

Index

Abrahams, Peter, 62 African Liberation Committee, 101, 104, Accra, 211-212, 246 135, 248 BAA, 212-213 assistance at a non-governmental level, disillusionment, 213-215 102-103 Voice of Africa, 215-218 conferences, 76, 80 see also All-African Peoples Conference; memorandum, 101-104, 115 Positive Action Conference. responsibilities that come with Accra Evening News (newspaper), 50 independence, 102 Africa Bureau (Delhi) African Pilot (newspaper), 92 African Liberation Committee, 76 African Research and Publications, 181 African Students Association, 74-75, 80, archives, 19 conferences, 77-81 Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation information campaign, 75-76, 95, 104 Sipalo, 73, 101 (AAPSO), 105, 106, 205, 248 All-African Youth Festival, 79 conferences, 219-220 decline and instability, 220-223 Bandung conference, 77 Nehru, relationship with, 73-74 Moshi conference, 219-220 pan-African conference, 77-78 Sino-Soviet relations, 219 Resurgent Africa, 75-76, 81 Afro-Asian Writers Conference (Tashkent, see also Delhi; Sipalo, Munu. 1958), 111 Africa Bureau (London), 81, 226 Agar, Elijah Omolo, 104 archives, 19 Algerian War of Independence (1954-Bechuanaland crisis, 53 1962), 14, 21, 137, 209, 246, 247 CAO criticisms of, 120 AAPC, 150 funding liberation movements, FLN publicity strategies, 157, 170 229-230 Jupp, 147 third party leverage, 157-158 information circulation, 54, 109, 188 MCF, relationship with, 83-85, torture, 155, 172 93, 118 UN General Assembly, 157 violence, 153-154 Symonds, 224-225 see also London; Scott Michael; see also Front de Libération Nationale. Symonds, Jane. All-African Youth Festival Africa Freedom Action (AFA), 231-232 conferences, 78-80



288 Index

All-African Peoples Conference (AAPC) Rangoon declaration, 63-64 (Accra, 1958), 14, 21, 66, 77, Socialist International, relationship with, 97-98, 133-135, 212, 248 63-67, 94 Algerian war, 150 Aung, U Hla Anti-Colonial Bureau of the ASC, Anti-Colonial Bureau of the ASC, 78, affiliation with, 100 100-101, 104, 193 CAO, relationship with, 119-120 Azikiwe, Nnamdi, 50, 64, 70, 78 Chiume, 139 colonial violence debate, 153-154 Banda, Hastings, 83, 138, 144 'Free Kenyatta' campaign, 166 AASC, 180 PAFMECA, relationship with, 131, 231, 234 persecution of adversaries, 225-226 state-sponsored anticolonial Bandung conference (Bandung, 1955), 21, lobbying, 137 66, 77, 98 support for non-violence, 149 state-sponsored anticolonial lobbying, All-African Student Union (AASU), 186 137 All-African Students Conference (AASC) banning of publications, 116, 161, 200 (London, 1960) Makerere strike, 46 Resurgent Africa, 76 Congo crisis, 178 resolutions, 172-173, 178 Soviet/communist sympathies, 191 security/intelligence interest, 179 Bashorun, Alao, 121, 124 students and party politics, 186, 196 Bechuanaland crisis, 53, 82 unification of student and youth Black Star (newsletter), 191 movements, 186 Bombay Second Anti-Colonial Bureau, All-African Trade Union Federation 100-104 (AATUF), 186, 203 Boumendjel, Ali, 153 Allain, Theresa, 232 see also Front de Libération Nationale. Alleg, Henri, 155, 172 Britain Allimadi, Otema, 140 ignorance of East and Central African Anti-Colonial Bureau of the ASC, 64-67 realities, 85-87 see also Bombay Second Anti-Colonial lack of information about East and Bureau. Central African realities, 82-83 anticolonial organisations see also London. associations with communism, 83, 219 broadcasting. see radio broadcasting banning of publications, 191 Brockway, Fenner, 62, 231 antiracist/anticolonialist/antifascist Mayanja, relationship with, 68 debate, 140, 155-156 MCF, 65 apartheid. see South African apartheid PAFMECA freedom fund, 229 pan-African conference, 78 archives Scott, rivalry with, 84-85 Africa Bureau, 19 CAO, 19 World Council of Colonial IUSY, 19 Liberation, 67 NRANC, 20 see also Movement for Colonial TANU, 16 Freedom UNIP. 20 Bureau of African Affairs (BAA) Armah, Kwesi, 124, 182 Ghana News Agency, 214 Asian Socialist Conference (ASC), 11, 60, NRANC, relationship with, 214 paternalism, 214 98, 192 Anti-Colonial Bureau, 54, 64-67, personal rivalries, 213-214 suspicion of, 212-214 100-101 Bombay Second Anti-Colonial Bureau, 101 UNIP, relationship with, 215 FLN delegation, 148 Bwanausi, Arthur, 51



Index 289

NAC Publicity Secretary, 137, 138, Cairo, 104-113, 218-223 AAPC conference 1961, 98, 106, 184 Nyasaland Demands, 142-144, 152, AAPSO's decline and instability, 105, 220-223 158, 165, 168, 169 information circulation, 108-112, 118 Nyasaland emergency, 136-37 Kale, 5, 104-113, 122, 141, 218 Nyasaland Speaks, 142-44, 150, 160 Nyasaland Students Association, 41, radio broadcasting, 105 Radio Cairo, 105, 108, 238 51,139 PAFMECA, 129, 130, 139 Sipalo's conference plans, 79-81, 95, Phombeah, relationship with, 140 102, 103 strategic importance, 218, 246 school teacher activism, 36, 51, 139 AAPSO's decline and instability, Chona, Mainza, 120, 140, 141 AASC, 180 220-223 Radio Cairo, 238 Congo crisis, 163 Tanganyika African National Union, exile, 168 220-222 student sponsorship, 201, 214 student activism, 110, 200 UNIP, 154, 179, 221, 224 Christianity, 90–91, 210 TANU, 220-222 UNC Office, 110, 111, 113, 131, 135 Chuula, Fitzpatrick, 200 UNIP Office, 172, 203, 208, 222 Cohen, Andrew, 67, 92 Voice of Free Africa broadcast, 163 Cold War impact on anticolonial culture, Voice of Northern Rhodesia, 200 173-175, 206-207, 209, 246 see also Kale, John. study opportunities, 201 Cambridge Left (magazine), 87 youth and student internationals, Carthy, Albert, 197-198 188-189 Central African Federation, 9, 23, 59, collusion with mining companies, 202 92, 94, 210 colonial broadcasting Federal Broadcasting Company, campaign against, 32, 56, 80, 84, 139, 155 extension of, 202 236-237 violence of, 154 Tanganyika Broadcasting Company, Césaire, Aimé, 155, 204 237-238 Chimba, Justin 51, 221-222 see also radio broadcasting. Chipembere, Catherine, 37, 70, 87 colonial conspiracy, 177-178 Cold War, impact of, 206-207 Chipembere, Henry, 33, 40-42, 243 Chirwa, Orton, 37, 225 Hammarskjöld assassination, 176 Chisiza, Dunduzu, 51, 151-152 Lumumba assassination, 175 colonial conspiracy, 177 pamphlets, 203-204, 206 Voice of Africa, 217 Chiume, Kanyama, 5, 14 colonial fascism, 155 AAPC, 139 autobiography, 138-139 colonial imprisonment Banda's persecution of adversaries, politicisation, 163-169 225-226 see also political prisoners. colonial student travel, 69 CAO, relationship with, 140–141 exile, 138 colonial totalitarianism, 21, 153-157, CAO, 140 171,204 Dar es Salaam, 234 colonial violence debate, 138, 148-150, pamphlets, 141-144 171,209 Holness, relationship with, 140 AAPC, 153-155 Kwaca, 51, 139 CAO, 153 Machyo, relationship with, 140 Nyasaland Speaks, 150, 160 Mayanja, relationship with, 140 police, role of, 154-157



290 Index

Colonial Welfare and Development Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism Fund, 236 (COPAI), 62, 65 Committee of African Organisations correspondence, 235 (CAO), 11, 118-119, 135, international organisations, 2 140, 248 Makerere strike, 29, 30 AAPC, relationship with, 119-120 newsletters and newspapers, 85 Africa Unity House, 224 Current News (newsletter), 45-47 boycott of South African trade, 140 Chiume, 140-141 Dar es Salaam, 211, 240-241, 245 colonial violence debate, 153 Positive Action Centre clerical/secretarial school, 232-234 Mayanja's role pan-Africanism, 120-123 radio broadcasting, 238 Davidson, Basil, 86, 163, 244 pan-Africanism, 120-123 UDC, 82-83 tensions, 123-125 conferences, 2, 3 De Bunsen, Bernard, 29, 46-49, 67, 107 African Liberation Committee, 76, 80 Delhi, 73-81 Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity anti-colonial activism, 73-74 Organisation, 219-220 lack of information about East and Central African realities, 74-75 Afro-Asian Writers Conference, 111 All-African Youth Festival, 78-80 Sipalo, 20, 59, 101 Congress of European, Asiatic and African Liberation Committee, 76-78, African Peoples, 62 information campaign, 75-76 Inter-Asian Relations conference, 62 radicalisation, 73 Manchester Pan-African Conference, 78 pan-African conference, 77-78 support for African liberation Pan-African Student Conference, movements, 73-74 see also Africa Bureau (Delhi). 114-118 Positive Action Conference, 205 democratic reform, 23, 54, 57, 160 West African Federation Conference, 78 democratic socialism, 60-62, 94, 192, World Conference for Colonial 198, 206 Liberation, 65-66, 94, 155, 190 development of Soviet policy in Africa, World University Service, 85 189-190 see also All-African Peoples Conference; Sino-Soviet relations, 219 All-African Students Conference; Devlin Commission, 136, 138, 165 Asian Socialist Conference; Devlin Report (1959), 136, 142, 153, 154, Bandung conference. 158, 163 Congo crisis, 14, 21, 164, 173, 175, disillusionment of activists, 21, 85, 88, 209, 246 159, 213 AASC, 178 Dissent (periodical), 165 Chona, 163 conspiracy theories, 184-185 Ebifa (newspaper), 85 foreign intervention in the global Cold education of activists, 23-27, 248-251 rising numbers of African students at UK War, 175–178 universities, 68 Katangan secession, 175, 176 Lumumba's assassination, 175 university-educated elite, 1, 10, 22-23, Machyo, 182-184 38, 39, 42, 96, 175, 196 pamphlet-writing, 178, 180 see also student activism. Phombeah, 180-182 Egbuna, Obi, 243 students and party politics, 200-201 el Sebai, Youssef, 222 Congress of European, Asiatic and African emergence of anticolonial culture

regional context, 20

Peoples (Paris, 1948), 62



Index 291

Makerere, 49, 56–58 see also regional context of emerging	Hammarskjöld, Dag, 113, 147, 158, 176, 200
anticolonial culture; youth and	Hola massacre (1959), 164
student movements.	see also Mau Mau uprising.
European Commission of Human Rights	
(EComHR)	Houser, George, 162
Britain's role in Nyasaland	ignorance of East and Central African
Emergency, 163	realities, 18, 74-75, 82-83, 85-88,
European Convention on Human Rights	192-193, 242-244
(ECHR), 166	illegal imprisonment of political activists,
political prisoners, 163	163-166
European Court of Human Rights	see also political prisoners.
(ECtHR)	illiteracy, 116
political rights, 164	imperialism, 62, 80, 155, 204, 245
external hubs, 211	international bodies perceived as, 194
see also Accra; Cairo; Dar es Salaam;	information circulation, 18, 20, 21,
London.	
	103, 226
external representatives, 21, 134, 242	demand for improvements, 74-77,
E1: 111 o	87, 95
Fabian lobby, 85	false information and anti-colonial
Fanon, Frantz, 149–150, 170, 204,	propaganda, 81, 203
245-247	implications for anticolonial
Federal Broadcasting Company (FBC),	movements, 54, 55, 125, 135,
236–237	165, 175, 192
Fédération des étudiants d'Afrique	Sipalo, 73
noire en France (FEANF), 116	see also conferences; newspapers and
foreign intervention	periodicals; radio broadcasting.
Congo crisis, 175-178	Inter-Asian Relations conference (Delhi,
Fox-Pitt, Thomas, 35, 89, 140, 161–163	1947), 62
prison conditions, 165	international accountability. see solidarity
fragmented nature of history of	of newly independent states,
anticolonialism, 248-251	United Nations
francophone anticolonial discourses, 115,	International Confederation of Free
179–180, 204–205	Trade Unions (ICFTU), 186, 187,
freedom fund (PAFMECA), 132, 228–229	194, 203
fundraising abroad, 229–231	International Student Conference (ISC), 186
Freedom Newsletter (newsletter),	Ceylon, 114
51-54, 56	International Union for Socialist Youth
Front de Libération Nationale (FLN),	(IUSY), 11, 66, 187–188, 190–191
147, 157, 247	Chiume, 225
see also Algerian War of Independence.	International Union of Students (IUS), 79,
see also Algerian war of independence.	
CI	107, 179, 186
Ghana	international youth and student
independence, 21, 23	movements, 11
see also Accra; All-African Peoples	see also student activism; youth and
Conference.	student movements.
Ghana News Agency, 214	Islam
global political context, 5-8, 11	education system, 90
see also Bandung conference; Cold War	revival of pan-Islamic thought, 6

impact on anticolonial culture;

Congo crisis; Suez crisis.



292 Index

Jupp, Audrey, 84, 123 Algerian war, 147 Nyasaland Speaks, 145, 146 pamphlet-writing, 144-148 UDC, 146-148 see also Union of Democratic Control. Kabaka crisis, 50, 86, 88, 94, 238 Kabaka Yekka, 210, 226-227 Kajunjumele, Sam, 10, 193-195, 243 Kakonge, John, 154 Kale, John Cairo, 105-113, 218 pamphlet writing, 1-3, 109-111 publishing, role of, 105 solidarity of newly independent states, 105 student days, 106-107 Ugandan independence, 106 UN General Assembly, 159 writing and publishing, 108-112 see also Cairo. Kamalondo, Chikako, 200 Kambona, Oscar, 34, 43-44, 79, 92, 122, 139, 154, 197 fundraising, 229 Kapwepwe, Simon, 72, 81, 230, 243

split from, 129, 192, 215
prison, 154, 168, 179
UNIP, 154, 168, 179, 192, 215
Zambia African National Congress, 129
Kenya African Union (KAU), 32, 64, 69
Kiano, Julius Gikonyo, 132, 152
Kironde, Erisa, 68, 115
Klerruu, Wilbert, 235
Koinange, Mbiyu, 230–231, 234
PAFMECA freedom fund, 229
Kununka, B.N., 115
Kwaca (newsletter), 51–52, 56, 139

Katanga, 175, 176, 178, 180, 196

Kaunda, Kenneth, 50, 78, 131, 205

Katilungu, Lawrence, 93

NRANC, 79

'late colonial state', 137 League Against Imperialism, 6, 62 lobbying groups, 19, 20, 87, 223, 226, 227 state-sponsored anticolonial lobbying, 137 see also African Liberation Committee;

Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity

Organisation; All-African Peoples Conference; All-African Students Conference; All-African Student Union; Asian Socialist Conference; Fédération des étudiants d'Afrique noire en France; International Union for Socialist Youth; International Union of Students; Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa; World Conference for Colonial Liberation.

London
lobbying groups, 223, 226, 227
UNIP International Publicity
Bureau, 223
provision of funds, equipment and information, 224–225
see also Africa Bureau (London).
Lumumba, Patrice, 175
assassination, 150, 175
martyrdom, 182–184

Machyo, Blandina Rose Chango, 122, 182
Machyo, Boloki Chango, 10, 123, 140, 229
Congo crisis, 182–184
Macleod Plan, 202
Makerere University College
Chiume, 36, 51, 139
De Bunsen, 29, 46–49, 67, 107
graduates
sociability, networking and
information exchange, 28, 31, 38,
45–48, 51, 134, 177, 193, 208
Makerere strike
banning of publications, 46
channels of communication, 30–33
correspondence, 29, 30

impact, 56–58, 190 letters, 29 Mayanja, 29–33, 56–58, 67 origins, 27 petitions, 28 student activists, 27–33 student body, 27–28 student disruption, 28–32 Makerere Student Guild, 190 Pan-African Student Conference, 114–118

Makerere TANU Club, 38–39, 42–45 student publishing, 45–49 TANU, relationship with, 42–45



Index

293

Mayanja, 29-33, 56-58, 67 Nyerere, 44 Pan-African Student Conference, 114-118 sociability, networking and information exchange, 28, 31, 38, 45-48, 51, 134, 177, 193, 208 student publishing, 45-49 teacher activists, 33-36, 51, 139 Malawi Banda's persecution of adversaries, 225-226 independence, 21 see also Central African Federation; Nyasaland. Malawi Congress Party (MCP), 99 Malayan Emergency (1948-1960), 168 Manchester Pan-African Conference (Manchester, 1945), 78 Markham, Jim, 64 martyrdom Lumumba, 182 prison-as-martyrdom, 167-168 Masiye, A.S., 237, 239-240 Matthew, Z.K., 40 Mau Mau uprising, 9, 23, 27, 33, 46, 56, 64, 82, 87-88, 94, 164 Mayanja, Abu, 5, 12, 113 arrest, 118, 163 CAO, 118 Britain, 81-82 Cambridge, 20, 59, 68-73, 85 colonial conspiracy, 177 Kale, relationship with, 113 Makerere strike, 29-33, 56-58 expulsion, 67 MCF, 118 return to Makerere, 113-114 scholarship, 68-69 travel to UK, 69 Ugandan independence, 227 Mboya, Tom, 115, 203, 228 Memmi, Albert, 204 Mhando, Stephen, 38-39, 47, 107 Mkandawire, Daniel, 151-152 mobility of activists, 2-3, 11-16, 95-96, 207, 247 Moral Re-Armament (MRA), 88-93, 182 Moumié, Félix, 112, 180 Movement for Colonial Freedom (MCF), 65-67 see also Brockway, Fenner.

Mulemba, Humphrey, 213-215, 218 multiracialism, 60, 91, 92, 94 Mumba, Zilore, 199 Murumbi, Joseph Anti-colonial Bureau of the ASC, 64-65 MCF, 65 World Conference for Colonial Liberation, 65-66, 155 World Council of Colonial Liberation, 66 Musazi, Ignatius, 26, 88 Muwanga, Paulo, 101, 104, 220 Mwanjisi, Roland, 140 Nahdatu Ifriquiah (periodical), 109 Narayan, Jayaprakash, 231 Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 205 personal rivalries, 100, 110, 112 Suez crisis, 80 see also Suez crisis. National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), 116 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 62, 94 African Students Association, 73-76 support for African liberation movements, 73 neocolonialism criticisms of, 174, 204 neocolonialism and disguised aid, 184, 196, 229, 245 newspapers and periodicals, 2, 16, 103 absence of an African-owned/managed press, 50 Accra Evening News (newspaper), 50 Africa Asia Latin America Revolution (periodical), 245 African Pilot (newspaper), 92 Black Star (newsletter), 191 Cambridge Left (magazine), 87 colonial control of the press, 50 Current News (newsletter), 45-47 Dissent (periodical), 165 Ebifa (newspaper), 85 Freedom Newsletter (newsletter), 51-54, 56 impact on public opinion, 54-56, 235 Kwaca (newsletter), 51-52, 56, 139 missionary and government newspapers, 50 Nahdatu Ifriquiah (periodical), 109 Politica (magazine), 47-48 Pravda (newspaper), 162



294 Index

newspapers and periodicals (cont.) Resurgent Africa (periodical), 75-76, 103 Sauti ya TANU (newsletter), 168 student publications, 45-49 Tribune (newsletter), 86 Tsopano (magazine), 161 Uganda Empya (newspaper), 50 Uganda Renaissance (periodical), 109 Ugasso (magazine), 182 The Undergraduate (newsletter), 48-49 The United Africa (newsletter), 182, 243 Voice of Africa (newsletter), 215–218 Voice of Zambia (newsletter), 200 West African Pilot (newspaper), 50 Ngombale-Mwiru, Kingunge, 71, 189 Nkrumah, Kwame, 50, 78, 97, 205, 211 CAO, 124, 134 personal rivalries, 100, 110, 112, 218 see also Ghana. Nkumbula, Harry NRANC, 128-129, 162, 192, 214 Non-Aligned Movement, 3, 21, 172, 173, 205, 216, 221 non-discrimination principle, 117 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 61 Northern Rhodesia, 60, 99 Congo crisis, impact of, 176-177 see also Central African Federation; Zambia. Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC), 26, 52 archives, 20 BAA, relationship with, 214 Kaunda, 79, 129, 192, 215 Nkumbula, 128-129, 192, 214 UNIP, relationship with, 210 Notting Hill race riots (1958), 141 Nyasaland, 60, 99 Nyasaland African Congress, 37, 136-137 Nyasaland emergency (1959), 21, 23, 136-137, 139, 157, 170 London memorial service, 162 pamphlet-writing, 141-145 Nyasaland Students Association, 39-42, 45 independence from the NAC, 42 permit applications, 151 see also Central African Federation; Malawi. Nyerere, Joseph, 193, 195

Nyerere, Julius, 44, 168 Makerere, 44 PAFMECA, 126, 128-131 personal rivalries, 100 see also Tanganyika African National Obote, Milton, 154, 192, 210, 220 see also Uganda People's Congress. Okunnu, Femi, 124 Omolo, Isaac, 80, 115 Onama, Felix, 107 Organisation of African Unity (OAU), 126, 211, 222, 234 Padmore, George, 78, 212 All African Peoples Conference, 100, 212 colonial violence debate, 149-150, 155 pamphlet-writing, 1-2, 17, 103, 138, 141 Chiume Nyasaland Demands, 142, 158, 165 Nyasaland Speaks, 142, 145, 160 Cold War dynamics, 219 Congo crisis, 178 Conspiracy Against Congo, 184-185 Machyo, 182-184 Phombeah, 181-182 importance of, 141-144, 146-148, 235 Jupp, 144-148 Kale, 1-3 Sipalo, 21, 202-205 pan-African conference (Lusaka, 1953), 77-78 Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA), 9, 106, 125-126, 227, 242, 248 AAPC, relationship with, 131 activism, 132 Addis Ababa conference (1962), 228 Africa Freedom Action, 231 Chiume, 129, 130 clerical/secretarial school, 232-233 democratisation of independent African states, 132 dissolution, 133 East African/Central African rivalries, 128-131 founding meeting, 126-129 freedom fund, 228-232 insufficient funds, 230-231 Nyerere, 128-130 political tensions, 230



Index 295

publicity, 130 conditions in colonial prisons, representation, 132 164-166 significance, 126 see also illegal imprisonment solidarity of independent states, 132 of political activists. UNIP, relationship with, 232 Positive Action Conference (Accra, 1960), West African pan-Africanism, 131 205 Pan-African Student Conference Pravda (newspaper), 162 (Makerere, 1958), 114-118 principle of self-determination, 7, 16, 60, conferences, 118 64, 66, 121, 159, 209 pan-African university prison-as-martyrdom, 167-168 proposals for, 185 processes of decolonisation, 2-5 Prohibited Immigrant status, 162-163 pan-Africanism CAO, 120 Fox-Pitt, 162 Mayanja's role, 120-123 Houser, 162 departure from, 116 Stonehouse, 162 Pant, Apa, 71-72 protests against white settler incursion, paper objects, 16-20 23,36 psychological aspects of colonialism, see also correspondence; newspapers and periodicals; 204-205 pamphlet-writing. public opinion (global), 88 Perham, Margery, 85 impact of, 103, 111, 113, 137, 152, periodicals. see newspapers 170-171, 208, 225, 244, 248 and periodicals newsletters and newspapers, 54-56 permit applications, 138 permit applications, 151-152 conditions, 148-149 publishing, role of, 103-105, 137-138, lack of standardisation, 149 141, 168 public opinion, 151-152 support for anticolonial activists, 95, refusals, 150-152 111,140 special permissions, 149 publicity secretary, role of, 139-140, personal rivalries 162, 169 BAA, 213-214, 218 publicity strategies, 135 Nasser, 100 PAFMECA, 130 Nkrumah, 100, 218 publicity, role of, 137-138, 210 Nverere, 100 restrictions on, 160-161 Tanganyika, 210 strategic moderation, 160-161 see also newspapers and periodicals; Uganda, 210 youth and student internationals, pamphlet-writing; radio 192-193 broadcasting. petitions radio broadcasting, 21, 235 Makerere strike, 28 UN petitions colonial broadcasting, 243 Nyasaland emergency, 159 Federal Broadcasting Company, Phiri, Wilted, 197 Tanganyika Broadcasting Company, Phombeah, Dennis, 10, 118, 121-122, 124, 169, 179 237-238 AASC, 178 colonial propaganda, 236 Chiume, relationship with, 140 Radio Cairo, 105, 108, 238 Congo crisis, 180-182, 184-185 Radio Malawi, 240 pamphlet-writing, 184-185, 202 UNIP broadcasts, 239 wartime recruitment, 236 police violence, 154-157 Politica (magazine), 47-48 see also Tanganyika Broadcasting political prisoners, 163-164 Company.



296 Index

refusal to grant passports/passage, 116
regional context of emerging anticolonial
culture, 8–10, 20, 242–244, 250
relationship between European and Asian
socialist parties, 63–67
religion
education system, 90–91
see also Christianity; Islam; Moral
Re-Armament.

Resurgent Africa (periodical), 75–76, 103 rising numbers of African students at UK universities, 68

Rogers, Douglas

Movement for Colonial Freedom, 65

Sandys, Duncan, 202
Sangala, James
presidency of NAC, 51
Sartre, Jean-Paul, 155, 205
Sauti ya TANU (newsletter), 168
schools and colleges
role in anticolonial thought and
organising, 23–27
see also education of activists.
Scott, Michael, 53, 226, 229, 231
Brockway, rivalry with, 84–85
see also Africa Bureau (London).
secession, demands for
Katanga, 175, 176, 178, 180
Nyasaland, 139, 142, 158, 160

Nyasaland, 139, 142, 158, 160 see also Katanga; Nyasaland. self-determination. see principle of

self-determination

self-determination principle, 7, 16, 60, 64, 66, 121, 159, 209

Senghor, Leopold, 62 settler lobbies, 202 settler rule, 23, 82, 91

Sharpeville Massacre (1960), 150,

165, 209

Sino-Soviet relations

Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation, 219

Sipalo, Munu, 5, 14, 71

Accra, 215

Voice of Africa, 215–217 Africa Bureau in Delhi, 101

African Liberation Committee, 76–78,

information campaign, 75–76 African Students Association, 74 All African Youth Festival, 78–80 Anti-Colonial Bureau of ASC, 101 Delhi, 20, 59

radicalisation, accusations of, 73

London, 224

pamphlet writing, 21

Belgrade pamphlet, 202–205 pan-African conference, 77–78

scholarship, 71

see also Africa Bureau (Delhi).

sociability, networking and information exchange, 108, 248

CAO's East and Central African members, 118–121, 123, 134

Makerere University graduates, 28, 31, 38, 45–48, 51, 134, 177,

193, 208 see also information circulation.

Socialist International, 60

ASC, relationship with, 63–67, 94 student sponsorship, 197–199

student sponsorship, 197–199 TANU, 198

socialist internationalism, 59–60, 94 anti-colonial dialogues, 61–62

international cooperation, 62–63 relationship between European and Asian socialist parties, 63–67

socio-economic development, 116 solidarity of newly independent states, 21,

olidarity of newly independent states, 21 52–54, 94, 96, 100, 137, 170, 247 assistance at a non-governmental level,

assistance at a non-governmental level, 102–103 responsibilities that came with

independence

Liberation Committee memorandum, 101–102

South African apartheid, 14, 246

Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa and Asia, 189

Soviet Union

Mumba, 199

relations with African countries, 188,

191

AAPSO, 219–220

Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa and Asia, 189 statehood in the decolonising world,

209–211, 228, 241

209-211, 220, 241

Stonehouse, John, 162

AASC, 180

student activism

Makerere strike, 27-33

Pan-African Student Conference, 114-118



Index

297

student publishing, 45-49 archives, 16 see also international youth and student Cairo, 220-222 movements; Makerere University permit applications, 148-149 College; Nyasaland Students publicity, role of, 137 Association; students and party politics. student freedoms colonial and independent states distinguished, 116-118 student publishing, 45 Current News, 46-47 Politica, 47-48 The Undergraduate, 48–49 student sponsorship ideological diversity, 196-197, 214 Mayanja, 68-69 Sipalo, 71 Socialist International, 197-199 students and party politics AASC, 186, 196 All-African Students Union, 186–187 Congo crisis, 200-201 generational diversity, 196-201 ideological diversity and personal rivalries, 191-195 International Union for Socialist Youth, 187-189 national student groups, absence of, 190-191 Soviet policy, 189–190 youth and student internationals, 185-186, 190 see also student activism. study destinations, 72 political connotations Britain, 70-71 India, 71-73 travel to, 69 Sudan independence, 21, 79, 104, 107 Suez crisis, 80, 98, 170 see also Nasser, Gamal Abdel. Swai, Amanas, 220-222 Symonds, Jane, 224-225, 230, 235 see also Africa Bureau (London). Tanganyika, 60 independence, 21 permit applications, 151 Tanganyika African Association (TAA), 42

Sauti ya TANU (newsletter), 168 suppression of, 154-155 see also Makerere University College. Tanganyika Broadcasting Company (TBC), 237-240 teacher activists political awareness, 35-38 pre-1950s, 33-35 Tembo, John, 33, 36, 47, 222 Tembo, Nephas, 51, 167, 238 Cairo, 222 student sponsorship, 200 tensions between anti-colonialist individuals and movements generational tensions, 110-111, 209 regional tensions, 111-113 CAO, 123-125 terrorism discourse, 167-169 third party leverage Algerian war, 157, 158 Cyprus, 158 third way socialism, 61-67 Algerian war, 153, 155, 172 Touré, Sékou, 184, 204, 245 trades unions All-African Trade Union Federation, 203 British Cabinet Paper (1960), 203 International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 203 manipulation of African trades unions, 203 repression of, 55 World Federation of Trade Unions, 203 youth and student internationals, relationship with, 194 transnational and pan-African anticolonial coordination, 5, 97-100, 246-247, Tribune (newsletter), 86 Tshombe, Moïse, 175, 196, 217, 240 Tsopano (magazine), 161

Uganda, 60, 99 independence, 21 Uganda African Teachers Association, 35 Uganda Empya (newspaper), 50

Tanganyika African National Union

(TANU), 38, 99, 210



298 Index

Uganda National Congress (UNC), 26, 68, 109, 159 ASC, relationship with, 63 divisions within, 110 Youth League, 101 Uganda People's Congress (UPC), 99, 154, 210, 243 see also Obote, Milton. Uganda Renaissance (periodical), 109 Ugasso (magazine), 182 The Undergraduate (newsletter), 48-49 Union des Populations du Cameroun, 180 Union of Democratic Control (UDC), 82-85, 123, 225 see also Jupp, Audrey. The United Africa (newsletter), 182, 243 United National Independence Party (UNIP), 20, 99, 140, 241 Accra office, 213 BAA, relationship with, 215 Cairo Office, 222 Chona, 154, 179, 221, 224 influencing public opinion, 208-209 International Publicity Bureau, 208-209 Kaunda, 154, 168, 179, 192, 215 London, 223-225 NRANC, relationship with, 210 PAFMECA, relationship with, 232 radio broadcasting, 239-241 United Nations inaccessibility, 158-160 Malawi, 225 membership of African states, 137, 158 'year of Africa', 209 United Nations General Assembly Algeria question, 157 Nyasaland question, 158-159 United Nations intervention third party mediation, 157-163 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), 166

Voice of Africa (newsletter), 215–218 Voice of Zambia (newsletter), 200

Warsaw Pact, 61 Welensky, Roy, 177, 200, 202, 217 Welensky-Tshombe pact, 200 West African Federation Conference (Kumasi, 1953), 78 West African Pilot (newspaper), 50 West African Students' Union (WASU), 70 Wina, Arthur, 141, 177, 208 Wina, Sikota, 39, 208, 218, 223, 241 PAFMECA freedom fund, 228 Voice of Africa, 217 women, 49, 117, 122, 145 PAFMECA clerical/secretarial school, 232-234 trainee teachers, 37 World Assembly of Youth (WAY), 186, 188 World Conference for Colonial Liberation (Margate, 1955), 65-67, 94, 155, 190 World Council of Colonial Liberation, 66-67 World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), 186-188 World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), 187, 194 World Peace Brigade (WPB), 231-232 World Peace Council, 201 World University Service conferences, 85 World Youth Festival suspicions and division, 193 Wright, Peter African Studies Department, University of Delhi, 72 Kenya African Union, 69 Mayanja, relationship with, 69-70

youth and student movements, 206
graduates, 38–39
international youth and student
movements, 11, 173
Makerere TANU Club, 42–45
Nyasaland Students Association,
39–42, 45
personal rivalries, 192–193
trade unions, relationship with, 194
see also International Student
Conference; International Union for
Socialist Youth; International Union
of Students

independence, 21
see also Central African Federation;
Northern Rhodesia.
Zomba League of Malawi Women, 167
Zukas, Simon, 51
accusations of communist sympathies,
83–85
Ndola Action Group, 83

Zambia