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"FRIENDS OF LUTHULI," PUBLISHER

INDEPENDENCE FOR ALGERIA

by ABDEL CHANDERLI

(permanent U.N. representative for Algeria)

After more than 130 years of physical and moral suffering under colonialist domination, Algeria has at last acceded to independence. But political independence is not an end in itself--it is only a step towards a social and economic revolution without which the political revolution will have been in vain. The War of National Liberation knew only one hero--the Algerian people--whose discipline and spirit of sacrifice have earned the admiration of the whole world. Algerian leaders now face the gigantic task, and the moral imperative, of lifting their people out of humiliating poverty and enforced ignorance into the modern age.

The amelioration of social and economic conditions in Algeria implies the eradication of the legacy of 130 years of the French "civilizing mission".

Ninety percent of the economy was monopolized by Europeans, while poverty was widespread among Moslems. A sheepskin on a mud floor, just enough calories for bare subsistence--this is the lot of vast numbers of Algerians today.

Eighty percent of the population is illiterate. Schools were built in the cities, where the majority of Europeans lived, while the countryside suffered from a lack of educational facilities. The teaching of Arabic is virtually unknown in Algeria. A Moslem child, who spoke Arabic at home, was expected to adapt himself to classes taught in the French language. Moreover, the schools disseminated French culture only, thus separating the Moslem from his own heritage.

The country has been ravaged by French military operations and recent O.A.S. terrorism. Entire villages, schools, hospitals, administrative buildings, and roads have been destroyed.

Millions of homeless Algerians are returning from refugee camps in Tunisia and Morocco and from French resettlement camps. During the revolutionary struggle, the French army attempted to deprive the freedom fighters of their chief support--the population--by creating "forbidden zones" in the interior of Algeria and by directing reprisals against villages suspected of aiding the nationalist forces. This policy led to an exodus of at least 300,000 Algerians, of whom fifty percent are children under fifteen years of age.

A NEW ALGERIA: The Algerian people must regain control of their economy so that they can proceed with the work of agrarian reform and industrialization. As more than 75% of the population till the land, agrarian reform is the key to the economic and social revolution. And it is the basis for an industrial revolution, for the problem of rural unemployment must be solved before the long process of industrialization can be successful. Land must be reapportioned, new methods of cultivation applied, and normal schools established to educate the peasantry to the ways of modern agriculture. The approxi-

mately fifty percent of the population presently unemployed will find jobs, the average Algerian will enjoy normal consumption habits, and the nation will benefit from the exploitation of her vast reserves of energy and mineral resources.

Education must be arabized, teachers must be recruited, schools must be built. In the long run, Algerians of all social conditions will have the opportunity to attend classes conducted in Arabic, where they will be trained to participate effectively in the economic and political life of their country, and where they will gain a renewed sense of pride in their cultural heritage. In the immediate future, as practically all schoolteachers were Europeans, Algeria must find 10,000 teachers before the reopening of classes in September. This lack of teachers, together with the lack of school facilities, make education a crucial problem in the new Algeria. For Algeria must begin to train her own technicians, civil servants, doctors, scientists, as well as teachers, to fill the vacuum resulting from the defection of the Europeans.

Algeria must undertake a vast program of reconstruction of private lodgings, schools, public buildings, hospitals, and roads. Shanty towns must disappear, to be replaced by modern, hygienic dwellings within the reach of the average peasant and workingman.

More than three million Algerians are returning from refugee camps and from French resettlement camps. Their plight is one of the most tragic of recent times. The Algerian people is grateful to those friendly governments and international organizations which have aided the refugees during past years. But the problem of displaced persons is far from solved. These unfortunate people, who have sacrificed so much for the liberation of their country, must be reintegrated into national society, and allowed the means of living a decent life in their homeland.

The task is enormous, but the outlook is far from bleak. The prospects for Algeria are exhilarating. Algeria will accomplish her goals through the tireless efforts of her own people, together with the technical and financial assistance and the moral support of those friendly peoples and governments who recognize Algeria as the hope for the underdeveloped nations of the world. The Algerian people cannot be characterized by the cliches applied to other newly-independent nations. The Algerian experience has been unique, and Algerians will solve their problems in a unique manner. The courage and tenacity of the Algerian people during the long struggle for independence inspire faith that Algeria will succeed in realizing that profound revolution in her economic and social life which will permit her people to enjoy true freedom. The battle for political independence has been won--the struggle for economic and social freedom is about to begin.

MOROCCAN SKETCH

by ELEANOR KNIGHT

As its name in Arabic signifies, Morocco is the far West of the Arab world. Along an Atlantic frontage of a thousand miles are Casablanca with a million inhabitants, and smaller cities including Rabat-Sale and Agadir. The name Morocco, long used by foreigners, is from the Almoravid capital, Marrakech, founded in 1062 by the desert Moors. Most of the historic Moroccan Sahara has been detached, but the country has a band of desert in the South. On the east is Algeria, the artificial frontier being drawn where the Sahara approaches the Mediterranean beyond the mountains which guarded Morocco's independence for twelve centuries. As defined by colonial expansion, Morocco now covers about 175,000 square miles. A population of 11,598,700 according to the 1960 census, should now slightly exceed 12,000,000.

Morocco became a protectorate--a colony with a facade of indigenous government--in 1912. France ruled nine-tenths of the area for forty-four years, sub-letting a small part to Spain, until independence and unity were restored in 1956. Initially, French colonization here was unique, due to the character of the first Resident-General, Marshal Lyautey. He sought to prevent large-scale European immigration and direct rule on the Algerian model, and definitely thought of self-rule as a long-run outcome. Morocco was saved many of the tribulations of its neighbors by Lyautey's planning and by an old treaty position which prevented complete absorption. The shortness of alien rule also helps explain the relatively small percentage of Europeans (about 5% in 1956) and that of arable land owned by them (about 10%). Independent Morocco owns most of the mineral resources because the protectorate authorities formed state-owned mining companies to circumvent the open door provisions of old treaties. The phosphate deposits have made particularly heavy contributions to the budget.

French imperialism's last-ditch campaign began in 1950. In 1953, the Sultan was carried off into French captivity and replaced by a puppet. This was the signal for armed resistance and boycotts which eventually restored Moroccan independence as well as the dynasty, March 2, 1956.

Morocco's problems today are largely the heritage of foreign domination. Shortages of trained administrators and teachers reflect the failure of the protectorate to provide schooling. Primary school population has quadrupled since independence, but quality has been sacrificed somewhat for numbers. A satellite economy (geared to supplement that of France) has struggled toward industrialization to meet the needs of an independent people, self-managing as well as self-ruling. A centralized, top-heavy, French-style administration, never intended for conversion into a government, has been reorganized about as fast as could be expected.

Boundary questions remain unsettled. From southern Algeria, France had encroached progressively on Moroccan territory. Deals with Spain enabled that country to do likewise. Boundary questions left open in 1956 are still open, France having declined invitations to discussion. The French swiftly recognized a republic of Mauretania, carved out of French-held territory and rich in minerals exploited by European companies. This was the homeland of the Almoravids, and at least part of it had been Moroccan since the 11th century. There

are reports of quiet Morocco-Mauretanian negotiations which would link these two neighbors by a mutually satisfactory agreement. Assurances have been given of a rectification of the Algero-Moroccan boundary when both countries were free, which they now are.

The Franco-Algerian war of 1954-62 placed serious burdens upon Morocco, including the arrival of some 150,000 refugees, the added cost of guarding the frontier, the withholding of promised French assistance because of Morocco's public avowal of the Algerian cause, and varied other dislocations.

U.S. military bases, begun in 1951, now present problems of reconversion. Evacuation is supposed to be complete by the end of 1963. The ultra-modern Strategic Air Force base for jets, at Nouasseur near Casablanca, is needed for a commercial airport, but the usefulness of the other bases is questionable. American communities, living apart in their own suburban style, have not been an unmixed blessing to the host country, or to their own.

Mother Nature dealt Morocco an unkind blow in March 1960, destroying by an earthquake the beautiful city of Agadir, a winter tourist resort with an important fishing industry. About 15,000 people were killed and 50,000 made homeless, in Agadir and villages for miles around.

The death of Mohammed V in February 1961 was an incalculable loss. Rulers with his wisdom and integrity have appeared from time to time, but few have had the love and respect that he did. He was the unifying force, an organic part of a Morocco maturing to independence. His promise of a constitution by the end of 1962 has been endorsed by Hassan II, his son and successor, but 1962 is ticking toward a close.

The need for closer North African unity has not been in doubt since the second world war. Plans for a federation, including Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, were sketched at Tangier in 1958. The intention has remained firm, but a definite form could not be worked out until all of the countries were free. Morocco is also a member of a Casablanca group including Mali, Guinea, Ghana and the United Arab Republic. This Far West is conscious of being West, Arab and also African. It needs and wants to be neutral to the great power blocs. Like other newly independent nations, it associates its subnormal economic development with foreign domination and tends to be wary of blocs such as the Common Market which could be used to perpetuate unequal relationships.

LONG ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

2000 BC-200 BC Phoenician-Carthaginian Occupation

146 BC-400 AD Roman Rule

400-600 Vandal and Byzantine Rule

600-1400 (in Tunisia and Algeria) Arab Rule

1400-1800 (Tunisia and Algeria) Turkish Rule

1830 French Occupation of Algeria

1880 French Occupation of Tunisia

600-1912 Morocco - Arab Rule

1912 Spanish-French Protectorate (Morocco)

1954 Rebellion in Algeria

1955 Rebellion in Morocco

1956 Independence for Morocco

1957 Independence for Tunisia

1962 Independence for Algeria

MAGHRIB UNITY: DIM PROSPECTS

by Dr. FAYEZ SAYEGH

Professions of dedication to the objective of Maghrib unity continue to be voiced in North Africa. But actions, which always speak louder than words, do not appear to be animated by that dedication. Are the professions mere lip-service?

This question acquires special urgency today. For four years after the Tangier Conference of April 1958, in which the agreement to establish a Maghrib federation was proclaimed, the idea was generally accepted that that objective would have to await the attainment by Algeria of its independence. But Algerian independence has now become a reality, and yet the goal of Maghrib unity appears to be as remote today as it was while the Algerian War of Independence was at its height.

The cynic has an easy explanation for this patent disparity between pledge and performance. He will aver that all those pious affirmations of fraternal bonds, and all those professions of solemn determination to translate those bonds into political reality once Algeria became free, were just another manifestation of a classic pattern of political deceit.

Loyal apologists and sympathizers, on the other hand, may try to find explanations, justifications and perhaps excuses. "The proclamation of the goal of Maghrib unity at Tangier," they will say, "was predicated on certain assumptions which have been destroyed or overtaken by events since 1958. The sincere desire for unity was in fact there; but then-unforeseen obstacles have since arisen to confound the will." In particular, three such developments will be suggested by those who subscribe to this thesis.

First: The Tangier Conference was held while independent Tunisia and independent Morocco were only two years old. Algerian independence was expected to be attained shortly. The three countries were assumed to be able to embark upon their joint venture before the sense of separateness had a chance to jell into a formidable barrier to cohesion. But as Algeria's independence was delayed by more than four years, the two other Maghrib states proceeded with their respective programs of national reconstruction along separate paths. By the time Algeria became independent, Morocco and Tunisia had had six years of self-establishment. At the formative, initial stage of independent existence, six years of "moranization" or "tunisification" can--and did--constitute a serious obstacle to "maghribization" which had been neither envisaged nor reckoned with at Tangier.

Secondly: The years of forcible postponement of unification have presented some opportunities and inducements for divergent orientation. Morocco and Tunisia have drifted apart in matters pertaining to North Africa (e.g., Mauritania), the Arab World, Africa, and the Cold War.

Thirdly: The enthusiasm for unity as an Arab national goal, which was in the air as the delegates of the Maghrib States met at Tangier and which undoubtedly generated corresponding enthusiasm for Maghrib unity, has been considerably dampened in the meantime. The three political unions which had been created in the Arab East in the few weeks preceding the Tangier Conference have all been liquidated. Such setbacks in the Arab East could not fail to convey to the leaders of the Arab West the counsel of greater caution in matters pertaining to political unity.

In this writer's opinion, both the cynic and the charitable sympathizer are guilty of over-simplification, although each of the arguments advanced

thus far may have some merit. The suspension of the movement towards Maghrib unity is real, and assertions to the contrary--unless they are meant to refer to a remote ideal--are deceptive; the afore-mentioned developments which have occurred since 1958 may have set the stage for such suspension; but the decisive factor is something else. The causes which have relegated Maghrib unity to the background are the same as those which have had similar effects upon Arab unity as a whole, the Maghrib situation being a particular instance of the larger Arab situation.

The Arab World, including the Maghrib, is the scene of a great revolutionary upheaval. A deadly confrontation goes on between the forces of drastic change and the forces bent on preserving the status quo.

This confrontation, it is true, has been going on for more than a decade; but it is also true that it has recently moved to a new height of earnestness and acquired a new pattern.

Until recently, the struggle between the two forces was waged within each country. While the outcome of the struggle, inside each country, did have some repercussions outside its borders, its direct impact was upon the destiny of the country itself. In fact, from late 1958 until 1961, the Arab states were fairly successful in containing their internal struggles to such an extent that a relationship of "co-existence" was established. Different Arab regimes with divergent orientations managed, on the whole, to maintain working relationships with one another, to abstain from interference in the internal struggles of one another, and to pursue common policies with respect to some common Arab problems. Under those circumstances, even the Arab League managed to plod along and to perform some of its functions. But all this has now come to an end. The advent of socialism in the U.A.R. in mid-1961 shook the complacency of the static, feudal monarchies of the Arab East to their very foundations, and brought the period of precarious and short-lived Arab co-existence to a close. The anti-socialist monarchies lost no time in mounting their counter-offensive. Events followed in rapid succession: the secession of Syria from the U.A.R. in September 1961; the abortive, Jordanian-supported coup in Lebanon in December 1961; coups and counter-coups in Syria in the spring of 1962; the paralysis of the Arab League in August 1962; the coup d'etat in Yemen in September 1962; and the split of the Arab World right down the middle over the question of recognition of different Yemeni regimes, and the threatened open military confrontation, in and over Yemen, between the U.A.R. and the Saudi-Jordanian Royal Entente.

In the Maghrib States, similar internal confrontation has been, and is, taking place in Morocco and Algeria. While these struggles have not--at least thus far--overflowed State-boundaries, as they have in the Arab East, yet the mutual responsiveness amongst the forces of revolution throughout the area, and the corresponding responsiveness among the guardians of the status quo, constitutes the first phase of a regional confrontation be-

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tween the two, and conspires against trust among regimes, thus abolishing the most elementary conditions for inter-governmental harmony and inter-state unity.

The current, post-coexistence phase of Arab national life presages a period of intensified turbulence in which the revolutionary struggle will go on without truce or respite. From all the evidence at hand, it appears that the imminent period--at the threshold of which the Arab East already stands, and from which the Maghrib is not remote--will have the following characteristics: Nothing less than "Arab socialism" and "Republicanism" will satisfy the revolutionary forces; The struggle for republicanism and socialism will appear to be more imperative than the promotion of harmony or unity among divergent Arab regimes; and, The struggle will overflow political frontiers even if that means (as

it is beginning to mean in Yemen) pitting the armed forces of Arab governments against one another.

In such a revolutionary period, a dynamic form of unity--unity in struggle--will supplant the static, institutional concept of unity hitherto associated with this word in the Arab mind. Institutionalized political unity among the Arab (and, *a fortiori*, among the Maghrib) States will continue to be the ultimate, long-range objective; but the immediate future offers little opportunity and less hope for any form of unity other than that of a united revolutionary force and a united reactionary force confronting one another belligerently throughout the area across political frontiers. As long as the Arab Revolution remains only partially triumphant, the path to Arab (or Maghrib) unity appears destined to pass through exacerbated disunity.

LIBYA

by KATHRYN REAP

A little country, unified only because of the monarch's prestige and the seat of combat from the time of the Phoenicians until World War II, has been found in the last seven years to contain some of the world's richest oil fields.

The independent United Kingdom of Libya is the site of investments totaling over 1,000,000 dollars by some 21 oil companies. The peak of the profits expected will not be attained until around 1965, but already the revenue is being channeled through the Libyan Development Council for use on roads, harbors and communications.

Since 1951, Libya has been an independent federation of three provinces governed by King Idrissel Senussi. Previously there had been no such thing in Libya as a national consciousness, and the fear had been expressed that the provinces, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fezzan would split up on the monarch's death. Since the discovery of oil, however, Libyans have begun to feel that there is a reason for the existence of the country as a whole, and the result has been a revived interest in nationalism. King Idrissel, following the trend, has encouraged the feeling of "Libya for the Libyans" by passing a series of laws designed to prevent foreigners from owning land or taking jobs away from skilled natives.

One facet of this spirit of nationalism is resentment toward American economic interests in Libya and the American base there. This feeling is shared by other nations of the African block because economic interference seems like a hold-over from colonialism, and bases represent a threat to the cherished neutrality of the new nations.

The discovery of oil in Libya naturally will increase her importance in the African bloc of nations, but she had already begun to take her place as a responsible nation in the bloc by the significant welfare and financial aid she rendered to Algeria during the war.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

by HARLAN ROBINSON

Tension in Southern Rhodesia is rapidly approaching the snapping point. The focus of present conflict is the new Constitution, which allows only fifteen guaranteed African seats in the sixty-five seat Legislative

Assembly. (The African:white ratio in population is about thirteen:one.) The basis on which England agreed to the new Constitution is its Declaration of Rights, aimed at eliminating racial inequality. Certain advances toward this goal have been made by the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead. However, Garfield Todd, in recently testifying before the U.N., has provided evidence that every right defined in the Declaration of Rights is being systematically violated. Sir Edgar is in the difficult position of attempting to walk a tight-rope between the white supremacist Dominion Party and the Zimbabwe African People's Union of Joshua Nkomo. Unfortunately, Sir Edgar leans to paternalism and a stiffening unwillingness to allow adequate African representation in government. Nkomo therefore refuses to deal with him.

As a result of Sir Edgar's intransigence and England's unwillingness to reopen negotiations, Nkomo has taken his case to the U.N. Committee of Seventeen on Colonialism. As the Committee can only operate within the framework of bringing peace to an area of war or potential war, occasional violence is one of ZAPU's political gambits. Sir Edgar's retaliation has been to declare ZAPU illegal, to arrest its leadership, including Nkomo, and to threaten the extension of the death penalty to crimes of "sedition" under which ZAPU leadership was arrested.

Underlying African political unrest is the great economic and social disparity between white and African in Southern Rhodesia. Poverty is the lot of the African; his average urban wage is six pounds sterling a month, while a white averages ninety pounds. Land is extremely scarce to an African because of the Land Apportionment Act, yet white immigrants are attracted by "unexploited Crown Lands." One hundred thirteen pounds sterling in government funds is allocated for the education of each white child each year; eight pounds for each African. The result is a vicious circle of no money, no education, no employment, political unrest, and back to no money.

Southern Rhodesia appears to be heading for a blood-bath which can be averted only by Sir Edgar's calling a new Constitutional Convention. Time is short, yet Sir Edgar cannot call a convention until after the next election, to be held sometime in the next few months.

THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC TODAY

by TAHSEEN M. BASHEER

The United Arab Republic is the political name which composes today the geographical land of Egypt. Situated on the North Eastern corner of Africa, it represents the land-bridge between Asia, Africa, and the Mediterranean; for while the bulk of the country lies on the banks of the Nile, the area of the Sinai to the East of the Suez Canal lies in Asia.

It is difficult to summarize briefly the unfoldment of world history that took place on the human stage of Egypt. Suffice it in this context to recall some major historical developments that shed some light on the developments of the United Arab Republic today, and can help us in understanding the trends of recent history in this part of the world. In this age of nationalism and national liberation one should not lose sight of the fact that since Mina the First unified Upper and Lower Egypt into one country, the first "State" in the world was created many thousands of years before Christ; and since that time, history went on uninterrupted, with its ups and downs, turning page after page of human record on the banks of the Nile. When Christ was a young boy, he took refuge with Mary from persecution in Palestine to a little village in the outskirts of Cairo. Egypt became one of the early countries to become Christian, and the Egyptian Coptic Church is one of the oldest churches in Christiandom. A new chapter was ushered in with the spread of Islam from the heart of the Asian Peninsula to the Egyptian shores and from there to North Africa. Islam became the main cultural influence that forged bonds of unity based on belief in the one God and equality of man before God. Cairo with its AL-AZHAR University became the intellectual center of Moslem teachings, and there the philosophy of all Greece was studied and transmitted through Arabic writing to Europe creating the era of Renaissance in that continent. From these waves of history modern life in Egypt was shaped and no understanding of modern development in our country can be fully comprehended without a deep insight in our history.

Out of centuries of stagnation under Ottoman rule, the creative power of the country was seeped away, and the productive capacity was stemmed by the tide of isolation and oppression. Modern Egypt was reborn through the encounter with Europe. Europe came in the form of Anglo-French rivalry to dominate the routes to India as an extension of European colonial expansion in the nineteenth century. But Europe brought with it, aside from colonialism in the political sphere, the seeds of modern science and technology in the social and economic life. It also brought the values of the French Revolution, the English parliamentary system, and the lessons of the experiment of the American Revolution, introducing the liberal tradition that contributed to the reawakening of the Arab people in the Middle East, and to the revolution against rising exploitation in Asia and Africa, as well as other countries. From these historical experiences a new ideology is emerging. It is an ideology rooted in our tradition, stemming out of our experiences. It is our response to the challenge of life in mid-twentieth century. It is our endeavor to join the human caravan again as a creative force, trying on one hand to maintain the values cherished in our long history, and proven time and again, and on the other hand to live according to the dictates of the world today and the potentialities of the world tomorrow. This ideology takes many forms and is expressed in many labels, but in essence it is an ideology of awakening. In the political field we call it "Arab nationalism"; in the economic field we call it "Arab socialism"; in the international field it expresses itself in the

policy of "positive non-alignment". Above all, these ideological formulations try to assert the following principles:

(1) Every member of the country is a "Citizen", having equal rights with all other citizens. He is not a member of a tribe or of a class, but a member of a nation that affords him equal rights and equal opportunities before the law. This social equality is equally extended to the women of our country. Now their role is not limited to being wives and mothers, but rather they extend their potentialities to whatever height they can achieve. The cabinet of the United Arab Republic includes a lady Minister of Social Affairs, and a worker who became the Minister of Labor.

(2) "Arab nationalism" means that the countries that conceive of themselves to be Arab, should endeavor to attain their independence and should seek to achieve bonds of unity; and instead of the small unviable partitions that were parcelled out by colonial rivalry, they should forge together a more stable society and should follow the trend of world unity through regional unification.

(3) "Arab socialism" provides the general guide-lines for our social and economic policy which are as follows:

(a) The resources of the country should be fully utilized to the benefit of all the citizens, and equal economic and social opportunities should be given to all citizens.

(b) The problem of social classes should be resolved not by struggle and strife, but rather by class harmony. This has been achieved through the land reform program limiting land ownership to one hundred acres and giving the landless small plots of land.

(4) While maintaining the right of private ownership, we took economic measures to safeguard our citizens against exploitation; and twenty-five percent of the profits of every enterprise is given to those who labor in it, whether they are managers or workers.

(5) The policy of "positive non-alignment" means that we pursue an independent foreign policy that is committed to the principles of the United Nations Charter, and we refuse to be blindly committed to one power group or another in the bi-polar power struggle today. Instead, we endeavor to find ways and means to resolve the world power struggle through the Asian-African nations playing a positive role in reaching world harmony, by making a major contribution to the decolonization of the countries of Asia and Africa, and by insisting on a policy of peaceful co-existence between varying social systems. We retain to ourselves the right to mold our destiny the way we see fit; and above all, we maintain the necessary conditions to safeguard world peace by refusing to accept foreign bases, expanding the area of nuclear free zones, and endeavoring to help the big powers reach an agreement on disarmament.

The United Arab Republic is one of the rare countries in the world where there is no problem of race and color coming out of many races and colors. As Mr. David Du Bois said about Cairo:

To suddenly find myself in Cairo where as a person of color I am one among three million persons of color, where the color of a man's skin has no more or no less significance than how that

(over)

color contributes to that person's physical appearance, or to identify his place of origin; to find myself suddenly in an atmosphere completely free of any distinction or privilege based on color is suddenly to find myself in a society of civilized human beings for whom the brotherhood of man is a living reality.

In conclusion, let me quote from President Nasser's speech before the United Nations

in 1960 in which he said:

Our people felt that they had missed the era of steam and the era of electricity, and they feel that they are almost missing the era of atomic energy with all its unlimited potentialities. Hence the people's determination to achieve their economic independence; hence their resolute drive in the fields of agricultural and industrial development and of social equality.

TUNISIA

by MARY LOUISE HOOPER

Tunisia, in Arabic "the green land", is a lovely country of gently rolling hills, dusty-green olive groves, and rugged coast line dotted with ruins of Roman rule and the three preceding Carthaginian civilizations. Geographically it is the smallest country of North Africa, with a population of $4\frac{1}{2}$ million people, increasing by 3% every year.

French domination lasted from 1880 to 1957, leaving the usual fruit of foreign rule: a backward, agricultural economy, geared to that of the former colonial power.

TUNISIAN AID TO ALGERIA: Since independence, Tunisia's own development has been slowed down by her continued and significant assistance to the fighting Algerians, which aid included at least partial support of some 150,000 refugees within her borders, free school facilities for 800 Algerian high school and university students, and hospitality to the Provisional Government of Algeria (GPRA).

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: Relieved, since Algerian independence, of this severe economic strain, Tunisia is now inaugurating a "Three Year Plan" to invest \$636,000,000 in internal development: the first phase of a 13 year project, costing two billion dollars. The United States has agreed to help finance this program, hopefully with cooperation of other 'Western' nations. Development of industry, exploitation of mineral resources, and modernization of agriculture are particularly urgent in Tunisia because of the phenomenal birth rate, mentioned earlier.

A ten million dollar "trade and barter" agreement has been made with Poland, and the USSR has also shown interest in financing certain development projects, but U.S. governmental aid has so far been the largest, totally about \$170,000,000 from 1957 to mid '61.

TUNISIA AND THE WEST: Of all North Africa, Tunisia has been since independence the most 'West-friendly', partly because of the affinity with European culture implanted by several generations of French education--in those fortunate enough to receive an education! - but mainly because the Tunisian economy has continued to be almost entirely dependent on French trade and subsidies.

A progressive weakening, however, of emotional and cultural ties to France has taken place, due to French atrocities during the Algerian war and, closer home, incidents such as the 1958 bombing of Sakiet-sidi-Youseff, which resulted in the deaths of 72 Tunisian civilians. France's brutal response, in July 1961, to Bourguiba's attempt to force them out of the great Bizerte naval base (result: at least 1300 Tunisian dead) destroyed the last pro-Western attitudes, and caused Tunisia's alignment with the "neutrals" at the Belgrade Conference. President Bourguiba spoke there of the advantages of "non-committedness", and of his decision to "profit from internation-

al competition or even rivalries". Even more explicit was a statement made in Tunis: "We must consider a reversal of alliances." (N.Y. Times, 7/28/61)

THE U.S. AND TUNISIA: In the Bizerte crisis, the hands of the United States were by no means clean. Fearful to offend France, we abstained in the U.N. resolution which supported Tunisia's sovereign rights. The question to ponder now is: will our present readiness to give economic aid to the Three Year Plan help to restore genuine friendliness in our relations with Tunisia or will our gifts--of necessity accepted--be received warily and with the silent conviction that they are offered only as a practical link in the 'cold war' strategy of the U.S.?

And, if aid should be so given and so received, will the strategy really succeed?

ALGERIAN NEWS BRIEFS

The U.N. welcomed Algeria on Oct. 8, '62, as its 109th member--the 31st from Africa. Its admission was jointly proposed by 34 states, including France, and the French Foreign Minister was among those who paid tribute in welcome speeches.

Algerian Premier Ben Bella, following the admission of his country to the U.N., was greeted on the White House lawn by President Kennedy and a 21 gun salute. It was the first time, at least during this presidential regime, that the traditional military ceremony of greeting for a Head of State has been performed at the White House.

Algeria's Premier Ahmed Ben Bella, in his maiden speech at the UN, pronounced as expected his new country's non-alignment policy. Stating also that Algeria's primary aim is to help eliminate colonialism, he mentioned specifically Portuguese Angola, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and South West Africa.

PLEASE SEND ME

"Let My People Go", autobiography
of
Albert J. Luthuli

I enclose check for \$4.00
money order

Signed: (please print)
Name _____
Address _____

WINDOW ON AFRICA

by ELAINE HALEY

SOUTH AFRICA

The so-called independence for Africans in the Transkei is being finalized without their consent. Africa Digest (8-62) reports that Mr. Young, Secretary for the Bantu Administration told African leaders that it was "useless to discuss any Constitution for the Transkei other than that already approved by the Government . . . and that there would be no concessions."

Quite naturally, attempts by Pondo chiefs failed to change the composition of the proposed Legislative Assembly, less than one-half of whom are to be elected. A meeting of 900 Tembus completely rejected the Constitution.

The entire process of Constitution making has occurred under "state of emergency" conditions. No opposition to the Government's plan has been allowed, except under the penalty of arrest for subservision and indefinite imprisonment without trial. One chief has been described as being forced to sign the Constitution which has been "adopted", as the Africa Digest concludes, with "few absences."

RUANDA and BURUNDI

These two newly independent and overcrowded nations are faced by political disunity, economic instability, and lack of education.

Political problems stem from a long-standing feudal relationship between Hutu tribes, (84% of the population) and the ruling Tutsi or Watusi, 15% of the population. Germany pos-

sessed these countries until World War I. After the war, the two countries became trusteeship territories under the administration of Belgium. Both European nations had ruled through the Tutsi overlords. This system broke down in 1959 when the Hutus attacked the Watusi.

Ruanda's Hutu party emerged victorious in 1961 over the Watusis and established a republic. Burundi, however, is controlled by Watusi.

The only sign of unity between the political leaders is in their recent agreement to form a Council of Economic Union to maintain order in the operation of common services. Its success will depend greatly on the UN official appointed Secretary-General of the Economic Council.

The economy of these countries is keyed to coffee and is dependent on the world market; "unfortunately . . . coffee . . . is facing the worst crisis of over-production in 30 years." (Manchester Guardian, 8-16-62)

The Belgians have left behind few trained men or educational facilities for the indigenous population. There are only 26 University graduates in the two countries and only a minimal amount more have even the equivalent of a high school diploma. The figure is not likely to improve in the near future. The outlook for Ruanda and Burundi is indefinite. It appears that they will need outside aid, not only to progress, but also to maintain themselves.

U.S. HELPS AFRICA

ALGERIA

U.S. aid in Algeria has taken several forms. An urgently needed 12-man medical team, headed by Dr. George Leroy, has gone to aid some 1200 patients hospitalized near Algiers. AFL-CIO President George Meany has endorsed a program of direct U.S. labor aid to Algerian workers to form a trade union organization. While visiting the U.S. in June, Ali Yahia, Secretary of the Algerian General Worker's Union (UGTA) learned that the million member New York City Central Labor Council had undertaken a fund raising program for benefit of Algerian workers, to aid them to adjust from a state of war to productive industry. It may be several years before UGTA can be come self-supporting due to the necessity of organizing and educating its members to the responsibility of new independence.

GUINEA

ORT, The American Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training, and US AID, Agency for International Development, have arranged a two-year, \$1.1 million contract to establish, this Fall, a technical school in Guinea. The Senate Congressional Record of 25 July reports that the "school . . . is the first of its kind in Guinea and . . . eventually . . . will have a capacity of 200 students to furnish approximately 20 instructors or foremen each year for industry." The money received from the AID contract, will provide salaries for instructors and meet the initial cost of construction and procurement of necessary vocational equipment.

NIGERIA

U.S. aid in Nigeria is endeavoring to formulate a systematic curriculum of continued education at the University of Nigeria, to further train people currently occupied in business, education, government, and political leadership. Chief advisor-consultant, Dr. E. V. Svenson, Associate Director of The University of California Extension at Los Angeles, has proposed a National Training Laboratory to provide complete courses in National Leadership. Svenson is prepared to do all in his power to launch the project successfully.

UGANDA and DAHOMEY

The U.S. National Farmers Union has established training programs in Uganda and Dahomey to illustrate the advantages of co-operative farming in Africa. Agricultural specialists will be sent to both countries for a month and will discuss findings with reports of project officers who have spent two years in each country working with African farmers and agricultural experts.

A cycle of droughts, succeeded by heavy floods, makes both countries' economic prospects very insecure. Many Africans are close to starvation. Hopefully, the U.S. backed "Agriculture Cooperation Leadership Training" program can mitigate some of these problems in the establishment of co-operative agricultural programs.

BOOK REVIEW

by MARYE MYERS

Like Albert Schweitzer, another renowned world figure who makes Africa his home, Albert John Luthuli represents the conscience of the world. Citizen of South Africa, once Chief of his native tribe, more recently recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, Luthuli is known and recognized around the world for the leadership of his people against the unspeakable atrocities of the South African Government in demanding the establishment of apartheid.

LET MY PEOPLE GO is a chronological recollection of the events of his life leading up to the five-year ban in 1959 and prior to the winning of the Nobel Peace Prize. It is also an honest evaluation of his political philosophy. As the reader turns the pages he becomes more and more involved in the personal tragedy of the author. He is made aware of the stature of the man, of his all-encompassing patriotism, "his profound concern for South Africans, invariably men of all races, of his appreciation of the teeming cities, the farms, the crowded reserves and the look of the land, and of his love for Mother Africa and her troubled peoples."

Luthuli graphically points out the problems besetting his people. Not the least is the propagation of the Bantustan scheme, which completely seals off the African from the rest of the population. "In the end Bantustans become destitute reservoirs of cheap labour, to be kept in order to discipline city workers who might dare to demand higher wages... To us Bantustan means the home of disease and miserable poverty, the place where we shall be swept into heaps in order to rot, the dumping ground of 'undesirable elements,' delinquents, criminals created especially in towns and cities by the system... It is a huge deceit. I am not a man given to threats. But when my people see the magnitude of this bluff, as indeed they are seeing it, the docile people with whom the Government is now dealing will change beyond recognition. The lie is too big. You cannot fool all the people all the time."

Reading this book, the huge wonder is that the "docile people" have not already risen in uncontrolled anger against their oppressors. It is only because Luthuli and other leaders like him believe in the principle of non-violent resistance. Luthuli is a Christian, but one with a much needed measure of righteous indignation. He believes that the reformation for which he is working will come about more easily and without unnecessary bloodshed if the entire world will recognize the immorality of the South African position and exert an economic boycott of South African products and capital investment. Having watched the fluctuations of personal power and influence it is only natural to be skeptical of the unmitigated loyalty of the vast majority of Africans to the principle of non-violence. It is hoped that world public opinion may exert enough influence on the Government of South Africa to bring it to its senses and let Luthuli's peaceful method of change prevail. "We mean to cling to methods such as this, to non-violence, and we mean increasingly to use these weapons even against such tyrants as South Africa's present Government. This is not only a question of morality. As long as our patience can be made to hold out, we shall not jeop-

ardise the South Africa of tomorrow by precipitating violence today."

This is a book to be read by everyone willing to look at the world situation without a mask of conceit, willing to see in it some implications of our own society, willing to assume personal responsibility to set right wrongs for which we are, all of us together, accountable. LET MY PEOPLE GO, by Albert Luthuli. McGraw-Hill. 256pp. \$5.50

PROGRESS of ANGOLA CAMPAIGN

The campaign of the American Committee on Africa for Emergency Relief to Angola has sent over \$15,000 worth of medicines into the African-held northern area. These have been mostly anti-malarial drugs and antibiotics, greatly needed by the two million Africans, deprived of all medical services since Portugal forced the exodus of the missionaries, more than a year ago.

A Canadian doctor, Dr. Ian Gilchrist, is willing to go for ERA to the Congo and into Angola, beginning his service probably on January first. He is the son of a missionary still working in Angola, and has spent part of his life there. ACOA is now looking for funds to send Dr. Gilchrist, and also to provide him with an ambulance. They presently have some \$7,800 on hand toward these needs.

The West Coast Representative, during four months work in Southern California, lectured on Angola 14 times, and showed the NBC documentary film, "Angola, Journey To a War", 8 times, for an incomplete financial return of \$1557.17 in cash and \$750 in drug donations--a total of \$2,307.17 to date, with five groups not yet heard from.

ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID

On December 10th, Human Rights Day, the American Committee on Africa is organizing country-wide meetings and demonstrations against the South African policy of "apartheid".

South Africa is the most modern, most highly industrialized country of Africa, with by far the greatest number of educated Africans, capable of assuming the reins of government rightfully theirs.

It is also the country where 12 million non-Whites are held in rigid 'police-state' control by 3 million fear-ridden, racially prejudiced Whites.

Mild U.N. resolutions against apartheid in the past have been ignored by the Afrikaner government. The latest dictatorial step has placed 102 citizens, white and black, on a "muzzled" list, whose statements, spoken or written, may not be published or repeated, under severe penalties. "Homes into prisons" is an even more repressive measure just taken against three outstanding freedom fighters--one white, one African and one Indian--using the new device of "house arrest".

ON DECEMBER 10th the American Committee on Africa asks you to:

Hold meetings and demonstrations against apartheid.

Urge your church, lodge or union to observe this day of protest.

Urge the U.S. government to support economic sanctions against South Africa--as requested by the majority of her people.