at home.

The houses of those who go away from home for fear of death or castration are being burnt. Many men have been castrated by the White Mau Mau.

Many of their homes have been burnt and many of their children were burnt inside them. No goods or property are allowed to be taken out of the burning huts not even cash, it has all got to be burnt.

Homes burnt

None of the houses are burnt during the day, they are always burnt at night, and even the houses of people who were arrested and detained in the past are now being burnt.

The house of Kungu Karumba has been burnt and that of Dedani Mugo has been demolished. Waira wa Kamau's house has also been demolished and many other homes.

What is happening here is terrible - even we are not living at home. The Reverend Bwana Gatungu and Charles Karao were arrested in May and were sent to Kajiado.

In the past they have been carrying out cleansing ceremonies. Whether you know anything or not, you must say that you took the Mau Mau oath, because if you refuse to do so, your home and that of the locust will be the same, or you will be given to the white settlers, who will certainly shoot you without mercy.

Women beaten

Another terrible thing now happens at certain locations, for example, at Gathage water mills. There the women of that side are compelled to go to the mill, where they are shut in and all their clothes taken off.

From 5 p.m. to 6.30 they are forced to go into the water behind the dam with their hands raised above their heads; they are up to their necks in water and stay there for 25 to 30 minutes.

Then they are taken out, still naked and are beaten and beaten, being at the same time told to say that Kenyatta administered the Mau Mau oath to them at his home, which is not far away.

A great number of women are continually in this trouble. The women of Majugu's location are in a great trouble. They are being arrested and all their clothes taken off them.

When a woman says she does not know about the Mau Mau oath, boiling water is kept nearby, and is poured on her breasts until her skin comes off there and then and she is just left there.

If she is dead, she is dead. If not, that is her own business.

Exterminated

What I could tell you is that nobody is allowed to move from one village to the other without a pass, even Indians are not allowed to enter Kikuyu country. The reason is that they should not disclose what is happening here. There are some villages in which the population has been completely exterminated. Even to gather the information which I have given to you in this letter is not easy.

There is another new thing. It is to arrest anybody without discrimination, children as well as women. People are being arrested in hundreds and thousands without being given any reason why.

Some are beaten, others are detained, and then given three, five, six or seven years imprisonment. They are said to be Mau Mau.

They are lined up, and then cut up and told - up to here, one year; up to here, two years; and so on, and you are not to ask why.

Nothing to eat

The people of Rift Valley were expelled under the pretext of being Mau Mau and put into detention camps. Those are the people who were given three to seven years sentences.

They are the people who refused to work for the white man and returned to the reserve. Many of them have been castrated.

At a camp in the farm of a certain European when all the men were imprisoned, their families, wives and children were left in the camp without anything to eat because none of them had been allowed to take anything with them when they were driven out.

They left all their goats and crops behind on the European farm. There are some who left about two stores of maize and others about 80 to 100 goats.

After some time it was decided to bring the women and children to the Kikuyu reserve. They were packed on lorries and told to get out at Limuru station, others at Kikuyu station, without knowing where to go or what to eat.

The great trouble they found is that of hunger, because the people in the reserve had very little to eat themselves.

Banana peel

So it has become a custom with the women to go to the market to pick up waste of sugar cane and banana peels to eat. That is the type of food which they give to their children.

Another thing is that of people who have been detained in camps like Githunguri, Kiamuangi, Uplands, Every night two or four of them are taken out by the white Mau Mau, the Kenya Police Reserve, to be shot.

Three young men from Mbari ya Kihara were shot on July 18. These bad things are still going on. What should we do about this? Of course, we are still being beaten and killed. Can you see some people and tell them the story?

KENYA

Two Versions of Shootings

In our last edition in an article "Questions Answered and Unanswered in the House" we printed the following exchange, taken without alteration from Hansard 15.VII.53.

Mr. Edelman: "Is there not a remarkable and disquieting disproportion between the number killed and the number wounded? Is it not the case now that an African found in the forbidden area may be shot dead without any further charge, and is it not carrying ruthlessness to an extreme?"

Mr. Lyttelton: The Hon. Member is entirely misinformed upon this matter. Nobody can be shot in any of these areas unless he is resisting arrest or attempting to escape from arrest. The ordinary process of law, as I have already said will apply in this case as in others.

Either the Colonial Secretary was himself misinformed or he was not telling the truth, for in the Times 8.VIII.52 we find the following statement:-

"Answering the criticism that the number killed seemed to be out of proportion to the number captured, General Erskine explained that in the prohibited areas the security forces regarded everybody they saw as an enemy and shot them ... In other types of operations Kikuyu were not treated as an enemy and were only shot at if they ran away when challenged".

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF KENYA

London was the scene of a very moving spectacle when on Sunday, August 23rd, a march and demonstration, organised by the Kenya Committee, was held in protest against the criminal policy of extermination being carried out in Kenya by the forces of British imperialism.

Unfortunately, bad weather limited the number of participants in the march to little more than 300. Nonetheless, the procession made a deep impression on onlookers as it made its way from Hyde Park through the West End to Trafalgar Square where a meeting was addressed by Mr. Laurie Nickolay, a leading London shop steward, Mr. John Platts-Mills, a well-known barrister and fighter for peace, and Mr. Senakula Mulumba, representative of the Bataka (Elders of the People) of Uganda.

Posters carried on the march bore captions such as:

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR KENYA AFRICANS.
KENYA'S MISERY IS BRITAIN'S SHAME.
RESTORE LAND TO KENYA AFRICANS.
STOP THE KILLING IN KENYA.

All these undoubtedly had a marked effect on those who saw the procession.

This demonstration proves that there are people in Britain who take their stand unreservedly at the side of all people who are fighting for their national independence and for freedom from imperialist oppression. News of it will quickly spread throughout Africa and its significance will not be lost upon the Tory Government which holds back the achievement of fraternal association between the British and Colonial peoples.

TRUE STORY OF KANO RIOTS

The following is an eye-witness report of the Kano riots, submitted by our Nigerian correspondent:

"Information revealed after the riots, shows that the hooligans for the riot were collected from Katsina, Sokoto, Kano, and Zaria Provinces, with the help of some District Heads and Native Authority Police.

"On the afternoon of May 14th, 1953, the Hon. Inuwa Wada, Information Officer of the Kano Native Authority, addressed Sectional Heads of the Works Department in the Wakilin Sansa's office, and in official time. He was speaking on behalf of the Northern Peoples Congress, and his address was provocative in the extreme. He indicated that the N.P.C. had organised 1,000 men to demonstrate against the proposed visit of Action Group delegates from the south, and that these 1,000 men were prepared to use force. He appealed for the co-operation of the workers in this matter, and went on to say that the N.P.C. had declared a strike in all the Native Authority Offices for Saturday, 16th May, and that no Native Authority Office would be open on that day and that a sufficient number of men would be posted at the entrance of every office and business place with the exception of Police Office, Hospital and Waterworks.

"After completing his address, no questions were allowed, and the meeting was closed.

"Subsequently, representations of protest against these efforts of N.P.C. leaders to stir up acts of lawlessness were made to the authorities concerned by trade union leaders, the local N.C.N.C. Action Group and N.E.P.U. branches. In addition, Dr. Azikiwe, National President of the N.C.N.C. cabled the British Government in London, the Governor in Nigeria, the Lt. Governor Northern Region, and others, warning of the plans afoot for creating disturbances.

"In spite of these warnings and protests, the authorities refused to move, and at 4 p.m. on May 16th, the riots started when armed Northerners attacked Southerners who were peacefully staying, passing, or returning from work. Before 5.30 p.m. the riot had spread to the Ibadan, Sanusi, Sanigiwa, Abadio and Festing Streets of the Sabon Gari in Kano. People returning from work were either severely wounded or killed by the Northerners who surrounded the ways these people could reach their houses.

"Throughout the whole period, the Sabon Gari people only stood firm to defend themselves because they understood the true nature of the events and were in sympathy with their ignorant Northern brothers who did not understand the tricks of the exploiters to embitter feelings and divide the people.

"Thousands of Northerners are now asking the reason for the riots. Many people admit that they were deliberately misled by high ranking officials into believing that Southerners had planned to kill their rulers and install Southerners in their place, and so destroy their Moslem belief. These were some of the official lies and propaganda employed to influence the Northerners but the people of the north are now seeing through these lies and are rapidly developing a hatred for their perpetrators, and showing an increasing desire for unity and independence".

Since receiving the above eye-witness account, a report on the Kano Disturbances has been published under the authority of the Northern Regional Government. It is significant that this report is not signed by anyone, and is clearly an attempt to side-step the widespread demand for a Commission of Enquiry. It is a whitewashing report, which strives to hide the responsibility of the political group which inspired the riots, because this group is a supporter of the continuance of British rule in Nigeria.

NIGERIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE (Excerpts from a speech made at the Kingsway Hall, London on August 10th, 1953.)

by Mazi Mbonu Ojike. (Executive Member of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, and a delegate at the Nigerian constitutional Conference)

A Nigerian Delegation is at present in London discussing constitutional questions. People in Britain might like to know why we have come here.

We have flown 4,000 miles in quest of freedom. It is our aim to reach an amicable settlement for the achievement of self-government in or before 1956.

Whatever may have been the case in the past, it is a fact that there is now a country called Nigeria on the map of the world. It is the largest single country in Africa, the fourth largest in the British Empire, and the twelfth largest in the world. It has over 31 million people.

We want to be free like other nations - that can't be wrong. 31 million people can't be wrong. We do not hate the white man as such; we do not hate Britains as such; we only hate the system of imperialism which oppresses and exploits us. We want to be free to associate with Britain freely.

Let me trace the growth of Nigerian Nationalism. Before 1914 there were no Nigerian nationalists. Long before that time British traders brought to us the gospel, tobacco and gunpowder. This proved very profitable to them. That wealth had to be protected, and so Britain took over the rule of Nigeria.

War of resistance

Although there was then no national movement, many chiefs resented this. There was war. Sokoto fought from 1904 to 1906, and many others resisted. By 1914 British administration was established, but there was no constitution. In 1921 a constitution was imposed on us by order in Council. It was then that Nigerian nationalism arose. Herbert Macaulay challenged British might, and became the great founder of Nigerian nationalism. He led a delegation to Britain, in defence of the whole of West Africa, and founded our first political party - the National Democratic Party.

This party became strong in Lagos, but it was not yet a national movement. In 1937 Eyo Ita, Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Maja, H.O. Davies and others founded the Nigerian Youth movements which spread over the greater part of the country. Dr. Azikiwe returned to Nigeria and joined it. He created the first Nigerian daily newspaper: the "West African Pilot". Its message of struggle for freedom and independence spread like wildfire. It helped the N.Y.M. to win the elections in Lagos (only Lagos had a franchise then).

N.C.N.C. formed

In 1943 we placed a memorandum for a democratic constitution with the aim of self-government before the Colonial Office. It was not heeded. But the youth and students of the country called for organisation in its support. The N.Y.M. was no longer as dynamic as before; because of their connections with the British, some knighted Nigerians found it difficult, and the N.Y.M. did not respond to the call. It had to give way to progressive men.

Herbert Macauley and Dr. Azikiwe did respond, and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons was formed to unite all the peoples of Nigeria. Herbert Macauley became its first President, and Dr. Azikiwe its secretary.

Sir Arthur Richards, now Lord Milverton, was governor of Nigeria then. He recommended to the Colonial Office a different constitution: one that divided Nigeria into three regions. Our people rose in protest all over the country.

The N.C.N.C. sent its leaders on a nation-wide tour. By lorry, by foot, by bicycle, by canoe, they tracked all over the country. They were greeted everywhere with enthusiasm, and obtained a mandate from the majority of the people to go to London and present our demand for our own constitution.

A seven-man delegation went to London in 1947 to present our demands. Again the Colonial Office turned a deaf ear to them. The Richards constitution was enforced with the aim of splitting our country. It was to last for nine years. In 1948 Governor Richards was kicked upstairs as a Lord, and Governor Macpherson came. At first we greeted the Scotsman.

Believe it or not: he declared that because of its perfect working the Richards constitution would now be revised. It had lasted nine months!

It took two full years to review. The revision began at village level, went on to divisional level, then to provincial level, then to regional level ... The further it got from the village level, the less democratic did the constitution become. When it reached the highest level, a conference was held at Ibadan. It was dominated by stooges, paid to protect the status quo. Those who have doubts, should read its recommendations.

In the end we had to ask: Please let us see the constitution that we are supposed to have made.

Country divided

When at last we saw it, we found that it still divided the country into three regions, and Governor Macpherson remained all powerful. It gave us a mock franchise; elections were held in tiers: two tiers in the East, three in the West, five in the North. The iniquity of the tier system is that it means no democracy and no uniformity of electoral law.

The Government's Publicity Office which we have to maintain from the taxes we pay, and which costs us £40,000 a year, explained that this was because there was no national party in Nigeria. They said this although they knew that there was the National Democratic Party which had contested elections long ago, though they knew there was the N.C.N.C. which could contest elections anywhere in the country. Then the Action Group was formed.

The effects of the constitution was to bring about corruption, to bring about tribalism. Whenever the British imperialist press reports clashes in Nigeria, it always reports "inter-tribal" clashes. But there is no such thing. There are differences between political parties: between those political parties which want freedom, and those which are not interested in freedom.

Last month, when this delegation came to London, people from the North booed certain Northern leaders, and people from the South booed certain Southern leaders. This was because people did not believe that these leaders wanted to go to London for freedom.

Different Languages

Of course, there are different languages spoken in Nigeria. There are seven or eight large districts in which the people are bound together by common language, culture and historical tradition.

But Britain is also not as homogeneous as imperialist spokesmen want us to believe. There are Scotsmen, Englishmen, Welshmen, Irishmen. Yet that does not prevent them from living in a single state.

This is what Nigeria wants. The people want to develop their languages and cultures, but for that they must have freedom. And they can only win freedom together, as one country. No matter how many languages, no matter how many political parties, the desire exists in all our people to be united.

That has been demonstrated beyond measure.

The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons made its policy quite clear on the eve of the elections under the Macpherson constitution. We said: in 1956 we shall declare our independence. By that we mean no interference in our national life by any high officials of any foreign power. This declaration was made by our Kano Convention in the summer of 1951.

There is no higher authority in our party than the Convention. We have an Executive and a Working Committee to carry on business in between times; but neither of them can challenge the Convention.

Imperialist bandwagon

There were certain N.C.N.C. members who were elected on that policy, but when they had become ministers wanted to climb on the bandwagon of imperialism. They refused to carry out the policy of the Convention. They brought in a law which opened the country wide to foreign capital: the lead-zinc bill. They were warned four times, but they would not reform. We managed to put up with them for a year; then, in December, 1952, we called a special Convention and invited these ministers to come and answer the charges. They neither came nor wrote in a defence. Naturally, the Convention expelled them - they were expelled for life - and called on them to resign their office as ministers.

The constitution did not provide for such a case. It was shaken. The people saw it in its full iniquity. The demand for self-government in or before 1956 became louder and louder. The Action Group joined in an alliance with the N.C.N.C. on this demand. Those who are not happy at this alliance blame the Action Group ministers for violating the secrecy to which they were sworn in the Cabinet. To them we say: we do not accept an oath of secrecy before any imperialist cabinet; one can be sworn to secrecy only before the nation.

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TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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