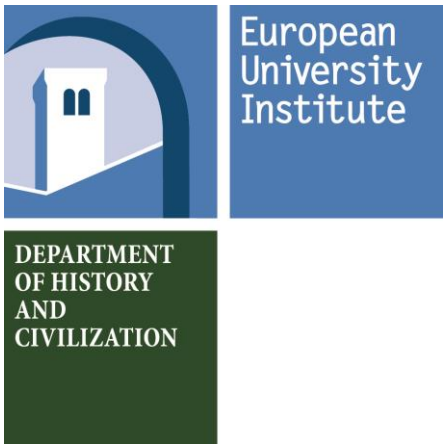

Harnessing the wind:

East and Central African activists and anticolonial cultures in a decolonising world, 1952-64

Ismay Milford

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Florence, 17 September 2019

European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

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Researcher declaration to accompany the submission of written work
Department of History and Civilization - Doctoral Programme

I Ismay Milford certify that I am the author of the work 'Harnessing the wind: East and Central African activists and anticolonial cultures in a decolonising world'
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28 February 2019

Abstract

This thesis maps the anticolonial thought and practice – an anticolonial culture – of a generation of mobile activists from Malawi, Zambia, Uganda and mainland Tanzania, during the period 1952-64. Global histories of decolonisation continue to portray the independence of East and Central Africa as a natural corollary of a world-wide process, a narrative facilitated by the neglect of anticolonial work beyond the borders of the nation-state-to-be in (revisionist) histories of African nationalism. As it appeared to the actors in this thesis, however, the momentum of decolonisation needed to be actively harnessed from beyond colonial borders, by building contacts, publishing pamphlets, organising conferences and changing minds.

Putting 'nationalism' to one side, and foregrounding the everyday frustrations of transnational organising, makes legible a swathe of previously ignored printed ephemera. This allows us to follow these activists from the period 1952-55, when this generation passed through education institutions (in Africa and abroad) in the context of a set of regional crises and the consolidation of party politics; through the period 1956-59, when external representation in London, New Delhi, Cairo, and Accra became a (contested) strategy of the relevant nationalist parties; and into the period 1960-64, when all four countries gained flag independence and activists became increasingly disillusioned with the possibilities of transnational action in a Cold War context. Specific ideas about information, knowledge production, and publicity emerged from carrying out anticolonial work around the edges of an increasingly oppressive colonial state. These ideas responded to and shaped pan-African and Afro-Asian discourses, and informed better-documented moments of global activism in the following decades. Looking in at global anticolonial 'hubs' and 'moments' from the perspective of interested actors at their edges, the thesis demonstrates that not only did these activists do the labour of connecting up decolonisations – they also co-authored the narrative that decolonisation was global.

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Acknowledgements

Like all academic research, writing this thesis was a collaborative project, and I'd like to thank some of those whose contributions I have especially valued. My supervisor, Corinna Unger, has been and continues to be a source of professional support and inspiration far beyond the requirements of PhD supervision. For her generosity in always finding time to plough through messy drafts, discuss the dilemmas of historical knowing and writing, and offer ever-practical advice, I thank her sincerely. I add my thanks to Lucy Riall, my second reader, who has provided thought-provoking comments and words of encouragement at crucial moments in the process. Rob Skinner, my external advisor, has followed the thesis at a distance from its genesis, shown enthusiasm for its aspirations, and kept it on track – thank you. The ways that each of these scholars approach historical research have shaped some of the parts of this thesis of which I am most proud. I also extend my thanks to the external examiner of the thesis, Jan-Bart Gewald, for taking the time to look at the project with fresh eyes and with expertise in the region studied. The reports of all four examiners have informed the final edits of the thesis and will go on to shape its afterlives.

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I have been lucky that my research has not only led me to archives and academics but also to people whose lives were entwined with the histories explored here – and to their relatives who survive them. For inspiring conversations about his father Kanyama Chiume's work, thank you to Nathan Chiume. For sharing notes and an interest in the life of his cousin John Kale, thank you to Matt Rugamba. For providing me with biographical material of his father Boloki Chango Machyo, thank you to Peter Obanda Wanyama. For warmly inviting me into the archive of his father Basil Davidson, thank you to Kier Davidson. Most of all, I'd like to express my huge gratitude to the nine individuals who not only accepted an invitation to be interviewed but, more often than not, also welcomed me into their homes, offered tea, and made sure I didn't forget that history is made of stories: Marga Holness, Manickum Chetty, Catherine Chipembere, John Tembo, J. M. Kavuma-Kaggwa, A. D. Lubowa, Simon Zukas, Sikota Wina, and Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru.

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List of abbreviations

AAPC	All-African Peoples' Conference
AAPSO	Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation
AATUF	All-African Trade Unions Federation
ASC	Asian Socialist Conference
BAA	Bureau of African Affairs
CAO	Committee of African Organisations
CIAS	Conference of Independence African States
COPAI	Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism
COSEC	Co-Ordinating Secretary of the International Student Conference
CPP	Convention People's Party (Gold Coast / Ghana)
FBC	Federal Broadcasting Company
FLN	*Front de Libération Nationale* (Algeria)
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
IUS	International Union of Students
IUSY	International Union of Socialist Youth
KAU	Kenya African Union
Legco	Legislative Council
MCF	Movement for Colonial Freedom
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MRA	Moral Re-Armament
NAC	Nyasaland African Congress
NRANC	Northern Rhodesian African National Congress

NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAFMECA	Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa
PAFMESCA	Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa
TAA	Tanganyika African Association
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TBC	Tanganyika Broadcasting Company
UAR	United Arab Republic
UDC	Union for Democratic Control
UNC	Uganda National Congress
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIP	United National Independence Party (Northern Rhodesia / Zambia)
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
WASU	West African Students' Union
WAY	World Association of Youth
WFDY	World Federation of Democratic Youth

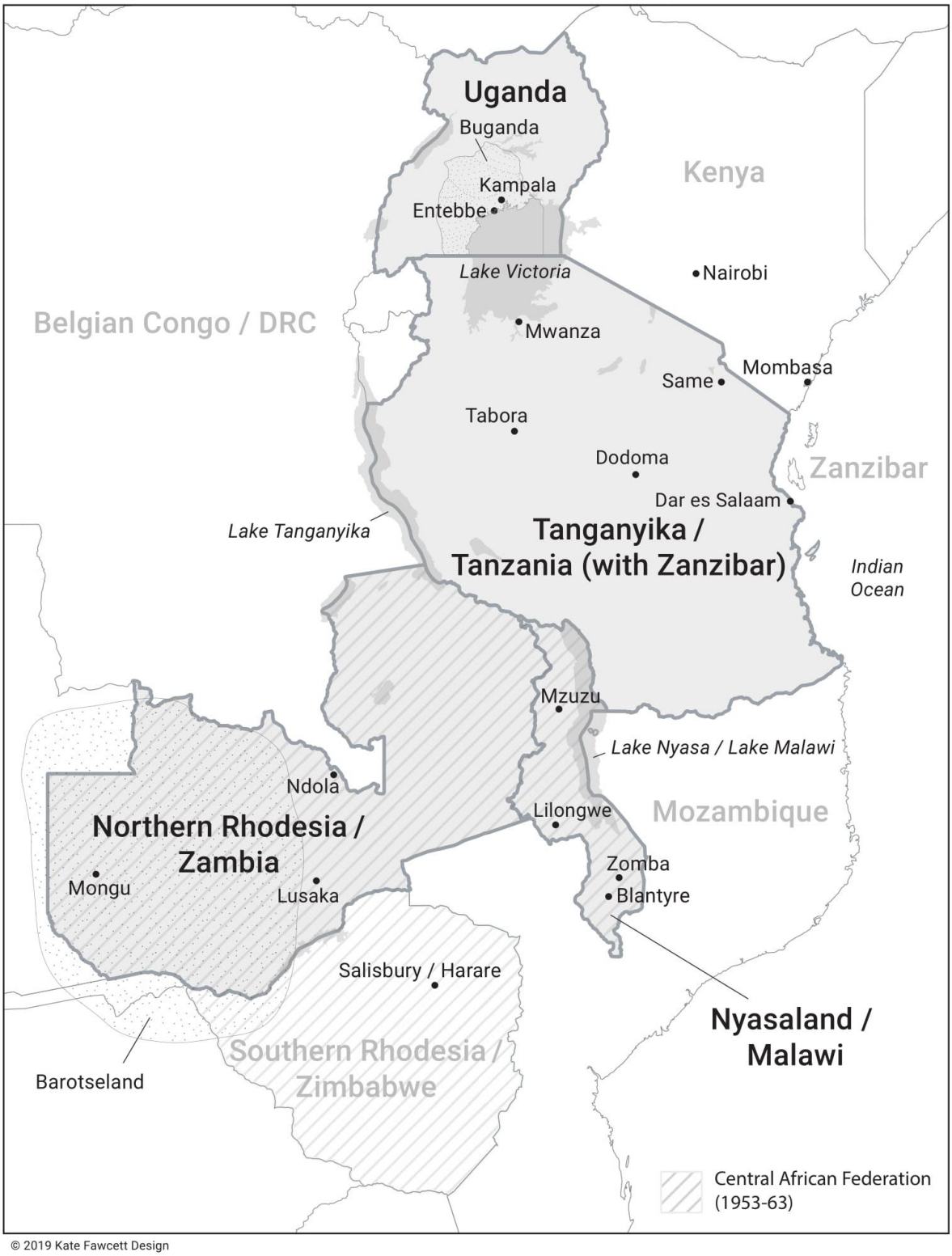

Figure 1: Map of Zambia, Malawi, Uganda and mainland Tanzania, with place names relating to the period 1952-64

Introduction

> This world of ours is in a state of dynamic transition. There are big political and social waves sweeping through it and we seem to be spectators from another planet looking at the unfortunate victims of the 'typhoon'. Ladies and gentlemen[,] it is high time we came down to this planet.[1]
>
> E.D. Sawe, Presidential address to the Makerere College Political Society, 1953

The 'wind of change' referenced in Harold Macmillan's speech to audiences in Accra and Cape Town in early 1960 has become a metaphor for the sweeping, inevitable nature of the connected Afro-Asian decolonisations that rewrote the mid-twentieth century global order. As historians increasingly recognise, however, as much as describing a political reality, Macmillan was discursively 'inventing' decolonisation – a particular decolonisation that served particular (metropolitan) interests.[2] He was not the only one, nor the first. Across the Afro-Asian world, decolonisation was being invented too. To Tanzanian student E. D. Sawe, elected president of the Makerere College Political Society (Kampala), it looked more like a typhoon. And as Sawe insisted in his 1953 presidential address, above, this was not a wind to be observed as it swept

[1] E. D. Sawe, 'Presidential Address to the Makerere College Political Society' (1953), in *Politica*, Vol. 1 No. 1, May 1953, Archival collection of Makerere University (hereafter AR/MAK) AR/MAK/57/5 Makerere College Political Society.
[2] Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonialism and the Making of British Dissent* (London: Verso Books, 2019), 433–4. The concept of the 'invention' of decolonisation is most thoroughly explored in Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2006).

across the region and globe, but one which his audience – young, educated people from across East and Central Africa – were to actively harness.

It is the anticolonial work and intellectual output of people like Sawe which lies at the centre of this thesis. The assortment of activists from Malawi, Zambia, Uganda and mainland Tanzania, who populate the following chapters, is not one previously drawn together or studied, nor one that would straightforwardly emerge from reading histories of the relevant national liberation movements.[3] Rather, I arrive at them – sometimes unexpectedly – through a reading of scattered documents left in the wake of a flurry of anticolonial work that overflowed the boundaries of these four nation-states-to-be, stretching across Europe, Asia and Africa, concentrated in the period 1952-64. Their versions of the global decolonisation narrative were rather less broadcast than that of Macmillan, or indeed than those of the small cannon of anticolonial thinkers who have made it onto the bookshelves of political scientists. Yet their lived experience and intellectual output has the potential to forcefully intervene in the history of a global decolonisation moment. If the 'wind' was an idea as much as a political process, these individuals believed in the need to direct it, a task that, on an organisational and practical level, proved deeply frustrating.

If we want global histories to do more than pay lip service to the experiences of African individuals, it is not enough to berate global historians: research on African pasts must be set out in ways that explicitly employ these experiences to intervene in supposedly universal narratives.[4] This, broadly, was the case made by Patrick Manning in the *Journal of African History* in 2013. Half a decade later, a similar argument appeared in the manifesto of the Afro-Asian Networks Research Collective, with specific reference to decolonisation.[5] As the manifesto laid out, histories of decolonisation from an Afro-Asian perspective need to shift away from state actors and high diplomacy and towards the networks of mobile intermediaries who lived – 'navigated' – decolonisation. Certainly, as the manifesto points out, this allows

[3] A note on names of countries: throughout the thesis, I will refer to these countries both as they were known under colonial/protectorate/federal/trusteeship administration (Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Uganda and Tanganyika) and as they were officially named by the end of 1964 (Malawi, Zambia, Uganda and Tanzania), showing preference for the latter when the context allows it. Tanganyika did not become Tanzania on independence in December 1961, but rather with the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in April 1964. Given that the thesis does not deal explicitly with Zanzibar, I at times use 'mainland Tanzania' to refer to the space formerly known as Tanganyika.

[4] Patrick Manning, 'African and World Historiography', *The Journal of African History,* 54 (2013). The charge against global history paying lip service to African experience was made by Jeffrey S. Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2017), 13.

[5] Afro-Asian Networks Research Collective, 'Manifesto: Networks of Decolonization in Asia and Africa', *Radical History Review,* 2018 (2018).

access to these intermediaries' alternative visions of global society, visions that were not just about decolonisation as a rush of new states into the UN.[6] But, I would add, it also brings fresh answers to the question that has long plagued histories of decolonisation: the relationship between the global process and individual liberation struggles. The activists that I deal with here considered this question from a privileged position. They could see that when and where one 'decolonisation' was happening, in terms of the bigger picture of Afro-Asian independence, made a difference. It made a difference to the possible channels of appeal and to the range of strategies that could be employed, to how important mobility was and whether it was even possible. It made a difference to how the 'centre' and the 'edges', the turning points and the obstacles of decolonisation were imagined. This relationship, between one decolonisation process and all the others, was, in part, of their making – and it was made discursively as well as materially.

The research presented here asks what constituted the anticolonial culture that sustained this work – this harnessing of the idea of decolonisation. To answer that question, the thesis will sketch out a world of anticolonial possibilities and constraints,[7] physical and imaginative, as it appeared to and was experienced by these young and exceptionally mobile activists from Uganda, Zambia, Malawi and mainland Tanzania. The stories I tell are stories of lives (sometimes only snippets of lives) colliding with variously anticolonial 'movements' and 'moments' that are, relatively, better documented than these lives. If we are used to histories of global movements, like pan-African or Afro-Asian solidarity projects, like decolonisation, told from a 'beginning' to an 'end', here we will encounter them in the state in which they were met by the actors of the thesis. The question can thus be asked of what it *meant* to arrive in a place that was consumed by something often already in full swing – that is, to arrive not armed with a narrative of roots and historical rise in hand (as a historian might), but with an individual's specific array of anticolonial knowing, own priorities, preconceptions, misconceptions and ignorance. The tension, between the narratives of a global anticolonial moment and the experience of those who lived it, is not merely a historiographical one: often, such narratives were *also* contemporaneously and quite consciously being written by those carrying out the work of committees, congresses and publications. In this way, these are also

[6] One of the most recent global accounts of decolonisation from a primarily international history perspective that subscribes to this description is Jan C Jansen and Jürgen Osterhammel, *Decolonization: A short history* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017).

[7] I borrow this way of conceptualising contingency (as many others have) from Frederick Cooper, 'Possibility and Constraint: African Independence in Historical Perspective', *The Journal of African History*, 49 (2008).

stories of these actors' material and discursive interventions in a wider anticolonial movement to which they have previously appeared marginal, and of how they mobilised this collision in the service of national independence struggles.

The myth of anticolonial nationalism

For several decades following the independence of sub-Saharan African states, African anticolonial nationalism and British decolonisation were written about almost as though they were distinct objects of enquiry. In the case of anticolonial nationalism, the canon of literature that solidified the very idea of African history did not think to ask, as Richard Reid did in a recent history of Uganda, whether writing the histories of Tanganyika, Uganda, Malawi and Zambia was a 'worthwhile and valid exercise': the existence of these states was treated as a natural product of the history that had happened in the space demarcated by their borders.[8] These histories, epitomised by the 'Dar es Salaam school' approach, sketched neat chronologies of the birth of 'national consciousness' during the period leading up to independence.[9] For the region in question, the degree of resemblance between each of these 'first wave' national histories was substantial. As they outlined, the Second World War was followed by an augmentation of African demands for political and socio-economic development. Where, previously, grievances had been channelled through various local welfare societies, 'native associations' and workers unions, there was now a need felt for coordination at a national level. Thus the formation, 'late' in terms of most of sub-Saharan Africa, of the first national-level African political parties in the region (if various branches were not always coordinated): the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) under James Sangala in 1943, the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC) under Godwin Lewanika in 1948 (called the Northern Rhodesia Congress until 1951), the Uganda National Congress (UNC) under Ignatius Musazi in 1952, and the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), on the foundations of the 1929 Tanganyika African Association (TAA), under Julius Nyerere in 1954.

[8] Richard J. Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1–5.
[9] Often identified as the high point of this genre of African histories is John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). On Zambia see David C. Mulford, *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1957-1964* (London: Oxford U.P, 1967).On Zambia and Malawi, in a rare example of two states dealt with in comparative perspective, see Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965). On Uganda see David Ernest Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study of Bureaucratic Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

Only in Tanganyika would this party and leader be the ones to govern the country at independence. Nevertheless, the Dar es Salaam school histories trace a relatively straight line between the first national-level organisations and those that would enter government (sometimes in coalition) with independence – the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) under Hastings Banda and the Zambian United National Independence Party (UNIP) under Kenneth Kaunda, both formed in 1959, and the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) under Milton Obote, formed in 1960. Under a new generation of leaders who had been educated abroad, the nationalist basis of these parties was understood to be a logical reflection of the new world order of nation-states, a counterpart to sub-national organisations along ethnic or 'tribal' lines. These parties employed all the modern political methods for gaining mass support and, in this region, negotiated electoral reform and gradual increases in representation to arrive at internal self-government and independence without an armed struggle. This was easiest in Tanganyika (December 1961), where there was a single nationalist party and a negligible settler population, less easy in Uganda (October 1962), where historic divides along religious and regional lines played out in party politics, and harder still in Malawi and Zambia (July and October 1964), where the Central African Federation (1953-63) was imposed against the will of the African majority, placing these countries, together with Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia), under a white-settler Federal government with links to Apartheid South Africa.

This, of course, is a gross simplification of the findings of the pioneering scholarship of the 1960s and 1970s – my summary serves not only to give an impression of how these histories set out to explain the birth of these nations; it provides a political chronology for the region that continues to be significant. It remains widely acknowledged that the growth of nationalist party politics in the region during the 1950s was the framework within which decolonisation took place, even if we now know that this was neither inevitable nor undisputed. Since the 1980s, historians have found many ways to chip away at the nationalist myth.[10] These have not always been as bold as Richard Reid's existential reflections on histories of African nations or his choice to write a history of Uganda that makes only a passing reference (across six pages in the third quarter of a 400-page book) to the UNC and UPC.[11] Nevertheless, this was the direction in which they moved. In the wake of interventions from the subaltern studies group and the growth of area studies and development studies, histories of twentieth century Africa

[10] An important reflection on the implications of nationalist history-writing, made at a turning point for the field, is Mamadou Diouf, 'Des Historiens et Des Histoires, Pour Quoi Faire? L'Histoire Africaine Entre l'état et Les Communautés', *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines*, 34 (2000).
[11] Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda*.

turned decisively away from 'the party' and towards local structures, experiences and specificities (usually still within a single national framework).[12] This scholarship made clear that anticolonial nationalism did not uniformly reach every corner of society, although it did not question the assumption that the most important aspects of anticolonial nationalism happened inside the borders of the nation-to-be.

Only during the last two decades or so have serious revisionist histories of African anticolonial nationalism appeared, that not only show what is obscured by the nationalist myth but also ask how the myth was made, how pervasive it has proved and what this has meant for our understanding of African history. Zambia is an excellent case in point. An edited volume by Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola pioneered an approach to late colonial African histories that emphasised multiplicity and fragmentariness.[13] Macola's work in the volume and a contemporaneous monograph showed definitively that the dominant caricatures of freedom fighters were drawn in part by the independent state for which they fought, and from which they were, in some cases, excluded.[14] Around the same time, Miles Larmer proposed that rather than looking at political life by way of a party whose status changed from liberation movement to government, we might think of political opposition as an object of enquiry.[15] Similar interest in the political culture of nationalism and the dissenting voices it concealed informed Joey Power's revisionist history of Malawi.[16] In the case of Tanzania and Uganda, the methods of intellectual history and history of concepts have fuelled much of the revisionist literature, as I will consider in more detail below. It is also increasingly clear that resistance and opposition were not the only, or even necessarily the most important way for African people to engage politically with the late colonial state.[17]

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[12] Two influential works in this category are Terence Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study* (London: Currey, 1985); Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London: James Currey, 1992).

[13] Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar, and Giacomo Macola (eds.), *Living the End of Empire: Politics and Society in Late Colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). See also the preceding volume Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar, and Giacomo Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

[14] Giacomo Macola, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa: A Biography of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

[15] Miles Larmer, *Rethinking African Politics: A History of Opposition in Zambia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

[16] Joey Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi: Building Kwacha* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010).

[17] The most important work on 'loyalism' in an East African context is Daniel Branch, *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya : Counterinsurgency, Civil War, and Decolonization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Developing the concept, see David M. Anderson and Daniel Branch, 'Allies at the End of Empire—Loyalists, Nationalists and the Cold War, 1945–76', *The International History Review*, 39 (2017). Also on intermediaries, see Benjamin N. Lawrance, Emily Lynn Osborn, and Richard L. Roberts, *Intermediaries,*

Yet, for all their successes in pulling apart nationalism, these revisionist histories have remained remarkably spatially rooted. The university days in Europe or the United States of those leaders who have attracted biographies (almost exclusively the first prime ministers and presidents of each new nation) and delegations to constitutional conferences in London is the most that is heard of the parts of anticolonial nationalism that geographically overflowed the nation.[18] Even recent research that explicitly deals with party representatives abroad often retains a special focus on a particular hub as individuals move in and out of it, rather than attempting to map the world that these activists operated in.[19] Of course, there is much to be gained by 'grounding' transnational histories that might otherwise be prone to 'floating', but a fuller picture of decolonisation needs to ground stories in the *multiple* locations that constituted anticolonial worlds. As Meredith Terretta has noted, we know little about the transnational networks of activists that operated between various anticolonial 'hubs' during the 1950s and early 1960, especially when compared to those of Southern African liberation movements in the following decades – which in fact built on these earlier precedents.[20] The manifesto of the Afro-Asian Networks Research Collective calls for the recognition of mobility – and the idea of movement – as key features of decolonisation.[21]

Focusing on activists who carried out anticolonial work outside of their own territorial borders (whose numbers were in the tens in the case of Uganda, Zambia, Malawi and mainland Tanzania in the 1950s) neither perpetuates the equation of 'the party' with anticolonial nationalism nor skirts around the enduring importance of party politics for understanding the independence period. Most of the work I consider here was carried out by representatives of a

Interpreters, and Clerks : African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006).

[18] The last few years have seen renewed scholarly attention to Julius Nyerere in particular: Thomas Molony, *Nyerere: The Early Years* (London: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2014); Paul Bjerk, *Julius Nyerere* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2017). Also the extensive forthcoming collaborative project of Issa Shivji, Saida Yahya-Othman and Ng'wanza Kamata. Examples of early classic biographies relating to the region are Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Times and the Man* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974); William Edgett Smith, *Nyerere of Tanzania* (London: Gollancz, 1973); John Hatch, *Two African Statesmen: Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1976); Kenneth Ingham, *Obote: A Political Biography* (London: Routledge, 1994). And, more recently, John Lloyd Lwanda, *Kamuzu Banda of Malawi: A Study in Promise, Power and Legacy* (Zomba: Kachere, 2009).

[19] For example, in the case of Accra, Matteo Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism: Ghana's Pan-African Foreign Policy in the Age of Decolonization* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

[20] Meredith Terretta, 'Cameroonian Nationalists Go Global: From Forest Maquis to a Pan-African Accra', *The Journal of African History*, 51 (2010), 212.

[21] Afro-Asian Networks Research Collective, 'Manifesto: Networks of Decolonization in Asia and Africa'. For a reflection on mobility in decolonisation, see the Special Issue, introduced by Eric Burton, 'Journeys of Education and Struggle: African Mobility in Times of Decolonization and the Cold War', *Stichproben - Vienna Journal of African Studies*, 34 (2018).

political party, either officially or unofficially (and indeed was sometimes discovered via party archives and publications, to which I will return below). However, tracing these people (who moved between various party roles and sometimes between parties) and their work reveals the tensions between allegiances to the party and other ideological or personal commitments, in ways that research taking the party as the object of enquiry (even if critically) precludes. These parties, and their 'fathers', appear tangentially, often problematically, rather than centrally. Taking the spatial focus away from the four 'nations-to-be' enables this: as Terretta's work on Cameroonian nationalists has demonstrated, the relationship between political exile and revolutionary global trends is one example of how histories of African anticolonial activism can speak to themes other than nationalism.[22]

Understanding the world that anticolonial activists operated in when they *left* territorial boundaries is increasingly possible, thanks to recent research on the decolonisation period from an international history perspective. On the one hand, research during the past two decades has made clear that the history of the postwar global order, of the UN and the Cold War, has the independence of African and Asian states at its centre: decolonisation was an international and global question.[23] Matthew Connelly's *A Diplomatic Revolution* pioneered an approach to decolonisation that rejected a binary metropole-colony framework: the Algerian War, Connelly shows, was decisively fought in the arena of international diplomacy.[24] With Connelly's work, the history of decolonisation was brought into dialogue with histories of globalisation and internationalism.[25] International histories from the perspective of the 'Third World' have followed, sometimes using a focus on South-South relations to show the increasing importance of states as a counterpoint to the narrative of globalisation.[26]

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[22] Terretta, 'Cameroonian Nationalists Go Global'; Meredith Terretta, '"We Had Been Fooled into Thinking That the UN Watches over the Entire World": Human Rights, UN Trust Territories, and Africa's Decolonization', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 34 (2012).

[23] Two of the most important works in this respect are Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[24] Matthew James Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[25] For a reflection on decolonisation and globalisation, and a response to it, see Martin Thomas and Andrew Thompson, 'Empire and Globalisation: From "High Imperialism" to Decolonisation', *The International History Review*, 36 (2013); Simon J. Potter and Jonathan Saha, 'Global History, Imperial History and Connected Histories of Empire', *Journal of Colonialism & Colonial History*, 16 (2015).

[26] Notably, Jeffrey James Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). See also, Gerard McCann, 'From Diaspora to Third Worldism and the United Nations: India and the Politics of Decolonizing Africa', *Past & Present*, 218 (2013).

One limitation of this literature is a focus on decolonisation struggles – like the Algerian War, the Congo crisis, or anti-Apartheid – whose ramifications on the international level have never been doubted (if poorly understood), in part because of the scale of violence they entailed.[27] Meanwhile, solidarity movements within the global south and below the level of state actors remain blind spots. In the absence of organisational archives for movements like the Non-Aligned Movement and the All-African People's Conference, self-styled foundational myths have often been the basis for writing histories of various 'third world' projects.[28] Pan-Africanism in particular continues to be narrated as an all but smooth path from its intellectual nineteenth century Atlantic origins to its underwhelming conclusion in the founding of the Organisation of African Unity.[29] Activists from dependent territories, and non-state actors in general, who participated in and observed the solidarity projects led by newly independent states offer a route through which to 'demystify' cooperation within the global south in ways which intervene in twentieth century global history by revealing the tensions within solidarity projects.[30]

Indeed, scholarship that attends to the visions of African leaders prior to independence has been perhaps the most influential in challenging the teleological empire to nation-state narrative, specifically by considering visions of federalism, with various relationships to the (ex-)colonial state.[31] Frederick Cooper's *Citizenship between empire and nation* elucidated the process of decolonisation from the perspective of Senegalese elites, who did not, it turns out, have their eyes on an independent nation-state outcome.[32] The work of Cooper and others on these alternatives to the nation-state has also benefitted scholarship on decolonisation from a metropolitan perspective, partly by providing a conceptual framework of possibility and

[27] Respectively, Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution*; Alanna O'Malley, *The Diplomacy of Decolonisation: America, Britain and the United Nations during the Congo Crisis 1960-1964* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Ryan M. Irwin, *Gordian Knot: Apartheid and the Unmaking of the Liberal World Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Connelly suggests that violence assured the FLN attentive international audiences, p. 7.

[28] Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution*, 7. The resulting histories have a celebratory tone, for example Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York ; London: New Press, 2008).

[29] Hakim Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018); Amzat Boukari-Yabara, *Africa Unite: Une Histoire Du Panafricanisme* (Paris: Découverte, 2014).

[30] For a similar approach, see, for example, the forthcoming issue of the Journal of World History on 'Other Bandungs'.

[31] A neglected predecessor to this approach is Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (New York: Times Books, 1992). More recently, see Manu Goswami, 'Imaginary Futures and Colonial Internationalisms', *The American Historical Review*, 117 (2012); Michael Collins, 'Decolonisation and the "Federal Moment"', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 24 (2013).

[32] Frederick Cooper, *Citizenship between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945-1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014). For a critique of this approach, see Samuel Moyn, 'Fantasies of Federalism', *Dissent Magazine*, Winter (2015).

constraint, one that I also make use of throughout this thesis.[33] A far cry from the planned 'transfer of power' narrative that dominated histories written in the 1960s and 1970s about Britain's 'withdrawal' from empire, historians are increasingly emphasising the contingencies of decolonisation from a metropolitan perspective too, partly through the use of comparison between, in particular, the British and French metropoles.[34] The focus has been almost entirely on elites, however: Cooper's Senegalese subjects were almost unique in the context of pre-independence Africa in terms of their citizenship rights. To ask, as I do, how futures were imagined by colonial subjects who had minimal representative rights, and sometimes little leverage in their own party, diversifies the picture of decolonising visions by considering where openings emerged in a context of even greater constraints.

In short, we now know that anticolonial nationalism was, in a sense, not always very nationalist. It is with this work in the fields of African and international history in mind that in the body of this thesis I use 'nationalism' sparingly and instead take anticolonialism and anticolonial activism as subjects. If nationalist discourses undeniably underpinned the claims-making and popular mobilisation in East and Central Africa over decolonisation, anticolonialism has readily been flattened into nationalism by historians of Africa, compounding the failure, noted above, to look at anticolonial work outside of territorial boundaries in the four countries I deal with.[35] Instead, it is necessary to ask what is left of anticolonial nationalism once 'nationalism' is moved to one side.

The answer is not easy to come by. As Spencer Mawby has noted, there are no general texts devoted to anticolonialism, in the same way that there are to nationalism and internationalism.[36] The general reluctance to conceptualise the term is in part due to it being an 'anti' term, an opposition to a thing more than a thing (colonialism, of course, has not lacked conceptualisation). But it is also a case of its coherence. There is often a distinction drawn between, on the one hand, the anticolonialism practised by colonial subjects, where overlap is to be found with the 'resistance' and 'nationalism', and, on the other, the anticolonialism of external observers, diasporic communities, or those closer to the colonial enterprise, such as

[33] Cooper, 'Possibility and Constraint'.
[34] Andrew W.M Smith and Chris Jeppesen (eds.), *Britain, France and the Decolonization of Africa: Future Imperfect?* (London: UCL Press, 2017); Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact: A Comparative Approach to the End of the Colonial Empires* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).
[35] The flattening of anticolonialism into nationalism is highlighted by Goswami, 'Imaginary Futures and Colonial Internationalisms'.
[36] Spencer Mawby, *The Transformation and Decline of the British Empire: Decolonisation After the First World War* (New York: Macmillan Education, 2015), 18.

missionaries.[37] Jonathan Derrick, for example, despite the fact that his study focuses precisely on the exchange of ideas between militant African nationalists and international Marxism during the interwar period, describes the subject of his book as the 'opposition to alien rule among Africans, and moral objection to colonialism among Europeans'.[38] While there is certainly justification for expounding the vastly different frames of reference through which various actors critiqued colonialism, the distinction predetermines the analysis of anticolonial work where both categories overlapped.[39] As Christoph Kalter has argued in the case of French anticolonialism, such a distinction privileges interpretations (often Eurocentric) of the 'diffusion' of ideas and texts instead of focusing on a single 'disputed terrain' of opposition to empire.[40]

Moreover, such a distinction has obstructive implications for our spatial understanding of anticolonial activism. The fullest account of anticolonial activism in Britain, for example, is interested measuring the 'success' (in terms of colonial policy on decolonisation) of lobbying groups, dismissing these groups' interactions with 'nationalists' as being 'almost impossible to recover'.[41] More recent literature on anticolonialism that turns away from parliamentary politics in favour of informal political life has also grounded itself spatially in the colonial metropolis.[42] London and Paris, especially during the interwar period, have been the subjects of numerous recent monographs.[43] In their own right, these studies have produced fascinating

[37] An important recent addition that conceptualises African political thought outside of the ationalist framework, but also in part dealing with its overlap with resistance is Gregory R. Smulewicz-Zucker, *The Political Thought of African Independence: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2017), 95–96.
[38] Jonathan Derrick, *Africa's Agitators: Militant Anti-Colonialism in Africa and the West, 1918-1939* (London: C Hurst, 2008), 423.
[39] The tendency of postcolonialism to neglect 'Western non-players' and how these players help to show the failure of colonial binaries, is considered in Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
[40] Christoph Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World: Decolonisation and the Rise of the New Left in France, c. 1950-1976* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 91–92.
[41] Stephen Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire, 1918-1964* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 25; More recently, but with many similar limitations, is Spencer Mawby, 'The Limits of Anticolonialism: The British Labour Movement and the End of Empire in Guiana', *History*, 101 (2016).
[42] An excellent revision to Howe's framework, although still London-centred, is Nicholas Owen, 'Four Straws in the Wind', in L. J. Butler and S. E. Stockwell (eds.), *The Wind of Change : Harold Macmillan and British Decolonization* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
[43] Jennifer Anne Boittin, *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln ; London: U of Nebraska Press, 2010); Michael Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude & Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005); Gary Wilder, *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, and the Future of the World* (Durham ; London: Duke University Press, 2015); Marc Matera, *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015); Kennetta Hammond Perry, *London Is the Place for Me: Black Britons, Citizenship, and the Politics of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Bennetta Jules-Rosette, *Black Paris: The African Writers' Landscape* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

explorations of racialised urban space and have broadened our vision of anticolonialism in as much as they make visible previously excluded actors and, through the meeting point of the city, link them to wider political currents. Yet, in terms of understanding the geographies of anticolonialism, this scholarship risks attributing the city and its cosmopolitanism an agency which obscures that of mobile activists themselves: as I will argue at several points in this thesis, this generation of East and Central African activists were not always in the metropole by choice and they related to it quite differently once they had left.

An important corrective to the focus on metropolitan anticolonialism has been the exploration of anticolonialism on the Western European Left more broadly and within the socialist or 'Second' world.[44] This body of work is not only important for illustrating the multipolarity of the Cold War world and the intersection of the Cold War and decolonisation at levels below the international;[45] it also provides a fresh way to understand networks of anticolonial solidarity more broadly. In some cases, it reveals lines of enquiry that are obscured in histories of metropolitan anticolonialism by the vastness of the unequal relationship between metropole and colony, for example by considering the impact of the growth of the study of African languages, cultures and histories on the shape of anticolonial solidarities.[46]

All these histories uncover networks of affinities and interests that underpinned the transfer of ideas, information and publication – stories which were lost through the unitary narratives of anticolonial nationalism and the narrow lens of metropolitan anticolonialism. What they cannot tell us is the relative significance of different channels of anticolonial solidarity from the point of view of African anticolonial activists. In order to map *their* anticolonial world to see the

[44] On the Western European Left, see Talbot C. Imlay, 'International Socialism and Decolonization during the 1950s: Competing Rights and the Postcolonial Order', *American Historical Review*, 118 (2013). On the Second world, see David C. Engerman, 'The Second World's Third World', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 12 (2011); Constantin Katsakioris, 'Soviet Lessons for Arab Modernization: Soviet Educational Aid to Arab Countries after 1956', *Journal of Modern European History*, 8 (2010); James Mark and Péter Apor, 'Socialism Goes Global: Decolonization and the Making of a New Culture of Internationalism in Socialist Hungary, 1956-1989', *Journal of Modern History*, 87 (2015); Eric Burton, 'Navigating Global Socialism: Tanzanian Students in and beyond East Germany', *Cold War History*, 19 (2019). Also the ongoing project 'Socialism goes Global', at http://socialismgoesglobal.exeter.ac.uk/ and the work of its research team.

[45] On the need for studying this intersection below the marco level, see David C. Engerman and Corinna R. Unger, 'Introduction: Towards a Global History of Modernization', *Diplomatic History*, 33 (2009), 378.

[46] Steffi Marung, '"Leninian Moment"? Soviet Africanists and the Interpretation of the October Revolution, 1950s–1970s', *Journal Für Entwicklungspolitik*, 33 (2017).

shifting importance of various hubs and organisations – and to produce a truly multi-sited African history – it is necessary to start with the activists themselves.[47]

The intellectual and the everyday in multi-archival histories

Setting out a framework for 'historicising' activism in sub-Saharan Africa, Miles Larmer identified the neglect of the cultural elements of anticolonial protest, such as questions of self-expression and cultural renewal. These were part of a broader anticolonialism which only 'briefly and uneasily' overlapped with the nationalist project.[48] I intend to build on Larmer's framework by taking 'anticolonial culture' as an object of enquiry. As I conceive it, anticolonial culture embraces thought and practice that sought to replace foreign rule with a democratic system of government. Crucially, my framing of the concept is concerned with the interplay *between* this thought and practice. Taking an 'anticolonial culture' as an object of enquiry foregrounds the proposition that there existed shared tropes within the anticolonialism of a set of activists from across this region, tropes which were not self-evident parts of a larger political belief system but that were shaped by the lived experience of carrying out anticolonial work outside of the borders of the nation-to-be.

Extricating this anticolonial culture, and its visions of decolonisation, means taking seriously the concepts and categories employed by these individuals, rather than attempting to apply supposedly universal concepts to the intellectual production of activists. This requires a close textual reading of sources that allow a glimpse of how activists themselves employed categories and concepts, how the terms they used (in English in the case of my own research) could contain and connote historically specific things. Yet, as Frederick Cooper has argued, the usefulness of an analytic category does not always follow from its salience as an 'indigenous' one.[49] This tension between the concepts that historical subjects employed and those that the historian can employ to understand them is one that recent intellectual histories of East Africa have taken on board. Jonathon Glassman and James Brennan, in the cases of Zanzibar and urban Tanzania respectively, have traced shifting ideas of race and racialised categories during the period leading up to independence, drawing links between these and the concepts of nation

[47] On multi-sited histories, see Andrew Zimmerman, 'Africa in Imperial and Transnational History: Multi-Sited Historiography and the Necessity of Theory', *The Journal of African History*, 54 (2013).
[48] Miles Larmer, 'Historicising Activism in Late Colonial and Post-Colonial Sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 28 (2015).
[49] Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 8.

and ethnicity, and asking how all were created by colonial subjects in the colonial setting, sometimes by way of concepts like 'civilisation' and 'development'.[50] Their problematisation of the ahistorical translation of such terms between Swahili and English was taken a step further by Emma Hunter, who has shown the evolution of concepts including 'freedom' and 'democracy' in the Swahiliphone public sphere, bringing the thought of 'local intellectuals' into dialogue with the intellectual currents of contemporary international and global forums.[51] In the case of Buganda, Jonathon Earle has carried out similar work on the idea of 'history', while Carol Summers has scrutinised conceptions of generational duty.[52]

This body of scholarship has drawn on and stimulated what might be referred to as a 'textual turn' in histories of twentieth century Africa. The propensity to privilege oral history methods within the field of African history has in some ways prevented an understanding of anticolonial thinkers and their own categories of thought: historians who remain loyal to activists' self-representations in the nationalist framework often neglect to ask whether interviewees are narrating the period of decolonisation using categories that only became salient in the post-independence period.[53] While interviews, and other *post hoc* 'self-written' narrative forms like autobiographies and memoirs, play an important role in addressing some of the archival gaps in African history (as I will consider further below), this recent body of work from an intellectual history perspective has demonstrated that some of the 'classic' sources of intellectual history – pamphlets, periodicals, press statements, speeches, and correspondence – are rich sources for understanding twentieth century Africa too – and not only for writing the biographies of nationalist father figures like Julius Nyerere. The written and printed word, its circulation and readerships, were critical to the shape of decolonisation in Africa and have been underexploited as a source base.[54] While much of this East African literature retains a national

[50] This is reflected on in Jonathon Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones : Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011); James R. Brennan, *Taifa: Making Nation and Race in Urban Tanzania* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012).
[51] Emma Hunter, *Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania: Freedom, Democracy and Citizenship in the Era of Decolonization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Emma Hunter, 'Languages of Freedom in Decolonising Africa', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27 (2017).
[52] Jonathon L. Earle, *Colonial Buganda and the End of Empire: Political Thought and Historical Imagination in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Carol Summers, 'Adolescence versus Politics: Metaphors in Late Colonial Uganda', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 78 (2017); Carol Summers, 'Radical Rudeness: Ugandan Social Critiques in the 1940s', *Journal of Social History*, (2006); Carol Summers, 'Young Buganda and Old Boys: Youth, Generational Transition, and Ideas of Leadership in Buganda, 1920-1949', *Africa Today*, 51 (2005); Carol Summers, 'Grandfathers, Grandsons, Morality, and Radical Politics in Late Colonial Buganda', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, (2005).
[53] Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones*, 7; Brennan, *Taifa*, 121.
[54] On the growing interest in African print cultures, see Derek R. Peterson, Emma Hunter, and Stephanie Newell (eds.), *African Print Cultures: Newspapers and Their Publics in the Twentieth Century* (Ann Arbor: University

or local focus, historians of the Black Atlantic in particular have been part of a textual turn that highlights the difficulties of transnational publishing work too.[55]

This turn to the textual plays out in my own research: the written production of activists found in the archives of anticolonial organisations abroad comprises the first part of my source base. This has brought to notice material not previously consulted by historians of Africa, given that the archives of British organisations in particular have typically been used to write histories of British activism that exclude, as was noted above, the role of 'anticolonial nationalists'. In fact, these collections contain not only correspondence but also published newsletters sent from the region to Britain and drafts of pamphlets and articles that East and Central African activists hoped an organisation would publish, as well as archival ephemera in the form of invitations and greetings cards that bring attention to the role played by the materiality of written exchanges in the formation of an anticolonial culture.

But the organisational archive comes with its own problems. For one, it represents only what activists chose to send an organisation, written with a particular audience in mind. For another it favours an interpretation that sees organisations as a structural framework for the work of anticolonial activism. On the contrary, in the chapters that follow, organisations (and their host of acronyms) appear as and when they played a part in the creation of an anticolonial culture, less historical motors than manifestations of this culture. From the historian's point of view, organisations (or at least the more organised among them) are of great use, in that they are conducive to the production and preservation of documents. Yet this documentary presence and the self-justifying histories of the organisational archive can sometimes distort their presence in the lives of the individuals here: in interviews and memoirs organisations worked with outside of the narrator's national territory are easily forgotten or conflated.

One way to counteract this archival problem is to find the other side of these 'conversations', typically in personal archives, archives of African political parties, or certain collections in the

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of Michigan Press, 2016); Caroline Davis, Archie Dick, and Elizabeth le Roux, 'Introduction: Print Culture in Southern Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 44 (2018).

[55] Carol Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa: Writers in a Common Cause* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); Leslie James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below: Pan-Africanism, the Cold War, and the End of Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Intellectual histories of anticolonialism in an Asian context has also been informative here, and less constrained by the national frame than in the African context. See Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire : The Revolt against the West and the Remaking of Asia* (London ; New York: Allen Lane, 2012); Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Sunil M. Agnani, *Hating Empire Properly : The Two Indies and the Limits of Enlightenment Anticolonialism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013); Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (London ; New York: Verso, 2005).

archives of African states. These can be used to assess how one organisation appeared relative to others in the world of anticolonial work. Yet the 'African' archive of mid-twentieth century African is notoriously fragmentary and piecemeal. As part of a 2015 roundtable on 'Writing the History of Africa after 1960', Florence Bernault sketched out an imagined 'utopian' archive – one without gaps or ambiguities. The histories that would arise from it, she concludes, would not really be histories at all; in many ways, we are *better* served by inadequate and deficient archives: 'Our talent is to be able, from piecemeal traces, to narrate a fleshed-out, elucidatory story […] If this interpretative art needs to be fueled by evidence, it hardly depends on the comprehensiveness of the record.'[56] A creative pairing of such archives with those of lobbying, advocacy, and pamphleteering organisations thus addresses some of the short-comings of both.

And yet, the very fact of this archival conversation being between an 'anticolonial nationalist' and an 'external supporter' raises theoretical questions as well as methodological ones. Spending time with the fragments and traces that multi-archival work produces makes it abundantly clear that any rigid framework of cultural encounter and transfer is inadequate for understanding the development of the anticolonial culture of these activists. For example, in a folder of correspondence filed by TANU is a hand-written page of quotations on party notepaper that seem to have been copied for use in a newsletter or publication, probably around 1957. They include quotations from the seventeenth-century protestant radicals the Diggers, from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Machiavelli, Hegel, and Martin Luther. 'By Marx' is crossed out without a quote written, as is 'By Goebbels'.[57] Even before looking at the quotations chosen, it is clear that the historian can conclude little from this source about how TANU (or this particular activist) absorbed or 'translated' a body of 'Western' political thought. Instead, we might think more about the practice and *experience* of collecting the relevant reading material from libraries and correspondents, writing down quotations, deciding which might be suitable for a certain audience, passing them around the TANU publicity office. This sort of analysis, which centres the everyday (as in, the practical, the seemingly mundane) in an understanding of intellectual production, is key to my framing of an anticolonial culture, and serves to reframe the methods of intellectual history for use in the archival context of twentieth-century Africa.

[56] Florence Bernault, 'Suitcases and the Poetics of Oddities: Writing History from Disorderly Archives', *History in Africa*, 42 (2015), 272.
[57] Undated notes on TANU notepaper [filed with contents that suggest c. 1957], Archives of the CCM (Dodoma), Box 123 File: TANU general correspondence DP/RC/8.

When intellectual historians seek to understand the transfer and translation of ideas in a transnational context it is tempting to imagine what could be called an 'ideas-driven' process. That is, somebody encounters a way of thinking about a particular issue – perhaps reading a pamphlet or talking to somebody at a conference, exchanging letters – and then appropriates and adapts it to fit the context which they are living and working in. Through the thinkers which I deal with here, and the context in which they worked, I would like instead to foreground everyday experience as a decisive force in the process of the transfer of ideas.[58] That is to say that the key elements of the discourses shared by this generation of activists can be more thoroughly and comprehensively understood by looking first at the material conditions under which they attempted to organise themselves politically (within and without the borders of the colonial state). Only *then* can their encounters with people and ideas from different contexts be understood. This brings an element of pragmatism into anticolonial work in ways that global intellectual histories relating to Asia have pioneered.[59] For my purpose, this is less about instrumentalism than about the centrality of frustrating, day-to-day work. Such a focus also allows for more attention to space and place that is sometimes neglected in histories of ideas.[60]

This approach has been fruitfully employed by Jeffrey Ahlman in relation to independent Ghana: Ahlman uses workplace cultures to bring a multiplicity to our understanding of how Ghanaian citizens related to and negotiated the grand talk of Nkrumahism.[61] This echoes the recent emphasis on publication and reading practices in histories of African print cultures.[62] Such an adjustment in priorities can make legible a swathe of texts (like that of the TANU activist) that might otherwise be overlooked for their 'incoherence', their failure to live up to the assumption that within them we can find skeletons of discourses encountered abroad, translated and pieced together to form a 'hybrid' new. It is precisely by scrutinising the written production of activists that the everyday frustrations and at times seeming impossibilities of

[58] In the context of intellectual history and the linguistic turn, experience was discussed during the 1980s, for example by William J. Bouwsma, 'From History of Ideas to History of Meaning', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 12 (1981); John E. Toews, 'Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience', *The American Historical Review*, 92 (1987); In relation to histories of difference it was famously used by Joan W. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (1991).
[59] The injection of 'realpolitik' into the study of transnational thought was proposed by Kris Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement : German and Indian Intellectuals across Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 6–8. This followed in the vein of Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*. See also Emma Hunter's consideration on how conversations in international forums were 'overheard' by local actors with their own priorities, Hunter, *Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania*, 69.
[60] Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis*, 3–5.
[61] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism*.
[62] Peterson, Hunter, and Newell, *African Print Cultures*; Davis, Dick, and Roux, 'Introduction'.

circumventing and evading the geographical and political boundaries of the colonial state can be foregrounded.

This picture of anticolonial practices and everyday experience, built on the archival 'conversation' between East and Central African and external organisations, is supplemented by two other important categories of source material. The colonial archive holds an uncomfortable position in histories of decolonisation.[63] Its organised nature and post-hoc recasting of decisions made in haste, was easily mistaken, during the decades after decolonisation, for an organised, planned, decolonisation 'from above'.[64] This illusion was forcefully shattered by the discovery, in 2011, of the 'migrated archive'. This was a collection of records compiled by the British Colonial Office between 1952 and 1961, guided through an elaborate (if haphazard) screening process (during which many records were burnt) upon each territorial independence, and concealed, without public knowledge, for half a century at a top-security British Foreign Office site at Hanslope Park. [65] This prolonged archival 'event' of initial screening through to final release is a constant reminder, when reading, for example, police records detailing the movements and intercepted correspondence of 'agitators', of the apparently intimate relationship between strategy, secrecy and anxiety on the one hand, and incompetence, blunder and chaos on the other.[66] After all, the colonial archive has always failed to cover its tracks: a circular sent by the Chief Secretary in Nairobi to all government departments in April 1957 asked that 'all reports should be edited by a senior officer to ensure such extraneous matter and any hint of criticism of government policy or of other departments is excluded'.[67] In this thesis, the colonial archive not only shares the information it considered worth collecting about anticolonial activists; it also serves to remind us of the possibility of activists to move around the watch of the colonial state, just as they have the colonial archive.[68]

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[63] A field-changing reflection on the colonial archive is Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain : Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
[64] Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics*, 7.
[65] David M. Anderson, 'Guilty Secrets: Deceit, Denial, and the Discovery of Kenya's "Migrated Archive"', *History Workshop Journal*, 80 (2015); Anthony Badger, 'Historians, a Legacy of Suspicion and the "Migrated Archives"', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 23 (2012); Caroline Elkins, 'Looking beyond Mau Mau: Archiving Violence in the Era of Decolonization', *The American Historical Review*, 120 (2015); David M. Anderson, 'Mau Mau in the High Court and the "Lost" British Empire Archives: Colonial Conspiracy or Bureaucratic Bungle?', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39 (2011).
[66] On archival 'events' and decolonisation, see Jordanna Bailkin, 'Where Did the Empire Go? Archives and Decolonization in Britain', *The American Historical Review*, 120 (2015), 885.
[67] 'Circular', 27 April 1957, Malawi National Archives (hereafter MNA) (Zomba), 15962.II Kenya Circulars general, Box 2835.
[68] That police reports skew our idea of activism towards those classified as 'radicals' is noted in Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis*, 17.

This possibility is brought to the fore with the use of the personal narratives of activists, both published autobiographies and unpublished memoirs, written with various delays from the events they describe, and interviews – seven of which I conducted in Malawi, Zambia, Uganda and Tanzania during 2017, two in London in 2015. Both these types of sources provide a sense of lived time in a way that archival scraps cannot, a suggestion of a pathway that perhaps distorts yet enriches too. Indeed, looking at these two types of sources alongside each other has raised probing questions about the way we narrate individuals in history: reading an autobiography one is given the impression of the possibility of meaningful participation in historical change, yet time and again in interviews I was left with the sense of 'history' sweeping up a life and of the former taking the latter, quite powerless, along with it. Reflections on the divergent ways in which individuals could relate their lives to larger histories serve histories of decolonisation well: uncertainty and incoherence comes not only from disparate archival traces and elaborate archival cover-ups, but from the open paths of historical lives that, ignorant of their endpoint, had no logic to follow.

The parameters of a generation

The thesis is not built around case studies of individuals or a representative sample of activists. Rather, it introduces individuals as and when their trajectories become relevant: a handful are returned to at several points in the thesis, their work intermittently followed over the period; others are mentioned just once. In this way, individual life stories occupy a secondary position to an anticolonial culture, as conceptualised above, allowing the latter to be explored without prior assumptions of the former. The names of the individual subjects were generally arrived at by way of the intersection of their lives with organisations who, in various ways, supported African self-government, and in this sense a certain connectedness to external currents is a predetermined feature of this set of individuals. So too was an evolving belief (not shared by all within anticolonial and national circles) of the importance of this external work to the campaign for democratic self-government. Otherwise, these activists were remarkably heterogeneous.[69] They came variously from urban and rural settings, from families with various relationships to the British colonial administration and to chieftaincies and kingdoms; they had vastly different relationships with the postcolonial state. The ways of categorising activists that need to be problematised are not only those that betray their origin in the nationalist myth

[69] Tapiwa Zimudzi, 'Restoring the Heterogeneity of the Colonial African Intelligentsia', *South African Historical Journal*, 44 (2001).

(heroes, collaborators…) but those which might seem more empirically robust, such as students, party representatives, intellectuals, journalists and exiles.[70] These labels could be worn simultaneously or one after the other, swapped to fit various contexts.

These mobile activists did share various educational trajectories and were, in part because they could access a period of formal education that was much more than the average, almost exclusively male. Not unrelatedly, they were all in their twenties and thirties during the period 1952-64. This leads to the question of generation, and my choice to conceptualise the set of activists studies here through this lens. The idea of generation is one that is conveyed in the writing of activists, and sometimes in literature devoted to them. Conceptually, the term generation hints at the idea of opening and closing pathways of opportunity that I would like to convey about the process of decolonisation. But it also has a historical basis in my spatial and chronological framing of East and Central Africa in the period of decolonisation – a question which I have left until this point for precisely that reason.

Discussions and applications of generation as an analytical category have specific connotations in African Studies, where anthropologists have considered the prevalence in African societies of gerontocracy, whereby seniority granted authority and age functioned as an organising principle, and historians and social scientists alike have taken interest in material and discursive aspects of 'youth'.[71] Yet some of the most useful insights for my own purposes come from an exploration of generation in the context of revolutionary ideas. R. F. Foster's account of the revolutionary generation in Ireland demonstrates how the concept provides an alternative way to understand a set of individuals and their political agency. Where 'networks', 'webs' and 'circles' conjure various problematic ideas of intention, centre-periphery, containment, and natural connectedness, a generation need not have defined edges. Its members might be named and traced, but how many other individuals of the same generation they directly interact with does not become a measure of the extent of their inclusion. Moreover, Foster reveals the

[70] This reflection was made together with participants in the Decolonisation and Mobility panel at the conference of the *Vereinigung fur Afrikawissenschaften in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 28-30 June 2018.

[71] On the African case, see Thomas Burgess, 'Introduction to Youth and Citizenship in East Africa', *Africa Today*, 51 (2005). For more general discussions on generation, less and more recent, see Alan B. Spitzer, 'The Historical Problem of Generations', *The American Historical Review*, 78 (1973); Brian Horrigan, 'Of Generations and Greatness', *Minnesota History*, 60 (2006). One recent application in the European context is Thomas August Kohut, *A German Generation : An Experiential History of the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). Recent work on youth includes James R. Brennan, 'Youth, the TANU Youth League and Managed Vigilantism in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, 1925-73', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 76 (2006); Summers, 'Young Buganda and Old Boys'; J. Abbink and Ineke van Kessel (eds.), *Vanguard or Vandals: Youth, Politics, and Conflict in Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Ian Macqueen, 'Resonances of Youth and Tensions of Race: Liberal Student Politics, White Radicals and Black Consciousness, 1968–1973', *South African Historical Journal*, 65 (2013).

potential for generation as an explanatory device in the history of ideas and political change. A generation is defined not by strict age categories but by 'affinities of response to their social and historical circumstances'. Societal changes, Foster insists, 'happen first in people's minds', but these people need not be a majority, nor a representative cross section.[72]

The explanatory value of generation thus is more a question of enabling a shared vision that it is of predetermining one. These reflections could be transformative to our understanding of decolonisation in East and Central Africa. Indeed, literature on individual 'nationalisms' has already hinted at the importance of generational divides, while broader studies of decolonisation have argued for the importance of post-war colonial development policy in the emergence of a political-intellectual elite.[73] Yet these two aspects have not been systematically put into dialogue with this generation's relevance on a global field.

While certain elements of this generational relevance will be explored throughout the thesis, notably in relation to education in chapter one and to the late colonial state in chapter four, it serves the purpose here of setting the scene of East and Central Africa, as I frame it in this thesis, during the period 1952-64. Contrary to the 1945 turning point often highlighted in histories of African nationalism and decolonisation that foreground the impact of the Second World War, I use the regional crises of 1952-53 as a chronological starting point for understanding the anticolonial culture of this generation of activists – and the importance of Zambia, Malawi, Uganda and mainland Tanzania as a space of specific intellectual-historical relevance.

Throughout 1952, tensions mounted in Kenya, where long-standing grievances relating to the dispossession of Kikuyu land for the use of European agriculture took an increasingly organised and militant form in what is now referred to as the Mau Mau uprising.[74] On 20

[72] R. F. Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), 7–8. Another use of generation in a revolutionary setting is Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, *Radicals : Resistance and Protest in Colonial Malaya* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2015).

[73] One productive employment of generation as a 'social axis' to understand postcolonial Tanzania (but with implications for the late colonial period) is Andrew Ivaska, *Cultured States: Youth, Gender, and Modern Style in 1960s Dar Es Salaam* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011). An alternative reading which downplays the role of generation in the Malawi context is Owen J. M. Kalinga, 'Resistance, Politics of Protest, and Mass Nationalism in Colonial Malawi, 1950-1960. A Reconsideration (Résistance, Contestation Politique et Nationalisme de Masse Au Malawi (1950-1960). Une Réévaluation)', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 36 (1996). Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 66.

[74] The two landmark works on Mau Mau are David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2005); Caroline Elkins, *Britain's Gulag : The*

October a state of emergency was declared; the Kenyan African Union (KAU), and national-scale political organisation *tout court*, were banned and over the following eight years suspected Mau Mau sympathisers were arerested and detained without trial. That Kenya is not part of this study is to do with the political landscape that resulted in and from this event. The political weight of the settler population, the centrality of the land question, and the technical language of 'colony' distinguished internal debates about decolonisation in Kenya from those in the UN trusteeship territory Tanganyika or the protectorate of Uganda. Moreover, many young, politically-minded men (often regardless of their Mau Mau sympathies) were in prison during the 1950s, and national-scale organisation was made impossible by the emergency regulations.[75] As such, I came across far fewer names of Kenyan activists involved in organisational networks of East and Central African activists outside of the region in the 1950s; numbers of Kenyan students abroad were larger than those from the rest of East and Central Africa (ever more so in the 1960s), but their links to *trans*national anticolonial politics apparently (perhaps resultantly) weaker. Those Kenyan activists that do feature in this thesis were often of an older generation who were able to maintain existing political networks while living in exile, like Joseph Murumbi, who appears in chapter two. Nevertheless, as will be considered throughout the thesis, Mau Mau had a profound impact on the anticolonial work of activists from Uganda, Malawi, Zambia and mainland Tanzania after 1953, notably for conceptualising colonial violence.

The year 1953 saw the imposition of the Central African Federation, a semi-dominion comprised of the protectorates of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, together with the self-governing British colony of Southern Rhodesia.[76] This followed sustained opposition from the vast majority of African populations in the three territories, following conferences on the possibility of a federation during 1951 (discussions about the federation stretched back to the 1930s) and a coordinated campaign in Britain. The seat of the Federal government was in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, but again this country does not feature in this research: as a self-governing British colony it was less accountable to Westminster than the neighbouring protectorates, hence changing possible routes of protest. In addition, Zimbabwean leaders faced

Brutal End of Empire in Kenya (London: Pimlico, 2005). For a basic chronology see Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, 387-394.

[75] This is not to imply that detainees were not taking part in debates despite their restricted means, see Derek R. Peterson, 'The Intellectual Lives of Mau Mau Detainees', *The Journal of African History*, 49 (2008).

[76] A recent overview of the Federation from a colonial perspective isAndrew Cohen, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonization in Africa: The Failed Experiment of the Central African Federation* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017). A useful summary is Philip Murphy's introduction to Philip Murphy (ed.), *British Documents on the End of Empire: Central Africa, Part I* (London: The Stationery Office, 2005).

different hurdles and often higher restrictions on mobility during the 1950s – although coordination between leaders across the three territories is increasingly recognised.[77] As Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia sought secession from the Federation during the late 1950s, it became clear that the path towards democratic government in Zimbabwe would have more in common with those in South Africa and Namibia.[78] Much like the effects of Mau Mau were felt in Central Africa, however, the imposition of the Federation had reverberations across Anglophone East Africa, largely because of the fear among East African leaders that a white-governed federation could expand to include the whole region; this is explored in greater depth in chapter 2.4.

Indeed, it was the suggestion of an East African Federation that prompted the 1953-55 Kabaka crisis in Uganda. Fearing that such a federation would destroy the limited autonomy that Buganda and the Baganda people had within the protectorate of Uganda under the 1900 Buganda agreement, the *Kabaka* (king) Mutesa II and the *Lukiko* (parliament) of Buganda pushed for the secession of the region from the larger protectorate of Uganda, leading to the sudden arrest and exile to London of the Kabaka at the end of 1953.[79] While the Buganda situation was specific to Uganda, it raised and arose from questions of political freedoms and sub-national representation that were pertinent in Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia too.

The same cannot be said of Zanzibar, where the Sultan had a similar degree of autonomy from, and was similarly important to, the colonial state as the *Kabaka* in Buganda. However, here the political discourse around decolonisation was dominated by the question of the island's historic connections with the Arab world and the way this shaped the experience of the ethnically black African population.[80] For these reasons, Zanzibari activists also do not feature prominently in this thesis.

We arrive, then, at a particular framing of what I at times throughout the thesis refer to more generally as East and Central Africa. This delineation comes not simply from an exclusion of

[77] Zoë Groves, 'Transnational Networks and Regional Solidarity: The Case of the Central African Federation, 1953–1963', *African Studies*, 72 (2013).
[78] Southern Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence can also be understood in the decolonisation framework, however. For this and useful background on Zimbabwe, see Luise White, *Unpopular Sovereignty : Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).
[79] For an overview, see Cherry Gertzel, 'Kingdoms, Districts, and the Unitary State: Uganda 1845-1962', in Alison Smith and Donald Anthony Low (eds.), *History of East Africa. Vol. 3* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
[80] A basic summary is Alison Smith, 'The End of the Arab Sultanate: Zanzibar 1945-1964', in Donald Anthony Low and Alison Smith (eds.), *History of East Africa. Vol. 3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

Kenya, Zimbabwe and Zanzibar (for the contextual reasons mentioned above) from a somehow more given or evident region of a 'complete' East and Central Africa. Indeed, the region that the British Colonial Office referred to as Central Africa prior to 1964 is today considered geographically part of Southern Africa but classified as Eastern Africa in the UN geoscheme; the Colonial Office frequently lumped East and Central Africa together to refer to the larger region's 'multiracial' problem and unreadiness for self-government in comparison to West Africa. Evidently, such regional delineations and understandings are forever in flux, but historians have tended to cement the boundary between 'East' and 'Central' Africa rather than challenge it. For example, the increasing interest in histories of federal thinking and regional integration in East Africa has not entailed an interrogation of the 'givenness' of an 'East Africa' defined as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, treated as logically distinct from the Central African Federation, almost by way of scholarly convention. Emphasising a different sort of coherence of an overlapping space serves as a provocative historiographical corrective during a moment of increasing academic interest in 'region' in revisionist scholarship on African nationalism.

And, I maintain, there is a sound historical basis for emphasising a *specific* sort of coherence of Malawi, Zambia, Uganda and mainland Tanzania, in the context of this research. Indeed, this was a delineation arrived at precisely when the object of enquiry was a globally-oriented, primarily Anglophone, anticolonial culture, formed by young, educated, exceptionally mobile activists during the period 1952-64. Were we looking at connections in other realms of life – trade, migration, religious affiliation – no doubt a more suitable geographical scope would emerge.[81] Rather, as this thesis argues, the physical connections between activists from this region have been obscured by nationalist narratives, as becomes especially clear in my account of Makerere in chapter one and the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa in chapter three. Further, and more importantly, I argue that for these activists' framing – inventing – of decolonisation, this *particular* space (Uganda, Malawi, Zambia and mainland Tanzania) was crucial. This was an actively self-referential region, where common enemies and goals were perceived. When forming an anticolonial line of argument for the benefit of diverse external audiences, one territory's election rules, prohibited literature or schools would frequently be compared to those of the other territories – not exclusively, but certainly meaningfully. In particular, describing similarities and connections among these protectorates while describing distance from neighbouring white settler colonies (like Kenya and Zimbabwe)

[81] See for instance, Miles Larmer's ongoing project on the Copperbelt, at http://copperbelt.history.ox.ac.uk/ [accessed 1 August 2019].

was understood by these activists to have potential material consequences for how decolonisation played out – even when these similarities and distances were exaggerated.

Yet, that these specific connections could be forged, within the space as I frame it, was neither natural nor predictable: the late colonial state did not want them to exist and was in an advantageous position to prevent their existence. This brings us to another chronologically specific aspect of this generation's lives. As will be introduced more fully in chapter four, the conceptualisation of the late colonial state within the scholarship on decolonisation has worked to bring together a general framework of colonialism in British and French Africa with a specific timeframe of the postwar period, first by way of Donald Anthony Low and John Lonsdale's 'second colonial occupation' and more recently as Martin Shipway's 'late colonial shift'.[82] Alongside development, the most important feature of the late colonial state, as John Darwin understood it, was the drive to bring everything under government control, with the aid of a reinforced security apparatus, accompanied by a simultaneous 'opening' of the state to external influences that allowed 'nationalists' the 'oxygen of international publicity'.[83] If the research that I present here has less a feeling of free breathing space than of suffocation, Darwin's framing of the late colonial state does hint at the tensions between control and possibility that defined the experience of carrying out transnational anticolonial work, ebbing and flowing throughout the period.

It is the balance of these tensions that further delineate the region of Uganda, Zambia, Malawi and mainland Tanzania, and take us back to the methodological considerations of an anticolonial culture addressed above. That is, how might we understand the formation of anticolonial thought and practice in a place where reading material was not entirely absent but was encountered in arbitrary pockets often devoid of context; where state control of the press and radio was present but necessarily patchy and inconsistent; where students were punished for the wrong sorts of contributions to a debating society that was encouraged by the same authority; where the ladder to participating in administration and policy-making was via entry to a civil service structured to prevent precisely that; where a name like Marcus Garvey might pass between mouths in classrooms, social clubs, churches and trades union offices but in the absence of an open forum to discuss his political thought? If this context makes the usual work

[82] Donald Anthony Low and J. M. Lonsdale, 'Introduction: Towards the New Order, 1945-1963', in Donald Anthony Low and Alison Smith (eds.), *History of East Africa, Vol. 3* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact*.
[83] John Darwin, 'What Was the Late Colonial State?', *Itinerario*, 23 (1999), 76–81.

of tracing the origins of ideas difficult, foregrounding the tensions of the late colonial state as activists felt them opens doors to a new understanding of anticolonialism.

But, as will be returned to throughout the thesis, the landscape in which the anticolonial culture of this generation of mobile activists evolved was also shaped by global historical developments: this was a generation who came of age together with the UN and the Cold War. The uprisings that permeate the nationalist myth, like Maji Maji in Tanganyika (1905-7) and Chilembwe in Nyasaland (1915) were beyond their 'real' generational memory; instead, their formative years of young adulthood were punctuated by the independence of India, Indonesia and Vietnam, by the implementation of Apartheid and the creation of the state of Israel, then by the Bandung conference, the Suez fiasco and the Cuban revolution. This made a difference to this generation's vision of a route to independence that went around the late colonial state, both strategically and, in the case of the activists that populate this thesis, quite physically.

Structure

The thesis is broadly chronological, with the first two chapters dealing with the period 1952-55, the second two chapters dealing with the period 1956-59 and the final chapter dealing with the period 1960-64. Chapter one highlights the significance of education for this generation's understanding of themselves in relation to anticolonial politics. It asks through which institutions, structures and events education was able to be politicised during the period 1952-55. Postwar colonial development policy formed the framework through which young people from East and Central Africa created a dialogue between colonial discussions on education and debates among African political organisations on forms of protest against the colonial state. But the answers to this question are to be found by pulling the idea of education as an anticolonial weapon back to the centre, to regional institutions like Makerere College and to African teachers in local secondary schools, and by assessing the reactions to regional crises, like the imposition of the Central African Federation in 1953, in these settings. By laying 'student' politics alongside those of the national-level organisations that became increasingly vocal in the region during this period, it is possible to draw parallels between, for example, publication strategies inside and outside of education institutions, in order to trace ideas that would inform anticolonial politics of this generation: about the role of students, graduates and their networks, about civil liberties and the importance of the published word. It was these

beliefs that drove the desire to get around the colonial state not only by manipulating the structures within its borders but by physically moving outside of these borders.

Chapter two takes as its starting point this idea of work outside the borders of the colonial state as a crucial aspect of the anticolonial campaign – something that increasingly came to be seen as given among the activists I follow in the period 1952-55. This chapter begins the work of pulling together anticolonial solidarities and their tensions across different geographical spaces by asking how this crucial phase of work with external organisations shaped the formation of anticolonial strategies among this generation. It outlines the mechanisms that allowed young people from this region to carry out anticolonial work abroad – notably while studying – and considers how far individuals were able to guide these processes. The chapter follows two activists in particular, to London and New Delhi respectively, emphasising the opening of space for negotiation and for forging transnational networks that came with the independence of states in Asia. Using the framework of Socialist Internationalism to demonstrate the importance of pre-existing political alliances to the possibilities of anticolonial work, I suggest here that it was the practical frustrations of working with external organisations as a colonial subject (rather than ideological conflicts) that had the most formative effect on the anticolonial culture.

Chapter three moves to the period 1956-59 to ask how the experiences of external anticolonial activism came together in organised attempts, during 1956-59 to create forums for regional and national visions of colonialism and decolonisation. It decentres Ghana and the All-African Peoples Conference (1958) as 'leaders' in the coordination of liberation movements in sub-Saharan Africa by considering how activists from East and Central African prepared for solidarity movements centred in Accra or Cairo and tried to intervene to make these solidarity movements work in their interests. The ideas that came out of this process – about the importance of performance and publicity in anticolonial work – were in heavy dialogue with the attempts of some nationalist leaders in the region to portray their own political party as the only legitimate political voice of African people in each territory, in the context of generational conflicts and differing visions of the relationship the party should have with both the colonial state and newly independent African states.

Chapter four explores the same time period and an overlapping set of concerns about publicity through a different lens. In the context of the 'very late' colonial state's tightening grip on anticolonialism, via bureaucratic restrictions on activism alongside the use of police and the military, especially through Emergency legislation, it asks how activists employed local

experiences of late colonial brutality and legal injustices in anticolonial critiques. Centring on the Nyasaland Emergency declared in March 1959, it demonstrates that motifs of totalitarianism allowed activists to bring liberation movements in East and Central African into dialogue with broader discussions about colonial violence. This served both the need for a critique of colonialism *per se* (rather than just a critique of its effects) and the need for shaping critiques for varying audiences. The role of political exiles as spokespersons for imprisoned leaders was crucial to evolving ideas about presenting colonial problems to different publics.

Chapter five asks what the 'acceleration' of decolonisation meant for activists as Tanganyika, Uganda, Malawi and then Zambia became independent states. It uses the motif of colonial conspiracy to explore how independence and the Cold War were experienced as intense uncertainty and distrust. While the support of newly independent states, and the patronage of Cold War powers, seemed to bring new openings for external anticolonial work, these were experienced differently than during the 1950s: in the context of political consolidation, political leaders were increasingly anxious to control how the party was represented, by whom and to whom. Activists began to think of colonial hegemony in terms of knowledge production, meaning that practices established during the 1950s around the publication and circulation of this generation's own vision of colonialism and decolonisation became increasingly important.

Chapter One

‘The rightful stage on which you can rehearse’: The politicisation of education in the wake of Mau Mau and the anti-Federation campaign, 1952-55

> This society offers you just the rightful ‘stage’ on which you can rehearse your political performances […] The eyes of East and Central Africa are looking to us for leadership. […] I believe that the solution to international understanding in East and Central Africa todays [sic] lies in our hands. […] If we are to prove our worth we have to show it here and now under University atmosphere.
>
> E. D. Sawe, Presidential Address to the Makerere College Political Society, 1953 [84]

> [H]ow highly, moderately or little an African may be educated under the white rule, he/she shall never be respected to any extent. The Europeans will still continue saying an African is a barbarian.
>
> Letter from a postal worker, Lusaka, to the NRANC, 1955 [85]

There was no straight-forward relationship between education and anticolonialism in East and central Africa during the early 1950s. The potency of institutions of learning and a generation of graduates, captured in E. D. Sawe’s speech, lay alongside the scepticism of postal worker Eliphas Darius Lungu. The ideas of ‘worth’ and ‘respect’ that each used to express these

[84] E. D. Sawe, ‘Presidential Address to the Makerere College Political Society’ (1953), in *Politica*, Vol. 1 No. 1, May 1953, in AR/MAK/57/5 Makerere College Political Society.
[85] Eliphas Darius Lungu to Congress, 6 April 1955, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/3/16 Papers relating to Central African Federation.

interpretations spoke to a larger racialised developmentalist framework within which education had a shifting and contested role in twentieth century Africa.[86] Indeed, in autobiographies of activists, the transformative potential of education at the level of individual lives is readily translated onto a national revolutionary scale without elucidating what this translation process could look like. Reflecting on these wider discursive associations, this chapter will assert the specificity of the experience of passing through the education system as an activist from Uganda, Malawi, Zambia or mainland Tanzania – someone of Sawe's generation – during the period 1952-55. It will ask through which structures, institutions and events education was politicised, how space for this to happen was made – and by whom. In doing so, it will suggest how certain anticolonial practices, in particular the publication of newsletters, could percolate from the sphere of education to that of emerging party politics.

The politicisation of education in the period 1952-55 had its roots in long-standing expressions of education-related grievances and the ways that these came into dialogue with developmental discourses, especially in the aftermath of the Second World War. African demands for the expansion and improvement of the racialised and inadequate colonial education system in the region were submitted by welfare societies and other local-level political organisations during the early twentieth century, predating the formation of nationally-coordinated political organisations.[87] In Uganda, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika, primary and secondary schools were largely under the management of missionaries, and for the most part this remained the case even following various attempts to bring education under the control of territorial governments during the postwar period. As such, scholarly learning was associated with Christianity or with Islam, a fact that in some accounts lies at the root of a broader faith in literacy as a form of expression among this generation.[88] Although schools (and the missionaries that oversaw them) were frequently sites of organised and spontaneous acts of resistance throughout the colonial period, there was nothing inherently anticolonial about grievances relating to inadequate education.

African demands for the expansion of education in the region escalated in the aftermath of World War Two, as part of a larger shift in the organisation and articulation of claims-making

[86] James Brennan has identified the shift from *ustaarabu* (civilisation) to *maendeleo* (development) in Swahili political discourses during the 1950s, and their relationship to conceptions of race and nation. See Brennan, *Taifa*, 121–158.
[87] Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 183, 202; Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 420.
[88] N. J. Westcott, 'An East African Radical: The Life of Erica Fiah', *The Journal of African History*, 22 (1981), 85.

across the colonial world that is frequently given a central role in narratives of anticolonial nationalism; education was one of the central concerns of organisations with a national scope.[89] This came into dialogue with broader ideas of development partly by way of returning African soldiers, who were a visible presence in the region and whose stories were widely shared.[90] Unoccupied young men, who felt deserving of education opportunities and of well-paid and respected employment following wartime service, were considered a potential threat to stability, and were often recruited to cooperative schemes, a pillar of the Labour government's development initiatives in British Africa.[91]

However, this desire to keep returnees, and colonial subjects in general, 'occupied' had an unstable relationship with education policy. Colonial Office discussions relating to Africa around 1950 referred to the experience of India, warning against the creation of an intellectual proletariat or 'babu' class of young people who were over-qualified for the work that their racial status allowed them to pursue.[92] These tensions gave rise to conflicting urges in nationalist rhetoric: in a House of Commons press conference in May 1954, Ignatius K. Musazi, one of the founding members of the Uganda National Congress (UNC), warned that a lack of qualified Africans was being used as an excuse to delay independence and that the lack of education was a deliberate colonial strategy; Musazi maintained that instead it was necessary to gain control of government first and educate society later.[93]

Given the rhetoric of 'improvement' and 'readiness' that pervaded educational discourses, it is surprising that the literature on late colonial development in the context of British East and Central Africa has largely ignored education, in favour of focusing on the initiatives of the 1945-51 Labour government in strengthening and expanding trades unions and cooperative movements (epitomised by the 'failed' Tanganyika groundnut scheme).[94] On the contrary, the

[89] For example, the dual focus is on education and land reforms in: 'Report of the Nyasaland African Congress Second Annual Conference, 16 October 1945, Lilongwe', MNA S15/1/7/1 Secretariat NAC correspondence 1947-49.
[90] For a thorough treatment of the topic see David Killingray, *Fighting for Britain: African Soldiers in the Second World War* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2010) especially Chapter 7 'Ex-servicemen and politics'. On the impact of Tanganyika soldiers returning from Ceylon and Burma, see Brennan, *Taifa*, 136–145.
[91] Paul Kelemen, 'Modernising Colonialism: The British Labour Movement and Africa', *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History*, 34 (2006), 235. On 'welfare clubs' introduced in Tanganyika to respond to returnees demands, see Andreas Eckert, 'Regulating the Social: Social Security, Social Welfare and the State in Late Colonial Tanzania', *The Journal of African History*, 45 (2004).
[92] Clive Whitehead, 'The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part II: Africa and the Rest of the Colonial Empire', *History of Education*, 34 (2005), 442.
[93] 'Press Conference at House of Commons May 6th 1954', Papers of the Africa Bureau (Bodliean Library) Box 28 File 2 Other Organisations: Anti-Slavery Society correspondence 1951-70.
[94] This point was made by Timothy Livsey, 'Imagining an Imperial Modernity: Universities and the West African Roots of Colonial Development', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 44 (2016). On postwar

expansion of education was a prominent component of the ten year development plans for British colonial territories written during the first half of the 1950s.[95] By this time, 'development' acted as a signifier for the preparation of territories for self-government, reflected in the arrival of several liberal 'development' governors in the region such as Andrew Cohen, governor of Uganda from 1952, and the lesser-known Geoffrey Colby, governor of Nyasaland from 1947.[96] Indeed, the efforts of European imperial powers to meet the demands of colonial subjects is understood as a central factor in the birth of 'development' as an international policy field in its own right.[97] As such, the turn towards education in international development during the late 1950s, often considered in relation to the loss of faith in the apolitical nature of technical assistance, can also be understood in terms of the rising importance of education in the demands of African welfare and, later, national organisations.[98]

By the early 1950s, then, education was heavily embroiled in discussions about progress towards and preparation for self-government within the framework of development – both within groups of activists and between activists and the late colonial state. That education was, in this way, a contested terrain, allowed for an intense cross-fertilisation between ideas of what education should look like and those about the possibilities of anticolonial protest. This cross-fertilisation becomes most visible when the narrative of education and anticolonialism is pulled away from stories of Western education as a radical weapon and back to its centre – to regional institutions, the lives that passed through them, and the practices that came out of them.

1.1 The 1952 Makerere College strike: questioning the constitutional

Two months before Governor Evelyn Baring declared a state of emergency in Kenya (20 October 1952), almost the entire student body at Makerere College in Kampala went on strike.[99] The students could not have known that the Mau Mau uprising and the violence of the

colonial development, see Paul Kelemen, 'Planning for Africa: The British Labour Party's Colonial Development Policy, 1920–1964', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 7 (2007); Michael Ashley Havinden and David Meredith, *Colonialism and Development : Britain and Its Tropical Colonies, 1850-1960* (Routledge, 1993).

[95] Whitehead, 'The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part II', 446.

[96] Colin Baker, *Development Governor: A Biography of Sir Geoffrey Colby* (London: British Academic Press, 1994); Ronald Robinson, 'Andrew Cohen and the Transfer of Power in Tropical Africa, 1940–1951', in W.H. Morris-Jones and Georges Fisher (eds.), *Decolonisation and after: The British and French Experience* (Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1980). A more recent reflection on Cohen (also focusing on his Colonial Office years) is Collins, 'Decolonisation and the "Federal Moment"'.

[97] Corinna R. Unger, *International Development: A Postwar History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 49.

[98] Unger, *International Development*, 71–74.

[99] For a brief account of the strike, see David Mills, 'Life on the Hill: Students and the Social History of Makerere', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 76 (2006), 257–260.

British response to it would entirely reconfigure anticolonial activism in East Africa and beyond, but, by the middle of 1952 if not before, they would have been well aware of escalating tensions in central Kenya and probably (given the presence of Kikuyu students at Makerere) of the intentions of Mau Mau to launch a full-scale rebellion.[100] The strike had no direct relationship to the Mau Mau uprising, but it did bring Makerere life violently into dialogue with regional politics. In this way, it was a formative experience of negotiation and possibilities of change.

In common with many colonial-era education institutions in Africa, narratives of Makerere as ivory tower sit alongside those of Makerere as political hotbed. Opened as a technical college in 1922, Makerere expanded to become a higher education institution in 1935 and in 1949 was granted the status of a 'University College', affiliated to, and able to award degrees from, the University of London.[101] This change in status was a result of two commissions appointed in 1943 by the British coalition government to make recommendations for the expansion of higher education in colonial territories: the Elliot Commission (limited to West Africa, resulting in the founding of University College Ibadan in 1948) and the Asquith Commission, appointed to consider the implications of the Elliot Commission elsewhere.[102] Makerere remained the only institution with University College status in East and Central Africa until the opening of the 'multiracial' University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1955 (the result of a separate commission).[103] From this perspective, Makerere was a colonial institution and a product of colonial development thinking.[104]

By the independence period, however, Makerere was popularly understood as a breeding ground for anticolonial leaders. A narrative of a colonial creation deployed as anticolonial weapon, as has been elaborated in the case of Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum, might

[100] This was common knowledge across Kenya, according to Elkins, *Britain's Gulag*, 30. The two landmark works on Mau Mau are Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*; Elkins, *Britain's Gulag*. For a basic chronology see Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*, 387-394.

[101] There are a few general histories of Makerere, written from social sciences/literature perspectives. Carol Sicherman, *Becoming an African University: Makerere, 1922-2000* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005); Margaret Macpherson, *They Built for the Future: A Chronicle of Makerere University College, 1922-1962*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); J. E Goldthorpe, *An African Elite: Makerere College Students 1922-1960* (Nairobi; London: Oxford University Press, 1966); Mills, 'Life on the Hill'. See also the file of notes and articles at Makerere University AR/MAK/1/2 Makerere Papers.

[102] Livsey, 'Imagining an Imperial Modernity', 961.

[103] Clayton G. Mackenzie, 'The University of Rhodesia: A Re-appraisal', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 19 (1987).

[104] Tim Livsey, *Nigeria's University Age: Reframing Decolonisation and Development* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 4.

seem pertinent here too.[105] But Makerere was never simply a colonial export: from the Elliot commission onwards, the creation and elaboration of its ethos relied on both local education experts and the students themselves.[106] Certainly, a notable proportion of cabinet members in independent East Africa (and to a lesser extent Central Africa) were 'Makerereans', as Makerere graduates were sometimes called. But, to a large extent, the image of political 'hotbed' is one that crystallised in the immediate post-independence period, partly around Kampala's flourishing literary scene embodied in the magazine *Transition* (founded in Kampala and based there 1961-68). This was by no means an inevitable trajectory for a colonial-era university: the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, regarded by pre-independence leaders as a tool of the Federal state, never had such a status, while the University of Dar es Salaam, a postcolonial project, maintained its reputation for politically radical academia long after Makerere suffered from the encroachment of intellectual freedoms that came with independent Uganda's violent regime changes.[107]

Against this backdrop, for students at Makerere during the 1950s, mass strike action was not incompatible with the stories of Makerere that were passed around the region's elite Secondary schools – tales of life in 'halls', of formal dinners and monthly dances, curfews imposed by wardens and the ways of getting around them, all of which are captured in the pages of memoirs and fictional accounts written since.[108] Indeed, this tension, between romanticised elitism and anti-authority rebellion, was central to the student experience, and to Makerere's relationship with wider politics. 1950s Makerere was a truly regional (in the sense of a wider East Africa) institution: most students were men of African descent from Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, with fewer from Zanzibar, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Ethiopia. The first female student entered Makerere in 1945 but even by 1961, of the 915 students enrolled, only around 85 were women and 115 were 'non-African' (mainly African-born students of Arab and South Asian descent). Students rarely came from other parts of Anglophone Africa, or from Francophone Africa, although there was movement in the opposite direction.[109] The teaching staff, meanwhile, were overwhelmingly European – even by 1961, following a decade of

[105] Ashley Jackson, *Buildings of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 194–219.
[106] This argument has been elaborated in the cases of West Africa and Cairo respectively: Livsey, 'Imagining an Imperial Modernity'; Valeska Huber, 'International Agendas and Local Manifestations: Universities in Cairo, Beirut and Jerusalem after World War I', *PROSPECTS*, 45 (2015).
[107] Mahmood Mamdani, 'The African University', *London Review of Books*, 40 (2018).
[108] Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Birth of a Dream Weaver: A Writer's Awakening* (London: Harvill Secker, 2016); Kanyama Chiume, *Kwacha : An Autobiography* (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1975); Mwangi Ruheni, *Future Leaders* (London: Heinemann, 1973).
[109] Bernard De Bunsen, 'Higher Education and Political Change in East Africa', *African Affairs*, 60 (1961), 494, 500.

proclaimed ‘Africanisation’, only twelve of 140 staff members were of African descent, all but one of them Makerereans.[110] In this respect, four students who passed through the college in this period and will reappear later in the thesis – Abu Mayanja, John Kale, Kanyama Chiume and Arthur Wina – were typical.

The strike of August 1952 was called after ‘A Mammoth petition for a better diet’, signed by 206 of Makerere’s 270 students, was anonymously posted on the college noticeboard in mid-August. It demanded an improvement of the food served in the ‘mess’ (canteen) which it deemed to lack ‘foresight, knowledge of preparation, interest, sympathy and imagination’. Alleging that complaints published in the Current News and submitted to the ‘mess committee’ had been ignored, the petition demanded that these complaints were ‘given attention within 7 days’.[111] The college principal, Bernard De Bunsen, removed the petition, deeming it in ‘bad taste’ and told the student body in writing that there seemed to be ‘some misunderstanding as to the channels through which undergraduates should bring their views to the Principal’.[112] For one week, students boycotted the canteen and lectures. Makerere closed a week early and students were sent home. Six were expelled.[113]

During the week that followed, De Bunsen wrote to every student individually. In order to return to Makerere, students were required to agree that, in relation to the strike, 'the methods employed were wholly wrong' and that, in relation to the six students expelled in its aftermath, 'authority resides wholly with the college'.[114] Most students agreed, many wished the Principal a pleasant holiday, and ultimately only one Kikuyu student chose to stay at home rather than reply.[115] Nevertheless, around one in ten responses expressed reluctance to agree that the calling of a strike and the petition that had preceded it, were 'wholly wrong'. One student, Mr Muthiga, wrote that the college had 'created a condition where students had to resort to such means', and Mr Okova said that he had felt 'driven to [these methods] by imperative circumstances'. Another student maintained that the 'idea' of the strike was defensible, even if the methods were wrong. Mr Aley agreed that the methods were 'unconstitutional and, in that

[110] De Bunsen, ‘Higher Education and Political Change in East Africa’, 500.
[111] ‘A mammoth petition for a better diet’, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.
[112] De Bunsen to students, 13 August 1952 and 17 August 1952, both in Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.
[113] Andrew Cohen to L. P. Wilkinson, 14 October 1952, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A. K. Mayanja.
[114] De Bunsen to students, 26 August 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.
[115] De Bunsen to East Africa High Commission (Nairobi), 29 September 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.

sense, wrong', constitutionality being for him not the sole measure of whether the strike was wrong.[116] De Bunsen's letter opened up a new array of questions about how far constitutional methods could be effective and what was left when they were not, questions that speak to the tension between compromise and rebellion that Miles Larmer has identified as a long-running theme in Zambian politics.[117]

The student expelled for orchestrating the strike (five others were dismissed for intimidating fellow students) was Abubakar Mayanja, a well-known name but little explored personality in narratives of Ugandan anticolonialism.[118] When Mayanja arrived at Makerere in 1950, he was one of only two Muslim Baganda to have entered the university.[119] It is this religious background that Jonathan Earle has focused on in perhaps the only in-depth academic study of Mayanja's life. Indeed, prior to Makerere, Muslim organisations that hoped to identify and train future leaders in the Muslim community had played an important role in Mayanja's education, and there had been potential for him to study in Pakistan instead of at Makerere.[120]

My own exploration of Mayanja's life challenges the centrality of religion to his anticolonialism. At Makerere, more important was his status as a Baganda and his secondary education at the elite Protestant Secondary school King's College, Budo, one of the key 'feeder' schools for Makerere. Baganda students had a reputation at Makerere for being particularly academic and politically active.[121] In 1954, the headmaster at King's College, Budo, wondered why Kenyan students had scored higher than the notoriously successful 'Budonians' in the Makerere entrance exam, for example.[122] De Bunsen hypothesised that the staple diet in each region might be relevant, mirroring recent journalistic accounts which speculate that Mayanja's intelligence came from the fish that his mother ate while growing up on the Buvuma Islands of Lake Victoria.[123] The stereotype had longer structural roots, however: British investment in Ugandan education had been focused on Buganda since the 1900 Uganda Agreement and in 1951 almost half of all Ugandans attending secondary school

[116] Various correspondence in Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.
[117] Larmer, *Rethinking African Politics*, 21–51.
[118] b. 1929, Ziba. For a brief biography, see Ronald Segal, *Political Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties* (New York: Praeger, 1961), 175.
[119] Andrew Cohen to L. P. Wilkinson, 14 October 1952, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A. K. Mayanja.
[120] Earle, *Colonial Buganda and the End of Empire*, 140–176.
[121] Macpherson, 'They built for the future', Makerere University AR/MAK/1/1 They built for the future.
[122] De Bunsen to Tim Cobb (Budo headmaster), 15 September 1954, Makerere University AR/MAK/2/3 De Bunsen Correspondence 1954.
[123] J. K. Kavuma-Kaggwa, 'Abu Mayanja, a Great Man of Our Time', *New Vision*, (2015).

were in Buganda, despite the fact that the Baganda people accounted for seventeen per cent of the Ugandan population.[124] The proportion of Baganda at Makerere had also always been disproportionately high, in part because of its location.[125]

Despite Mayanja's expulsion, and perhaps because of his recognised intelligence, he was invited to participate in the 'staff-student discussion group' set up to discuss the strike, which met for three days at the end of August. This was typical of De Bunsen's enthusiasm for dialogue and discussion – a sharp contrast with the large-scale military response to Mau Mau in Kenya. Staff correspondence prior to the meeting reflected debates that would recur repeatedly over the 1950s among colonial administrators (in the region and in London) about how to respond to organised resistance. These debates concerned 'constitutional' methods of protest, the 'proper channels' for criticism of policy (colonial, territorial or institutional) and the appropriate forms of punishment for colonial subjects (students or otherwise) who strayed from these.

Staff acknowledged that there was a material basis for the strike: a report written two years earlier concluded that the quality of food was poor, the beans 'riddled with weevils', and students forced to 'take their tea in a miscellaneous collection of vessels' for want of sufficient cups.[126] As such, some staff members privileged this aspect of the strike, insisting on the importance of food in the 'peasant community mind' and suggesting an anthropologist helped revise the menu.[127] Most, however, took an approach that chimed better with the responses of students to De Bunsen's letter. They highlighted student 'dissatisfaction with the channels of communication' with staff, a repeated lack of response to complaints through 'normal channels', and 'sheer nervous frustration' with a student welfare system which failed to clarify where students stood in relation to college authorities.[128]

The discussions surrounding punishments and reform of College structures echoed wider political discourses. Staff members collectively wrote to De Bunsen suggesting that a policy

[124] Gertzel, 'Kingdoms, Districts, and the Unitary State', 65–67.
[125] Gertzel, 'Kingdoms, Districts, and the Unitary State', 65–67; J. E. Goldthorpe, 'An African Elite: A Sample Survey of Fifty-Two Former Students of Makerere College in East Africa', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 6 (1955), 31–32.
[126] Report by Eileen M Lockhart, 1950, Makerere University AR/MAK/63/2 Makerere University Students Guild correspondence 1950-56.
[127] Goldthorpe to De Bunsen, 21 August 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.
[128] Alan Wilshere[?] to De Bunsen, 21 August 1952; Philip Powesland to De Bunsen, 21 August 1952; Maurice Evans to De Bunsen, 21 August 1952, all in Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.

of ‘unexpected clemency’ could turn around staff-student relations.[129] Here, mutual trust and interest appeared as central questions for sustainability. For example, one member of staff suggested giving students a greater voice in the ‘Mess Committee’, to serve as ‘proof that constitutional methods can work’, a fact he considered many students to be doubtful of.[130] There was a sense that through careful systems of participation, students could graduate with a faith in partial democracy and institutions in the colonial model. Hence, the discussion group dealt with issues including the student curfew and the failure of the college Dean to attend student council meetings where complaints could be discussed.[131] These same questions were being discussed on Makerere’s doorstep: among the Baganda elite, for example, the emphasis on petitioning was giving way, during the early 1950s, to demands for participation through elections.[132]

Discussions continued to be based around what was ‘appropriate’ rather than questions of social justice. Councillors of the Student Guild, including Kanyama Chiume (Nyasaland) and Arthur Wina (Northern Rhodesia), signed a letter asking De Bunsen to reconsider the punishments, given that all students agreed with the actions at the time; De Bunsen replied that he admired the 'form' of this letter, but would not reconsider.[133] De Bunsen did not adopt the suggestion of a local Baganda intellectual (and Makerere graduate) to employ an African headmaster to work under him, but instead invited Student Guild councillors to join him for a weekly lunch.[134] What students who passed through Makerere around the time of the strike were confronted with was the fact that ‘proper channels’ were not always effective. In one sense, the strike allowed students to disrupt the categories presented to them (here, constitutional and punishable) and ‘act out’ different identities, as Louisa Rice has argued of Francophone African students in the metropole during the same period.[135] Moreover, Makerere’s longer history of liberalism in relation to education was, with the influx of younger

[129] Alan Wilshere[?] to De Bunsen 21 August 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.
[130] Philip Powesland to Kenneth Baker, 2 September 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.
[131] Notes from informal staff student discussion group 25-27 August 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.
[132] Summers, ‘Grandfathers, Grandsons, Morality’, 431–2.
[133] Student Guild to De Bunsen 29 October 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.
[134] E.M.K. Mulira to De Bunsen 25 August 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952; De Bunsen to Arthur Wina 13 October 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/63/2 Makerere University Students Guild correspondence 1950-56.
[135] Louisa Rice, ‘Between Empire and Nation: Francophone West African Students and Decolonization’, *Atlantic Studies*, 10 (2013).

administrators in the postwar period, briefly reflected in Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.[136]

Even if the strike was not directly linked to the Mau Mau uprising, its public and political reception performed this role. The strike was reported in the local and British press and was also discussed in the House of Commons, in relation to Peter Wright, a British anticolonial sympathiser deported from Kenya the same year for his association with Jomo Kenyatta and others detained under the Emergency Regulations that responded to the Mau Mau uprising. Wright had corresponded with Mayanja and hosted him in Nairobi, and had written an article in the *East African Standard* (Kenya's largest, typically pro-colonial newspaper) suggesting that the strike was a response to colonial policy more broadly.[137] The idea that Makerere was embedded in wider regional politics was also implicit in the attitudes of staff: De Bunsen feared the Kikuyu Makerere students might be planning a coordinated response to his initial letter, despite having already expelled a Baganda student for organising the strike.[138]

The strike was the subject of legend for students who arrived in its aftermath and was highlighted as a turning point in histories written by staff, and this aspect too – the motif and symbol of the strike – was enmeshed in wider discourses. The wave of strikes across British West Africa in the late 1940s was mirrored in East Africa too: 1945-8 saw general strikes in Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, Kampala, Zanzibar and the Southern Rhodesian mining town of Bulawayo.[139] Strikes in higher education institutions in British Africa were not commonplace (although one did occur in Khartoum in 1947 when the college union was relaunched as a social club) but school teachers and pupils did frequently organise and participate in strike action.[140] In this way, some of the experiences of the Makerere strike were shared by a broader component of young people, both secondary school students and young African teachers. The fact of having taken part in a school strike, or led one as a teacher, is common trope in

[136] Carol Sicherman, 'Makerere and the Beginnings of Higher Education for East Africans', *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 29 (2002).
[137] 'Mr. Peter Wright (Expulsions)', debate in the House of Commons, 26 November 1952 vol. 508 cc.51-3W. Online at http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1952/nov/26/mr-peter-wright-expulsion#S5CV0508P0_19521126_CWA_43 [accessed 22/05/2017]; De Bunsen to Philip Rogers (Colonial Office) 2 February 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952.
[138] De Bunsen to Stapledon (East Africa Hight Comission, Nairobi) 29 September 1952, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/6 De Bunsen correspondence about the strike 1952. Accounts of Wright's role are few – John Stonehouse, Labour and Movement for Colonial Freedom member, described how Wright lost his job at a Nairobi school because of his support for African demands: John Stonehouse, *Prohibited Immigrant* (London: Bodley Head, 1960), 34.
[139] Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 226.
[140] Jackson, *Buildings of Empire*, 194–219.

(auto)biographical accounts of anticolonial leaders. Henry Chipembere organised a food strike as a pupil at Blantyre Secondary School, southern Nyasaland, in 1950; Oscar Kambona and Kanyama Chiume (who took part in the Makerere strike) were forced to resign as teachers at the Dodoma Alliance Secondary School, central Tanganyika, in September 1954 after encouraging a student strike.[141] The term 'strike' came to include diverse forms of protest: Kavuma Kaggwa and his classmates at Namilyango Catholic College near Kampala were given permission to miss lessons to welcome the returning Kabaka in 1955, an event that he described as a 'strike' when interviewed.[142] The importance of the Makerere strike as a forum for challenging available, 'constitutional' channels of protest was underpinned by the way that the motif of the strike, like the boycott in similar contexts, could signify the possibilities of protest.

1.2 A critical mass of schoolteacher-activists and the squeezed space of political life

One such school strike was led by John Tembo, while he was the only African teacher at Robert Blake Secondary school in central Nyasaland. Tembo (b. 1932) is a household name in contemporary Malawi, one associated, for many, with the brutality of Hastings Kamuzu Banda's regime (1964-94). The only member of the country's first independent cabinet to survive the 1964 Cabinet Crisis – and indeed the entirety of the Banda regime – Tembo was put on trial, and acquitted, for charges of murder as part of the democratisation process that followed Banda's death. He then took on the presidency of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) in opposition until retiring from formal politics in 2013.

When interviewed in 2017, Tembo was polite and reserved.[143] In our far-ranging conversation about pre-independence politics, the matter he continually returned to and responded to most animatedly was secondary schools. Reiterating the close relationship between secondary schools and the politics of independence, Tembo insisted that *all* school pupils in 1950s Nyasaland were politically engaged. Pressed about the nature of political engagement in, for example, student publications, he responded that *everything* school students wrote was political, as though secondary schools were necessarily, inherently a training ground for

[141] Earl H. Phillips, 'HBM Chipembere, 1930-1975, Malawi Patriot', *Ufahamu* Vol. 7 No. 1, 5-18; Tanganyika Police 'TANU Personalities', 1 November 1956, UKNA FCO141/17916.
[142] Interview with Kavuma-Kaggwa, Seeta, Uganda, 16 August 2017.
[143] Interview with John Tembo, Lilongwe, 18 July 2017.

freedom-fighters-to-be. His reflection was a personal one: like so many of his contemporaries who led prominent political careers, Tembo trained as a schoolteacher.

What might the prominence of the secondary school experience in Tembo's narrative of pre-independence Malawi mean? If almost all political leaders of the period did indeed pass through the region's secondary school system, by no means did all secondary school pupils take an interest in anticolonial politics – many were vocally loyal to the colonial state.[144] Yet there is something specific about the entwined nature of schools, teaching and anticolonial activism during the early 1950s, something more concrete than the notion of education as liberatory as encountered in popular writing from and about the period. That Julius Nyerere is referred to in everyday conversation as *mwalimu* (teacher) is a reference not only to his role as a political teacher, but to a professional background that was one of the most important politicising structures of the pre-independence period – and that was shared by many of his contemporaries.

In the case of Malawi in particular, historians have attended to the material and structural aspects of the education system, assigning schools (primary and secondary) an important role as, in Joey Power's words, 'mechanisms for mobilization'.[145] The work of the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC), during the mid-1950s, to mobilise rural discontent (linked largely to agricultural reform) in the service of the party's nationalist and anti-federal campaigns relied on institutions in the countryside with some independence from the colonial state, such as schools. This was not unique to Malawi: 'everything should be concentrated on schools' wrote London-based lobbyist Thomas Fox-Pitt to Kenneth Kaunda in 1956 in relation to the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC) campaign in the countryside.[146] However, school pupils were not automatically receptive to campaigns: the role (and expectations) of young men especially was a significant source of contention within party campaigns before and after independence, as James Brennan has shown in the case of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).[147]

[144] Derrick, *Africa's Agitators*, 425.
[145] Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, 105; Owen J. M. Kalinga, 'Understanding the Nyasaland State of Emergency in the Karonga District', in Kings Mbacazwa Phiri, John McCracken, and Wapulumuka O. Mulwafu (eds.), *Malawi in Crisis: The 1959/60 Nyasaland State of Emergency and Its Legacy* (Zomba, Malawi: Kachere Series, 2012), 17.
[146] Thomas Fox-Pitt to Kenneth Kaunda, 7 February 1956, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/9 The Anti-Slavery Society (1955-60).
[147] Brennan, 'Youth, the TANU Youth League and Managed Vigilantism in Dar Es Salaam'.

Although schools had a long history of resistance and political activity, this period was specific. There was an uneven cyclicality to the process by which party figures, as teachers or ex-teachers, harnessed spontaneous dissent in schools much like those where they had formed their own political worldviews, with the help of other young, African teachers, in previous years. The expansion, albeit limited, of secondary schools for Africans in Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia as part of postwar development planning raised demand for school teachers, who were increasingly recruited from the ranks of African secondary and university graduates, who themselves had passed through the education system during the postwar period. During the early and mid-1950s, a critical mass of these teachers coincided with the consolidation of political parties and the developmentalist language of liberal governors, lending a self-awareness to the teaching profession.

This shift in focus – from schools as sites to teachers as actors – is one that has been taken up by Jonathan Glassman in relation to the emergence of a secular intelligentsia in Zanzibar. The prominence of teachers among a political-intellectual elite is not surprising but, as Glassman points out, this was more pronounced in colonial territories where professions in journalism and the civil service were restricted by race – which was even more the case, I would add, in nearby mainland British territories than in Zanzibar.[148] Across these territories too there was variation which often corresponded to the ideas attached to teaching: there were more opportunities for highly educated Baganda men than for most people in Nyasaland, for example. Teachers were also of a certain profile: while students interested in sciences could obtain work in colonial veterinary and agriculture departments, those who graduated in arts and humanities had few choices within the region. As such, in the period 1955-60, half of Makerere's arts graduates entered the teaching profession.[149]

Glassman's Zanzibari intelligentsia was specific, made up of men of Arab descent who cohered as a self-aware group prior to World War Two. In mainland territories, it was the postwar expansion of secondary education that led to significant numbers of African schoolteachers and, even then, the spread of secondary schools across these larger countries and the lack of coordinated education system made any self-aware coherence more problematic. This is related to the specific relationship between schoolteachers and the colonial state in Zanzibar: the Zanzibari Arab elite formed a significant part of the colonial civil service and school teaching

[148] Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones*, 80.
[149] 'Memorandum on the availability of graduates 1955-60', Makerere University AR/MAK/1/3 Chronicles of Makerere College, correspondence 1955-56.

was used as a 'forcing bed' for the cultivation of administrators.[150] This was not the case for the territories in question, where the lack of training Africans in public administration later became a rallying issue among the educated elite.

Nevertheless, Glassman's observation that teachers were often directly in contact with or working for the colonial state, even while they were among the first to direct organised criticism at it, is relevant here too.[151] Colonial attempts to nurture an *évolué* class with interests in the colonial system were more systematised in, for example, the case of 'embourgeoisement' in the Belgian Congo than in most of British Africa.[152] Nevertheless, Marxian accounts of the late colonial shift in British Africa, written around the period of decolonisation, elaborate on attempts in the dying days of colonialism to create a conservative-minded middle class to act as a 'buffer between the white rulers and the maturing African agrarian revolution'.[153] This, of course, was not a simple matter on the ground where, for example, government clerks would leak sensitive documents to nationalist parties, and any line between 'pro' and 'anti' government workers was impossible to draw.[154] Schoolteachers were even more problematic, given that much of the school system was under mission society authority with various degrees of independence from the state.

John Tembo grew up in Nyasaland's Central Province and attended various primary schools based on the posts held by his father, a Dutch Reformed Church minister, before moving to Blantyre, around 200km south of his town of birth, for secondary school.[155] When Tembo started at Blantyre Secondary School in 1949 it was one of only two secondary schools operating in the country, the other being the nearby Zomba Catholic Secondary School (founded 1942).[156] After four years at Blantyre, Tembo was granted a Nyasaland government scholarship to study at Pius XII Catholic University College in Roma, Basutoland (now the National University of Lesotho). Roma was among the preferred universities of the territorial government and of Malawian students, although Tembo recalled that he simply went where the

[150] Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones*, 75–81.
[151] Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones*, 75–81.
[152] On the Congo see Daniel Tödt, '»Les Noirs Perfectionnés«: Cultural Embourgeoisement in Belgian Congo during the 1940s and 1950s', *Working Papers Des Sonderforschungsbereiches 640*, 4 (2012).
[153] Jack Woddis, *Africa: The Lion Awakes* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1961), 162–65.
[154] Henry B. M Chipembere and Robert I Rotberg, *Hero of the Nation: Chipembere of Malawi : An Autobiography* (Blantyre [Malawi]: Christian Literature Association of Malawi, 2001), 258. A recent treatment of clerks is Lawrance, Osborn, and Roberts, *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks*.
[155] Owen J. M. Kalinga, *Historical Dictionary of Malawi* (Lanham, MD; Toronto; Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press, 2012), 445.
[156] For a summary of secondary education in colonial Malawi see I. C. Lamba, *Contradictions in Post-War Education Policy Formulation and Application in Colonial Malawi 1945-1961: A Historical Study of the Dynamics of Colonial Survival* (Zomba, Malawi: Kachere Series, 2010), 61–86.

scholarship sent him. Graduating in 1958, he proceeded to the recently opened University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury (now Harare) to complete his teacher training.[157]

Tembo did not recollect having any strong feelings about the teaching profession: it was simply the path available. This is a frequent attitude: when interviewed, A. D. Lubowa recalled how it seemed to be assumed that he would go into teaching, and only after three years at Bikiira Teacher Training College, on the western edge of Lake Victoria in Uganda, did he realise that he was not interested in the profession at all.[158] A different narrative emerges in the autobiography of Kanyama Chiume (the difference in format of interviews and autobiographies may be of significance here). Born in Nyasaland and educated in Tanganyika, Chiume took up a teaching post at Dodoma Secondary School, Tanganyika, after graduating from Makerere, because:

> The political heat that had been generated in us through the Makerere College Political Society, the gallantry of the Mau Mau freedom fighters and the anti-African stand of the European settlers both in East and Southern Africa, made many of us feel that we could not join the government service. We were looking for posts in schools where we could, within the limitations imposed by conditions then, air our views and get an opportunity to do some political work.[159]

Even if Chiume's motivations were attributed *post factum* in his autobiography, they bring to the fore several important points about how he identified with this period of his life. 'Us' and 'we' (implicitly, Makerere graduates) appear without much qualification, implying a coordinated decision about teaching that, if Tembo and Lubowa's accounts are to be acknowledged, was not universally shared even among those who became involved in politics. The experience of being in schools and in contact with other teachers elsewhere saw this group 'cohere' as a self-aware force with a perception of their work. Similarly, Chiume's distinction between working 'for' or 'against' government is also typical of a postcolonial lens that draws all activity into the directly anticolonial sphere while alluding to unmentioned 'collaborators'.

In fact, the colonial state often facilitated the routes into teaching for young, educated men and, less frequently, women. For example, M.A. Chongwe was nominated to receive a scholarship through the Colonial Development and Welfare fund to study at the London Institute of Education for the academic year 1952-3. When he had completed his course in July 1953, the Nyasaland Director of Education requested that his scholarship be terminated, despite it

[157] Interview with John Tembo, Lilongwe, 18 July 2017.
[158] Interview with A. D. Lubowa, Maya, Uganda, 21 August 2017.
[159] Chiume, *Kwacha*, 53.

technically allowing him to stay in the UK for the summer, because his labour was 'urgently needed at the Domasi teacher training college'.[160] Domasi had opened in 1949 as a government-run facility for training teachers; African teacher trainer were also employed there, including Congress leader Orton Chirwa during the mid-1950s.[161] Despite it being under the remit of the territorial government, Domasi became known as a gathering point for Congress figures according to Catherine Chipembere, who like other women, was accommodated at Domasi while her husband trained.[162]

Indeed, it was the problematic involvement of government at every level of the education system that prompted attempts to set up independent schools across the region, sometimes (explicitly or otherwise) under African political groups. B.W. Matthews Phiri, a Congress member of the older generation (like Orton Chirwa) who travelled to Britain as part of the delegation in opposition to the imposition of Federation, started raising funds to open a school for children and adults in rural central Nyasaland in 1954, but it was not until 1958 that he received the necessary permission from the local education committee.[163] In Northern Rhodesia, Kenneth Kaunda asked for permission for the African National Congress (NRANC) to open a school in Mazabuka district, near Lusaka, in 1954, but the next year told somebody interested in attending that the 'congress school' had been shut down.[164] Any schools run by congresses during this period were in secret – the case of Kivukoni College (opened 1961), to be considered in chapter six, was an exception.

Given these circumstances, it is Chiume's remarks on 'limitations' and 'opportunity' that chime with the experience of most teachers who were interested in politics. In one sense, teaching was simply one of the few open, paid occupations for well-educated people and, as such, graduates became concentrated in schools during the very period when they were hearing about the expansion campaigns of local party branches. As teachers, they imbued the profession with a certain political flavour by performing a political role for students: they could encourage debates on self-government, like those that Edwin Mtei remembered having with future cabinet

[160] Nyasaland Director of Education to Chief Secretary, 19 October 1953, MNA SMP 17839, MA Chongwe.
[161] Lamba, *Contradictions in Post-War Education Policy Formulation and Application in Colonial Malawi 1945-1961*, 31; Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, 111.
[162] Interview with Catherine Chipembere, Lilongwe, 18-20 July 2017. See also Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, 111.
[163] B.W. Matthews Phiri to Mary Benson (Africa Bureau London), 17 June 1954; Phiri to Michael Scott (Africa Bureau London) 6 June 1958, both in Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 241 File 9 B.W. Matthews Phiri correspondence 1952-58.
[164] Kenneth Kaunda to Chief Secretary Lusaka, 3 September 1954; Kaunda to Seteleni Banda, 19 July 1955, both in Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP/1/3/8 Education.

minister Mark Bomani at Tabora Secondary school (Tanganyika); they provided students with newspapers that were otherwise difficult to get hold of, like Kavuma-Kaggwa remembers happening at Namilyango College (Uganda).[165] It was less that the idea of an institution for learning appeared to all as a political opportunity, than the fact that the space for political work was so limited that it was pushed into whatever gap could be found.

1.3 Party ambassadors: the Nyasaland Students Association and the Makerere TANU Club

For emerging nationalist organisations, the potential political space that educational institutions offered was not grasped uniformly or without complications. It was in large part at the insistence of students that party politics became increasingly bound up with networks of university students in the 1950s. In some cases, there were direct links between the new organisations and individual students and colleges: Abu Mayanja, the student expelled for organising the Makerere strike, had co-founded the Uganda National Congress (UNC) just months before, for example, and Kanyama Chiume, as a member of the Makerere Political Society, also attended this founding meeting, despite not being Ugandan.[166] In other cases, party 'clubs' at regional universities fostered semi-official relationships. These were maintained through students' determination to take on party concerns while injecting them with a perspective gained from meeting other students from the region – and through parties' resultant realisation of the advantageous position of these students.

The Nyasaland Students Association formed at Fort Hare, Eastern Cape, South Africa in 1949. Fort Hare was an important institution of higher education for African students from across the continent, as well as from South Africa, and gained a reputation, like Makerere did, for its production of 'future leaders'. It was a more important destination for students from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia than for those from Uganda and Tanganyika, given its relative proximity and the fact that fewer scholarships for studying at Makerere or in India or Europe were available to these Central African territories (especially during the Federal period). Fort Hare remained an independent academic institution until its nationalisation by the apartheid state in 1959, although the state had already begun to exert control over its staff in the early 1950s. For example, South African academic Z. K. Matthews headed Fort Hare's African

[165] Edwin Mtei, *From Goatherd to Governor: The Autobiography of Edwin Mtei* (African Books Collective, 2008), 30–35. Interview with Kavuma Kaggwa, Seeta, 16 August 2017.
[166] On Chiume's attendance, see Chiume, *Kwacha*, 52.

Studies department from 1944 but was steadily pushed from his position due to his involvement in anti-apartheid politics. Nevertheless, it was figures like Matthews – outspoken, black intellectuals in senior positions – who defined the experience of Central African students at Fort Hare. Like Makerere, the university seemed – fleetingly and precariously – protected from the racial politics that surrounded it; for students attending during the early 1950s, the contrast between the segregated train journey through Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, and Matthew's lecture hall, was fierce.

One of these was the Malawian Henry Chipembere, who spent 1952-54 at Fort Hare, before returning to Nyasaland and becoming a central figure in the younger generation of Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) members who supported Banda's rise to power. At Fort Hare, he was part of a small group of students from Nyasaland, some several years older than Chipembere, such as Manowa Chirwa and Orton Chirwa (not related – and to follow divergent political trajectories later) who had been responsible for starting the Association, and its newspaper *Nyassa*.[167] Chipembere's trajectory is illustrative of how political organisations in universities linked students abroad to party activities at home and channelled these students into party work on their return.

In October 1955, after graduating from Fort Hare, Chipembere wrote a letter on behalf of the Association to the Nyasaland Director of Education expressing concern about the shrinking scholarship opportunities for Nyasaland students, referring in particular to Makerere and Fort Hare. In 1951 Makerere decided to raise fees for students from outside of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, usually paid by individual governments in the form of scholarships, from £120 per annum to £500, no longer falling within Nyasaland's territorial budget.[168] The education department could appeal to London: in 1951 the Nyasaland governor asked if the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund (normally restricted to use for students studying in Britain, and ceasing altogether in 1956) could be used instead for Makerere; in 1953, the Colonial Office paid Makerere fees for three Nyasaland students, while the Nyasaland government

[167] Andrew C. Ross, *Colonialism to Cabinet Crisis: A Political History of Malawi* (Zomba, Malawi: Kachere Series, 2009), 89; Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, 232 n. 54.
[168] Secretariat (Lusaka) to East African High Commission (Nairobi), 17 January 1951, MNA 14162 Box 1294, Education of Africans at Makerere and Fort Hare.

covered transport costs to Kampala.[169] In 1955, however, as Chipembere wrote in his letter, not a single Nyasaland student entered Makerere.[170]

Meanwhile, there had been increasing concern at Fort Hare since the South African Department of Education had announced, in 1950, its intention to prevent the attendance of Africans from outside of the Republic, due to limited capacity.[171] The ban was partially effected in 1953 and only one Nyasaland student was sent to Fort Hare in 1955.[172] There was a sense that opportunities were closing off to students from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia at the very moment that qualified students were available to fill them (although prior to 1958 those from Nyasaland had to spend a year in Northern or Southern Rhodesia to obtain the necessary secondary certificate in any case). This made the first years of the 1950s critical for forming the graduate generation of Malawian politics; the threat of these opportunities ending was a galvanising force.

However, alongside these immediate grievances, the imposition of the Federation permeated Chipembere's letter. While primary and secondary education remained under the control of territorial governments when the Federation was imposed in 1953, higher education and the awarding of scholarships and bursaries became a federal responsibility. Speaking to the fear that Federation was designed to postpone Nyasaland's advancement towards independence, Chipembere criticised the required standards for obtaining a scholarship, which were higher than the entry standards for Fort Hare itself, and called for a special postgraduate scholarship for courses in public administration (this, as will be explored later, became a rallying cause at the intersection of moderate and radical political discourses on education). He advised that students who could no longer be sent to Makerere or Fort Hare should be found places at Achimota (Accra), Ibadan, Khartoum, or Roma in Basutoland, attesting to the regional turn to the wider African continent in the face of the insularity imposed by the Federation.

His clearest reference to the Federation was his recommendation that the composition of the (all white) scholarship board be reconsidered, because '[a]t a time when racial harmony is

[169] Minutes of the Scholarship Committee, 23 January 1953, MNA SMP 19034, Nyasaland Government University scholarships, 1951-54.
[170] Henry Chipembere to Nyasaland Director of Education, 10 October 1955, MNA SMP 14282 Vol. II, Colonial Development and Welfare Fund Scholarships: Policy.
[171] Clipping from *Cape Argus*, 2 February 1951, MNA 14162 Box 1294 Education of Africans at Makerere and Fort Hare.
[172] Lamba, *Contradictions in Post-War Education Policy Formulation and Application in Colonial Malawi 1945-1961*, 99. Chipembere to Nyasaland Director of Education, 10 October 1955, MNA SMP 14282 Vol. II, Colonial Development and Welfare Fund Scholarships: Policy.

becoming increasingly vital, it is very unwise of the government to exclude Africans from institutions that deal with African interests'.[173] Back in Nyasaland and heavily involved in the politics of the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC), Chipembere used the Students Association as a vehicle for activism, within the colonial framework. In this way, Congress views could reach government through the education department, while the Students Association could speak to some of the biggest political grievances of the federal period under the guise of education. For example, the NAC newsletter published the proceedings of the 1955 annual conference of the Students Association, which drew a comparison between Nyasaland and East Africa, where higher education opportunities for Africans were perceived to be more numerous.[174] This comparative mode of self-understanding, made possible through the experience of students like Chiume and Chipembere, became increasingly prominent in party discourses in the 1950s.

The same was true when the Association and the NAC were among the organisations permitted to submit a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary, visiting from London in 1957: Congress could double its voice through a separate channel.[175] By this time, however, just as the NAC was rising to prominence ahead of the events of 1959, the Association seems to have been in decline, perhaps partly because of the small numbers of Malawian university students in the mid-1950s. A report written by the Nyasaland government in 1957 reveals how little it knew about the state of the Association.[176] Noting that its aims, initially ostensibly non-political, had quickly become 'identical' to those of the NAC, the report stated that the Association opened membership to secondary school pupils (in line with the politicisation of these schools via activist-teachers) and in doing so operated branches in five towns across Nyasaland, three in Northern Rhodesia, as well as in London, Bombay and Tabora (home to Tanganyika's higher secondary school). By 1957, only the London branch appeared to be active, and the report estimated the total membership of the organisation to be around fifty. Chipembere, along with recent Makerere graduate Kanyama Chiume, were still central figures, suggestive both of the

[173] Chipembere to Nyasaland Director of Education, 10 October 1955, MNA SMP 14282 Vol. II, Colonial Development and Welfare Fund Scholarships: Policy.
[174] 'Annual conference of the Nyasaland Students Association', *News from Nyasaland*, 6 January 1955, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 239 File 4 NAC correspondence 1955-61.
[175] Notes on the decision to let representative groups meet the Colonial Secretary can be found in the front cover of the file MNA SMP 30007 A Visit of Secretary of State: Nyasaland African Congress.
[176] 'Background on Nyasaland Students Association', MNA SMP 30007 W Visit of Secretary of State: Nyasaland Students Association.

Association's absorption into the party, as well as the possibility that it was no longer able to function on student input alone.[177]

The Makerere TANU Club had a very different relationship with its 'parent' party during this period. The founding of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954 was widely publicised and almost immediately Tanganyika students at Makerere sought to establish contact with party headquarters in order to stay informed of developments in the party and persuade TANU office-holders of the usefulness of students in the work of the party. The interest of Tanganyika Makerere students in politics was nothing new: TANU's predecessor, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), had a Makerere 'branch' from at least 1946, with whom they intermittently communicated during their expansion drive that dated to the immediate postwar years.[178] Students sent their views to TAA headquarters and sometimes involved themselves directly in colonial affairs, as in July 1946 when they wrote a memorandum to Arthur Creech-Jones (soon to become Labour Colonial Secretary) in response to a petition by European settlers in the territory to give it 'colony status', stating that '[i]nstead, we would highly desire, either, to be under the United Nations Organization, or to be a protectorate'.[179] However, students repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction with the communication with TAA in the period 1946-48, claiming to feel 'entirely neglected by the stem to which we attached ourselves' because TAA had failed to send replies, news and publications.[180] Students pointed out that others at Makerere had better links with external political organisations, such as the Kenya Study Union: students at Makerere naturally understood their national situation in regional-comparative perspective.[181] The implication was that TAA needed to 'keep up' with their regional counterparts. Nevertheless, TAA relations with their Makerere branch seem to have dissolved around 1949 – certainly TAA did not attribute the branch with any particular value.

Initially, little changed with the formation of TANU in 1954. A group of Tanganyika students at Makerere rallied around the new party and sought to establish regular contact. The same

[177] 'Background on Nyasaland Students Association', MNA SMP 30007 W, Visit of Secretary of State: Nyasaland Students Association.
[178] G. W. Muzamuru (TAA Makerere branch) to TAA Dodoma, 23 April 1946, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.
[179] Memo reproduced in G. W. Muzamuru (TAA Makerere branch) to TAA Dodoma, 23 April 1946, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.
[180] V. K. Kyaruzi (TAA Makerere branch) to TAA Dodoma, 10 February 1947, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College. In the same folder, see also Muzamuru (TAA Makerere branch) to TAA Dodoma, 27 July 1946; O. B. Kopoka (TAA Makerere branch) to TAA Dodoma, 28 March 1948.
[181] Kyaruzi to TAA Dodoma, 10 February 1947; Kopoka to TAA Dodoma,28 March 1948, both in CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.

problems of communication persisted: one student had written three times by May 1955 to ask for the TANU constitution. 'Of course, we hear of you through the press, but the press usually distorts matters' he wrote.[182] Building on the TAA Club's frustration with being kept 'informed', this assigned anticolonial value to information sources, something that would later form the basis of a wider critique of the colonial press. As if to illustrate this difficulty in maintaining contact across such distances (Kampala was a two-day journey from Dar es Salaam) TANU became confused between this group of students, now calling themselves the 'TANU Club' and the Tanganyika Student Discussion Group, which had existed since 1949.[183] In asserting their own loyalty to the party, the TANU Club distanced themselves from the discussion group, alleging that the latter had invited the (multiracial, pro-government) United Tanganyika Party.[184] Continuing in a comparative vein (like the Nyasaland Students Association and TAA students previously) M. Sanga, the club's president, told TANU headquarters in 1955 that E.M.K. Mulira, a prominent Ugandan nationalist, was visiting Makerere to talk to the Ugandan students and he hoped that Nyerere would do the same.[185]

The links between the party and the club ebbed and flowed depending on the individuals involved. Sanga, for example, was in direct contact with Oscar Kambona, who he may have met as a school pupil while Kambona was teaching at Alliance in Dodoma. Sanga regularly contacted Kambona personally instead of TANU as an organisation, in contrast to those students writing to TAA in the 1940s without a name to whom to address their correspondence. The Club managed to raise donations for TANU campaigns and subscription fees for newsletters – Sanga sent those for *Sauti ya TANU* to Kambona directly.[186] Hence, when in September 1955 Sanga enquired about registering the club as an official TANU branch, it was Kambona who replied, saying that he was looking into the legal basis for making the club into a branch and that the matter would be put before the national executive (although ultimately the title 'TANU Club' was maintained at least up until Tanganyika's independence in 1961).[187]

[182] Paul Soaigira[?] (Tanganyika Students Discussion Group) to TANU General Secretary, 20 May 1955, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.
[183] TANU Club secretary to TANU headquarters, 10 September 1957, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.
[184] TANU Club secretary to TANU headquarters, 6 February 1957, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.
[185] M. Sanga to TANU Organising Secretary, 18 June 1955, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.
[186] M. Sanga to Oscar Kambona, n.d., CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.
[187] Kambona to V.M. Eyakuze (Club Secretary), 28 September 1955, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.

However, Kambona's response also indicated the increasing awareness of the usefulness of the Makerere club among TANU executive members. 'It is upon the emancipated youth of Tanganyika that we depend for a lead in the struggle', Kambona wrote, bolstering too the students' sense of self-importance that Emma Hunter has noted was characteristic of this generation.[188] The club began to submit regular memorandums to TANU headquarters, as in 1956 when the secretary applauded the idea of a TANU newspaper as a 'step forward in political development' while warning TANU that the newspaper should operate on a small scale to avoid any need for external sources of funding.[189] In 1957 the club submitted a two page 'commentary' on TANU, and as a result were invited to send two delegates to the landmark Tabora meeting in 1958.[190] The status that the club had gained by this time was clear in a 'semi-official' letter from Stephen Mhando (previously a schoolteacher) who was working closely with Kambona and Nyerere.[191] Mhando told the club how impressed he had been by the role of students in the 'struggle for freedom' during a recent trip to South Asia:

> Students in Colonial Territories are watched very carefully because their political potential is tremendous. But you, ladies and gentlemen, are free to form political societies and political clubs at Makerere. You could use this concession to pass the idea onto your friends in the various Secondary Schools. I know from personal experience how difficult and almost impossible it is to form a pseudo-political body in a Secondary School; but such unions can exist under apparently harmless names and constitutions; the pupils need pass no resolutions; they need to have no subscriptions or entrance fee; meetings could be arranged in town during the weekends… The main thing is to plant the idea… This is <u>your</u> job. It must come from you – and we here especially through the Sauti [ya TANU] – will fan the fire.[192]

Mhando identified (created, even) a unique role for Makerere students: using their relative freedoms of political organisation (being both inside a university and outside Tanganyika) to build support for TANU through secondary schools. Mhando assumed strong links between Makerere students and their former schools and would have known that many students would

[188] Kambona to V.M. Eyakuze (Club Secretary), 28 September 1955, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College; Emma Hunter, '"The History and Affairs of TANU": Intellectual History, Nationalism, and the Postcolonial State in Tanzania', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 45 (2012).
[189] Eyakuze to TANU Organising Secretary, 15 August 1956, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College. On the donation of funds for TAA, see G.G. Hajivayanis, A.C. Mtowa, and John Iliffe, 'The Politicians: Ali Ponda and Hassan Suleiman', in John Iliffe (ed.), *Modern Tanzanians: A Volume of Biographies* (Dar es Salaam: East African Publishing House, 1973), 248.
[190] Elias Kisenge to TANU Club, 21 December 1957, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.
[191] On Mhando see undated memo 'Stephen Mhando', Movement for Colonial Freedom (hereafter MCF) (SOAS) MCF/COU129 (Box 62) Tanzania 1960-71.
[192] Stephen Mhando to Makerere TANU Club, 4 March 1958, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.

soon be teaching in schools across Tanganyika. Straying beyond the chronological focus of this chapter to 1958, when TANU's work to transform itself into a mass political party was at its peak, it becomes clear that the relationship between TANU and its Makerere support base strengthened precisely in line with the party itself. The foundations for this were laid by students repeated efforts to involve themselves in politics as far back as 1946, the successes of which were felt in 1954-5 when Makerere students knew TANU members personally, often through networks of education institutions.

That July, Nyerere spent three days at Makerere (with Principal De Bunsen's permission).[193] Before his arrival, students were asked to arrange a meeting between him and Mulira, the same political figure that they had used to convince him to come.[194] Surprisingly, the club served as one of the most important links to Ugandan politics for leaders based in Tanganyika – an importance that the club had assumed of itself in the preceding years. The same was true in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia: John Tembo remarked that returning Makerere students were the primary source of information on developments in Uganda for Malawian activists in the early 1950s.[195]

The Nyasaland Students Association and the Makerere TANU Club played similar roles to those fulfilled by party youth leagues in later years, providing the party with a future workforce and an alternative mouthpiece when that of the central committee was not appropriate, projecting an image of mass support from across different sections of society, and performing the work of recruiting this mass support. However, these organisations were not directed from above – students' determination to remain involved in national politics when they left to study drove (and sometimes predated) the attention paid to them by party officials who were struggling to conduct a mass campaign under the constraints of the colonial state, often supporting this with full-time work outside of the party (for example, as a school teacher). The comparative lens through which these students understood their relationship to the party, however, did not preclude the idea of a regional student community with a particular relationship to the colonial state – and idea that took hold in publications at Makerere.

[193] Elias Kisenge to Mr. Colman (Makerere), 2 June 1958, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.
[194] Bhoke Munanka to TANU Club, 18 June 1958, CCM Archives (Dodoma) S73 TANU Club Makerere College.
[195] Interview with John Tembo, Lilongwe, 18 July 2017.

1.4 Makerere student publishing, 'bad taste' and worldly responsibilities

Introducing a recent volume dedicated to African print cultures, Derek Peterson and Emma Hunter boldly claimed of colonial Africa that '[i]n no other part of the world were newspapers more essential in the constitution of political communities'.[196] The volume marked an ongoing shift in engagement with the topic, broadening the dominant geographical focus of West Africa and shifting the framework away from nationalist protest towards the printed word in the African context as a subject of historical enquiry in itself.[197] Where, previously, longevity and circulation have circumscribed considerations of a publication's mobilising 'influence' and which publications are most studied (consider, for example the quantity of excellent work on apartheid-era *Drum),* recent work on publishing across the Black Atlantic has pioneered a focus on authorship, networks of writers and publishers, and the experiences of censorship and organisational constraints.[198] Thus, small, vernacular publications can prompt new insights too, as Emma Hunter showed in her examination of attempts to imagine and create publics by the editors of the Chagga language newspaper *Komkya*.[199]

It is in this vein that I turn now to some of the short-lived, sporadic journalistic ventures of students, primarily at Makerere, during the early 1950s. Broadening the focus from newspapers to newsletters and other circulars, a close reading of student publications supports my insistence of the importance of institutions like Makerere during these years in the self-positioning of this generation, but adds specificity in terms of their relationship to publishing and to various imagined publics – ideas which reappeared in party publications around the same time.

In the aftermath of the 1952 strike, students repeatedly engaged in journalistic ventures: one staff member later recalled the 'plethora' of short-lived student publications during this period,

[196] Derek R. Peterson and Emma Hunter, 'Print Culture in Colonial Africa', in Derek R. Peterson, Emma Hunter, and Stephanie Newell (eds.), *African Print Cultures: Newspapers and Their Publics in the Twentieth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 6.
[197] A typical example of a more traditional approach is Sam O. Idemili, 'What the West African Pilot Did in the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism between 1937 and 1957', *Black American Literature Forum*, 12 (1978).
[198] On Drum, which had the largest circulation of any periodical on the African continent by the late 1950s, see Lindsay Clowes, 'Masculinity, Matrimony and Generation: Reconfiguring Patriarchy in Drum 1951-1983', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34 (2008). For work on the Black Atlantic, see in particular James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*; Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa*.
[199] Emma Hunter, 'Komkya and the Convening of a Chagga Public, 1953–1961', in Derek R. Peterson, Emma Hunter, and Stephanie Newell (eds.), *African Print Cultures: Newspapers and Their Publics in the Twentieth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

in comparison to previous years.[200] To some extent, this was a reaction to the hype surrounding the strike. Joseph Wanyonyi wrote to De Bunsen in March 1953 proposing to write a 'factual' article dealing with the strike in the *Current News*, the organ of the Student Guild, because 'inquisitive' new students had been given false information.[201] At stake was the way in which the strike was narrated: the ownership of its narrative by the strike participants. But Wanyonyi, a regular contributor to *Current News* during 1953, had broader views about the role of the publication. In an article on the celebration of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in Kampala, he described the city as 'a large bush of ribbons […] decorated with photographs of the Queen' in which 'a black Nationalist felt there was no place for him'. Wanyonyi questioned whether he really wanted to drink to the Queen's health when beer was served at Makerere for the occasion. Instead, he said that if during Elizabeth's reign 'Africa is going to suffer further, then honestly I have no wish to say… excuse me. I am stepping on dangerous grounds [sic]'.[202]

The ground was indeed dangerous: De Bunsen banned the entire *Current News* publication as a result of the June 1953 issue, which (much like the strike poem) he considered 'in very bad taste'.[203] In one respect, this was a question of the content of the articles: one author anonymously wrote, of the May holiday, that 'some [students] wish they never went home to witness the wholesome massacre going on in one particular part of East Africa right now', presumably referring to the colonial response to the Mau Mau uprising. Yet De Bunsen was not opposed to students engaging with colonial policy in Kenya: he himself resisted demands from the Kenyan government to officially register all Kikuyu students at Makerere.[204] He was more sensitive to criticisms of policy at Makerere itself, and especially with student attempts to link Makerere to the colonial world, such as through coronation boycotts, in ways that could jeopardise the proud liberal tradition at Makerere.

Instead, what was specific about the articles in this issue was their hinting at the limitations of De Bunsen's 'tolerance' (he had issued several warnings in 1952) and at the power of journalism to challenge it. Wanyonyi stepped on dangerous ground precisely by implying that dangerous ground existed at all. This is elaborated in the editorial, a condemnation of what it

[200] Margaret Macpherson, 'They Built for the Future', Makerere University AR/MAK/1/1 They built for the future.
[201] Joseph Wanyonyi to Bernard De Bunsen 30 March 1953, Makerere University AR/MAK/5/7.
[202] Joseph Wanyonyi, 'Coronation', *Current News* 18 June 1953, Makerere University AR/MAK/2/2 De Bunsen correspondence 1953.
[203] De Bunsen, 'Notice', 21 June 1953, Makerere University AR/MAK/2/2 De Bunsen correspondence 1953.
[204] Vice Principal to De Bunsen, 6 March 1954, Makerere University AR/MAK/2/3 De Bunsen Correspondence 1954.

described as student 'individualism' and 'indifference'. 'If I do not write to the current News and You do not write to the Current News and our neighbours follow our example… isn't that as good as strangling the Current News?' the editors asked.[205] Even while addressing Makerere news in a regional context, the students, really, were writing about writing. Perhaps the editors found themselves short of contributions, but what the question hints at is their view, at least, that the newsletter was as effective as its contributors made it, that power depended on participation. These attempts to foster a sense of 'duty' foreshadowed those of later leaders: Nyerere, in launching Tanzania's five-year development plan in 1964, designated those who received education without using it in the national cause as 'traitors'.[206]

Just as the final issue of *Current News* was going to press, the Makerere College Political Society began to publish a monthly magazine, *Politica*, open to contributions from students who were not members of the society. The first editorial instructed:

> Don't curb your views on important topics, for who knows, you may be right, and through saying what you think, you may change the history of your country and the world. We would like our readers to remember that they have the freedom of speech, and the freedom of the press. By making use of these two freedoms you will share your views with the world.[207]

The sense of responsibility implied in the *Current News* editorial reappears here, the effects of failing to express one's views amplified from a college newsletter stage to a world-historical one. *Politica* editors were not simply seeking out self-important writers but were forming a shared idea of collective and individual agency. This was an agency based on the opportunities – cast almost as privileges – of freedom of speech and the press. Pre-empting Stephen Mhando's guidance for the Makerere TANU Club in 1958 (see above), the editorial emphasised the importance of using 'freedoms' when they were available. In the Society's presidential address, Sawe, from Tanganyika, reiterated this: 'No doubt during your school years you have come across certain political problems and wished you had place and time to discuss them […] The school atmosphere may not have allowed you to voice your ideas and views'.[208] Implicitly a critique of colonial education, this also imbued Makerere with

[205] Extracts from *Current News*, 18 June 53, Makerere University AR/MAK/2/2 De Bunsen correspondence 1953.
[206] Julius Nyerere, *Address by the President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere on the Tanganyika Five Year Plan and Review of the Plan* (Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Information Services, 1964).
[207] 'Editorial', *Politica* Vol. 1 No. 1, May 1953, Makerere University AR/MAK/57/5 Makerere College Political Society.
[208] 'Editorial', *Politica* Vol. 1 No. 1, May 1953, Makerere University AR/MAK/57/5 Makerere College Political Society.

uniqueness and its students with a special responsibility, demanding a transformation between school and university. This sense of the power of student publications has remained in the stories of political figures looking back at this period: John Tembo told how he wrote an article around 1954 for a publication at Roma criticising the racial politics of the liberal National Union of South African Students (NUSAS, which did not admit black students at Fort Hare until 1945). Tembo said that his article was circulated around Cape Town and led to the dissolution of NUSAS – a claim which has no basis given that NUSAS did not face a major crisis until the 1960s and was not dissolved until 1991.[209]

Politica's allusion to a 'world' readership was given concrete form when the Student Guild began publishing *The Undergraduate* in April 1954, with the explicit aim of functioning as a mouthpiece for the Guild, where students can 'express their opinions freely and enable the outside world to gain an insight'.[210] The content reflected this, inviting students to write about trips abroad and reporting from a comparative perspective, for example, that the Oxford University *Undergraduate* had been fined £5 for publishing a critical article.[211] Incidentally, Makerere admitted its first 'European' (white) student the same year.[212] From June 1955, a 'series of articles on Guild Relations with external students Organisations' was published, because students were 'vague' on the topic.[213] These sorts of articles continued the work of positioning the Makerere student body in relation to their responsibilities in the world. In May 1954, James Rubadiri (now president of the Guild, typical of the overlap between the Guild and Political Society) wrote an article 'Impressions of European Universities' inserting the idea of 'freedoms' into the framework of a shared student condition (as opposed to a colonial one). He concluded that student freedoms were 'comparable' and that students were broadly 'the same everywhere', in that they could discuss any subject 'from Nylons to Marx, Louis Armstrong to Mozart, Olivier to Monroe'. He closed with the main difference that had struck him: at a dance at the Berlin Freie Universität, female students 'came in swimming costumes!'.[214] As Dan Hodgkinson has explored in relation to an episode of student activism

[209] Interview with John Tembo, Lilongwe, 18 July 2017.
[210] 'Editorial', *The Undergraduate* Vol. 1 No. 1, 22 April 1954, Makerere University AR/MAK/159/7 The Undergraduate 1954-5.
[211] *The Undergraduate* Vol. 1 No. 7, 25 May 1955, Makerere University AR/MAK/159/7 The Undergraduate 1954-5.
[212] *The Undergraduate* Vol. 1 No. 1, 22 April 1954, Makerere University AR/MAK/159/7 The Undergraduate 1954-5.
[213] *The Undergraduate* Vol. 1 No. 7, 25 May 1955, Makerere University AR/MAK/159/7 The Undergraduate 1954-5.
[214] James Rubadiri, 'Impressions of European Universities', *The Undergraduate* Vol. 1 No. 1, 22 April 1954, Makerere University AR/MAK/159/7 The Undergraduate 1954-5.

in Zimbabwe, masculinity became a critical agent in students' idea of 'self-mastery', of fulfilling their role as educated young people in a political community.[215] Defining Makerereans responsibility to use their freedoms in relation to students abroad, freedom to 'express' went hand in hand with freedom for female students to dress as they wished, but also freedom to 'be a man'.

That Makerere publications were short-lived – failures, perhaps – does not detract from how critical they were to the experience of students involved, which went beyond those names mentioned here and into conversations over dinner and in dorms among all those who took an interest in student politics and regional politics. Indeed, the frustrations of keeping a publication alive (in the face of student apathy as well as College rules) was central to the emergence, in these publications, of a sense of the unique responsibility of Makerere students at the intersection of colonial restrictions on freedoms and a global student community. In April 1955, De Bunsen announced a review of all student publications in light of the unprecedented expansion in the previous years. He pledged to 'secure the maximum possible freedom of thought' while maintaining a 'level of discussion and expression which is consistent with the standards' of Makerere.[216] But discussion about newsletters – and freedoms – were already taking place beyond Makerere.

1.5 Positioning and projection in political newsletters during the anti-Federation campaign

During the early 1950s, the absence of a free press in colonial East and Central Africa was identified by African activists as a central obstacle in the campaign for self-government. Like students at Makerere, younger party members envisaged newsletters as vehicles for countering colonial propaganda and projecting their own version of events to external audiences, especially in the context of anti-Federation campaigns in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. By contributing to, publishing and distributing newsletters, this generation of activists, some of whom had been involved in student publishing at Makerere, were beginning to position themselves, their generation and their region in relation to the wider anticolonial world.

[215] Dan Hodgkinson, 'The "Hardcore" Student Activist: The Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU), State Violence, and Frustrated Masculinity, 2000–2008', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39 (2013).
[216] De Bunsen, Circular to all editors of student publications, April 1955, Makerere University AR/MAK/63/2 Makerere University Students Guild correspondence 1950-56.

Publishing a newsletter was recognised as an important part of the anticolonial nationalist toolkit: in the Anglophone African context, Nnamdi Azikiwe had launched the *West African Pilot* in 1937 and Kwame Nkrumah the *Accra Evening News* in 1948, both of which have received scholarly attention for their role in building a mass political movement.[217] No such large scale nationalist newspapers existed in the region under consideration, largely because of censorship and a lack of resources. The African-run Swahili-language press in postwar Tanganyika was under government control, although the editors found ways around the censorship system by framing political questions in moral terms.[218] The Luganda-language press in Buganda was described by the governor as 'wild, irresponsible, [and] frequently near-seditious' a year after E.M.K. Mulira's *Uganda Empya* was founded in 1953: there was a greater degree of freedom here than elsewhere, but this was always limited.[219] In Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, where there was even less space for African-run press, emergent nationalist parties were especially interested in publishing party newsletters: the two publications considered here, *Freedom Newsletter* (Northern Rhodesia, founded 1952) and *Kwaca* (Nyasaland, founded 1955) appeared earlier than the better-known *Sauti ya TANU* (Tanganyika, founded 1957) – even if they did not last as long.

Within this larger framework of nationalist press, the anti-Federation campaign was specific. The campaign was the impetus behind *Freedom Newsletter*, which was launched in January 1952, largely at the initiative of Simon Zukas.[220] Zukas was of Jewish Lithuanian parentage and had come with his family to Zambia under the threat of Nazism prior to the war.[221] Following the publication of the White Paper on 'Closer association of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland' in June 1951, Zukas organised an Anti-Federation Action Committee made up of African civil servants and union leaders in the Copperbelt town of Ndola. *Freedom Newsletter* was the publication of the committee, but broadly represented the views of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC), which lacked national coordination. James Sangala, then president of the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) expressed the need for a

[217] Idemili, 'What the West African Pilot Did in the Movement for Nigerian Nationalism between 1937 and 1957'; Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism*, 9. For a general summary of newspapers in Africa, see Emma Hunter, 'Newspapers as Sources for African History', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, (2018).
[218] Hunter, 'Komkya and the Convening of a Chagga Public, 1953–1961'.
[219] Hunter, 'Newspapers as Sources for African History'.
[220] Interview with Simon Zukas, Lusaka, 14 September 2017; Simon Zukas, *Into Exile and Back* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 2002), 74.
[221] Zukas, *Into Exile and Back*, 7–8; 20–46. Although far greater numbers of Jewish people travelled to South Africa during the 1930s, Central Africa was also an important destination: around 1500 arrived in Zambia. See Hugh Macmillan and Frank Shapiro, *Zion in Africa: The Jews of Zambia* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers in association with The Council for Zambia Jewry, 1999).

nationalist organ in Nyasaland as early as 1943, and briefly published *Kwaca* ('dawn' in several languages in the region, also spelled *kwacha*) in 1952, during the anti-Federation campaign, before it was relaunched in 1955.[222]

There was a clear sense that the publications were a reaction to colonial censorship in the context of the campaign. Kenneth Kaunda told contacts in London in 1953 that the lack of an African newspaper in Northern Rhodesia was a 'serious blow' to the work of NRANC and that colonial control of the press (alongside the education system – Kaunda grouped these together) gave the state an 'immeasurable advantage'.[223] The idea that a publication could counteract this advantage appears in the publications themselves. The first editorial of *Freedom Newsletter* claimed that colonial newspapers were 'using their monopoly of the written word to distort the truth' about Federation.[224] Kanyama Chiume wrote in *Kwaca* that the newsletter was a 'thorn in the flesh of Malicious propaganda and falsehood'.[225] Earlier that year, the NAC assured readers that it would 'not be way-travellers with those who misuse the field of journalism to bring confusion among the people of Nyasaland'.[226] This was a direct reference to the assertion in Congress rhetoric that pro-federalists attempted to trick the people of Nyasaland into agreeing to the Federation.

Together with the context of the campaign, both publications came out of dynamics on the sub-national level. *Freedom Newsletter* was never conceived as a national organ: it was produced 'mainly for the Copperbelt', according to the first issue. In the case of *Kwaca* this was less explicit, as much of its content revolved around appeals for loyalty to the NAC. This must be considered against Congress' own drive to coordinate local branches, however: the years 1953-56 were crucial for the work of the Blantyre Congress in building alliances between traditional rulers and younger leaders and popularising the idea that Federation was responsible for the grievances of ordinary people.[227] Not insignificantly, Nyasaland's first general elections (under a severely restricted franchise) took place during March 1956.

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[222] Kalinga, *Historical Dictionary of Malawi*, 240; Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 183–4.
[223] Kenneth Kaunda to Mary Benson, 20 September 53, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 249 File 22 Northern Rhodesia/Zambia Kenneth Kaunda correspondence 1953-70.
[224] *Freedom Newsletter*, Vol. 1 No. 1, 30 January 1952. All copies of *Freedom Newsletter* referred to here were consulted in the personal papers of Simon Zukas, Zambia National Archives HM/75/PP/6.
[225] *Kwaca*, Vol. 1 No. 6, November 1955. All copies of *Kwaca* referred to here are accessible at the Malawi National Archives, Zomba.
[226] *NAC newsletter*, Vol. 1 No. 1, 26 January 1955, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) AB/238/4 NAC correspondence 1955-61.
[227] Joey Power, 'Building Relevance: The Blantyre Congress, 1953 to 1956', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 (2002).

Nevertheless, both publications had larger visions of their readership. *Freedom Newsletter* hoped 'to reach all corners of the protectorate – and Nyasaland', and pledged to print Bemba- and Nyanja-language articles for this purpose (although it is unclear whether this materialised). The NAC's application for government permission to print a newsletter in December 1954 stated that expected circulation included the entire Central African Federation, as well as South Africa, Tanganyika and Portuguese Africa, based on the existence of Congress branches and members in these territories.[228] Articles and letters in Nyanja were increasingly included towards the end of 1955. Copies circulated outside of Nyasaland in important circles, even if in small numbers: *Kwaca* can be found in the papers of the Northern Rhodesia Congress as well as those of the London Africa Bureau. The Anti-Colonial Bureau of the Asian Socialist Conference (see chapter two) also listed *Kwaca* among the 'sympathetic' publications with which they exchanged their own.[229] These particular connections would not have been possible for Freedom Newsletter: in January 1952 neither the Africa Bureau nor the Asian Socialist Conference existed, illustrating the ways in which the 1952-3 transnational anti-Federation campaign (and this publication itself) laid the foundations for a connected world of anticolonial lobbying with a focus on Central Africa.

The content of both newsletters also indicates the importance of forming links between the two campaigns within an African and wider colonial context. This had much to do with the individuals involved. Simon Zukas had a clear idea of the importance of linking the anti-Federation campaign in Northern Rhodesia to the wider campaign, by demonstrating to local activists that 'we are not alone in this struggle' as the first editorial put it.[230] The same issue included statements supporting the anti-Federation campaign from the British *New Statesman* and the New York-based American Committee on Africa. However, Zukas's central role was short-lived: in April 1952 he was imprisoned in Livingstone on the grounds that he was 'a danger to peace and good order' and in December he was deported to Britain.[231] The operation was now in charge of two younger NRANC members: Nephas Tembo (later to become a UNIP representative in Cairo) and Justin Chimba.

[228] NAC to Chief Secretary, 3 December 1954, MNA SMP NAT.34 Vol V, Nyasaland African Congress 1953-1955 (Previously Box 111, 22.25.1R).
[229] 'Background to the Anti-Colonial Bureau', KNA MAC/CON/205/6 Asian Socialist Conference second Anti-Colonial Bureau.
[230] 'Editorial', *Freedom Newsletter*, Vol. 1 No. 1, 30 January 1952.
[231] Zukas, *Into Exile and Back*, 59–92.

Tembo and Chimba pursued Zukas's priorities in his absence. The June 1952 issue opened:

> The fight against federation is a world wide subject. We African people are not by ourselves, but we have other people in full agreement to our opposition. The people of the world cannot fail to see the truth, [that] our fears and rejections of the proposed federation are justifiable.[232]

The article noted the particular support from the Labour Party, the Fabians and Michael Scott's newly-formed Africa Bureau (see chapter two). It also strayed from Zukas's focus on the campaign, however, providing extensive detail on Scott's main activity at this point: the campaign against South African pressure to dethrone Bechuanaland *kgosi* (king) Seretse Khama following his marriage to white British woman Ruth Williams. The editors declared their solidarity with this campaign and 'our people of Bechuanaland', using the Africa Bureau as a way of building a picture of a current and dynamic anticolonial movement which stretched beyond national borders, and in which Northern Rhodesia had a place.

Similarly, although *Kwaca* was initially Sangala's project, 1955 was an important moment of generational conflict in the NAC: Sangala's presidency was under question, due to disagreement about whether he and Manoah Chirwa (both of an older generation) should resign from their roles as African Representatives in the Federal Legislative. In *Kwaca*, we see the voices of a younger generation, such as Kanyama Chiume, Arthur Bwanausi (previously treasurer of the Makerere Political Society) and Dunduzu Chisiza become a stronger presence, foreshadowing the shift in the dominant personalities of the NAC. In March 1956, at the peak of *Kwaca*'s publication, Sangala stepped down. Chisiza, who had studied at Aggrey Memorial School close to Makerere, wrote to the NRANC asking if they would like to receive and publicise *Kwaca*, adding that statements of support from leaders in East, Central and South Africa were being requested to print in the newsletter.[233]

A sense of regional cohesion also emerged in this generation's relationship to party publishing, notably through a regional-comparative lens, like in the case of student party 'clubs' previously. Chisiza contrasted *Kwaca* to 'the "We know what is good for the African" type of policy pursued by European owned papers in East Africa', casting *Kwaca* as a vanguard African newspaper, despite East Africa's longer history of African journalism and despite the sensation among Central Africans of the 'hardening' of the colonial state through the federation

[232] 'Fight against Federation', *Freedom Newsletter*, Vol. 3 No. 6, 30 June 1952.
[233] Chisiza to NRANC 'president', 2 July 1956, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/8 Various organisations (1953-58).

in contrast to a perceived 'softening' in Uganda and Tanganyika.[234] During 1955, this group of young activists frequently compared the Nyasaland situation to that in East Africa and especially Uganda, where the 1955 Constitution had made it possible for African members to participate in the Executive Council. The success of co-operatives in Uganda was also taken as an example. It was pointed out that both were Protectorates (not colonies like Kenya); a small article 'Do you know what a protectorate is?' appeared in November.[235]

Like in *Freedom Newsletter*, this reflected an imagination of a wider – in this case regional – anticolonial struggle, and its prominence on a global stage. *Kwaca*'s January 1955 front-page story reported on the intensification of British counter-insurgency in Malaya, which was also under scrutiny by the Left-leaning press in Britain. Placing Nyasaland's struggle against colonialism alongside those which were attracting global media interest, the Editorial of the same issue insisted on the need to 'prove to the world that […] Nyasaland can stand on its own two feet and play a part in international affairs'.[236] In the October 1955 issue, E. Alexander Muwamba insisted that from now onwards 'Nyasaland will be on the map, for, as *Kwaca* will circulate the world over[,] the voice of Nyasalanders will be heard'.[237] *Kwaca* represented the vanguard of the NAC in this respect: the party's thirteen-point policy statement in the January issue made no commitment to a wider anti-imperial front nor to external publicity.[238]

By situating themselves in a regional and colonial context, both publications created a space for a larger critique of the colonial situation that was rarely visible in party discourses at the time. *Freedom Newsletter* during 1952 primarily followed the anti-Federation campaign between Central Africa and London. Most issues presented 'profiles' of important personalities, hinting at the perceived potency of transnational networks of individuals. Following Zukas's arrest, the newsletter launched a fund for his defence, accompanied by a testament to his 'good manners', 'kindness' and the fact that he did not 'dictate to the African membership or force his views on them'.[239] The same May 1952 issue reported on the 'send-off' of the Northern Rhodesia delegation to London (profiles of its African members and those of the Nyasaland delegation appeared in other issues) citing the crowds that had appeared –

[234] Chisiza to NRANC 'president', 2 July 1956, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/8 Various organisations (1953-58).
[235] *Kwaca* Vol.1 No. 10, March-April 1956; 'Do you know what a Protectorate is?', *Kwaca* Vol. 1 No. 6, November 1955.
[236] 'Editorial', *Kwaca* Vol. 1 No. 1, 26 January 1955.
[237] *Kwaca* Vol. 1 No. 5, October 1955.
[238] 'Thirteen-point policy', *Kwaca* Vol. 1 No. 1, 26 January 1955.
[239] 'Mr. Zukas', *Freedom Newsletter*, Vol. 2 No. 5, 15 May 1952.

including those at Livingstone who waved off the delegation at 3am despite having to work at dawn – as a response to government claims that opposition to the federation was confined to a few from the 'hot-headed educated class'. [240]

This engagement with the campaign demonstrated the editors' impressions of the dynamics of anticolonialism on the British Left. A profile of David Pritt, the lawyer who would defend Zukas, reported that Pritt had been labelled in some quarters as a 'communist', despite not being a member of the Communist Party: he simply did not 'agree with everything the Labour Party does', because he was 'more progressive'.[241] The editors provided for their readership a clear sense of how anticolonial activists and sympathisers were categorised. The next issue reproduced a 'circular' sent from the delegation in London. It reported positively about the progress they had made meeting organisations and arranging public meetings, and especially on the publicity they had received through the press, although they also speculate that some newspapers might display hostility to their cause.[242]

Kwaca's articles, three years later, increasingly placed the Central African Federation within a shifting world order and within a theoretical framework which critiqued colonialism as a system as opposed to critiquing its effects. The anonymous author of 'Iron curtain for Central Africa' drew a comparison between the Soviet Union's determination to keep its alleged persecution of its people secret from outside observers, and that of the Federal Prime Minister Godfrey Huggins' order for the world to keep their 'hands off' Central Africa, despite what the author sees as the development of a 'disguised Apartheid'.[243]

These allusions to intensifying situations in the global Cold War in general, and Apartheid South Africa in particular, paralleled an increased interest in questions of freedoms, rights and democracy among the younger generation of Congress members. Another anonymous article in October 1955, for example, was entitled 'Know your rights: Some principles of democracy'. The article offered six necessary elements of a (parliamentary, representative) democratic system, including the Kantian observation of the individual as 'an end in itself', the importance of individuals being 'free to think and say and read and write what they please', and of an independent judiciary which would prevent arbitrary arrest and imprisonment without trial. It

[240] *Freedom Newsletter*, Vol. 1 No. 4, 15 April 1952; *Freedom Newsletter*, Vol. 2 No. 5, 15 May 1952.
[241] *Freedom Newsletter*, Vol. 2 No. 5, 15 May 1952.
[242] *Freedom Newsletter*, Vol. 3 No. 6, 30 June 1952.
[243] 'Iron curtain for Central Africa', *Kwaca* Vol. 1 No. 8, January 1956, MNA.

closed with a rather mysterious assertion that 'Parliamentary Democracy was first formed in France in the reign of Louis VII in the year 1146'.[244]

This article, anonymous and somewhat cryptic, can be 'pinned down' by articles in the following two issues of *Kwaca* in November and December 1955 by Kanyama Chiume (who was in the Makerere Student Guild at the time of Mayanja's expulsion, and will be introduced in more detail in chapter four). One article, 'Call it what you want – We call it indisputable civilisation', captured Chiume's engagement with several debates which were occupying anticolonial thinkers abroad. Colonial propaganda, he argued here, had produced a 'psychological disease' whereby 'the simple minded has not stopped to examine his stand in this Race while disgracing his Nation by joining the insidious band, sounding the trumpet for spreading the idea into the world that Africans on the whole are uncivilized'.[245] This foreshadowed discourses that would be adopted more fully by this set of activists later in the decade, which would form a dialogue with continental discourses such as the *négritude* movement and Fanonian interpretations of colonialism in psychological terms. These departed significantly form the anticolonial vocabulary of an older generation of activists like Sangala.

Chiume's contacts with British socialists, which would have been possible through Makerere, are also evident here. Nyasaland's proudest cultural asset, for Chiume, was its development of a 'shaped and stabilised Socialism' which cultivated the hospitality that was the basis for Nyasaland welcoming Europeans. This home-grown co-operative-style socialism also allowed for the building of religious and educational institutions. Chiume contrasted this to a Western 'civilisation' that is in fact a materialism which has caused the suffering of not only colonial populations but British workers too. If civilisation meant 'using hydrogen bombs instead of bows and arrows […] enslaving the oppressed as Bernard Shaw put it ', Chiume remarked, then indeed Europe was civilised.[246] The invocation of the hydrogen bomb and Bernard Shaw (Irish playwright and briefly a Fabian activist) spoke to Chiume's familiarity with the socialist and Fabian pamphlets of the time which would have been available at Makerere.

Neither of these publications can be understood only as vehicles for solidifying popular support within a nationalist framework. The necessarily transnational character of the anti-Federation campaign prompted an engagement with how precisely to position an organisation within a

[244] 'Know your rights: Some principles of democracy', *Kwaca* Vol. 1 No. 5, October 1955.
[245] Kanyama Chiume, 'Call it what you want – we call it indisputable civilisation', *Kwaca* Vol. 1 No. 7, December 1955.
[246] Ibid.

larger struggle. The material production of the newsletters was part of the process of positioning oneself through statements of comparison and solidarity with other struggles, through establishing a shared basis of information (on important personalities for example) and of pushing back against the very real constraints on freedom to publish and communicate with neighbouring territories in a colonial setting. For example, *Kwaca* was probably discontinued in 1956 because of the refusal of its printers in Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia) to continue.[247] Increasingly, newsletters were not only about creating an image of oneself (as nationalist organs are interpreted) but exporting it too: in 1956, following police repression of trades unions on the Copperbelt, Zukas wrote to Congress contacts from London urging them to consider the potency of news reaching London of large meetings with strong resolutions passed and appeals to the world Labour movement. [248] The possibility to represent one's own movement to various imagined publics was to assume increasing importance.

Conclusion

The relationship between individual experiences of education and publishing, discourses about education, and broader anticolonial culture was not predetermined or fixed: by 1960, education would appear in the rhetoric of anticolonial activists as a largely socio-economic issue oriented towards the requirements of the postcolonial state. During 1952-55, in contrast, the educational sphere in East and Central Africa became one in which young people who would soon become involved in party politics could find political space to negotiate the limited civil liberties imposed by the colonial state and fashion an idea of their generational role. That such space could be found depended on the vagueness and flexibility of colonial and anticolonial ideas about education as development, through which a dialogue between state and students about what was 'constitutional' could take place. Activists who pushed open these spaces were prompted in large part by the political upheaval of the Mau Mau uprising and the imposition of the Central African Federation in 1952-53. Both of these events allowed students to imagine themselves in a historical turning point and form ideas about their responsibilities.

It was these young people who sought to forge sustainable links between education institutions and emerging party politics, who brought to the attention of older leaders and those based in

[247] 'Emergency Circular No. 3', enclosed in TDT Banda to Fenner Brockway 30 May 1956 MAC/COPAI/160/3 Fenner Brockway correspondence and papers on East Africa, KNA.
[248] Simon Zukas to 'Matthew', 29 January 1956, Simon Zukas Personal Papers ZNA HM/PP/1 Correspondence 1952-64.

the political centres, that mobile students within the region were in a unique position (with regards to the freedoms that were afforded to them) to debate and publish on regional current affairs. And it was these young people who saw the opportunity for continuing this work in secondary schools in a context of shrinking political space. The project of pushing against the limits of this space – through writing articles that hinted at a publication's precarity or through the motif of the strike – was itself formative work: connections though the region and shared experiences of Mau Mau and the anti-Federation campaign saw students increasingly think of their situation in comparative terms and as part of a transnational anticolonial campaign with a 'world' audience. Yet it also revealed the limitations of participating in such a campaign from with the colonial state; it made clear that being heard on a different stage would mean not only finding space within the colonial state but moving, physically, outside of it.

Chapter Two

Colonial circuits and connected socialisms: Finding space for anticolonial work between London and New Delhi, 1952-55

The attempts of a new generation of activists to forge anticolonial networks outside of the colonial state during 1952-55 happened under specific circumstances. They were heavily entangled with structures for East and Central Africans to pursue higher education abroad which, for young, politically-minded individuals, was typically the only viable way to leave the territory for a prolonged period of time. But these attempts were also conditioned by pre-existing frameworks for global anticolonial activism – frameworks which could, as we shall see, be meaningfully shaped by the intervention of mobile students and activists. This was a critical period for interacting with individuals and organisations abroad who professed an interest in anticolonial principles, but if the meaning of these interactions in the context of the years of decolonisation in this region is to be understood, then it is necessary to ask what the experience of working with and through external organisations looked like, and how the frustrations involved played out in the formation of an anticolonial culture.

The most important pre-existing framework during this period, I argue, was that of socialist internationalism in Western Europe and Asia. Through pre-existing mechanisms for students from East and Central Africa to study in Britain and India, this generation of activists was able to meaningfully involve themselves in the anticolonial discussions that were happening within this framework. But the anticolonialism of socialist internationalists was not pre-defined. The East and Central African crises of 1952-53, in the shape of the Mau Mau uprising, the imposition of the Central African Federation and the exile of the Bugandan Kabaka, had tangible repercussions for socialist internationalism, notably in terms of the relationship

between European and Asian socialists. Young, mobile East and Central Africans became key sources of reliable information on crises that were framed in terms of the possibilities for decolonisation, not just as local particularities. In this way, activists could begin to shape the work of external organisations.

Drawing on recent revisions in the (discrete) historiographies of Asian internationalism and European anticolonialism, Socialist Internationalism becomes a unifying historical backdrop to the anticolonial work of this generation of activists during this period. Bringing the anticolonial worlds under the same framework challenges the relevance of the dominant categories that are used to understand anticolonial spaces: the distinctions between metropole, colony and postcolony (in the context of global decolonisation); those between First, Second and Third worlds (in the context of the Cold War) – and the very idea of 'radical'. For Abu Mayanja and Munu Sipalo, the individuals that I follow below, working in this context critically shaped their own anticolonial culture. This chapter moves definitively away from a narrative of colonial subjects going abroad, encountering 'radical' ideologies (typically Marxism or Marxist-inspired Third World nationalism) which they then translated and exported into nationalist contexts.[249] Instead, it suggests that some of the defining aspects of the anticolonial culture of this generation were profoundly shaped by the frustrations, impossibilities and disillusionment of working with external organisations; the methods employed to make the best possible use of these circumstances were formative to the imaginative terrain of anticolonialism.

2.1 Anticolonial parameters: Socialist Internationalism in Western Europe and Asia

Socialist internationalism in postwar Europe and Asia was a formative backdrop for the anticolonial work of this generation during 1952-55 but, until very recently, its reach was poorly understood. The term has sometimes, confusingly, been used to refer to communist internationalism, while the internationalism of socialist and labour parties in western Europe during the postwar years has been dismissed as a short-lived pipedream, absorbed into the triumph of liberal internationalism.[250] Crucially, European socialist internationalism has been

[249] This is the thrust, in the West African case, in Philip Serge Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects : An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas* (Charlottesville, VA; London: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Derrick, *Africa's Agitators*. It also appears more generally in Smulewicz-Zucker, *The Political Thought of African Independence*, xiii.

[250] Dealing with the COMACON as socialist internationalism, for example: William Elliott Butler (ed.), *A Source Book on Socialist International Organizations* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff & Noordhoff, 1978). The dominant

treated as disconnected from the politics of newly independent Asian states, which themselves have been understood mainly through the narrative of Third Worldism, Bandung and communist China.[251] The research of Talbot Imlay has effectively revised this picture.[252] Focusing on the major socialist parties of Britain, France and (West) Germany, and paying special attention to their interaction with Asian socialist parties, Imlay recovers the 'practice' of socialist internationalism, which reached one of its twentieth-century highpoints in the aftermath of the second world war, fundamentally shaped by the process of decolonisation. Such a reassessment of the currents and tensions of socialist internationalism serves here as a basis for proposing a new picture of the formative experiences of East and Central Africans in Britain and India during the period 1952-55.

The tensions that would inform socialist internationalism in the early 1950s were already evident in attempts to coordinate European and Asian socialist forces in the immediate postwar years. A 'Congress of European, Asiatic and African Peoples' took place in Paris in June 1948, its roots in the networks formed by the interwar League Against Imperialism.[253] Among almost 300 delegates were notable African political figures including Leopold Senghor and Peter Abrahams, but seemingly no East or Central Africans attended. As Anne-Isabelle Richard has outlined, the meeting constituted a final effort in the coming together of anti-imperialism, international socialism and Europeanism, but a rift emerged between the European delegates' commitment to anti-Stalinism and that of the African delegates to non-alignment.[254] This

interest in liberal internationalism is visible in important 'New International History' works, including Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2012). Of the two histories dedicated to the Socialist International, one is a Soviet account and the other written by the International's one-time secretary, published in its original German in 1971: Nikolai Sibilev, *The Socialist International* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1984); Julius Braunthal, *History of the International: 1943-1968* (London: Gollancz, 1980).

[251] Among many others, see Nataša Mišković, Harald Fischer-Tiné, and Nada Boškovska Leimgruber (eds.), *The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War: Delhi, Bandung, Belgrade* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014); Janick Marina Schaufelbuehl et al., 'Non-Alignment, the Third Force, or Fence-Sitting: Independent Pathways in the Cold War', *The International History Review*, 37 (2015); Christopher J. Lee, *Making a World after Empire : The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2010); Prashad, *The Darker Nations*.

[252] Talbot C. Imlay, *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism: European Socialists and International Politics, 1914-1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Imlay, 'International Socialism and Decolonization during the 1950s'. See also Imlay's chapter (and the resultant shift in scholarship on internationalisms) in Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (eds.), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[253] On the League Against Imperialism, see Fredrik Petersson, 'Hub of the Anti-Imperialist Movement', *Interventions*, 16 (2014).

[254] Anne-Isabelle Richard, 'The Limits of Solidarity: Europeanism, Anti-Colonialism and Socialism at the Congress of the Peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa in Puteaux, 1948', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire*, 21 (2014).

dynamic was also clear to one attendee, Fenner Brockway, a British Labour MP and enthusiastic internationalist at the centre of anticolonial lobbying in the House of Commons. According to Brockway's autobiography, he stated at the meeting that uniting African and Asian nationalist organisations with European socialists through a shared economic plan, was unfeasible because African political figures were committed to gaining independence before embarking on an economic plan, and moreover were dissatisfied with the lukewarm support of European social democratic parties.[255]

Even prior to the Congress, the leaders of newly-independent Asian states channelled coordination efforts among themselves. At a 1947 Inter-Asian Relations conference in Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru argued that such coordination was necessary to counter the mutual isolation of Asian states that resulted from European imperialism.[256] Hoping to avoid the emergence of an independent Asian bloc within the socialist movement, European socialists encouraged Asian parties to join the Socialist International when it formed in Frankfurt in 1951: the International's president (and British Labour Party General Secretary) wrote in 1952 of 'the danger of becoming merely a "Western" or "White" International'.[257] Although the Japanese and Indian socialist parties did join, and others sent observers to Socialist International meetings, Indian, Burmese, Indonesian and Japanese delegates who met in Rangoon in March 1952 decided that an 'organic' independence from the Socialist International should be maintained. In January 1953, in the same city, the Asian Socialist Conference (ASC) was formed.[258]

The role of colonial Africa, and specifically East and Central African activists, in this story is seldom considered.[259] Yet the relationship between European and Asian socialist parties was entirely configured on the issue of anticolonialism. The Rangoon declaration charted this relationship, stating, in brief, that if Western European socialism arose as a response to capitalism, and colonial expansion had capitalist roots and manifestations, then anticolonial nationalism was naturally socialist. The document suggested that the socialist parties that

[255] Fenner Brockway, *Towards Tomorrow: The Autobiography of Fenner Brockway.* (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1977), 151.
[256] Vineet Thakur, 'An Asian Drama: The Asian Relations Conference, 1947', *The International History Review*, 0 (2018); Imlay, *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism*, 423.
[257] Morgan Phillips, memorandum submitted in 1952, quoted in Braunthal, *History of the International*, 368.
[258] Boris Niclas-Tölle, *The Socialist Opposition in Nehruvian India, 1947-1964* (2015), 148–152; Imlay, *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism*, 422–426.
[259] For example, in chapters on the ASC: Braunthal, *History of the International*, 366–374; Imlay, *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism*, 422–429. This will be addressed by contributions to the forthcoming issue of the *Journal of World History* on 'Other Bandungs' (2019).

founded the ASC shared with their European counterparts a commitment to democratic institutions and individual freedoms that they used to distinguish themselves from the Soviet-sponsored communist parties that were, in most cases, in government in these same states (most ASC members were opposition parties). Describing this 'split' in the socialist movement, the ASC identified anticolonial nationalism as being in line with their own democratic socialism as opposed to communism.[260]

In contrast to the 1948 Paris conference, it was no longer non-alignment that distinguished the Asian delegates from their European counterparts, but anticolonial solidarity – indeed, it was probably the only thing the ASC delegates agreed on.[261] Over the next few years, as Imlay has charted, the ASC was able to guide the anticolonial policy of the Socialist International, forcing questions of time-bound decolonisation and the right to national self-determination into discussions previously dominated by gradual reform and minority rights.[262] At the International's congress in July 1953, Indian socialist Prem Bhasin described European anticolonialism as 'a modified and more polished form' of the 'proverbial white man's burden'.[263] The ASC's Hyderabad meeting in August 1953 decided in favour of creating an Anti-Colonial Bureau within the ASC, which met for the first time in May 1954.[264]

Six of the eleven members of the Bureau's coordinating committee represented liberation movements and three were from sub-Saharan Africa: Ndamdi Azikiwe of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, Jim Markham of the Gold Coast Convention Peoples Party, and Joseph Murumbi of the recently proscribed Kenya African Union. None of these leaders stayed long in Rangoon (the Bureau's headquarters) or New Delhi (one of the hubs of its driving membership) and the functioning of the bureau relied on correspondence and, as described below in more detail, on the movements of a younger generation of African students.[265] The involvement of Murumbi, especially relevant for East and Central Africans in Asia, is a uniquely visible element of the Bureau's workings: his extensive personal papers offer a rare

[260] 'Principles and objectives of socialism in Asia' (Rangoon declaration), reproduced as an appendix in Braunthal, *History of the International*, 543–7.
[261] Imlay, *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism*, 425.
[262] Imlay, 'International Socialism and Decolonization during the 1950s'.
[263] Quoted in Imlay, *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism*, 428.
[264] Braunthal, *History of the International*, 371–3; Imlay, *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism*, 428.
[265] On Markham, who spent longer in the region than Murumbi or Azikiwe, see Gerard McCann, 'Ghana's Bandung Moment: Jim Markham's Asian Sojourn, 1953', *55*, (2018).

glimpse of a world of anticolonial activism largely excluded from official archives by the upheaval of decolonisation and postcolonial state-building.

Murumbi was born in western Kenya in 1911, to a Masaai mother and Goan father, who sent him to school in Bangalore aged six or seven.[266] Murumbi returned to Kenya in the early 1930s to work as a clerk, spending 1941-52 in Somalia. On arriving in Kenya in May 1952 he became involved in Jomo Kenyatta's Kenya African Union (KAU), shortly before the organisation was proscribed. He left Kenya for India in March 1953, ostensibly to study Indian cooperative development, but with the intention of touring India, Egypt, Europe and America as a KAU representative, raising support for Kenyan self-government.[267] Arriving in London from New Delhi, via Cairo, Murumbi was refused further visas and remained in Britain for most of the next nine years.

Murumbi served as a crucial node in the network of Asian socialists, European socialists and the emergent generation of East and Central African activists. This peaked in a confused escalation of activity in 1955 – not coincidentally the year of Bandung – involving the ASC, its Anti-Colonial Bureau, the Socialist International, and (the death of) the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism (COPAI), which was the key achievement of the 1948 Paris meeting. By the mid-1950s, COPAI was struggling to coordinate its various national branches, at the same time as responding to the demands of the ASC and fitting their work into the overlapping membership of the Socialist International. Early in 1955, prior to Bandung, COPAI tried to organise a 'World Conference for Colonial Liberation' in Paris, but the secretary of COPAI's British branch, Douglas Rogers, found that his French counterpart, Jean Rous (who had left the *Parti Socialiste* in protest of its ambivalent stance on colonialism) had left to attend the Bandung conference without making the necessary arrangements in Paris. Rogers clearly saw the urgency of an organised European stance against colonialism, ever clearer following the spectacular media attention directed at Bandung and decided to hold the conference in Britain.[268]

[266] The most important (not strictly academic) account of Murumbi's life is Anne Thurston and Alan Donovan, *A Path Not Taken: The Story of Joseph Murumbi : Africa's Greatest Private Cultural Collector and Kenya's Second Vice-President* (Nairobi, Kenya: The Murumbi Trust, 2015).
[267] 'Joseph Zuzarate Murumbi: Activities', UKNA FCO 141/6887 Personalities: Joseph Murumbi; Interview with Joseph Murumbi, reproduced in Thurston and Donovan, *A Path Not Taken*, 59–65.
[268] Douglas Rogers to Jean Rous, 6 May 1955, KNA MAC/COPAI/156/11 Correspondence between the English Offices of COPAI 1948-50.

The conference eventually took place in Margate in November 1955, cosponsored by the Anti-Colonial Bureau of the ASC (on whose executive sat Murumbi). Strangely, the conference is completely absent from accounts of the Bureau's work, or that of the ASC in general. In fact, the Bureau considered the Margate conference important, dedicating its December 1955 newsletter almost entirely to the conference's successes.[269] Invitations were sent to liberation groups across the colonial world, encouraging those who were unable to attend to appoint a representative already in the UK, stating that the conference aimed to 'create the machinery for world-wide co-operation to make the protest [against colonialism] effective'.[270]

Margate marked a final attempt to revive COPAI, calling for broader membership across and beyond Europe. However, Murumbi advocated forming a 'World Council of Colonial Liberation' instead and was elected onto this council's executive.[271] British members were also already looking for alternatives: the British COPAI branch had essentially morphed into the Movement for Colonial Freedom (MCF) the year previously. By November 1955, individuals within the British anticolonial movement, explored below, while for the most part retaining internationalist convictions in their broader politics, had turned their focus away from cooperation with like-minded groups across Europe and towards links with Asian socialists and with representatives from liberation movements, especially in East and Central Africa: Murumbi attended the conference not as a Bureau representative, but as COPAI secretary. Yet the unevenness of these relationships was clear: Rogers advised Murumbi to maintain the Council's independence as an organisation not dominated by the British, but in the event, it was quickly absorbed into the MCF.[272]

At first glance, it seems that the Socialist International was hardly involved. It sent just one observer, even though the ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau suggested to COPAI that the International should also act as a co-sponsor, in order for the conference to 'achieve greater success and wider international support'.[273] The International's eagerness to meet the ASC on anticolonialism remained less powerful than its desire to avoid associations with communism:

[269] *Anti-colonial Bureau Newsletter* No. 16, December 1955, KNA MAC/CON/205/3 Asian Socialist Conference Anti-colonial Bureau News letter.
[270] Circular of the World Conference for Colonial Liberation, 22 August 1955, IISH International Meetings and Organisations 159.
[271] Murumbi to Douglas Rogers, 29 March 1955, KNA MAC/COPAI/156/11 Correspondence between the English Offices of COPAI 1948-50.
[272] Rogers to Murumbi, 31 July 1956, KNA MAC/COPAI/156/11 Correspondence between the English Offices of COPAI 1948-50.
[273] U Hla Aung to Douglas Rogers, 8 August 1955, KNA MAC/CON/205/4 Asian Socialist Conference, correspondence 1955.

COPAI's 'big catch' as conference speaker was John Horner, General Secretary of the Fire Brigades Union and member of the Communist Party.[274] The International was pursuing its own route. Following its July 1955 Congress, it agreed with the ASC executive to set up a joint study group to formulate 'a concrete and time-bound programme for the freedom of the colonies'. A memorandum of the same title was drafted by Labour Commonwealth Secretary John Hatch and sent to the ASC, who asked for comments from the Anti-Colonial Bureau, Murumbi included.[275]

Murumbi's papers include this draft, with his own annotations. Some of his notes dealt quite concretely with the policies of European socialist parties: he rejected the memo's timetable for decolonisation, probably proposed by the Belgian Socialist Party, which outlined a three-year period for experimentation of democratic principles in certain bodies and a five-year period for extending these to the entire territories. Murumbi also disagreed with the memorandum's note that there exist colonies 'too small […] to maintain an independent existence', pointing to the existence of small states in Europe, the importance of recognising national rights, and the need to redraw national boundaries in certain African contexts.[276] In the sections 'principles of action' and 'political freedom' he rejected the idea of protection for (settler) minorities, instead emphasising individual rights and national freedom, referring to the UN Declaration on Human Rights, otherwise absent in the document. However, he did not perceive this emphasis as an importation of Western values: where the document mentioned the 'introduction of political methods which are inspired by Western democracy', Murumbi wrote 'Why Western?' and replaced 'inspired by Western democracy' with simply 'democratic'. He maintained the idea of democracy and rights as universally translatable in his addition to the document of the importance of talking about Soviet colonialism alongside European colonialism.[277] Sitting on the executives of both COPAI and the ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau, Murumbi illustrates the tensions between various approaches to decolonisation within socialist circles, but also the existence of a common forum for discussing these: it was this common forum that underpinned the shared experiences of East and Central Africans in places with very different relationships to the British Empire.

[274] Interview with Simon Zukas, Lusaka, 14 September 2017.
[275] Hla Aung to Anti-Colonial Bureau committee members, 25 July 1956, KNA MAC/CON/205/4 Asian Socialist Conference, correspondence 1955.
[276] Hla Aung to Anti-Colonial Bureau committee members, 25 July 1956, KNA MAC/CON/205/4 Asian Socialist Conference, correspondence 1955.
[277] Hla Aung to Anti-Colonial Bureau committee members, 25 July 1956, KNA MAC/CON/205/4 Asian Socialist Conference, correspondence 1955.

2.2 The mechanics of studying abroad

If the political currents and dominant personalities of socialist internationalism encourage us to place student experience in Britain and India during the early 1950s within an overarching framework, so too does the contingency of the processes that sent them there. The experience of being a student abroad was necessarily framed by the colonial situation where the scholarship was awarded. Turning away, now, from international structures and towards local and regional specificities highlights the possibilities students had for negotiating the space between colonial anxieties and established anticolonial networks.

Following the strike at Makerere in August 1952, Principal Bernard De Bunsen pledged to secure alternative positions for degree-level education for the six students expelled. Abu Mayanja was a priority, both because he had been recognised as academically able and because of his central role in the Uganda National Congress (UNC). The Muslim associations that had shaped his earlier education largely dropped out of the picture at this stage.[278] The late colonial anxiety surrounding these paired factors surfaced in correspondence between Governor Andrew Cohen, principle De Bunsen and officials in Entebbe. 'In a colonial society', Cohen wrote to a contact at Cambridge, 'where clever nationalists are at a premium and where all sorts of pressures are liable to be put on them, his good qualities may well be damaged unless they are made use of'.[279] Cohen, like De Bunsen, approached the UNC with measured, paternalist optimism: despite its 'jejune ideas', it was 'definitely not a communist body' and Mayanja's role could be pivotal to its future in the (distant) transfer of power.[280] Informed of the strike and the UNC, King's College Cambridge – where fellow Buganda Erisa Kironde was already studying – gladly accepted Mayanja.[281]

The faith Cohen and De Bunsen placed in a British university as a suitable place for preparing Mayanja for what they imagined would be government work in education or broadcasting reveals the ambivalence of colonial attitudes to African students in Britain. There had been significant numbers of West African students in Britain since the 1920s; the postwar period saw the addition of East and Central Africans, many under the auspices of the Colonial

[278] The religious aspect of Mayanja's education is emphasised in the account of Mayanja's political thought by Earle, *Colonial Buganda and the End of Empire*, 157–164.
[279] Andrew Cohen to L. P. Wilkinson, 14 October 1952, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A. K. Mayanja.
[280] Andrew Cohen to L. P. Wilkinson, 14 October 1952, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A. K. Mayanja.
[281] L. P. Wilkinson to Andrew Cohen, 27 October 1952, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A. K. Mayanja.

Development and Welfare fund.[282] Rising numbers prompted anxieties about what students would do on returning to their territories, and the metropole increasingly came to be understood as a breeding ground for schemes of resistance and uprising: the 1948 riots in Accra were quickly linked back to plans made in London, for example.[283] This anxiety was routinely cloaked in Cold War language, illustrated in the 1955 article of a US commentator 'How colored communist leaders are made in Britain'.[284]

In Mayanja's case, the colonial archive – quite unusually – provides some idea of how he read, experienced, and manipulated colonial anxieties in the negotiations that led to his arrival in Cambridge. Mayanja was already in contact with anticolonial figures in Britain, in connection with the Makerere strike and the formation of the UNC, including Fenner Brockway, who had visited East Africa in 1952. He corresponded with Brockway to discuss his scholarship options, especially the fact that some government scholarships required recipients to work in the civil service or as a teacher on return to Uganda. Mayanja was not especially interested in either line of work, and in his application ventured that he might prefer to later study for the Bar, or work in journalism, but guaranteed (rather ambiguously) that he considered his 'life of service to be with, and in, [his] country'.[285] Mayanja had some leverage in guaranteeing these terms: he reminded the acting governor that, if he were to fail in his application to Britain, 'it would be plainly in my interests to try somewhere else' and that 'if, for instance, I were to try India, then I would have to move pretty rapidly'.[286] It was almost as if Mayanja had read the letter from a colonial administrator in Entebbe to the Bishop of Uganda about '[t]he dangers of what might happen to him […] if he goes to India or any place like that'.[287]

Elsewhere, the limits of Mayanja's negotiating powers were clear. He asked to travel overland as opposed to flying to London, perhaps having heard stories about travel via Suez or West Africa. But such a journey was an uncontrollable space beyond colonial surveillance: in April 1950, the student Liaison Officer (from 1948 W. V. Crook was responsible for students in Britain from these four territories, plus Zanzibar, providing a common point of contact) wrote to all secretariats in the region urging them to send colonial students by air rather than sea,

[282] Goldthorpe, 'An African Elite', 32.
[283] A. J. Stockwell, 'Leaders, Dissidents and the Disappointed: Colonial Students in Britain as Empire Ended', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36 (2008), 493.
[284] Walter Crosby Eells, 'How Colored Communist Leaders Are Made in England', *The Journal of Higher Education*, 26 (1955).
[285] Mayanja to Chief Secretary, 18 November 1952, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A.K. Mayanja.
[286] Mayanja to C.H. Thornley, 14 January 1953, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A.K. Mayanja.
[287] L. M. Boyd to Bishop of Uganda, 15 October 1952, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A. K. Mayanja.

despite the increased costs, because some students who, having left Britain 'in a contented frame of mind [had] arrived in Africa showing marked anti-British and Communistic tendencies'.[288] Mayanja also wanted to arrive ahead of term, and stay with 'friends'. He was well aware that his demands were high, adding that 'there is no reason why I should go early at all, if it does cause the government any anxiety'. But for good measure, added that if he went later, '[w]hat I will greatly miss, however, is the wonderful chance of actually being in England [in June 1953] when Her Majesty is crowned'.[289] Given the attitude of Makerere students to the coronation explored in chapter one, and the occurrence of widespread boycotts, this seems unlikely. Mayanja flew to London in July 1953.

Despite or because of Mayanja's 'friends' in London, the Bishop of Uganda, who left the country in 1952 to become assistant Bishop of Worcester, was to be Mayanja's 'guardian' and host until the start of term at Cambridge. When Mayanja landed, however, he was met at the airport by Peter Wright, who, as detailed in chapter one, corresponded with Mayanja during the strike, shortly before being deported for his involvement (along with Joseph Murumbi) in Mau Mau circles. In London, Wright took Mayanja to the infamous West African Students Union hostel, the then gathering point for students and non-students from across Africa and the Caribbean. There, as the Bishop related with dismay to the Uganda Secretariat, he was introduced to people 'he ought not to have met', including Seretse Khama, future president of independent Botswana who was at the centre of an anticolonial drama, and Nnamdi Azikiwe (who, as we know, was soon to join the executive committee of the ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau). 'This is just what we wanted to avoid', the Bishop wrote, 'these people always get in a step ahead of us'.[290]

Mayanja was adept at navigating between colonial control and anticolonial politics, playing discursively with the colonial anxieties and loyalties that were no mystery to Makerere students. This was made possible by the ambivalence of the line between radical and moderate nationalism and the fact that young people like Mayanja simultaneously occupied a position of potential government employee and potential agitator. The distance between colonial state and anticolonial party should not be overstated: in October 1952, Mayanja asked the Director of Information to modify the wording of an official report of a meeting between UNC and the

[288] W.V. Crook to East and Central African Secretariats, 1 April 1950, MNA SMP 14282 Vol. II, Colonial Development and Welfare Scholarships: Policy.
[289] Mayanja to R.W. Gill, 26 February 1953, UKNA FCO/141/18246 A. K. Mayanja.
[290] Bishop Cyril Stuart to Entebbe, 1 August 1952, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A. K. Mayanja.

Secretariat because he did not want to give the impression that the UNC were 'complaining' about the colonial government.[291]

It was rare to have the leverage that Mayanja did, however: most students simply went where scholarships sent them. John Tembo, who studied in Lesotho, when asked where he would ideally have chosen to study, replied 'obviously England'.[292] Nor was a scholarship abroad always considered a priority by those who had become involved in new political parties: in August 1954, Tanganyika student Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru was offered an Indian government scholarship but had joined the Tanganyika African National Union the month previously, and turned the offer down.[293] India itself was an ambivalent space in this regard: one Tanganyika student in India challenged the reputation it had gained among anticolonial circles for offering a 'cheap' and poor quality education, adding that '[o]ne student in London may mean three in India' in terms of scholarship costs.[294] While it is clear from Mayanja's case that India attracted colonial anxiety, it was also regarded by the Colonial Office as a good source of training for a generation of African lawyers, while, among young people, the choice of studying law was viewed with radical potential: 'there was a message around here', Ngombale Mwiru recalled, 'from the West African extremists, that if you want to deal with the British, to go after your independence, you must know law'.[295]

It was to India to study law that Munu Sipalo travelled in the middle of 1953 that Mayanja left Uganda. Sipalo was of Lozi origin, born in Mungu in the western part of Northern Rhodesia in 1929. Little is known of his childhood; in 1947 he enrolled at Munali Secondary School in Lusaka, and in 1951 unsuccessfully applied to study in South Africa.[296] His Indian scholarship was arranged via the Indian High Commissioner in Nairobi, Apa Pant, who, during his time as High Commissioner from around 1948-54, and with the help of Peter Wright, facilitated the awarding of scholarships for study in India to dozens of Africans from East and Central Africa.[297] Sipalo benefitted from having grown up in semi-autonomous Barotseland (where relationships between the longstanding authority and the colonial state meant the region

[291] 'Discussion between the Director of Information and Mr. Mayanja, 15 October 1952', UKNA FCO 141/18246 A. K. Mayanja.
[292] Interview with John Tembo, Lilongwe, 18 July 2017.
[293] Interview with Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, Dar es Salaam, 1 December 2017.
[294] J. Masakilija to Julius Nyerere, 23 May 1958, CCM Archives, Box 43 File marked 'Publications'.
[295] Interview with Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, Dar es Salaam, 1 December 2017.
[296] 'Munukayumbwa Sipalo', UKNA FCO 141/17744 Nationalist organs.
[297] Zukas, *Into Exile and Back*, 41.. On Pant and India-Africa relations, see McCann, 'From Diaspora to Third Worldism and the United Nations', 266–67. On the role of Asians in Kenyan independence, see Margret Frenz, 'Swaraj for Kenya, 1949-1965: The Ambiguities of Transnational Politics', *Past & Present*, (2013).

fulfilled a comparable role as did Buganda in Uganda) and the relationship of the ruling *Litunga* (King) with Pant.[298]

Again, the relationship between the 'colonial' and 'anticolonial' was fluid: in the early 1950s, Pant was increasingly scrutinised by the Colonial Office. While he showed broad support for Britain's decolonisation and Commonwealth policy during a visit to Ghana in 1952, he became more critical of colonial policy in the wake of the Mau Mau uprising to the extent that some officials in Nairobi called for his replacement.[299] Meanwhile, Peter Wright and Apa Pant had been close since their university days at Oxford, and worked together on Indian scholarships in Nairobi (Wright offered to help De Bunsen with some of the Makerere expelled students). It was typical for students from East and Central Africa who had been awarded Indian scholarships to spend some time in Nairobi arranging the details, together with Wright and Pant, before taking a boat from Mombasa to Bombay: the diary of Zambian activist Simon Kapwepwe described the month he spent in Nairobi in mid-1951.[300] At the time, Wright taught at a secondary school for pupils of Indian descent. Following his deportation (and trip to London to meet Mayanja) Nehru offered Wright the post of principal in what was soon to be the African Studies department at the University of New Delhi (the first of its kind in Asia) a position he took up in 1954.[301] A leaflet for the new department found its way into the papers of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress.[302]

The tendency of research to deal with 'students in Britain' or (far less often) 'students in India' neglects the high level of contingency that surrounded scholarship negotiations, which depended on complex relationships between interested individuals that defy any straightforward reading of study abroad as anticolonial rebellion. The paradoxes of the late colonial state in the region, where liberal developmentalism accompanied an assumption of a distant transfer of power and an underlying fear of communism (under which any sort of political upheaval could be cast) created space for some students to guide their own futures.

[298] On Barotseland, see Jack Hogan, '"What Then Happened To Our Eden?": The Long History of Lozi Secessionism, 1890–2013', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40 (2014).
[299] Mélanie Torrent, 'A "New" Commonwealth for Britain? Negotiating Ghana's Pan-African and Asian Connections at the End of Empire (1951–8)', *The International History Review*, 38 (2016), 577–9.
[300] Goodwin Mwangilwa and S. M Kapwepwe, *The Kapwepwe Diaries* (Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1986), 14–18.
[301] Benegal Pereira, 'Apa Pant in East Africa', at http://benegal.com/pant/apa.htm#LinkTarget_279 [accessed 1 March 2017]); Torrent, 'A "New" Commonwealth for Britain?', 580.
[302] Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP/1/3/8.

Ultimately, though, they could only go where they had been given permission to. Whether they ended up in Britain or India (or elsewhere) defined the anticolonial work that was possible.

2.3 Munu Sipalo's Africa Bureau, New Delhi

It is typical of accounts of the development of Zambian nationalism to state that Munu Sipalo was 'radicalised' by his years in India.[303] The proposition fits comfortably into larger narratives of education abroad as anticolonial weapon, of third world anticolonial solidarity, and of Sipalo as a 'fiery' and militant personality who later became a liability to nationalist party politics and was progressively pushed form the core of Zambian politics.[304] And it is not unjustified: by any account, these were formative years in the development of Sipalo's anticolonial worldview. Yet there has been no exploration of Sipalo's activities in New Delhi, nor any attempt to place the time he spent there in the context of contemporaneous projects of Asian socialism and anticolonial coordination. Doing so reveals the limits of external patronage and of participating in transnational activism as a colonial subject.

New Delhi as an anticolonial hub was not a natural consequence of Indian independence, nor was it without limitations. The possibilities for anticolonial work were distinct from those in Britain, yet activists faced many of the same frustrations of the impossibilities of organisation as a colonial subject abroad. The experience of these, alongside the limits of an anticolonial politics along socialist internationalist lines, saw many of the same practices develop as elsewhere. Sipalo's work in New Delhi hinged upon the founding of the Asian Socialist Conference (ASC) in January 1953, the ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau in May 1954 (both with headquarters in Rangoon) and the African Studies Department at the University of New Delhi during the same year. Arriving in mid-1953, Sipalo began to make plans for an Africa Bureau in New Delhi, which came to fruition around November 1954. The African Bureau was a low-key operation, and is almost invisible in the historical record, but it gives a valuable picture of Sipalo's visions for anticolonial work.

Of the Bureau's several, interlinked projects, the first to materialise related to information exchanges and publishing. Sipalo published a short-lived periodical, *Resurgent Africa*, with

[303] Zukas, *Into Exile and Back*, 103; Larmer, *Rethinking African Politics*, 27.
[304] Described as 'fiery' by Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 291; See also Mulford, *Zambia*; Zukas, *Into Exile and Back*, 103. For a popular example see Ben Kakola, 'Zambia: Sipalo's beleaguered Nationalism', 25 October 2000, http://allafrica.com/stories/200010270354.html.

financial support from Azikiwe, who sat on the committee of the Anti-Colonial Bureau.[305] Azikiwe had become something of a patron for (pan-)African press ventures following his founding of the *West African Pilot* in 1937; his book *Renascent Africa* of the same year could have provided inspiration for the title of Sipalo's periodical. Another Zambian student in New Delhi described the aim of the periodical as 'letting the World know more about what is happening in Africa with a view to influence world opinion on African affairs'.[306] Much like the student and party newsletters dealt with in chapter one, this was another category of publications that envisioned a global audience.

It is unclear what the actual readership of the periodical was, or how widely it might have been circulated, but a document describing the work of the ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau written around 1956 situates *Resurgent Africa* against a larger initiative. The document refers to the Anti-Colonial Bureau's own newsletter, published from mid-1954 with thirty issues released by July 1957; *Resurgent Africa* is listed among the 'sympathetic' publications with which they exchanged their own newsletter.[307] The Anti-Colonial Bureau newsletter frequently published articles relating to Northern Rhodesia and the Central African Federation, including texts written by Kenneth Kaunda, and reprinted articles from *Kwaca* (see chapter one).[308] Sipalo and his own periodical formed the obvious point of contact here. Indeed, this document on Anti-Colonial Bureau activities highlighted publishing and communication as the Bureau's most important role in aiding liberation movements. It stated: 'All these freedom movements face the problem of educating the people politically. They need to publish newspapers, pamphlets and literature etc. Many of them have started and they want to set up their own press'. In this way, Sipalo's work was in dialogue with the ASC's larger vision for liberation movements.[309]

The other two projects of Sipalo's Africa Bureau, the African Students' Association and the African Liberation Committee, blurred together during the period 1954-56. The aims of both were to organise a conference that brought together African activists from countries still under colonial rule. This too spoke to the vision of the ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau's role in aiding

[305] Munu Sipalo to Nnamdi Azikiwe, 21 July 1957, UKNA FCO 141/17744 Nationalist organs.
[306] E.L. Mungoni to R. Puta, 7 December 1955, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/13 African Bureau.
[307] 'Background to the Anti-Colonial Bureau', KNA MAC/CON/205/6 Asian Socialist Conference Second Anti-Colonial Bureau.
[308] The article by Kaunda appears in: *Asian Socialist Conference Anti-Colonial Bureau Newsletter*, No. 2 July 1954, KNA MAC/CON/205/3 Asian Socialist Conference Anti-Colonial Bureau Newsletter.
[309] 'Background to the Anti-Colonial Bureau', KNA MAC/CON/205/6 Asian Socialist Conference Second Anti-Colonial Bureau.

liberation movements: 'In order to have close contact with the outside world they must be able to attend International Conference [sic] and make Visits abroad'.[310] During this period, 'the conference' as a motif of anticolonial expression – an end in itself – was on an upward curve in the anticolonial imaginary, one to reach its twin peaks at Bandung (April 1955) and at the All African Peoples Conference (AAPC) in Accra (December 1958).

Before tracing Sipalo's prolonged and largely fruitless attempts to organise such a conference, it is worth considering how landmark conferences have found their place in historical narratives. The AAPC will be considered in detail in chapter 3, although it is worth noting that the significance of the Accra conference was that it invited delegates representing liberation movements (just as Sipalo's conference proposed). The Bandung Conference, meanwhile, has assumed a unique role in global histories of the twentieth century, its inclusion taken for granted when describing the course of anti-imperialism, non-alignment, Afro-Asianism – indeed it is sometimes considered a step towards the AAPC.[311] Only recently has scholarship turned away from the task of drawing lineages between conferences (from the interwar League Against Imperialism, for example, right through to countless present-day organisations) and asked instead how Bandung came to be seen as a landmark at all.[312] Bandung's myth-making abilities were particularly great, but it had in common with many international and transnational events that its history as 'turning point' began being written on the conference invitations.

[310] 'Background to the Anti-Colonial Bureau', KNA MAC/CON/205/6 Asian Socialist Conference Second Anti-Colonial Bureau.

[311] Bandung's origins are identified in various interwar colonial internationalisms and radical currents in: Goswami, 'Imaginary Futures and Colonial Internationalisms'; Petersson, 'Hub of the Anti-Imperialist Movement'; Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution*, 5; Kris Manjapra, 'Communist Internationalism and Transcolonial Recognition', in Sugata Bose and Kris Manjapra (eds.), *Cosmopolitan Thought Zones : South Asia and the Global Circulation of Ideas* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010); Antoinette Burton, Augusto Espiritu, and Fanon Che Wilkins, 'Introduction: The Fate of Nationalisms in the Age of Bandung', *Radical History Review*, (2006). Bandung is placed in a Pan-African framework in: Frank Gerits, 'Bandung as the Call for a Better Development Project: US, British, French and Gold Coast Perceptions of the Afro-Asian Conference (1955)', *Cold War History*, 16 (2016); Issa G. Shivji, 'Mwalimu and Marx in Contestation: Dialogue or Diatribe?', *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*, 6 (2017).

[312] See, in particular, Robert Vitalis, 'The Midnight Ride of Kwame Nkrumah and Other Fables of Bandung (Ban-Doong)', *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 4 (2013); Lee, *Making a World after Empire*. Work that attempts to divert some attention away from Bandung includes Thakur, 'An Asian Drama'; Eric Gettig, '"Trouble Ahead in Afro-Asia": The United States, the Second Bandung Conference, and the Struggle for the Third World, 1964–1965', *Diplomatic History*, 39 (2015). Most recently, on the value of Bandung nostalgia, Duncan M. Yoon, 'Bandung Nostalgia and the Global South', in Russell West-Pavlov (ed.), *The Global South and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Sipalo, according to two interviewees who were contemporaries in the Zambian anticolonial movement, went to Bandung.[313] This would not have been impossible: although delegates were all from independent states, observers were not. Yet it seems unlikely: perhaps the myth of Kwame Nkrumah's attendance, uncovered by Robert Vitalis, was not unique.[314] Claiming Bandung attendance worked to bolster anticolonial credentials, perhaps more than the student conference in Bangalore that he did attend in the same period.[315] Nevertheless, there is suggestion of a Bandung 'follow-up' in New Delhi later in 1955 which Sipalo could have more plausibly attended.[316]

But Sipalo was involved in planning a pan-African conference long before Bandung, and even before the formation of the ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau. It was perhaps at the ASC Hyderabad meeting in August 1953 that the idea was raised, as when Joseph Murumbi left India for Cairo that same month he proposed a conference to contacts there; British intelligence referred to Murumbi as an 'associate' of Sipalo.[317] This at a time when Pan-Africanism, according to Peter Mansfield, was 'the palest dream' in Abdel Nasser's Egypt.[318] Kenneth Kaunda, meanwhile – also in touch with Sipalo during 1953 – told Fenner Brockway in London about his plans for a meeting of East and Central African leaders in Lusaka, 10-12 December.[319] Just days earlier, Kwame Nkrumah held a West African Federation Conference in Kumasi, Ghana, the fruit of plans in motion since the Manchester Pan-African Conference of 1945. Among the relatively small number of attendees was Azikiwe. Marika Sherwood's recovery of the details of this conference points to the tendency to assume that conferences which received a low media coverage at the time were unimportant historically, but even in this case there is some myth-making confusion.[320] George Padmore in *Ashanti Sentinel* claimed that the conference inspired that of Central African leaders, despite the fact that the plans of Kaunda, Murumbi and Sipalo clearly predated Kumasi.[321] The Lusaka conference invited around eleven representatives from

[313] Interviews with Sikota Wina, Lusaka, 19 September 2017, and Simon Zukas, Lusaka, 14 September 2017.
[314] Vitalis, 'The Midnight Ride of Kwame Nkrumah and Other Fables of Bandung (Ban-Doong)'.
[315] 'Munukayumbwa Sipalo', UKNA FCO 141/17744 Nationalist organs.
[316] 'Afro-Asian People's Conference preparatory circular', October 1957, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/8 Various Organisations (1953-58).
[317] 'Joseph Zuzarate Murumbi: Activities', UKNA FCO 141/6887 Personalities: Joseph Murumbi.
[318] Peter Mansfield, *Nasser's Egypt* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1965), 115.
[319] Fenner Brockway to Mary Benson, 25 November 1953, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 241 File 11 Nyasaland correspondence 1953-63.
[320] Marika Sherwood, 'The Pan-African Conference, Kumasi, 1953', in T. Manuh and A. Sawyerr (eds.), *The Kwame Nkrumah Centenary Colloquium Proceedings* (Accra: Kwame Nkrumah Centenary Committee, 2013); Marika Sherwood, 'Pan-African Conferences, 1900-1953: What Did "Pan-Africanism" Mean?', *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4 (2012).
[321] *Ashanti Sentinel*, 20 January 1954, quoted in Sherwood, 'The Pan-African Conference', 8.

East and Central Africa, but it seems that none turned up – probably largely due to refusal of entry by immigration officers – the conference had been advertised in the *Times*, and the colonial authorities were aware of it. One of the only people to arrive in Lusaka was U Hla Aung, ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau president.[322]

Sipalo would have been aware of this when he invited African 'youth and national organisations' for a five-day All African Youth Festival to take place in Omdurman, Sudan, in December 1955, under the sponsorship of his Africa Bureau.[323] In preparation for the conference, he managed to obtain some funds from youth movements in Tanganyika, and Kenneth Kaunda agreed to put the matter before the national executive council.[324] Invitations advised that only young people should be sent as delegates 'to avoid unnecessary tremors in the enemy camp and international sensationalism'.[325] In short, he wanted the press and immigrations departments to remain ignorant, in order to maximise participation. There is no evidence that the Omdurman conference took place.

It is necessary to stray just beyond the timeframe of the chapter to follow Sipalo's efforts to some sort of conclusion. In April 1956 he flew from India to Europe to attend a seminar dedicated to the problems of colonialism in Prague, sponsored by the International Union of Students. Travelling via London, he met with Oscar Kambona, a Tanzanian studying law in Britain and representing Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union, to discuss plans to coordinate liberation politics. Colonial intelligence reports referred to the suggestion of forming an 'African secretariat' in Cairo or Khartoum, but this was probably not distinct from the African Liberation Committee – perhaps deliberately reframed by the activists in language less likely to attract unwanted attention in London.[326] Following the seminar in Prague, Sipalo reportedly visited Moscow, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania; he sent a letter to Kaunda from Budapest on 15 May 1956, informing the latter that plans for pan-African youth conference were 'on the table' once more, perhaps in the wake of success in Prague.[327] Sipalo

[322] 'Pan-African Congress Convened', London, England:, *The Times*, (1953); 'Pan-African Congress At Lusaka', London, England:, *The Times*, (1953). Sherwood's paper directed me to both of these articles.
[323] Munu Sipalo (Africa Bureau, New Delhi) to 'All African Youth and National Organisations' [nd], IISH Socialist International 513: Asian Socialist Conference.
[324] Munu Sipalo (Africa Burea, New Delhi) to Moses Kotane (London), 13 September 1955, ZNA Simon Zukas Personal Papers HM/PP/1 Correspondence 1952-64; Kenneth Kaunda to L.D.F Mukoboto, December 1955, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/13 African Bureau (India).
[325] Munu Sipalo (Africa Bureau, New Delhi) to 'All African Youth and National Organisations' [nd], IISH Socialist International 513: Asian Socialist Conference.
[326] Tanganyika Special Branch report on Oscar Kambona, 26 Juanuary 1959, UKNA FCO 141/17917 TANU personalities.
[327] Sipalo to Kaunda, 15 May 1956, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/13 African Bureau (India).

returned to London, obtained an Egyptian visa, and on 23 May 1956 travelled to Cairo, where concrete preparations for the conference began.[328]

The preparatory document, written by Sipalo as Secretary General of the African Liberation Committee, detailed a conference to be held, in Cairo, during the first week of August 1956. It would be 'the first formal come together of the African freedom light bearers', with representatives invited from twenty-nine liberation movements from across the continent, including Portuguese and French-speaking countries, as well as all of Anglophone sub-Saharan Africa. The conference agenda read more like an anticolonial tract than a concrete outline, the only 'organisational' element being the formation of a Political Committee, to ensure 'effective coordination' in the establishment of 'forces able to mobilise our people', and a Culture and Education Committee, to 'advance the African Culture' and consider the struggle for better education. 'Unity' was posited as a weapon to counter colonial 'divide and rule […] the cornerstone of European imperialism'. As such, Sipalo called for a 'solid and militant national force', and praised the Northern Rhodesian troops who, when placed in Nyasaland to quell opposition to the Central African Federation in 1953, 'thanks to the anticolonialism of brothers […] fired into sweet air'. Just like on the invitation to the Omdurman meeting, Sipalo wrote: 'Kindly avoid undue publicity for this meeting', in order to 'counteract unnecessary sensationalism and international tremors' and 'avoid possible leakages of the information that may lead to the restriction of various participants by the respective colonial governments'.[329]

On 26 July 1956, just a week before the conference was to take place, Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal. The ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau later reported shortly after that the conference had to be postponed, due to 'unexpected political developments' (these developments, of course, constituted an international crisis and a powerful symbol in the anticolonial imagination – Cairo and Sipalo will be returned to in chapter three). What Sipalo was presented with in New Delhi was indeed a vision of large-scale transnational organisation in the vein of Bandung, but it was a vision out of reach. In his letter to Kaunda in May 1956, Sipalo lamented that leaders from Northern Rhodesia had 'always struggled to convene an All African Conference' and anticipated his role in the Cairo conference not as 'a Northern Rhodesian' but 'as an African'.[330] Neither the patronage of an organisation like the ASC, nor

[328] Report on Munukayumbwa Sipalo [nd, probably 1957] UKNA FCO 141/17744 Nationalist organs.
[329] Publication of the conference of the 'Special Committee of all the liberation movements in Africa', Cairo, 1-7 August 1956, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/13 African Bureau (India).
[330] Sipalo to Kaunda, 15 May 1956, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/13 African Bureau (India).

the support it gave him to create a new organisation like the Africa Bureau, could overcome Sipalo's limited freedoms as a colonial subject, or those of potential conference participants. The distribution of *Resurgent Africa* and, as shall be explored in chapter three, working through the existing mechanics of the ASC, were not the result of a political vision any less radical than that of Bandung, but of the curtailed possibilities of anticolonial organisation.

2.4 Abu Mayanja and the turn to East and Central Africa in British anticolonialism

Mayanja arrived in Britain, in July 1953, during a transformative moment in British anticolonial activism: the Africa Bureau and the Movement for Colonial Freedom (MCF), arguably the two most important pressure groups involved in African decolonisation, were formed in March 1952 and April 1954.[331] The turn away from European coordination and towards contacts with liberation groups, as outlined above, was well underway. Parallel to developments in the anticolonial politics of socialist internationalism, under the influence of the Asian Socialist Conference, the shift in British anticolonialism was driven by two other, related factors: the emergence on the British Left (within and without party politics) of an interested and increasingly informed set of individuals, and a series of crises in East and Central Africa during the period 1952-53, in the form of the Mau Mau uprising, the imposition of the Central African Federation and the exile of the Kabaka of Buganda. The relationship between these various levels depended on the presence in Britain of political exiles, visiting delegations, and young activists with connections to newly formed political parties. Working through the limitations of a British anticolonial culture shaped these activists' emphasis on publicity and freedom of speech – and ultimately their disillusionment.

Scholarship on twentieth-century British anticolonialism has largely failed to recognise the importance of this generation of young activists from East and Central Africa as motors in the work of anticolonial lobbying and pamphleteering groups based in London. Nor has it asked how the anticolonial world that activists stepped into appeared to them. The most important overview of British anticolonialism, written by Stephen Howe in 1993, asked instead whether the work of various groups and individuals on the political left impacted British policy on decolonisation. They did so only marginally, Howe concluded, by establishing an 'accountability by proxy' between colonial subjects and the British Government, by way of

[331] Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics*, 198, 232.

raising colonial issues in the House of Commons.[332] Howe's approach revolved around Westminster and 'British' public opinion, rarely considering currents beyond national borders – the role of the ASC in shaping the anticolonialism of the Socialist International is, for example, absent. Crucially, although Howe points to the existence of links between British groups and anticolonial liberation groups, he engages little with studies of black politics in Britain and concludes that the 'brief encounters' that took place outside of formal politics are 'almost impossible to recover'.[333]

Research since has powerfully revised this final point. This has been most successful in the work of Nicholas Owen (mainly on India), in histories of anti-Apartheid, and in various studies of London as a cosmopolitan 'hub' for ideas about empire in the pre-1945 period.[334] Personal and informal networks have assumed a central role in many of these studies, as have more nuanced considerations of race, emotions, and the guiding cultural threads of anticolonial work. All these provide inspiring material for revising Howe's picture of anticolonialism in the 1950s, as does Christoph Kalter's revisionist interpretation of the French Left that brings the global context to the fore in ways that the scholarship on Britain has not.[335] With all this in mind, I suggest that the significance of British anticolonialism had less to do with its 'success' in affecting British government policy than it did as one side of a dialogue with a generation of activists who were involved in defining the (im)possibilities of transnational anticolonial work in East and Central Africa.

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[332] Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics*, 316–327. Howe's work spoke most to British historiography at the time concerned with 'explaining' decolonisation in terms of British, international and colonial nationalist dynamics, notably John Darwin, *Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1988). Other important work in this current includes: David Goldsworthy, *Colonial Issues in British Politics 1945-1961: From 'colonial Development' to 'Wind of Change'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); WM Roger Louis and Ronald Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Decolonization', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 22 (1994); Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Imperialists at Bay: British Labour and Decolonization', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 27 (1999). Although scholarship on black British politics was limited, prior to the mid-1990s, one important work was Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[333] Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics*, 25.

[334] Nicholas Owen, 'Critics of Empire in Britain', in WM Roger Louis and Judith M Brown (eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Nicholas Owen, *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-Imperialism, 1885-1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Owen, 'Four Stratws'; Elizabeth M. Williams, *The Politics of Race in Britain and South Africa: Black British Solidarity and the Anti-Apartheid Struggle* (Basingstoke: I.B.Tauris, 2015); Audie Klotz, 'Transnational Activism and Global Transformations: The Anti-Apartheid and Abolitionist Experiences', *European Journal of International Relations*, 8 (2002); Matera, *Black London*; Hakim Adi, 'Pan-Africanism and West African Nationalism in Britain', *African Studies Review*, 43 (2000); Simon Gikandi, 'Pan-Africanism and Cosmopolitanism: The Case of Jomo Kenyatta', *English Studies in Africa*, 43 (2000); Gandhi, *Affective Communities*; Alison Smith, '"Dear Mr Mboya": Correspondence with a Kenya Nationalist', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 19 (1991).

[335] Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World*.

In Britain around 1950 there was a dearth of research, up-to-date reporting and interest relating to politics in British African territories – perhaps those in East and Central Africa most of all. The dispute surrounding the dethronement of Seretse Khama, *kgosi* (king) of the Ngwato people of the Protectorate of Bechuanaland, following his marriage to white British woman Ruth Williams in 1947, was symbolic of the issues that would dominate anticolonial debates, revolving around South Africa's influence in the region and the place of white settlers in decolonisation.[336] That it so captured the public imagination and the passions of activists, however, is also illustrative of the dominance, during this period, of single-issue campaigns over any consideration of anticolonial dynamics in Africa as a whole.

When journalist Basil Davidson, who went on to pioneer histories of pre-colonial Africa, became interested in African affairs around 1950 he was General Secretary of the Union for Democratic Control (UDC) a pressure group formed in 1914 to campaign for democratic involvement in foreign policy: Davidson was largely responsible for the UDC's turn towards Africa from 1950. Looking back on the period, he recalled the lack of publications on the political situation in East and Central Africa: to obtain the material required for campaigns, one had to 'go immediately to the source, to the Africans'.[337] In this vein, the UDC, with the input of Oxford-based Marxist Africanist Thomas Hodgkin, organised a conference in October 1950 titled 'Crisis in Africa', inviting African students that were in London at the time (a different demographic to those who would be found there five years later: they were mainly from West Africa and the only East African who seems to have attended was Kenyan Charles Njonjo who on his return to Kenya provided legal support for the colonial government in the suppression of Mau Mau). Davidson, on his copy of the conference proceedings, later wrote: 'This is what started us all off'.[338]

In forging the contacts that would facilitate a greater knowledge base on African politics, British anticolonial organisations were concerned about the question of 'respectability', which revolved around (imagined) associations with communism. Historians of the British Left have shown how marginal the Communist Party was to anticolonial thought and activism, especially after 1956 but, regardless, the language of 'infiltration', especially that of Trotskyists, coloured

[336] The campaign attracted huge public support. See Susan Williams, *Colour Bar: The Triumph of Seretse Khama and His Nation* (London: Allen Lane, 2006). The book was the basis for Amma Asante's 2016 film *A United Kingdom*.
[337] Transcript of an interview with Basil Davidson, conducted by Barry Munslow, North Wootton, 2 August 1988, Personal Papers of Basil Davidson.
[338] 'Crisis in Africa', Personal Papers of Basil Davidson.

the approach of anticolonial groups to African contacts.[339] For example, when Hastings Banda (renowned among the leaders of independent Africa for his conservatism and having spent most of his life abroad; at this time practising as a medical doctor in London) supported Michael Scott's formation of the Africa Bureau in April 1952, he requested that the Bureau be wary of dealing with one Simon Zukas and Zukas's Ndola Action Group because the group had been accused of communist sympathies.[340] Banda feared that his 'influence' in Britain might be damaged by being linked to such figures and although he claimed to have no personal problem with Zukas, Banda preferred to avoid 'anything that might give our enemies ammunition'.[341] In fact, the Bureau shared Banda's distrust: Audrey Jupp, Secretary of the UDC, recalled in her memoirs Scott's concern about maintaining respectability by avoiding 'extremists'.[342] Zukas, meanwhile (who we met in chapter one in relation to the *Freedom Newsletter*) remembers this atmosphere of accusations when he was exiled to London in December 1952, particularly how it seemed to him and his African colleagues to be a peculiarly European problem that got in the way of the issue of the anti-Federation campaign and wider movement for self-determination as viewed from Northern Rhodesia.[343]

In this way, the dividing line in British anticolonialism, noted by Howe and others since, between the radical (MCF) and liberal-humanitarian (Africa Bureau) wings of the socialist Left would have been experienced quite differently by someone like Mayanja. Individuals like Zukas, as well as Basil Davidson, Thomas Hodgkin and author Doris Lessing, who were largely outside of Labour Party circles as well as Christian educational groups like the Africa Bureau, were more likely to develop personal relationships with young activists like Mayanja. This would largely have happened through the West African Students Union (WASU) where Mayanja was taken by Peter Wright (who Mayanja's guardian described as the 'Patron Saint of all Africans in London').[344] Mayanja's own relationship to the idea of 'respectability' and

[339] Josiah Brownell, 'The Taint of Communism: The Movement for Colonial Freedom, the Labour Party, and the Communist Party of Great Britain, 1954-70', *Canadian Journal of History*, 42 (2007). Evan Smith, *British Communism and the Politics of Race* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 8–14; Ian Birchall, '"Vicarious Pleasure"? The British Far Left and the Third World, 1956-79', in Evan Smith and Matthew Worley (eds.), *Against the Grain: The British Far Left from 1956* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).
[340] A recent biography of Banda is Lwanda, *Kamuzu Banda of Malawi: A Study in Promise, Power and Legacy*.
[341] Hastings Banda to Michael Scott, 15 March 1952, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 240 File 1 Banda correspondence 1951-65.
[342] Jupp, *Nor lose the common touch* (1990), unpublished memoirs, Hull History Centre Papers of Audrey Jupp-Thomas (hereafter DJT) DJT/5, p. 170.
[343] Interview with Simon Zukas, Lusaka, 14 September 2017.
[344] Bishop Stuart to L.M. Boyd, 23 March 1953, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A.K. Mayanja.

West African extremism is better illustrated in his letter to 'friends' at home, which was published in the Luganda missionary newspaper, *Ebifa*.

> You should not think that all these people from West Africa are extraordinarily clever – far from that – they are not cleverer than we are […] But they are men! They resist tyranny and can say exactly what they want to say […] "You cannot ask or request for independence. It is yours by right. You just assert your independence" they said.[345]

Larger numbers of West African students, organised around WASU, meant that figures like Basil Davidson were better informed about anticolonial movements in this region and more likely to write about them.[346] To 'say exactly what you want to say' – to exercise freedoms of speech – was central to Mayanja's idea of successful activism.

The importance of self-expression in Mayanja's anticolonial vision became clearer still in his correspondence with the Uganda 'liaison officer', L.A. Mathias, who wrote to Mayanja concerned about the content of articles that he had published in the British Labour weekly, *Tribune*, during spring 1954. Mayanja replied that his articles 'were critical of the Uganda government and were meant to be'. The justification for this revolved around misinformation and ignorance:

> I have discovered a serious lack of information in the general public here about Uganda affairs (especially before the Kabaka crisis) and I thought this was most undesirable if Britain was to discharge her obligations for Uganda satisfactorily […] I was very furious to learn, when I came here, that Uganda had somehow earned the reputation of being the Black Man's Paradise. You and I know that it is no such thing.[347]

This was a common experience: when Catherine Chipembere arrived to study at the Domestic Sciences College in Bath, she was surprised to learn that her fellow students associated political problems in 'Africa' simply with those of apartheid South Africa.[348] Mayanja later told Mathias that he had written a letter to the editor of the *Times* in February, correcting some unfounded observations of the *Times* Kampala correspondent relating to the *Kabaka*, but the *Times* did not publish his letter. He presented the problem to Mathias: 'writing to Tribune or the New

[345] Abu Mayanja, 'Letter to friends', *Ebifa*, 15 August 1953, reproduced in English translation in UKNA FCO 141/18246 A.K. Mayanja.
[346] For example, the pamphlet: Thomas Hodgkin, *Africa and the Future: Freedom for the Gold Coast?* (Union for Democratic Control, 1951)
[347] Abu Mayanja to L.A. Mathias, 12 March 1954, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A.K. Mayanja.
[348] Interview with Catherine Chipembere, Lilongwe, 18-20 July 2017.

Statesman seems to be a waste of time, preaching, as it were, to the converted. But what can I do, if the other side will not touch my stuff?'. Mayanja had expected the *Times* to publish the letter, which he considered 'a sensible, moderate, honest presentation of the facts' which 'did not accuse them [of] malice or even deliberate lying, which were evident in their article'. He concluded: 'If the other side will not have the truth from our point of view, then we must utilise those who will listen to us'.[349]

Lobbying groups, magazines and individuals were, to Mayanja, 'those who will listen to us', and they were increasingly inclined to listen to East and Central Africans in the context of the regional crises of 1952-53. Indeed, these events were formative to British anticolonialism in the early 1950s. The anti-Federation campaign, as Howe has outlined, solidified the tensions between Michael Scott's Africa Bureau and the circles that would form Fenner Brockway's MCF: essentially both sought to lead the campaign, and attract the support of well-known African personalities like Hastings Banda.[350] Scott told the Labour group that setting up another committee would be 'bewildering to Africans who are already uncertain where to turn for support', using the fact that the Africa Bureau had worked closely with the delegations from Central Africa as reason for allowing the Africa Bureau to lead the coordinating efforts.[351]

Mayanja, already in touch with Scott and Brockway before moving to Britain, worked with both individuals without any sign of 'bewilderment'. His knowledge of and contacts within nationalist groups in Uganda and more widely (via Makerere) were an important prize in inter-organisational conflict. Audrey Jupp, Secretary General of the UDC, recalled that '[w]hen African politicians came to London at the Africa Bureau's invitation […] every effort would be made […] to prevent them from contacting [the UDC] or any other organisation in the field'.[352] Similarly, Zukas described a 'tug of war' between various organisations; Joshua Nkomo, from Southern Rhodesia, recalled in his autobiography that the 'organisations were positively jealous of each other. Each wanted to work with me […] that way they could get publicity, increase their membership and gain the satisfaction of feeling they were useful'.[353] It

[349] Abu Mayanja to L.A. Mathias, 29 April 1954, UKNA FCO 141/18246 A.K. Mayanja, UKNA.
[350] Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics*, 196–200.
[351] Michael Scott to Leslie Hale, 24 June 1952, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 29 File 6 Other organisations: Central Africa Committee 1952-53.
[352] Jupp, *Nor lose the common touch* (1990), unpublished memoirs, DJT/5, p. 171.
[353] Interview with Simon Zukas, Lusaka, 14 September 2017; Joshua Nkomo, *Nkomo: The Story of My Life* (Harare: SAPES, 2001), 81.

was not only ideological differences but the structures of lobbying group work that made them compete for contacts and refuse to cooperate more broadly.

Indeed, it is entirely overlooked in existing literature on the campaign that organised resistance to the Federation during 1952 came not only from Central Africa and Britain, but also from East Africa. In August, Joseph Murumbi (prior to the state of Emergency, prior to his departure to India – and incidentally, during the Makerere strike) wrote to Michael Scott informing him of the formation, on 29 July, of an Anti-Federation League in Nairobi.[354] The League had the aim of 'consolidating public opinion in these [East and Central African] territories against the scheme', not only in solidarity with Central Africans but because of fears that it would 'only be a matter of time' before the settler-capitalist federation 'spread' to East Africa. Murumbi asked Scott to share information on the League with Central African leaders, who Murumbi would have struggled to contact from Nairobi both due to postage censorship and lack of information about who represented African opinion in the territories. Murumbi was also in touch with Brockway, who had visited Kenya in 1950 and would return in October that year. Opposition to colonial federations in general stimulated a perception across East and Central Africa that national issues were regional issues, but the difficulties of moving and communicating over national borders meant that this often happened via London.

For example, Mayanja wrote two articles on the Mau Mau uprising, one for the Luganda language *Ebifa* in January 1953 (before leaving Uganda) and another for *Cambridge Left* magazine in spring 1954. Broadly, both articles argue for understanding (though not justifying) Mau Mau as a consequence of the dispossession of Kikuyu land by European settlers – this was in line with the interpretation offered by the British socialist lobby.[355] Both articles also give a sense of Mau Mau as specifically colonial but not specific to the Kenyan or Kikuyu reality: this was not only part of a discourse of 'African' anticolonial solidarity, but also typical of the use of Mau Mau by activists from elsewhere as a symbol for the potential for violent uprisings – a reminder of bargaining power.

[354] J. Murumbi and I.H. Gathanju to Michael Scott, 26 August 1952, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) AB/290/2 Kenya: Anti-federation League and Murumbi correspondence 1952-53.
[355] On British attitudes to Mau Mau, see Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics*, 201–207; Joanna Lewis, 'Daddy Wouldn't Buy Me a Mau Mau: The British Popular Press and the Demoralisation of Empire', in John Lonsdale and E. S Atieno Odhiambo (eds.), *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority and Narration* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003).

More pertinently, the main difference between the articles is a shift in focus from the material circumstances of the uprising to the portrayal of the uprising in the press. The *Ebifa* article challenged the idea put forward by a member of the Ugandan Legislative Council that 'good sense' would prevent a similar rebellion in Uganda: 'Good sense alone won't do for people who are despised on account of their colour, economically exploited, earning less than a subsistence wage, herded together owing to lack of land'. In contrast, in the *Cambridge Left* article, Mayanja outlined a systemic pattern of interpretation: 'An ignorant public is fed by a partisan press […] until everybody is converted to the view that the [anti]Colonial Movement is guilty, that it does not want progress, but is, in fact, motivated by atavistic tendencies, that only by the use of force can Authority deal with such a phenomenon'. In Mayanja's second article, then, the fuel for violence was not only material deprivation but also a lack of representation for addressing grievances.

This shift in focus can in part be understood by way of the readership of the two publications and the time that had elapsed since the uprising itself.[356] But it must also be placed against the backdrop of Mayanja's arrival in Britain. His experience of carrying out anticolonial work in Britain was one of being marshalled through often quite arbitrary ideas of 'respectability' (away from Peter Wright and WASU, for example), one of public ignorance on African affairs and the inefficacy of pressure groups that were absorbed in internal conflict, partly over the African contacts who provided them with their legitimacy.

In the context of the Federation and Kabaka crises, the perceived failure of British anticolonial supporters to represent events as activists experienced them, and thereby address misinformation in the public sphere of the sort encountered in the colonial press of the region itself, provoked a larger sense of disillusionment. As Murumbi wrote in his letter about the Anti-Federation League, 'Africans will be tempted to doubt the genuineness or value of British Democracy if their protests continue to be ignored'.[357] The message was similar in a statement of Mayanja's UNC co-founder Ignatius Musazi on the deportation of the Kabaka: 'disappointed in the hope of getting justice through the means of peace and honest give-and-take discussions, my people will be obliged to find justice by positive action'.[358] With echoes of the rhetoric

[356] *Ebifa* was a Luganda newspaper, published by a protestant missionary since 1907, one of the most successful and liberal vernacular newspapers in colonial East Africa. See Peterson and Hunter, 'Print Culture in Colonial Africa', 8.
[357] J. Murumbi and I.H. Gathanju to Michael Scott, 26 August 1952, Africa Bureau Box 290 File 2 Kenya: Anti-federation League and Murumbi correspondence 1952-53.
[358] Statement by Ignatius Musazi [nd], Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 28 File 2 Other Organisations: Anti-Slavery Society correspondence 1951-70.

surrounding the Makerere strike, the crises of 1952-53 – and the relationships between British anticolonialism and East and Central African activists that they fostered – constituted a turning point in attitudes towards the press and its role in anticolonial work.

2.5 Multiracialism and Moral Re-Armament

The final section of this chapter follows Mayanja, perhaps unexpectedly, to a retreat centre of the Moral Re-Armament (MRA), perched above Lake Geneva in Caux, Switzerland, where he spent ten days in September 1953, shortly after arriving in Britain. MRA, under the leadership of an American Lutheran minister of Swiss descent named Frank Buchman, had formed in 1938 in the context of European rearmament. In 1946, MRA purchased a former hotel in Caux for use as a European reconciliation centre, hosting conferences and retreats whose participants included high-ranking French and German ministers. During the 1950s, Buchman and MRA made a concerted effort to expand their work into African and Asian countries moving towards independence, under the banner of a multi-faith, multiracial, spiritual and moral movement.[359]

MRA occupies a peculiar place in the historical record. Its connection to decolonisation and questions of race remains unexplored – indeed there is no suggestion that the group or its spiritual worldview had a decisive impact on anticolonial activists. By Western contemporaries involved in anticolonial activism, MRA was 'always thought of as a great joke', in the words of Thomas Fox-Pitt of the British Anti-Slavery Society.[360] This dismissal of MRA as an ineffective cult sits comfortably with the quite different visions of anticolonial work imagined by individuals like Fox-Pitt, but when trying to understand the experience of activism for young East and Central Africans, this is less clear. Rather than an aberration from the 'normal' range of anticolonial possibilities, MRA's Caux retreat centre was within a constellation of experiences that informed the anticolonial culture of this generation. Precisely because it was not taken seriously by many contemporaries, the importance of the frustrations, contradictions and narrow-mindedness encountered at Caux are even more visible. In this reading, MRA was the epitome of the limitations of working with (liberal, Western) anticolonial organisations and serves as potent window onto the relationship between experience and political thought.

[359] Philip Boobbyer, *The Spiritual Vision of Frank Buchman* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).
[360] Thomas Fox-Pitt, undated handwritten notes in his letter books, SOAS Special Collections Fox-Pitt Personal Papers PPMS/6/1/1.

Mayanja reflected in some detail on his trip to Caux in a nine-page, type-written document, signed by him and dated 3 October 1953, found in the papers of Michael Scott's Africa Bureau. Probably Mayanja sent it to the Africa Bureau hoping it would be published, but there is no suggestion that it ever was. Mayanja stated that he decided to go out of 'curiosity' after the trip had been recommended to him by the Bishop, his 'guardian', to help Mayanja 'lie politically fallow'.[361] Indeed, Bishop Stuart paid Mayanja's travel costs in order to dissuade him from spending the week in London with Peter Wright.[362] This would probably not have been the first time Mayanja had heard of MRA: they performed a play at Makerere in early 1952. Indeed, throughout the early 1950s, MRA was a general reference point among East and Central Africans involved in international anticolonial work. For example, when Joseph Murumbi was involved in organising the Margate conference and heard that Jean Rous had joined MRA, he wrote in correspondence that this would be 'a damned nuisance'.[363] George Padmore wrote that African nationalists accepted invitations from MRA in order to obtain a passport to visit Europe, rather than through any genuine interest.[364]

Yet MRA was not routinely dismissed. In 1959 Nigel Heseltine of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation wrote to Julius Nyerere, noting the importance of 'moral absolutes' in the development of leaders, and suggesting that Nyerere run a multi-religious seminar for this purpose and that he watch the MRA film *Freedom*.[365] MRA's pairing of anticommunism and multiracialism gave them more credence in Western international circles than the label of 'cult' might suggest. This was mirrored among educated young people in East and Central Africa. In May 1955, the Makerere *Undergraduate* published an article titled 'What is the solution?' in which the author argued that the Cold War setting can be understood by way of historical tensions between political and religious currents. 'The one way of defeating an idea is by introducing a better one', it proposed, hence with the rise of Napoleon there was a rise of Evangelical movements, with Mussolini the rise of Catholicism, with Hitler a 'wide Christian movement', with Mau Mau a 'revival' of 'Christian campaigns', and finally the 'Marx-Engeles-Lenninist [sic] doctrine' had been met by the rise of Moral Re-Armament 'on a world-wide scale'. The author situated MRA within the dynamic of forces that defined the world in

[361] Abu Mayanja, 'Buchman and Caux', Africa Bureau (Bodleain Library) Box 294 File 6 Uganda: Mayanja correspondence 1952-61, p. 1.
[362] Bishop Cyril Stuart to L.M. Boyd, 29 August 1953, UKNA FCO141/18246 A.K. Mayanja.
[363] Joseph Murumbi to Douglas Rogers, 29 March 1955, KNA MAC/COPAI/156/11: Correspondence between the English Offices of COPAI 1948-50.
[364] Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa*, 150.
[365] Heseltine to Julius Nyerere, 9 November 1959, Julius Nyerere Resource Centre CCM 3/72.

which anticolonial work was taking place and argued that 'Christianity has failed'.[366] The insertion of Christianity into a political worldview was quite natural in a context where Christian missions had such a prominent role in education.

Mayanja had been brought up in a Muslim household and education system, but his involvement with MRA adds another layer to Jonathan Earle's interpretation of Mayanja's political and intellectual life as revolving around Islam.[367] Mayanja was deeply cynical towards the MRA. He recounted that meals were followed by 'quiet time', during which those sat around the table would close their eyes and seek divine guidance, then share with the group whatever they had been 'told'. The other delegates, Mayanja wrote, would all say:

> in various phrases, that God had told them that Abu was destined to bring peace, happiness, prosperity to Africa and to the world, through Moral Re-Armament and through the application of the principal of change. Then everybody would turn eager, expectant eyes towards Abu, to hear what he had to say. At first I would side-track them by saying that I hadn't had any thoughts – which was not true seeing that I was always thinking what a set of liars my companions must be. Sometimes I would answer, quite truthfully, that I'd been thinking about the girl who had served us at the mealtime. But usually I would utter such platitudes as – "The people of the different races in Africa must learn to work together for a 'Happy Africa'", or, "Africa will be the pivot on which world events will turn", or "I must be careful of London prostitutes" – or something equally silly.[368]

The ritualistic nature of discussion at Caux coupled with its lofty ideals appeared absurd to Mayanja, as did the extent to which his engagement with it was prescribed – he resigned himself to adopting the persona that MRA wanted, just as he probably did in other scenarios. It is precisely because MRA was widely regarded as ridiculous (for example, by the Africa Bureau) that Mayanja was able to write an open account that goes to the heart of the way in which young activists engaged with discussions of an African future with people who were completely external to national and even colonial dynamics, offering opinions that fitted with the thrust of these discussions, while maintaining some distance from them.

The report allowed Mayanja to engage with broader issues by way of describing his experience, in particular with the topical question of multiracialism. He wrote that at Caux he was continually introduced to white settlers from Kenya, South Africa and Central Africa,

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[366] 'What is the solution?', *The Undergraduate* Vol. 1 No. 7, 25 May 1955, Makerere Archives AR/MAK/159/7 The Undergraduate 1954-5.
[367] Earle, *Colonial Buganda and the End of Empire*, 140–176.
[368] Abu Mayanja, 'Buchman and Caux', Africa Bureau (Bodleain Library) Box 294 File 6 Uganda: Mayanja correspondence 1952-61, p. 5.

apparently in order to demonstrate the success of MRA in changing racist settler attitudes, reporting with obvious irony: 'I was impressed. One of my Kenyan settler friends, told me that Caux had changed him sufficiently radically to enable him to endure having lunch with me on the same table'. Multiracialism had rapidly shifting connotations in this period: in a 1960 conference the Secretary of the African Development Trust said that East and Central Africa had witnessed 'the birth, the life and now […] the death of this concept of the multi-racial society'.[369] In the context of the imposition of the Central African Federation (August 1953), 'multiracialism' and 'partnership' were keywords in discussions across the political spectrum in Britain and Africa. For a generation of activists now calling for one-man one-vote self-government, 'multiracial' signified apartheid-style politics, the opposite of an 'African' state (as Andrew Cohen declared Uganda) where 'immigrant races' were (conditionally) welcome.[370] Such associations were clear in Murumbi's Nairobi-based Anti-Federation League too: one aim was to 'save Africa from the creeping paralysis of Malanism', a reference to the apartheid policies of South African Prime Minister D.F. Malan, and members employed the 'salute of the fighters for freedom in South Africa' of a raised right hand with the thumb pointing upwards.[371] Routine encounters like Mayanja's (in diverse multiracial settings beyond the MRA) were of course the basis for widespread rejection of the policies that the term implied. However, in the public sphere in Mayanja's Britain, especially following Mau Mau, African critics of 'multiracial' policies (which generally implied indefinite safeguards for Europeans on representative bodies) were in danger of being branded 'racialist' and extremist, but in this account Mayanja could turn around such accusations by pairing the limitations of multiracialism with the absurdity (widely agreed on) of the MRA.

Mayanja translated the experience of MRA's dogmatic methods into wider ideas about colonial contradictions. If you stayed at Caux for more than two days, 'you would have the pleasure of listening to the same speaker, giving the same speech, over and over again'. Speakers 'spoke from bits of paper, all saying more or less the same thing'; Mayanja discovered that speeches were censored by the MRA leadership. This led him to the conclusion 'that free speech was not as prized by Western Christian civilisation as one might expect from perusing such

[369] Peter Kuenstler, 'Panorama of Africa', speech at 'Conference on Africa', Oxford, 2-3 July 1960, KNA MAC/KEN/80/1 UK Meetings, Conference on Africa July 1960.
[370] James Sangala (NAC) made this distinction shortly before resigning: NAC Press Statement, 15 January 1956, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 238 File 4 NAC correspondence (1955-61). Kanyama Chiume criticised 'artificial multi-racialists' in his untitled article in *Kwaca*, Vol. 1 No. 6, November 1955, MNA.
[371] Anti-Federation League 'Aims and Objectives', Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 290 File 2 Kenya: Anti-federation League and Murumbi correspondence 1952-53.

unorthodox documents as the United Nations Charter', a comment that foreshadows his frustrations with the British press in the months to come. In the end, Mayanja 'couldn't stand it any longer'. 'If the New [converted] World would be like this', he mused, 'then I would rather stay in Darkest Africa'. On declaring he wanted to return to London, however, Mayanja was told that this was guidance from 'the devil'. The sessions were often used in this way: when Lawrence Katilungu, president of the African Mineworkers Union of Northern Rhodesia, visited Caux in 1951 he was told during 'quiet time' that God did not approve of the strike he was organising.[372] Mayanja was determined, however, and left on foot, passport in pocket. The document's 'postscript' added that since returning to London he had heard that 'when the MRA people feel very strongly guided that an African must partake of their hospitality much longer than he thinks, they stretch their kindness to even taking care of his passport'.[373]

In the practical world of transnational anticolonial activism, MRA was at the margins. However, Mayanja's account of his trip to Caux is less about MRA as a movement than it is about the frustrations and humiliations of working with an organisation rife with contradictions, which was more interested in 'guiding' Africans than it was in listening to them. It was the experience of spending time at Caux, rather than a straight-forward dismissal of their anticommunist spiritualism, that shaped Mayanja's ideas about freedom of speech. That similar accounts of the London-based Africa Bureau or Movement for Colonial Freedom do not exist is not only a question of their relatively more open, informed and aware politics. It also reflects that, in these organisations' own world of competition and cooperation, they formed the respectable, progressive 'centre' where MRA was 'fringe' – a fact that was perhaps not so obvious to the African activists with whom they worked.

Conclusion

In a sense, Sipalo and Mayanja both 'caught' (like a passing train) the developments that took place within the anticolonial world of socialist internationalism during the period 1952-55. They were well placed to provide information to newly formed organisations about events 'at home'. These events were already pushing East and Central Africa into the limelight of anticolonial activism in Britain and Asia, raising questions about 'multiracial' societies and the

[372] Thomas Fox-Pitt, undated handwritten notes in his letter books, SOAS Special Collections Fox-Pitt Personal Papers PPMS/6/1/1.
[373] Abu Mayanja, 'Buchman and Caux', Africa Bureau (Bodleain Library) Box 294 File 6 Uganda: Mayanja correspondence 1952-61.

encroachment of South African influence. Activists like Mayanja and Sipalo could also act as a point of contact between external organisations like the ASC, MCF or the Africa Bureau, and the nationalist parties in the region, who otherwise were faced with restrictions of resources and censorship in publicising their work abroad. And it was precisely because young, mobile activists became important anticolonial resources that they were able to find some space to promote their own interests. This mobility often depended on negotiating scholarship opportunities in ways that played on the anxieties of the late colonial state. From this perspective, several factors coalesced in a unique way during the period.

And yet, it quickly became clear that simply 'getting out' of the colonial state, inserting oneself into a transnational anticolonial network, did not necessarily mean finding space for anticolonial work. This was less because of a lack of ideological commitment to anticolonialism on the part of external organisations and individuals (although this did matter) and more because of limiting organisational cultures: infighting, inefficiency and self-preservationism prevented young activists being provided with the resources and freedom they hoped for. The terms of debate had already been decided, and activists like Mayanja and Sipalo had to work within these. The sheer frustration of operating in this environment often prompted disillusionment, which would encourage activists to look for opportunities to broaden and diversify networks of sympathisers during the second half of the 1950s. But the stories of individual trajectories also highlight aspects of this experience that are less visible when analysing activism on a larger, collective scale: working outside of the borders of the colonial territory did not mean escaping other prescriptive and restrictive structures that governed publishing, conferences and public statements. Ultimately, it did not mean escaping the restrictions of being a colonial subject: mobility was conditioned by unequal negotiating powers, and the isolation imposed on colonial territories still functioned to prevent working relationships with external organisations. Increasingly felt was the need to make heard, circulate and win support for a vision of decolonisation that came from a new generation of educated activists from the region, but it appeared that this would require new patterns of regional and continental solidarity.

Chapter Three

Before Accra: Alternative solidarities and historical selves from Cairo to Mwanza, 1956-59

The All African Peoples Conference (AAPC) at Accra, 8-13 December 1958, is typically highlighted as a turning point in pan-Africanism and the decolonisation of Africa: it brought together leaders of liberation movements for the first time, in a city symbolic of the possibilities of sub-Saharan independence, with an international media presence to rival Bandung.[374] Recent historical accounts of the period have done much to nuance this narrative, even if research that scrutinises Accra's myth to the same extent as Bandung's remains to be done.[375] From the perspective of a generation of anticolonial activists from East and Central Africa, Accra was less a turning point than a culmination. The period preceding the AAPC was marked by sustained attempts to coordinate the work of liberation movements in much the same way as the AAPC sought to, some of these driven by this very set of individuals. In exploring some of the most significant of these attempts – these potential forerunners or alternatives to Accra – it is possible to decentre the AAPC. But this also allows us to ask how East and Central Africans were able to shape discourses about the relationship between independent and dependent states in Africa, and about the performance of various anticolonial 'solidarities' in the media eye.

The way that this generation of activists reacted to plans for Accra and its alternatives was in intense dialogue with the political developments 'at home'. In 1958-59, splits and splinter groups, variously framed, reconfigured the course of nationalist politics in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Uganda – and in some sense Tanganyika. Recent scholarship in the first three

[374] Boukari-Yabara, *Africa Unite* Chapter 11; Adi, *Pan-Africanism* Chapter 7; Jeffrey S. Ahlman, 'Road to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa and the Eclipse of a Decolonizing Africa', *Kronos*, (2011). For a contemporary account of Accra's historical relevance, see George Houser, 'A report on the All African Peoples Conference', Archives of the American Committee on Africa, online at http://africanactivist.msu.edu/document_metadata.php?objectid=32-130-D84 [accessed 10 December 2014].
[375] Terretta, 'Cameroonian Nationalists Go Global'; Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism*.

cases has uncovered the contested terrain of party politics during this period, a terrain previously hidden beneath nationalist narratives which identified the party (and leader) who took power at independence as natural successors to any movements that had preceded them.[376] The exception is perhaps Tanganyika, where Nyerere's presidency of TANU meant that splintering instead appeared as purging, during 1958, which has received little attention.[377] This chapter does not depart from any of these histories of internal party politics. Rather, through reference to each, it recasts nationalist transformations in regional and continental terms. Perhaps Accra was less about the slogans of West African pan-Africanists leading the continent than it was about a conversation within this generation about the performance and projection of an image (of the party, as of the continent) in an international forum. Through discussion about publicity, the press, and the historical significance of their own generation, these activists – not always deliberately – were preparing for Accra.

3.1 The Asian Socialist Conference Second Anti-Colonial Bureau, Bombay, November 1956

In 1959, after the Accra conference, the AAPC Secretary General, then George Padmore, sent the conference bulletin to U Hla Aung, the president of the Anti-Colonial Bureau of the Asian Socialist Conference (ASC) in Rangoon. Hla Aung thanked Padmore and said he was 'quite happy to welcome this new organisation of yours'. Not unreservedly, however: 'I want to recall our contacts with the Freedom Movements in Africa since the birth of ASC in Rangoon in 1953', he wrote, highlighting East and Central Africa, which he had visited himself.[378] He seemed somewhat bitter about Accra's self-styled watershed. This might partly be explained by the decline of the ASC from 1956 in the face of divisions within member parties: by 1959 Hla Aung was half of the ASC Secretariat, while the African members of the Anti-Colonial Bureau had stronger connections to organisations based in Africa.[379] However, it also spoke to the fact that the ASC foreshadowed the AAPC's role as an external support base for liberation movements. Steered by Munu Sipalo's Africa Bureau, its November 1956 Bombay meeting

[376] On Zambia, see Macola, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa*, 68–72. On Malawi, see Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, 123–55. On Uganda, see Richard J. Reid, *A History of Modern Uganda* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
[377] For an example of older TANU men who had been part of the Tanganyika African Association, felt pushed aside by younger TANU men in the late 1950s, and joined the multi-racial United Tanganyika Party, see Hajivayanis, Mtowa, and Iliffe, 'The Politicians: Ali Ponda and Hassan Suleiman'.
[378] ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau (U Hla Aung) to AAPC Secretary General (George Padmore), 17 June 1959, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/8 Various Organisations (1953-58).
[379] Imlay, *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism*, 447.

had already reflected on the role that newly independent states should play in the liberation movement, and on the global nature of African decolonisation.

The 'Second Anti-Colonial Bureau', as the Bombay conference was referred to, was well publicised across East and Central Africa, but many leaders were prevented from attending. On being refused a passport for the event, TDT Banda, then President of the Nyasaland African Congress, wrote to the governor asking for an explanation, given that the ASC 'has nothing in common with communism' and '[a]ll air passage expenses were to be met by the conference'.[380] Kenneth Kaunda and his Northern Rhodesian delegation were prevented from attending under similar circumstances, as was Paul Muwanga of the Uganda National Congress Youth League.[381] Sipalo, arriving from Cairo, did not share these problems, and was able to present a memorandum to the Secretary General of the African Liberation Committee.[382]

The memorandum shifted away from the emphasis on solidarity and unity between liberation movements in Sipalo's agenda for the Cairo meeting and towards the role of independent states, a recurring theme in this chapter. Following his experiences of conference organisation in Cairo and Omdurman, Sipalo returned to India with some disillusionment about the role of new states: later he wrote to a colleague in the New Delhi Africa Bureau, Kenyan Elijah Omolo Agar, asking for his help in getting more funds for a potential conference from the ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau, because '[t]he Sudanese and the Egyptians have disappointed - this has made me open my eyes to the immensity of the struggle'.[383] At Bombay, he pursued the usefulness of newly independent states. The memorandum listed ten ways in which Asian socialists could assist African liberation movements. Four of these amounted to asking independent states to use their influence in the UN to build a common front against the South African Apartheid Government, limit the powers of colonial states to call a State of Emergency, call for the release of Kenyatta and hold accountable trustees of UN Trust Territories. But the majority, the other six, dealt with increased contact at a non-governmental level, for example through sympathisers raising funds for a pan-African conference (now envisaged for early 1957),

[380] TDT Banda to the Governor of Nyasaland, 21 January 1957, MNA SMP NAT.34 Nyasaland African Congress March 1955 - March 1959 (previously box 118, 22.25.3R).
[381] Kenneth Kaunda to U Hla Aung, 7 November 1956, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/8 Various organisations 1953-58; Paul Muwanga to IUSY 24 September 1956, IISH IUSY 1357 Documents on Uganda.
[382] Memorandum presented by the African Liberation Committee to the Asian Socialist Conference second Anti-Colonial Bureau 1-3 November 1956, Bombay, KNA MAC/CON/205/6 Asian Socialist Conference Second Anti-Colonial Bureau, Murumbi Africana Collection, KNA. Sipalo's authorship is not stated but given his presence as Secretary General of the (small) committee, his leadership in its production can be assumed.
[383] Munu Sipalo to Elijah Agar 6 July 1957, UKNA FCO 141/17744 Nationalist organs.

offering scholarships, or establishing African studies centres like that at New Delhi. The first and most lengthy suggestion is worth quoting. It argued that those present could help 'by encouraging the press of their respective [independent] countries to send representatives or appoint local correspondents in colonial centres to report back to their papers and give an account of the situation obtaining their [sic]. This way the truth about Africa will reach the whole world'.[384]

The memorandum also departed from the militant language of Sipalo's Cairo meeting; the new emphasis was on practical, concrete suggestions that could help overcome the limitations of transnational anticolonial work faced by activists whose civil liberties were curtailed, as Sipalo had experienced. Sipalo assumed the potential for global public opinion to affect the policy of colonial governments and in this sense the core problem, as in his Cairo invitation, was the isolation of colonial territories. The connections that Sipalo imagined, between on-the-ground realities and global forces within and beyond the UN, were a way to bypass the colonial state altogether, rather than confront it. Pan-Africanism was only one aspect of this larger vision.

Attached to the African Liberation Committee's memorandum, in a collection of papers that Joseph Murumbi saved from the event, is an undated and anonymous document providing 'background' to the ASC Anti-Colonial Bureau.[385] In summarising the problem of colonialism it mirrored almost perfectly Sipalo's memorandum. It highlighted the growing significance of the Afro-Asian bloc in the UN, whose primary tasks included obstructing the attempt of colonial powers 'to shield their interest in Dependent and Protectorate Territories under cover of "Domestic Jurisdiction". This move is towards the concept of international accountability'. It then details what it considers to be the central problems of liberation movements:

> All these freedom movements face the problem of educating the people politically. They need to publish newspapers, pamphlets and literature etc. Many of them have started and they want to set up their own press. In order to have close contact with the outside world, they must be able to attend International Conference [sic] and make Visits abroad. Lastly, it is important to send cadres for training with outside parties to study organisation on all levels and to study Social Services and Co-operative movements etc. Most of the [ASC member] parties agree to

[384] Memorandum presented by the African Liberation Committee to the Asian Socialist Conference second Anti-Colonial Bureau 1-3 November 1956, Bombay, KNA MAC/CON/205/6 Asian Socialist Conference Second Anti-Colonial Bureau.
[385] 'Background to the Anti-Colonial Bureau', KNA MAC/CON/205/6 Asian Socialist Conference Second Anti-Colonial Bureau.

> welcome cadres at their HQs. Here also comes the question of Passage Money. But so far the scheme has not yet materialised. One successful attempt is the offer of scholarships.[386]

Presumably the document was written by an Anti-Colonial Bureau executive member, either in preparation for the Bombay meeting, or as a post-hoc reflection on it. It surely bears some relationship to the Liberation Committee's memorandum, and with this in mind it seems more likely that the Anti-Colonial Bureau would have taken on board the Liberation Committee's memorandum in writing this document, rather than that the Africa Bureau would have styled their own memorandum on priorities already declared by the Anti-Colonial Bureau. It is fair to imagine that the discussions of the Anti-Colonial Bureau shaped Sipalo's approach to the struggle, but also that Sipalo's own experiences – frustrations – in trying to coordinate liberation movements, shaped the Anti-Colonial Bureau's understanding of the obstacles faced by anticolonial activists on a continent that many of those involved had never visited.

At the bottom of the memorandum were the addresses of the Liberation Committee's three offices. One was in Mongu, Northern Rhodesia, where Sipalo was born and soon returned to continue Committee work at a local level; the other two were in Kampala and Cairo.[387] Although he would still have had contact in New Delhi, Sipalo apparently did not consider the city a useful base for the Liberation Committee, which had grown out of the Africa Bureau he had formed there. Nor was Accra listed: Nkrumah's government in pre-independence Gold Coast could not issue passports nor bypass immigration controls and, prior to 1957, Nkrumah was directing his pan-African energies at exclusively West African cooperation.[388] The Kampala and Cairo offices reflect a fleetingly important alternative anticolonial geography specific to the networks that Sipalo had forged around the time of the Suez crisis.

3.2 The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation, Cairo, December 1957

That Sipalo's African Liberation Committee had a Cairo office by the end of 1956 is illustrative of the swift rise of Cairo as a hub for anticolonial activists from across the African continent in the aftermath of the Suez crisis. Many details of activities in Cairo during the late 1950s remain

[386] Memorandum presented by the African Liberation Committee to the Asian Socialist Conference second Anti-Colonial Bureau 1-3 November 1956, Bombay, KNA MAC/CON/205/6 Asian Socialist Conference Second Anti-Colonial Bureau.
[387] Memorandum presented by the African Liberation Committee to the Asian Socialist Conference second Anti-Colonial Bureau 1-3 November 1956, Bombay, KNA MAC/CON/205/6 Asian Socialist Conference Second Anti-Colonial Bureau.
[388] Sherwood, 'Pan-African Conferences, 1900-1953'.

obscure; the principal accounts date from the 1960s, drawing on conference publications and periodicals of what became the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO).[389] Typical of the 'conference lineage' approach, the Cairo conference is often placed on the road between Bandung, Accra and the Non-Aligned Conference in Belgrade.[390] This was not only the reading of Western political scientists: Fanon located Cairo on 'the Bandung-Accra axis' immediately after attending Accra.[391] Arriving at Cairo by way of John Kale, a Uganda National Congress (UNC) resident there 1957-69 as one of a handful of other East and Central African party representatives, sheds some light on what the city meant in terms of enabling transnational anticolonial activism.

John Komulyange Muhima Kalekezi occupies a peculiar position in the narrative of Ugandan independence, little acknowledged by academic historians but celebrated by veteran activists from Uganda: one described him as the 'chief coordinator of all the liberation movements in Africa'.[392] Memories of Kale have been shaped by an idea of martyrdom: in August 1960 colonial intelligence reported that Kale had died in a 'Russian aircraft accident' near Kiev, claiming that the news 'did not cause much interest' in Uganda.[393] No suspicions were raised about the accident, although ironically enough, Kale had been travelling to a conference to discuss an important figure killed in another aircraft suspected to have been shot down by American forces.[394] Narratives of Kale's life follow the public tributes paid to him after his death, notably by Munu Sipalo at the 1961 All-African People's Conference in Cairo, by Kenneth Kaunda at the 1962 PAFMECA conference in Addis Ababa, and at the Uganda independence celebrations.[395] In 2010, at a memorial event for the anniversary of Kale's death, Kale's son, then Inspector General of the Ugandan Police, presented a portrait of his father to president Yoweri Museveni. It is courtesy of Kale's cousin, Matayo Rugamba, who produced

[389] Mansfield, *Nasser's Egypt*.
[390] Colin Legum, *Bandung, Cairo and Accra: A Report on the First Conference of Independent African States* (London: Africa Bureau, 1958); Paul F Smets, *De Bandoeng à Moshi: contribution à l'etude des conférences afro-asiatiques (1955-1963)* (Bruxelles: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie, 1964).
[391] Frantz Fanon, 'The rising anti-imperialist movement and the slow-wits of pacification', *El Moudjahid* no. 34, 24 December 1958, reproduced in Frantz Fanon, *Alienation and Freedom*, eds. Jean Khalfa, Robert Young, and Steve Corcoran (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).
[392] J. M. Kavuma-Kaggwa, 'The UNC was the pioneer of Uganda's independence', *Daily Monitor*, 12 October 2010, 10.
[393] Uganda monthly intelligence appreciation for August 1960, UKNA FCO 141/18426 Uganda monthly intelligence appreciations Jan 1960 – August 1962.
[394] The document paying tribute to John Kale claims he was on his way to talks in Moscow regarding the 'Spy Plane crisis' of February 1960, relating to the testing of nuclear weapons in the Sahara.
[395] Munu Sipalo, speech at AAPC Cairo November 1961, KNA MAC/CON/187/3 3rd AAPC Speeches of delegates, 1961; Kenneth Kaunda, speech at PAFMESCA Addis Ababa February 1962, KNA MAC/CON/198/5 PAFMECA; *Afro-Asian Bulletin*, Vol IV, no 9-12, Sept-Dec 1962, 65.

a publication on Kale's life for this event, that I have been able to establish many of Kale's biographical details.

The almost legendary quality of accounts of Kale's work in Cairo is attested to by their factual discrepancies: for example, Kavuma Kaggwa, a journalist who worked with Kale before his departure to Cairo, claimed that Kale attended the first AAPC in Accra, December 1958, while Rugamba's biography states that at the time of the conference Kale was at the UN headquarters in New York, presenting the Rwanda-Urundi question to the Trusteeship council.[396] Colonial intelligence reports, meanwhile, claim he attended the second Conference of Independent African States (Addis Ababa, 1960) as a member of the Guinean delegation.[397] At the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference in December 1957, he was apparently given the stage for over an hour, despite not being scheduled to speak: he had not long arrived in Cairo and formed the UNC delegation to the conference together with four Ugandan students.[398] Rather than attempt to pin down Kale's activities during his time in Cairo, a consideration of Kale's life before Cairo serves as a backdrop for a reading of some of the archival traces of his time in Cairo.

Kale was born in 1932 in Uganda's south-western region, near the protectorate's borders with what was then the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. He attended St Mary's College, Kisubi, and enrolled at Makerere College to study veterinary medicine in 1952, immediately after the strike.[399] Like Mayanja, Kale was expelled before completing his degree. Involved in the Student Guild he attended a Soviet-sponsored conference of the International Union of Students (IUS) in Vienna in December 1955. When Kale failed to return to Makerere in time for the start of term, the Chief Secretary in Entebbe enquired as to how he was granted a passport. Being in possession of a letter from the Makerere principal permitting him to attend conferences in Vienna and Leiden, and given his destinations were west of the Iron Curtain, a passport had been issued.[400]

[396] Kavuma-Kaggwa, 'The UNC was the pioneer of Uganda's independence'; A tribute to John Kale, produced for a 2010 memorial event by family and friends, courtesy of Matayo Rugamba.
[397] 'Conference of independent African states, Addis Ababa, 13-24 June 1960', UKNA FCO 141/17755 AAPC Casablanca 61, AASC.
[398] A tribute to John Kale, produced for a 2010 memorial event by family and friends, courtesy of Matayo Rugamba, p. 9.
[399] A tribute to John Kale, produced for a 2010 memorial event by family and friends, courtesy of Matayo Rugamba.
[400] CPS Allen, Entebbe to Provincial Commissioner, Fort Portal, 16 February 1956, Makerere Archives AR/MAK/54/4 Student welfare: giving passports to students, correspondence 1955-57.

Slipping through the gaps in the cogs of the colonial bureaucracy, Kale made full use of his passport: leaving Uganda on 22 December 1955, he travelled to Vienna, then onwards to Prague and Bucharest, spent a week in Britain during February 1956, and travelled back to Uganda via Paris and Rome.[401] After Kale's return, De Bunsen continued to receive reports from the Chief Secretary about Kale's activities: the wife of Uganda's Commissioner for Community Development had travelled next to him on the plane, and reported that he was reading books about communism, and that he claimed to be the cousin of the *Mugabe* (the regional ruler) studying medicine in Paris.[402] Three days later, De Bunsen received another letter: in Rome, Kale had presented at the British Consulate claiming to be a UNESCO scholar and had been given a £25 'advance', which now needed to be recovered from him.[403] Although nominally expelled for missing the beginning of term, Kale clearly caused De Bunsen significant embarrassment.

Kale had already been involved in campaigns of the Uganda National Congress (UNC), such as the boycott of Queen Elizabeth's Uganda tour in 1954 and was allegedly involved in obtaining firearms for radical UNC members from the Cadet Corps Centre and Armoury at St. Mary's College Kisubi, his alma mater.[404] Following his expulsion he worked at the UNC's office in Katwe with Kavuma Kaggwa and Paulo Muwanga. Indeed, Muwanga was in touch with Siaplo when the latter was in Cairo in 1956 and may well have been the figure behind the African Liberation Committee's Kampala office, considering his attempt to attend Bombay.[405] At some point during 1956 or 1957, it was decided that Kale should establish the UNC Cairo office.

In the accounts of Kale's cousin and of Kavuma Kaggwa, Kale's anticolonial dedication revolves around his symbolic journey to Cairo. Following ancient trade routes, and outside of the radar of the colonial state, Kale apparently trekked from Uganda to Cairo, without a passport and with the assistance another UNC activist Felix Onama for the crossing to Sudan.[406]

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[401] CPS Allen to De Bunsen 20 February 1956, Makerere Archives AR/MAK/54/4 Student welfare: giving passports to students, correspondence 1955-57.
[402] CPS Allen to De Bunsen 20 February 1956, Makerere Archives AR/MAK/54/4 Student welfare: giving passports to students, correspondence 1955-57.
[403] CPS Allen to De Bunsen 20 February 1956, Makerere Archives AR/MAK/54/4 Student welfare: giving passports to students, correspondence 1955-57.
[404] A tribute to John Kale, produced for a 2010 memorial event by family and friends, courtesy of Matayo Rugamba.
[405]
[406] A tribute to John Kale, produced for a 2010 memorial event by family and friends, courtesy of Matayo Rugamba.

Overland travel between East and North Africa was fast becoming a security concern for the colonial state, especially following Sudanese independence in 1956. A secret Colonial Office report of December 1960 expressed the difficulty of controlling the flow of students from East Africa to North Africa (and the world beyond) because the so-called 'Nile Valley Route' allowed them to avoid the need for a passport.[407] The colonial anxiety surrounding the journey enhanced its symbolic value.

The Cairo that Kale arrived in was heavily imbued with a radical, liberatory meaning in the anticolonial imagination. This is an image of Cairo that reappears in current literature: Vijay Prashad describes Cairo in the 1950s as 'a defiant city on a war footing, ready to take on the First World with rhetoric or guns'.[408] This image couples the exploration of Radio Cairo's 'Voice of Africa' as a broadcaster of a powerful 'generic' anticolonialism.[409] The city as it was imagined was not always the same as the city as it was experienced however, as David Stenner has made clear in the case of Moroccan nationalists in postwar Cairo: Moroccan attempts to gain support for independence among the Egyptian public and by extension the Egyptian government and Arab League were frustrated by Egypt's prescriptive Arab nationalism and non-alignment following the 1952 revolution.[410]

While most literature on Nasser's foreign policy after the revolution focuses on his pan-Arabism in a Cold War context, Reem Abou-El-Fadl's recent intervention argued that anticolonialism was a guiding principle in the run-up to Suez, a fact that supports the turn towards sub-Saharan Africa from the mid-1950s.[411] According to Peter Mansfield an Africa Association was formed in 1955, and this was the basis of Cairo's 'African Circle', although it is unclear whether this was linked to Sipalo's project.[412] An impression of Cairo's possibilities would have circulated with Murumbi and Sipalo despite the limitations they faced prior to

[407] 'East African Conference 1961: Students', December 1960, UKNA FCO 141/18440, Uganda Students behind Iron Curtain; C Hartwell, Secret report, 27 September 1958, UKNA FCO 141/7206 Afro-Asian Economic Conference, AAPSC. See also Eric Burton, 'Bars, curtains and pipelines: Decolonization, the Cold War and East Africans' routes to higher education overseas, 1957-1965', unpublished conference paper, *African Connections*, Leipzig, June 2018.
[408] Prashad, *The Darker Nations*, 51.
[409] James R. Brennan, 'Radio Cairo and the Decolonization of East Africa, 1953-64', in Christopher J. Lee (ed.), *Making a World after Empire : The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2010).
[410] David Stenner, '"Bitterness towards Egypt" – the Moroccan Nationalist Movement, Revolutionary Cairo and the Limits of Anti-Colonial Solidarity', *Cold War History*, 0 (2015).
[411] Reem Abou-El-Fadl, 'Neutralism Made Positive: Egyptian Anti-Colonialism on the Road to Bandung', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 42 (2015). An example focusing on pan-Arabism is James P. Jankowski, *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).
[412] Chapter 6, 'The African Circle', in Mansfield, *Nasser's Egypt*.

Suez. East and Central Africa was a critical region in Nasser's turn to the sub-Saharan part of the continent in the mid-1950s, not only because of East Africa's historic links with the Arab world but also because, once Ghana's independence seemed sealed from around 1954, this region became an important source of tension in the competition between Nasser and Nkrumah over the leadership of an African liberation movement. Incidentally, the invitation for the Cairo December 1957 meeting was for an 'Afro-Asian People's Conference': it is unclear why the 'solidarity' element was added, but this did prevent overlap in acronyms with Nkrumah's AAPC![413] Kale was an important mediator between AAPSO and the AAPC: he tried to persuade Nkrumah to offer observer status to AAPSO representatives at the December conference. Whether or not Kale attended the AAPC, he became involved in the steering committee, being more able to travel to meetings in West Africa than UNC colleagues in Kampala. This was a task of careful negotiation: for Félix Moumié, Cameroonian leader and another important Cairo personality, Kale was (at least in the earshot of colonial intelligence) a 'UAR stooge'.[414]

Following the founding of AAPSO, Kale wrote two pamphlets, probably both during 1958, before the Accra conference. Both were published by the 'Foreign Mission of the Uganda National Congress' and printed by Mondiale Press in Cairo, which published Nasser's 1955 *Philosophy of the Revolution*.[415] Both pamphlets demonstrate how Kale's experience in Cairo allowed him to insert the Ugandan experience into a wider vision of decolonisation which was historically and generationally specific, and hinged on an idea of 'world public opinion'.

Kale's argument in *Colonialism is incompatible with peace* is evident from the title. His analysis hinted at the conclusion arrived at by contemporaneous thinkers, most famously Aimé Cesaire, that colonialism is *inherently* violent. This was achieved by way of comparisons rather than theory. Specifically Kale drew on Mau Mau (which as we know was a prominent part of student politics at Makerere during 1952-3) and the Algerian war of independence (familiar to Kale in Cairo thanks to the presence of FLN exiles in Kale's political circles at the offices of activists on Ahmed Hishmat Street). Much like Abu Mayanja in his articles on Mau Mau, Kale understood anticolonial violence as an inevitable consequence of unmet demands, an ever-

[413] Invitation to the Afro-Asian People's Conference, December 1957, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/8 Various organisations 1953-58.
[414] Top secret report on Dr Felix Moumié, UKNA FCO 141/13692 Pan-African Conferences. On AAPSO and the UNC: Interview with AD Lubowa, Maya, 21 August 2017.
[415] John Kale, *Colonialism Is Incompatible with Peace* (Cairo: Foreign Mission of the Uganda National Congress, 1958); John Kale, *Uganda: Colonial Regime versus National Aspirations* (Cairo: Foreign Mission of the Uganda National Congress, 1958). Both consulted at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies (Senate House) PP/UG/UNC.

present possibility: the non-violent UNC, Kale wrote, 'may at a certain time welcome the very physical clash [of Mau Mau]' if its 'patient attempts to secure a democratic House of Representatives, an Africanised Local Civil Service, a universal adult suffrage' were ignored. To support this, Kale recast Uganda's history as a 'peaceful' protectorate by referring to the widespread strikes in Uganda in 1945 and 1949 as 'national revolutions', pulling Uganda into the narratives of Algeria and Egypt.

Kale's other pamphlet, *Uganda: Colonial regime versus national aspirations*, was more exclusively concerned with the Uganda case, but: 'In choosing to describe Colonialism in the most moderate colony, we have left the evils of extreme colonialism – reflected in the British stronghold of Kenya – to the prolific imagination of our readers'. Adopting the language of 'moderate' and 'extreme' used by the colonial state to categorise anticolonial activists, Kale placed Uganda within an interconnected colonial system of totalitarian violence. This is expanded upon in *Colonialism*, through a description of colonial Uganda as a 'dictatorial machine'. Kale claimed that the distinction between 'colony' (Kenya) and 'protectorate' (Uganda), one typically emphasised by activists outside of Kenya, had become obsolete, because imperialists 'seek new and desperate formulas to strengthen the remains of the structure'. The Uganda governor had become a 'local dictator' with 'sweeping powers' that, for example, enabled him to veto decisions made in the Legislative Council. This relied on the Colonial Office 'taking advantage of their propaganda ability' in order to appear before the UN as a benevolent power using technical loopholes: 'exploiting imperialists cunningly interpret [nationalist] demands as an interference in their internall [sic] affairs'.

This was not a static and generalised picture of colonial control as violence: foreshadowing the rhetoric at Accra, Kale painted a picture of his own present as tipping point. Using natural phenomenon as political metaphor in ways typical of this generation during the late 1950s (long before the 'winds of change'), he referred to the 'irresistible tide' of freedom movements. There was an emphasis on individual duty and dignity in the 'emotional upsurge' of nationalism based on a new way of thinking: axiomatically, 'you can shoot people but not ideas'. Kale addressed his own generation of activists with the proverb that 'we have more in common with our own age than with our fathers, we are the sons of this era'. The political maturity of this generation coincided with a 'new world being born before our eyes' where 'many amongst ourselves are its praiseworthy actors'. The rhetoric of historical watershed as broadcast from Accra was already in circulation among a younger generation that Nkrumah's.

The specificity of this world was that it had become 'so interdependent that we cannot neglect what our neighbours are doing'. This perception was the basis for Kale's belief in the potency of 'world public opinion' which if united 'no singular force could humanly challenge'. He understood the significance of Suez not as one of military victory but of the shift in 'world public opinion' towards imperial powers. Kale framed 'deception' as a pillar of colonial rule in Uganda and asserted that colonial liberation had *only* occurred 'where it was impossible to silence the truth because deceit was too clumsy'. It was this understanding of colonialism that made Cairo important to Kale. 'World public opinion' was in itself abstract, but Kale's argument had a very real and material basis in the everyday violence of colonial rule which isolated colonial territories from the wider world through the restriction of civil liberties.

In October 1958, Abu Mayanja spent several days with Kale in Cairo, on his way from Britain to Uganda. On arrival at Entebbe airport on 4 November, Mayanja's suitcase was searched and he was arrested for importing literature proscribed by a legal notice some weeks earlier banning the publications of the UNC's Cairo office. Mayanja had with him copies of Kale's pamphlets and a periodical that Kale published called *Uganda Renaissance* (the title evokes Sipalo's *Resurgent Africa*, Azikiwe's *Renascent Africa…*). On the same day, Mayanja spoke at a press conference. He devoted a large part of his address to championing the role of the Cairo office which, barely months old, was soon to find itself at the centre of a UNC split along generational and political lines.[416] At the centre of Mayanja's speech, alongside vague allusions to a meeting between Kale and Dag Hammarskjöld, was the fact that Kale had in Cairo a 'proper' office, with a secretary, messengers and publishing possibilities (luxuries not afforded to UNC representatives elsewhere). This was more than day-to-day practicalities: it was an entire vision of anticolonialism that relied on independent states and that Kale had committed to paper in Cairo. Echoing Kale's pamphlet, Mayanja went on to maintain that there was a conspiracy to keep the public, in Uganda and beyond, ignorant of developments in the territory.[417]

3.3 The Pan-African Student Conference, Makerere, July 1958

A week later, Mayanja delivered a speech to two hundred students at Makerere, his and Kale's *alma mater*. Again, he referred to the importance of the Cairo office in the anticolonial struggle, arguing that while improved communications were bringing the world closer together, colonial

[416] Apter, *The Political Kingdom in Uganda*, 333–4.
[417] WH Martin, 'Report on Press Conference' 4 November 1958, UKNA FCO 141/18247 Abu Mayanja.

powers sought to isolate nationalist movements from a sort of naturalised globalisation that Mayanja seemed to describe.[418] He suggested placing representatives in India, Ghana and Nigeria, anticipating the role that Accra was assuming and hinting at the fluidity of anticolonial geographies – a general spread of representatives seemed more important than the fact that Nigeria would not obtain independence until 1960. In the same speech, on combatting isolation, Mayanja congratulated students for the success of the recent Pan-African Student Conference, held at Makerere in July 1958.[419] This conference had first been discussed when the president of the Student Guild, U. G. Mwila, visited the Gold Coast in 1955. The idea was pursued among African delegates to the International Students Conference in Ceylon. Makerere representatives had been occasionally attending such conferences as part of an increasingly outward-looking Guild policy since around the time of the 1952 strike (see chapters 1.1 and 5.4). The contacts that they built through these networks meant that both the Soviet-backed International Union of Students (IUS) and the anti-communist Co-ordinating Secretary of the International Student Conference (COSEC) had a presence at the 1958 conference.[420]

Despite speaking to these specifically student-related issues, and being confined to the grounds of Makerere, the conference should also be understood as an element of efforts among individuals across East and Central African to exchange published material, contacts and strategies within (or without) the limitations of colonial rule. As we saw in chapter one, Makerere students were increasingly ascribed an important role by nationalist leaders, as the struggle was identified as one of isolation. This was attested to by the attendance of Tom Mboya at the conference: his speech centred around the axiom that students were the future of Africa, and Africa's future was theirs – and was greeted by student applause.[421] Indeed, the Makerere Student Guild's vision for the conference was for a wide participation that overcame divisions between independent and dependent territories and Anglophone and Francophone delegates – precisely what the AAPC would be celebrated for five months later. As such, there was some debate over where the conference should be held, the Guild's Francophone contacts arguing for a location within Francophone West Africa and others advocating an independent territory. That the hopes of Makerere students to host the conference bore fruit was partly

[418] This casting of colonialism as against the tide of history speaks to larger contemporary discourses. See, in particular, Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*.
[419] W.H. Martin, 'Special Branch meeting report sheet', 10 November 1958, UKNA FCO 141/18247 A. K. Mayanja.
[420] Special branch, 'The first pan-African Students Conference, Makerere College, Kampala, 1-7 July 1958', UKNA FCO 141/13695 Pan-African Student Conference.
[421] Special branch, 'The first pan-African Students Conference, Makerere College, Kampala, 1-7 July 1958', UKNA FCO 141/13695 Pan-African Student Conference.

because the Colonial Office recognised that it would be in a better position to monitor the conference if it took place in a British territory as opposed to an independent state.[422] Once again, the relationship between self-government and freedom to organise was not a straight forward one, and in this case the location of Makerere afforded a regional forum that might not have been possible outside of Makerere's walls, and might not have been possible for East and Central Africans to attend if it had been elsewhere on the continent.

The interdependent relationship between the student conference and wider regional politics was evident in the conference resolutions, which spoke to subjects that had appeared at the Conference of Independent African States in April and would reappear at the AAPC. The students condemned 'racialism' and supported the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, giving special attention to the right to an education 'directed at the full development of the human personality', a non-racial recasting of Nkrumah's 'African personality' as famously broadcast in his speech for Ghanaian independence. There were resolutions on the standard 'hotspots' of the anticolonial struggle – the Belgian Congo, Cameroun, Madagascar, Algeria and nuclear tests in the Sahara – alongside resolutions specific to students. The conference 'view[ed] with deep indignation the persistent and malicious interference by the East African governments into the affairs of East African Students', noting in particular the banning of IUS publications and the withdrawal of passports. Similar problems were referred to in relation to South Africa and, in relation to independent Ethiopia, the conference 'request[ed] the Authorities of the University College of Addis Ababa to release its firm grip on Extracurricular Activities'. In this way, the students brought under one umbrella restrictions on educational freedoms in three very different situations: dependent territories, independent African states, and settler-governed states. This worked to reframe colonial rule within a broader framework of undemocratic and authoritarian government that was not defined solely by race. The critique of independent states foreshadowed those to come from leaders in the region in September (see below).[423]

The main speaker on conditions at Makerere, Tanganyikan student W. J. Makene, situated Makerere's failings firmly within the colonial structure. That many students survived on government grants, he said, made the government think they could dictate the terms of their education. This spoke to the conference resolution on colonialism which stated that 'in order

[422] Special branch, 'The first pan-African Students Conference, Makerere College, Kampala, 1-7 July 1958', UKNA FCO 141/13695 Pan-African Student Conference.
[423] Conference resolutions, UKNA FCO 141/13695 Pan-African Student Conference.

to subject those peoples further, colonialism has always needed to keep them in a state of illiteracy'.[424] Makene also protested that UNESCO scholarships were not available to East Africans, and that the College provided no information about opportunities for further study. This was an astute reflection on how Makerere policy intersected with wider policies of deliberate lack of information: in 1953 principal De Bunsen told the Education Department in Nairobi that he was 'rather perturbed by a trickle of students away from Makerere in the middle of their courses which might well develop into a flood if overseas facilities were known to be available'.[425] Makene went on to describe the Makerere honours course in English, a 'waste of money' that would be better spent on administration and law courses.[426] This reflected the increasing focus on courses 'useful' for preparing for independence, in favour of Makerere's historical focus on liberal arts, increasingly understood by students as part of the arsenal of colonial propaganda.

The Kampala special branch report on the conference stated that the 'liberal attitude of the College authorities towards the Guild in fostering the achievement of complete academic freedom has always complicated the task of the security services in Uganda'; IUS publications had been circulated at the event, as well as John Kale's periodical *Uganda Renaissance* – the legal order against publications from the UNC Cairo office may well have come as a result of the student conference.[427] 'Complete academic freedom' was a far cry from how students experienced life at Makerere, however. It was precisely the tensions between colonial isolation and student networks that allowed Makerere students to engage with the turn towards the international legitimacy of colonialism that was to characterise the AAPC.

3.4 The Committee of African Organisations, London

The day after his arrest at Entebbe airport in November 1958, Mayanja wrote a letter to Commander Thomas Fox-Pitt in London, relating the charges against him. 'I don't think they mean to put me in jail', he reflected, 'but I do think we must get widest possible political capital thereon […] contact Dennis [Phombeah] and Committee and inform MCF and Africa Bureau.

[424] Conference resolutions, UKNA FCO 141/13695 Pan-African Student Conference.
[425] Bernard De Bunsen to N. Larby, 22 April 1953, Makerere Archives AR/MAK/5/7 Bunsen Correspondence with students 1953.
[426] Conference resolutions, UKNA FCO 141/13695 Pan-African Student Conference.
[427] Special branch, 'The first pan-African Students Conference, Makerere College, Kampala, 1-7 July 1958', UKNA FCO 141/13695 Pan-African Student Conference.

I am writing this to you because I am sure you will take all necessary action'.[428] If the actions of these three London-based groups could provide 'political capital' it was because Mayanja considered their work to fulfil a meaningful role in the anticolonial struggle. As we know, he had by this time been in Britain for over five years and clearly had a positive working relationship with the Movement for Colonial Freedom (MCF) and the Africa Bureau. The first group on his list, however, was the Committee of African Organisations (CAO), whose chairman was Dennis Phombeah, a student from Tanganyika and member of Nyerere's TANU. Earlier that year, Mayanja had been instrumental in the formation of this organisation and its critical intervention in British anticolonialism.

CAO remains elusive and has left few archival traces, not only because of an arson attack on its offices in March 1961 but because of its informal nature and tendency to avoid the accumulation of organisational ephemera like meeting minutes and official correspondence.[429] The group has been studied, rather superficially, within the history of pan-Africanism (from Manchester to Accra) and of Africans, particularly West Africans, in Britain.[430] I wish instead to situate CAO as a coming together of significant individuals from East and Central Africa as a response not only to a particular moment in British anticolonialism but also to the dominance of a West African pan-Africanism, felt both before and after the December 1958 AAPC.

Accounts of CAO have alluded to its links with Accra. Indeed, the first of six aims listed in the organisation's undated constitution was: 'To work with, and promote the aims of[,] the All-African Peoples Conference, as well as the Independent African States and to spread among Africans the spirit of Pan-Africanism'.[431] However, this constitution could not have been written at the founding of the organisation: CAO existed before either the AAPC (December 1958) or the Conference of Independent African States (April 1958) took place. It probably came into being early in 1958, as an African-led attempt to coordinate opposition to the Rhodesian Electoral Bill, passed on 9 January.[432] While historian Hakim Adi, and one-time

[428] Mayanja to Fox-Pitt, 2 November 1958, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 294 File 6 Abubakar Mayanja correspondence 1952-61.
[429] On CAO see Ismay Milford, '"Owing to a Lighting Failure, the List of Those Present Was Mislaid": The Traces of the Committee of African Organisations and the Writing of Organisational Histories' (University of Bristol MA Thesis, 2015).
[430] Adi, *Pan-Africanism*, 142; Hakim Adi, 'African Political Thinkers, Pan-Africanism and the Politics of Exile, c.1850–1970', *Immigrants & Minorities*, 30 (2012). See also Owen, 'Four Stratws'; Williams, *The Politics of Race in Britain and South Africa*, 25–32.
[431] Undated Constitution, Archives of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (Bodleian Lobrary) AAM 1.
[432] On the Bill, see 'Rhodesia and Nyasaland electoral bill', House of Commons Debate,18 February 1958 vol 582 cc1097-168, Hansard online at https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1958/feb/18/rhodesia-and-nyasaland-electoral-bill [accessed 6 October 2018].

CAO chairman Kwesi Armah, identify March as the founding month, a letter dated 18 February in the *Manchester Guardian* is signed by CAO with the names of eight member organisations from across Anglophone sub-Saharan Africa and their representatives.[433] The letter framed the new organisation in continental terms, stating that 'we, who come from all parts of British Colonial Africa, have joined together to oppose' the bill, although neither 'pan-African' nor 'unity' were used: prior to the AAPC these terms came with connotations of extremism and communism that would have compromised CAO's relationship with the press.

Hakim Adi has understood CAO within a West-African-centric picture of pan-Africanism, stating that CAO was initially led by WASU members.[434] An exploration of some key figures challenges this. A rare contemporary account of CAO in Joseph Murumbi's papers stated that the initiative was Mayanja's, and an early letter to the *Manchester Guardian* is signed only by Mayanja on behalf of CAO.[435] Indeed the 'founding' letter of 18 February shows the distribution of the eight member organisations to be weighted more towards East and Central Africa than West Africa: Mayanja is listed as representative of the UNC, the only political party in the list, and students associations of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda are also represented, as well as an 'East and central African Students' Study Circle'. The South African Students Association was represented by a Zambian, Mainza Chona. The remaining two organisations are WASU and the Nigerian Union.[436]

In one important sense, CAO's pan-Africanism was a lived reality for its member organisations. One South African CAO member who I interviewed considered the organisation's ability to supersede national-territorial divisions as its major achievement.[437] Future prime minister of Uganda Milton Obote, in an address to CAO, asserted that the African youth in London could set an example of unity even in the absence of official political union.[438] Indeed, as numbers of African students in Britain grew, their lives were increasingly organised around national and regional structures: in 1956 'Mutesa House' a residential and social club for Ugandan students in London was purchased by the Buganda government.[439] Individual

[433] 'Letters to the Editor', *The Manchester Guardian*, 18 February 1958, 8.
[434] Adi, *Pan-Africanism*, 142.
[435] Abu Mayanja, 'N. Rhodesian Constitution', Letters to the Editor, *The Manchester Guardian*, 28 March 1958, 10.
[436] 'Letters to the Editor', *The Manchester Guardian*, 18 February 1958, 8.
[437] Interview with Manickum Chetty, London, 17 July 2015.
[438] Milton Obote, quoted in Armah, *Africa's Golden Road,* 13.
[439] For example, a 1960 *Economist* article noted that 'Africans do not really understand each other's problems […] in London Kenyans do not know many Nigerians', 'Urgent Africa', *The Economist*, 17 April 1960, 17. On the opening of Mutesa House, see *Africa Digest*, Vol. 4 (1956), 99.

relationships between African students and British anticolonial activists, especially the young, white, female secretaries of anticolonial organisations and MPs, were increasingly the motors in anticolonial work in Britain. In December 1957, Jill Hollings, secretary in the Labour Commonwealth department, wrote to Kenneth Kaunda. 'My dear Ken', she began, 'I have been widening my scope on African Affairs and have been seeing quite a lot of Abu [Mayanja] and Dennis [Phombeah]. Uganda, however, I fear I shall have to drop, as Abu's interest seems physical rather than mental. Tanganyika seems more promising and Dennis is a thoughtful and intelligent person'.[440] These social relationships, often between white female secretaries and visiting African activists of the same generation, underpinned CAO's functioning.

At the centre of CAO's pan-African image was the partnership between its first chairman Alao Aka Bashorun (who signed the letter on behalf of WASU) and Dennis Phombeah.[441] Phombeah was one of two leading TANU figures then studying in London, the other being Oscar Kambona, who signed the CAO founding letter on behalf of the Tanganyika Students Association, and went on to play a leading role in Nyerere's government. Both Phombeah and Kambona, along with a student that Kambona (and Kanyama Chiume) had taught at Alliance School in Dodoma, had been offered scholarships in 1955 through the Anti-Colonial Bureau of the Asian Socialist Conference (Rangoon) for short courses in Belgrade, but were refused passports.[442]

If CAO's self-fashioned pan-Africanism was in one sense a reflection of networks of individuals in Britain, however, it must also be understood as a projection of a unified African stance amidst the confusion of British-led anticolonial work. In one of its earliest letters to the *New Statesman* CAO wrote that its members 'want the British public to know that all of Africa stands together' in opposition to the Central African Federation, requesting that 'the people of Britain, please, tell their government that [dissolution] is also their wish'.[443] CAO's pan-Africanism was specific to an understanding of democratic accountability in the British anticolonial world (considered in chapter four). The account of CAO in Joseph Murumbi's

[440] Jill Hollings to Kenneth Kaunda, 17 December 1957, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP/1/5/10 Labour Party. Hollings later wrote an overview of African anticolonialism, see Jill Hollings, *African Nationalism* (London: Hart-Davis, 1971).
[441] Marga Holness became involved in CAO after meeting 'Bash and Dennis' at a Universities and Left Review meeting that hosted Hastings Banda at the iconic Partisan coffee house in May 1958. She later married Jamaican John Holness, who she had introduced to the CAO circle. Interview with Marga Holness, 17 July 2015, London. The meeting was advertised in the *New Statesman*, 10 May 1958, p. 620.
[442] On Phombeah and Kambona, see the forthcoming publications of James Brennan.
[443] 'Correspondence', *New Statesman*, 8 March 1958, 304.

personal papers, probably written in 1959 for the organisation's anniversary, attests to a deliberate positioning in opposition to British-led efforts:

> The necessity in the United Kingdom of a set-up such as the Committee of African Organisations cannot be disputed […] [F]or years questions affecting the running and development of Africa have rested, generally speaking, solely on the colonial and imperial powers […] led by Europeans out of their liberal and humanitarian beliefs […] But it is our firm belief that implicit in our struggle for independence and self-determination is the principle that we, too, must come to the field as a clear declaration that the struggle is ours […] nobody, with all the good will in the world, can better represent the African than an African […][444]

Marga Holness also understood the novelty of CAO to lie in its African leadership and recalled tensions between the new organisation and the MCF, who were 'used to running the show', for example over booking Trafalgar Square for demonstrations.[445] Quickly, CAO overtook other London-based organisations as a source of information and contacts in African politics. According to the Colonial Office, by 1961 CAO was looked to for 'authoritative expressions of African opinion', and when they sought to know more about exiled Chiume they asked John Eber of MCF (well-travelled and connected in Africa) to acquire this information through CAO.[446]

However, CAO's success in projecting a pan-African image has overshadowed real regional tensions in the organisations, revolving around the dominance of West Africans in London-based anticolonial work (we might recall Mayanja's surprise at the visibility of West Africans in the capital when he arrived in 1953). Colonial intelligence described a 'rift' in the organisation emerging during 1960, one that appears to have some basis.[447] In September 1959, B. Chango Machyo, a Ugandan member (who had spent time at Moral Re-Armament in the United States, and who we will return to later) sent a circular to 'brothers' in Britain stating the need for a specifically 'East African' organisation, given this was a 'trouble spot' and acknowledging the existence of WASU for specifically West Africans. Machyo's East Africa encompassed the territories of the Central African Federation, as well as Ethiopia and Mozambique. He provided three reasons for the necessity of the organisation: (1) to acquire

[444] 'Introduction', [undated, probably early 1959], KNA MAC/AFG/1/3 Committee of African Organisations in London.
[445] Interview with Marga Holness, 17 July 2015, London.
[446] 'Tanganyika: Committee of African Organisations' (1961), UKNA FCO 141/17745; 'MWK Chiume: Activities since August 1959', UKNA FCO 141/14203. On Eber see Howe, *Anticolonialism*, 246.
[447] 'Tanganyika: Committee of African Organisations' (1961), UKNA FCO 141/17745.

international recognition (2) to coordinate responses to problems (3) 'to enable us as Africans to furnish true and accurate information about our countries to those who may seek it'.[448] Writing in the immediate aftermath of the AAPC, Machyo was acutely aware of the relationship between effective organisation, recognition and information: his own work in CAO in the following years would address this.

Several months later, Bashorun's commitment to CAO was under fire. Item three on the agenda in the minutes of CAO's May 1960 executive meeting was 'The question of the Chairman'.[449] Bashorun had not contacted CAO since leaving for the AAPC in Tunis four months previously and had 'embarrassed' CAO through accepting an invitation to The Positive Action Conference in Accra without discussing it with the committee. A motion was passed that allowed the 'acting chairman' to take his place.[450] Machyo became CAO treasurer. Given that CAO executive members were also representatives of member organisations (Bashorun was WASU president), conflicting priorities were often a problem: in September 1959 Secretary Femi Okunnu sent a letter of resignation to Phombeah, giving up his office on account of his 'heavy commitment' to the Nigerian Union. His letter was ignored, then rejected at a meeting, and Okunnu reluctantly retained his role for another year before leaving Britain.[451]

There were obvious reasons why CAO needed to maintain its status as a pan-African organisation rather than an East African one: during its first few years of existence, it was almost entirely financed by Nkrumah. Following Bashorun's dismissal, Kwesi Armah, Ghanaian High Commissioner in the UK, became CAO chairman.[452] Having the 'ear of Nkrumah', Armah's involvement in CAO, as Chetty noted 'brought a lot of respectability to the movement'.[453] Conversely, sections of the British press questioning whether Armah's role as High Commissioner would be compromised by his involvement in the 'radical and revolutionary' CAO.[454] In October 1960 Nkrumah publicly announced a £17 500 gift to CAO

[448] Chango Maycho, circular, 6 September 1959, KNA MAC/KEN/78/1 Murumbi correspondence re scholarships for Kenya students pursuing further education abroad.
[449] Minutes of CAO Executive Meeting, 6 May 1960, Archives of the Anti-Apartheid Movements (Bodleian Library) AAM 1, f. 144.
[450] Minutes of CAO Executive Meeting, 6 May 1960, Archives of the Anti-Apartheid Movements (Bodleian Library) AAM 1, f. 144. See also 'Tanganyika: Committee of African Organisations' (1961), UKNA FCO 141/17745.
[451] The letter is reproduced in Okunnu, *In the Service of the Nation*, 114.
[452] Kwesi Armah, *Africa's Golden Road* (London, 1965).
[453] 'Tanganyika: Committee of African Organisations' (1961), UKNA FCO 141/17745; Interview with Manickum Chetty, London, 17 July 2015.
[454] 'Valley of Suspicion', *The Economist*, 30 September 1961, 1237; John Dickie, 'I'm Not Anti-British Says Ghana's New Man', *Daily Mail*, 2 October 1961, 2.

to pay for 'Africa Unity House', described some years later as a place 'where every (figurative) bomb-throwing, government upending, freedom fighting foreign student organization in London had a telephone and a desk'.[455] On 4 March 1961 the CAO offices were attacked by arsonists, a culmination, as Adi understands it, of disturbances led by Oswald Mosely's fascists.[456] A fortnight later, Nkrumah came in person to open Africa Unity House.

CAO was not a group of students riding on the back of the AAPC's fame. It was a parallel initiative, on a very different scale, but with many of the same driving beliefs. Like the AAPC, CAO was about a projected pan-African unity for the purpose of gaining international legitimacy. But in fact CAO was, to some extent at least, an evolving East African response to a more prominent and better-resourced West African pan-Africanism.

3.5 The Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa, Mwanza, September 1958

The most tangible manifestation of a regionally specific engagement with the themes of publicity within a framework of a broader pan-Africanism was the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) founded in Mwanza in September 1958. Following two detailed political science accounts of PAFMECA written immediately after its disintegration (1964), scholars of decolonisation for a long time ignored the organisation.[457] Marginalised in nationalist narratives, PAFMECA lacked the buzz of Bandung or Accra and became a footnote in the story of pan-Africanism's trajectory towards the anticlimactic founding of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU, now the Africa Union).[458] However, PAFMECA has received some renewed attention as part of an exploration of federal alternatives (imagined and practiced) to the African nation-state. As part of this conversation, Chris Vaughan has understood PAFMECA as the first emergence of regionalism as a project of solidarity-building among East African nationalist leaders.[459] In a welcome intervention that broader studies of pan-Africanism could benefit from, Vaughan demonstrates that contested

[455] Interview with Michael Pistor, conducted by Charles Staurt Kennedy, 6 June 2001, *Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project*, available at http://www.adst.org/OH%20TOCs/Pistor,%20Michael.toc.pdf [accessed 4 June 2015].
[456] Adi, 'African Political Thinkers', 283. For clashes with racist groups in Britain see Chiume, *Kwacha*, 118.
[457] Richard Cox, *Pan-Africanism in Practice; an East African Study: PAFMECSA 1958-1964* (London: Institute of Race Relations, 1964); Joseph S. Nye, *Pan-Africanism and East African Integration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965).
[458] Most recently, see the brief mention, within this narrative framework, in Adi, *Pan-Africanism*, 146.
[459] Chris Vaughan, 'The Politics of Regionalism and Federation in East Africa, 1958–1964', *The Historical Journal*, First View online (2018).

ideas about nation and federation were in dialogue with one another – mutually constitutive more than mutually exclusive. Yet his framing of PAFMECA does not substantially depart from that of early accounts: it is understood as an exclusively East African project, inevitably centred around Dar es Salaam, TANU and Nyerere; its championing of a single, united, centralised, nationalist party is considered its primary significance.

The minutes from the PAFMECA founding meeting, which are not referred to in existing accounts, in combination with surrounding correspondence, allow a revision of this emphasis.[460] In contrast to PAFMECA's published resolutions and 'Freedom Charter', and the accounts of participants that Richard Cox relied on, the meeting minutes and pre-circulated agenda give an impression of the priorities that each of the twenty or so delegates arrived with.[461] This allows a shift away from discussions of national and federal sovereignty and towards PAFMECA as an initiative of anticolonial positioning and projection in which Central Africans played a critical role.

PAFMECA's founding meeting took place in Mwanza, on Lake Victoria in northern Tanganyika, 16-18 September 1958. The location was not only a convenient meeting point for East African leaders, it also had symbolic value: it was the most important district in which the Tanganyika police had withdrawn TANU's registration as a political organisation, rendering its existence and activities illegal.[462] Place and purpose were consciously linked, and when Nyerere delivered a speech on foreign policy at Mwanza in 1967, he spoke of the city's 'heritage' as birthplace of the pan-African freedom movement.[463] The Mwanza meeting did not send glossy invitations or agendas as would the AAPC three months later, and the crowds that gathered outside of the Indian-built Ladha Maghji Library, although apparently sizeable, did not include correspondents from leading newspapers outside of the region.[464] But Mwanza too was interested in its own foundational myths.

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[460] 'Minutes of the Pan-African Conference held at the Ladha Meghji Library, Mwanza, 16-18 September 1958', CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.
[461] The resolutions and freedom charter are reproduced in Cox, *Pan-African in Practice*. Original copies can be found in Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 297 File 3 PAFMECA (1958-62); KNA MAC/CON/198/3 PAFMECA, Murumbi Africana Collection.
[462] 'Minutes of the Pan-African Conference', p.1, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34; Cox, *Pan-Africanism in Practice*, 10.
[463] Julius K Nyerere, *Tanzania Policy on Foreign Affairs: Address by the President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere at the TANU National Conference, 16th October, 1967.* (Dar es Salaam: Information Services Division, Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1967).
[464] 'Minutes of the Pan-African Conference', p.1, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.

According to the minutes from Mwanza, the meeting was initially intended only for Legislative Council (Legco) members from Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda.[465] As a collective, Legco members did not map neatly onto the main nationalist parties or onto wider anticolonial leadership: across the region many African Legco members were appointed by Europeans as opposed to elected, and elections functioned on a restricted franchise. However, 1957-8 was a transformative moment for the composition of all three Legcos: in a step to meet organised demands for greater Africa representation, the first African members had been elected in Kenya in March 1957 and would be in Uganda in October 1958. While there had been African elected members on the Tanganyika Legco since 1945, the 1958-59 general election (half of Tanganyika's constituencies had elections just days before Mwanza) saw TANU win an overwhelming majority of the elected Legco positions, which were (for the first time) unrestricted by race (nevertheless, appointed members still outweighed elected members in Legco). Delegates at Mwanza all took time to congratulate TANU, but the victory was also that of an approach to anticolonial work. The centralising, uniting urges that Vaughan identifies were as much about anticolonial strategy and ideology as they were about visions for nation-states.[466] TANU had been granted gradual concessions through existing colonial structures because the party was able to project an image of a united, representative and respectable organisation.[467] TANU's leadership was already under the control of a younger generation conscious of the party image, many of whom were now elected members of Legco.

In the event, less than half of the delegates at Mwanza were Legco members of these three countries: the largest delegation (seven or eight) was from Zanzibar and included only one Legco member. The other large delegations were Tanganyika (seven) and Kenya (six), while Uganda had only one delegate, E.M.K. Mulira of the Uganda Peoples Party (not a Legco member). The 'C' in PAFMECA was represented by Kanyama Chiume (Legco member) of the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC).[468] Chiume had spent most of his life outside of Nyasaland, educated in Tanganyika, then at Makerere, where he was involved in the Political Society and Student Guild. After graduating he taught at Alliance School in Dodoma, together with Oscar Kambona.[469]

[465] 'Minutes of the Pan-African Conference', p.1, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.
[466] Vaughan, 'The Politics of Regionalism and Federation in East Africa, 1958–1964', 4–6.
[467] Charles Ambler, 'Alcohol, Racial Segregation and Popular Politics in Northern Rhodesia', *The Journal of African History*, 31 (1990).
[468] 'The following delegates attended the Mwaza Conference', CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.
[469] The fullest account of Chiume's life remains his autobiography: Chiume, *Kwacha*.

The attendance of Central Africans is one of Mwanza's myths: at the Conference of All African Dependent Countries in Winneba (Ghana), June 1961, PAFMECA secretary T.A. Kibhogya claimed that representatives from all East and Central African countries attended the founding meeting.[470] Richard Cox's account maintains that Central Africans were invited but were prevented from crossing the border.[471] The minutes state that Nyerere decided to invite Nyasaland (probably Chiume personally) because the meeting was about the liberation of *all* of Africa.[472] And yet, after the Mwanza meeting, on 10 October, Nyerere wrote to Harry Nkumbula, president of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress (NRANC) apologising that invitations had not been extended to 'brothers' in Northern or Southern Rhodesia 'owing to the fact that the convenors had not anticipated the scale of the conference'. Nyerere listed TANU, NAC and the Afro-Shirazi Party (Zanzibar) as the current members and hoped NRANC would join – he had passed all the relevant documents onto Kenneth Kaunda.[473]

Chiume's attendance seemed to cause some tension: Nyerere, in the minutes, 'asked the delegates to pardon him for any misunderstanding' as 'nothing was intended to harm others'.[474] The statement is elusive (the minutes are in summarised form) but a reluctance of some delegates to involve Central Africa does fit with a broader feeling that the settler-driven Federation brought South African apartheid (and racially prescribed civil liberties in general) spatially and politically closer to East Africa. East African Federation was especially sensitive in Uganda, where opposition to federating with settler-dominated Kenya was implicated in the Kabaka's exile (1953-55). An East African Federation was low down on the conference agenda at Mwanza, and when Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (who had proposed the agenda point) introduced it, he 'doubted as to when and how' it could happen. Chiume interjected that it was 'not fit even to even discuss this subject' in the context of African opposition to the colonial Central African Federation. Resultingly, the only resolution on federation strongly condemned the Central African Federation.[475]

Central Africa thus played an important, if largely silent role: symbolically, Chiume even recalled that he was forbidden from speaking in Mwanza (publicly, outside of the conference

[470] T.A. Kibhogya, PAFMECA Administrative Secretary, speech at All African Dependent Countries in Winneba (Ghana), June 1961, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.
[471] Cox, *Pan-Africanism in Practice*, 10.
[472] 'Minutes of the Pan-African Conference', p.1, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.
[473] Julius Nyerere to Harry Nkumbula, 10 October 1958, CCM Archives Box 91 Personal File: Julius Nyerere local correspondence.
[474] 'Minutes of the Pan-African Conference', p.1, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.
[475] 'Minutes of the Pan-African Conference', pp. 11-12, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.

hall, presumably) under threat of deportation.[476] This also related to PAFMECA's role in championing nationalist party unity that Vaughan has highlighted: in his letter to Nkumbula, Nyerere expressed hopes that reports in the press about NRANC's 'internal difficulties' were untrue and asked Nkumbula to work to maintain party unity, which he equated to anticolonial strength.[477] Two weeks later, on 24 October, Kaunda led a split from the NRANC to form the Zambian African National Congress (later banned and reborn as UNIP), the culmination of a growing gulf between himself and Nkumbula since both were imprisoned for two months in 1955. The relationship between the split and the Mwanza meeting is unclear – historians of Zambian nationalism do not refer to PAFMECA – but it suggests that PAFMECA's 'unifying' priorities were Nyerere's own more than those of other Mwanza delegates. As such, Northern Rhodesia was one of his early interventions in the politics of member parties (PAFMECA missions would later visit Uganda and Zanzibar to 'unite' nationalist groups).[478]

Meanwhile, most other delegates prioritised neither regional nor national 'unity' – in fact the agenda points proposed by delegates from Uganda and Nyasaland do not mention it. The three agenda points put forward by Chiume, on behalf of the NAC, reveal the basis for his own interest in PAFMECA, and open up a new perspective on the organisation. They were (1) preparation for the Accra conference, (2) establishment of an East African Publicity Committee, and (3) the stand of independent African states at Accra and in the UN.[479] These agenda points spoke to the priorities of overcoming isolation that have reappeared throughout this chapter – in forums that Chiume was connected to. They were the most outward looking of all the Mwanza agenda points, concerned not with how a regional organisation could intervene in party politics in each country, but instead how regional representation could benefit member parties in the continental and international setting.

Chiume's second point, on publicity, spoke to PAFMECA's interest in 'historicising' itself and its founding conference in the context of a larger, coordinated movement – and Chiume was not alone in this. The Mwanza minutes described a discussion of 'symbols and slogans' for the organisation: Chiume suggested a raised thumb (as in Murumbi's Anti-Federation League – and South Africa) which was overruled by Nyerere's suggestion of a raised right hand forming

[476] Chiume, *Kwacha*, 93.
[477] Julius Nyerere to Harry Nkumbula, 10 October 1958, CCM Archives Box 91 Personal File: Julius Nyerere local correspondence.
[478] On the ANC-UNIP split, see Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 275–290; Macola, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa*, 68–72. On the PAFMECA missions, see Cox, *Pan-Africanism in Practice*.
[479] 'List of agenda for Mwanza conference', CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.

a ‘u’ shape for *uhuru* – an explicitly ‘East African’ symbol given that Swahili was little spoken in Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia. The slogans, in contrast, were not regionally specific and instead reflected the broad anticolonialism that would appear on placards at the AAPC, for example ‘colonialism must go’ and ‘freedom is our birthright’.[480]

The delegates, under the guidance of Chiume, were apt to predict that how PAFMECA was represented would matter. A positive image of the organisation meant that press statements could be released on behalf of PAFMECA to give an impression of a regional stance without responsibility being held by any member organisation individually.[481] Nyerere was visibly frustrated with the negative press that the Mwanza meeting received in Britain, especially through *East Africa and Rhodesia*, a British periodical aligned with settler-capitalist interests in the region. If PAFMECA had the funds, Nyerere wrote to (European) Legco member Derek Bryceson, it would send a delegation to London for a press conference to resolve the confusion surrounding the description in PAFMECA resolutions of ‘African nationalism – virile and unrelenting’ which had been interpreted by the press as a threat to European settlers.[482] When a PAFMECA meeting planned for 1959 in Kampala was banned, the TANU publication *Sauti ya TANU* linked the banning order to this periodical’s negative coverage, describing its editor as the ‘greatest hystericist of our time’.[483]

Chiume’s first and third points, relating to Accra and independent states, initiated the discussion that resulted in the statement that PAFMECA took to the AAPC in December – one of Mwanza’s most tangible outcomes. PAFMECA was already entwined with West African pan-Africanism (even if, as Cox notes, its intellectual heritage was its own): Nyerere, Mboya and Murumbi had all attended the April 1958 Conference of Independent African States as observers and began thinking about how East and Central African countries would be represented at the All African Peoples Conference in December 1958.[484] But the significance of both Accra conferences was a point of contention at Mwanza: Chiume’s insistence on the responsibility of independent African states to, for example, provide scholarships, was opposed by Tanganyika delegate Bhoke Munanka who rejected any ‘outside’ help from independent

[480] ‘Minutes of the Pan-African Conference’, p. 6, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.
[481] Bhoke Munanka (PAFMECA secretary), undated press release, CCM archives Box 43 File 194: TANU Press Releases.
[482] Nyerere to Derek Bryceson, 28 October 1958, CCM Archives Box 91 Personal File: Julius Nyerere local correspondence, Box 91.
[483] ‘The Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa’, *Sauti ya TANU* no. 56, CCM Archives Box 174 Sauti ya TANU.
[484] Cox, *Pan-Africanism in Practice*, 5, 18.

states. A certain detachment from Accra was asserted by Rashidi Kawawa, who insisted there was no need to wait for the December conference to form their own organisation.[485] Tensions with the AAPC were to shape PAFMECA's existence: at PAFEMCA's Leopoldville meeting in December 1962 Kenneth Kaunda felt it necessary to reiterate that PAFMECA functioned within the apparatus of the AAPC, not as a 'third bloc'.[486]

PAFMECA sent a delegation to Accra, following a public appeal for transport costs, which the AAPC did not cover.[487] Chiume wrote in his autobiography that a PAFMECA team of himself and two Zanzibari leaders 'had an audience' with Nkrumah.[488] There were several other PAFMECA personalities present at the AAPC, including Mboya, who chaired the conference. From Chiume's agenda point at Mwanza, PAFMECA proposed six items for the AAPC agenda.[489] These outlined the establishment of a Pan-African Freedom Movement, with a permanent representative at the UN and an accompanying 'Freedom Fund': Chiume and fellow Mwanza delegates did not take for granted that Ghana's pan-Africanism would channel resources into ongoing independence struggles, despite Nkrumah's infamous independence speech that declared Ghana's independence 'meaningless' unless accompanied by that of the continent. This conviction in the responsibilities of independent states is reiterated in two more agenda points with remarkable resemblance to conversations at Makerere a few months previously and a point made in John Kale's *Colonialism* pamphlet, calling for the democratisation of African independent states and for them to take action in the UN to prevent colonial questions being framed as 'domestic' affairs of colonial powers. The existence of independent states on the continent helped to enable PAFMECA to frame the region in terms of general systems of oppression rather than local specificities, echoing Chiume's insistence in the Mwanza minutes that 'what we hate [is] the system of imperialism' rather than any 'person whether white or yellow'.[490] The nature of this system is implied in PAFMECA's final agenda point for Accra, which demanded that the Freedom Movement 'break down the present Iron curtains, surrounding some colonial states'. Uses of 'iron curtain' in similar contexts suggest that the concern here was not the Cold War but the isolation of colonial territories through controlling the movement of people, publications, and information across territorial borders.

[485] 'Minutes of the Pan-African Conference', pp. 4-5, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.
[486] Kenneth Kaunda, speech at the PAFMECA Leopoldville Conference 28-31 December 1962, Murumbi Africana Collection, KNA MAC/CON/198/5 PAFMECA.
[487] PAFMECA circular 4 November 1958, CCM archives Box 151 File: Pan-African Movement.
[488] Chiume, *Kwacha*, 101.
[489] 'Minutes of the Pan-African Conference', pp. 4-5, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.
[490] 'Minutes of the Pan-African Conference', p. 10, CCM Archives Box 123 File: PAFMECA DP/P/34.

The AAPC was considered not a self-evident remedy to this but a vehicle through which the obligations of independent states could be channelled in the interests of liberation movements – who understood their work to rely on connections across borders.

These agenda points, probably Chiume's in large part, were not reflected in the PAFMECA speech at Accra, which was delivered by Julius Gikonyo Kiano (b. 1926). In 1956 Kiano became the first Kenyan to be awarded a PhD, from UC Berkeley, for a thesis 'The federation issue in multi-racial East and Central Africa'. At Accra, he pursued his priorities from Mwanza, which revolved around the human rights, outlining three 'ideological principles which guide our freedom struggle': the right to choose under which government one lives (he did not use the term 'national self-determination'), the right to a decent standard of living, and the 'God-given freedom to express one's opinions or join any association'.[491] If this grouping of collective and individual, socio-economic and civil rights is noteworthy, it also reveals how the priorities of other PAFMECA members were easily lost in public statements. Under the watch of the international media at Accra, African 'unity' took precedence over pan-Africanism's commitment to East and Central Africa: Kiano, to the alarm of colonial intelligence, instead singled out 'America, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, France and Belgium, Spain and Portugal hear this: Africans do not believe you when you say you believe in democracy and human freedom'.[492]

Over the following years, and up until PAFMECA's dissolution in 1964 (considered in chapter six) Central Africans became increasingly prominent in the organisation. Around 1961-62 Kanyama Chiume and Munu Sipalo were among a handful of PAFMECA delegates who called a 'special meeting' to discuss the role of member parties' Cairo offices.[493] This meeting, absent in accounts of PAFMECA and visible only through the archival trace of an invitation, indicates that the organisation provided a forum to discuss shared concerns as and when they arose, often deliberately below the radar of the international media. The prominence of Central Africans during the early 1960s, when the independence of the East African states was being timetabled, suggests PAFMECA's role as coordinated anticolonialism more than future-oriented regionalism. Indeed, Richard Cox traced PAFMECA's origins to Makerere's Political Society

[491] Julius Gikonyo Kiano, speech at the All African Peoples Conference, Accra, December 1958, Murumbi Africana Collection, KNA MAC/CON/184/4 First AAPC Accra 1958 speeches.
[492] 'Resume of Dr. Kiano's recent utterances produced by D.I.S in January 1959', UKNA FCO141/6858 Dr J.G. Kiano.
[493] 'PAFMECA meeting': Notice of 'special meeting today at 10pm in Hilton Hotel, To discuss African Political offices in Cairo' [undated], Murumbi Africana Collection, KNA MAC/CON/198/1 PAFMESCA.

and its journal *Politica*, of which Abu Mayanja, Kanyama Chiume and Arthur Wina were founders and members.[494] If Nyerere's vision of a (federated) East Africa governed by parties that resembled his own was dominant in PAFMECA's published resolutions and statements, this was a picture carefully chosen to support the idea of PAFMECA as a 'moderating', progressive force in the eyes of Western observers. But it also hides the organisation's interest, initially driven by Kanyama Chiume, in the very question of this self-fashioning and how it could allow member parties to assert themselves and their ideas about rights, responsibilities and democracy in pan-African forums that might otherwise neglect the fact that political independence was far from secured in this part of the continent.

Conclusion

Accra's myth-making capacities have not only obscured the wavering and swerving trajectory of pan-African anticolonialism, so too were they the substance of this trajectory. The efforts to coordinate East and Central African liberation movements prior to the AAPC (which we might trace further back to the Lusaka conference in 1953) happened quietly, without the resources that independent Ghana commanded or the voices of new statesmen. But they too realised the importance of performance on a world stage and became convinced that the image of a liberation movement that they projected would play out in what versions of decolonisation would be possible. The party, the nation, the region, and 'Africa' all played roles in this discursive performance, just as they did in the unfolding of events in the following years – it is perhaps only 'the regional' that has not been subject to its own history-writing. If historians increasingly understand 'solidarity' in diverse contexts as discursive performance more than lived practice, the ideational currents that this performance obscures remain difficult to uncover. Looking to smaller forums, like the Makerere Pan-African Student Conference, and those outside of the African continent, like the Committee of African Organisations, has aided this task.

For this generation of activists from East and Central Africa, working with and in independent postcolonial states was formative to understanding the limitations of the coordination of liberation movements from the hubs of postcolonial capital cities. Financial support and access to resources critical to the practical work of anticolonial activism were important, but not enough. Activists from dependent territories approached West African pan-Africanism with

[494] Cox, *Pan-Africanism in Practice*, 5.

caution – and with demands of their own. They played an important role in guiding the AAPC's commitment to liberation movements, in particular the duties of independent states to use their new position in the international system in specific ways. These ways related to the frustrations experienced in the run-up to Accra: the weapon of 'publicity' seemed reserved for independent states, just at the moment when the opinions of various international and global 'publics' seemed ever more critical to the possibilities of anticolonial work. In Uganda, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, however, the increasing desperation of the colonial state to supress this sort of anticolonial work was at the same time shaping ideas of publicity.

Chapter Four

A timely Emergency: Publicity work in the very late colonial state, 1956-59

Denied a permit to assemble in public, the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) held an emergency meeting in the 'bush', outside of Blantyre, on 25 January 1959. When Governor Armitage declared a State of Emergency on 3 March 1959, it was framed as a necessary reaction to a 'massacre plot' to kill Europeans and African collaborators, allegedly formed during the bush meeting. The existence of a 'plot' of any sort and Armitage's belief in it remain contentious questions among historians of Malawi.[495] But, among historians of decolonisation more broadly, discussion has turned to the report published on 22 July 1959 detailing the findings of the Devlin Commission. Appointed by the British government, the commission had spent two weeks in Nyasaland during the first months of 1959, during which 51 African people were killed by police and armed forces. Famously, and with implications for the shape of decolonisation debates within Britain and beyond, the Devlin Report described Nyasaland as 'a Police State'.[496]

Kanyama Chiume, NAC publicity secretary, escaped the blanket arrests of Congress members under Emergency regulations: at the time of the bush meeting and for almost the entire duration of the emergency, he was in London, campaigning on behalf of the banned NAC and its imprisoned members. It is through Chiume that this chapter will revisit the importance of the 'police state' idea in anticolonial work during the period 1956-59, leading up to the Devlin

[495] Both Joey Power and Robert Rothberg have effectively challenged Colin Baker's argument that Armitage had reasonable evidence of a murder plot: Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, 136–142; Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 292–299; Colin Baker, *State of Emergency: Crisis in Central Africa, Nyasaland 1959* (London ; New York: I.B.Tauris, 1997). A rich, multi-perspective reflection on the Emergency is Kings Mbacazwa Phiri, John McCracken, and Wapulumuka O. Mulwafu, *Malawi in Crisis: The 1959/60 Nyasaland State of Emergency and Its Legacy* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2012). See also Henry Mitchell, 'Late Colonial Crises and Their Post-Colonial Legacies in Malawi', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 44 (2018).

[496] On the significance of Devlin, see Philip Murphy, 'A Police State? The Nyasaland Emergency and Colonial Intelligence', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36 (2010); Cohen, *The Politics and Economics of Decolonization in Africa*, 93–99.

Report. The conceptualisation of postwar British and French colonialism in Africa as the 'second colonial occupation' or, more recently, the 'late colonial state' has primarily focused on development as its driving principal; less attention has been given to the bureaucratic and law enforcement practices that accompanied this logic.[497] In the wake of falling commodity prices and the drying up of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund in the second half of the 1950s, however, it was these practices that underpinned the 'very late' colonial state becoming ever 'more state-like' and most interventionist in its final years.[498] In East and Central African during the later 1950s, proscribing organisations, newspapers, people and campaigns, then making arrests on this basis, were techniques of governance that were not confined to States of Emergency.

Activists of Chiume's generation, vying with older leaders to gain access to political space, experienced the 'very late' colonial state as a series of obstacles to organisation. If research on colonial intelligence, law and policing has focused on regions where decolonisation was most violent,[499] this weight was felt too by activists in Uganda, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia and Malawi: the obstacles they faced were forever overshadowed by events that gripped international media attention. The Nyasaland Emergency was an opportunity to change this, by applying an evolving critique of colonialism built around 'law and order'. In dialogue with broader anticolonial discourses relating to the Algerian war and encountered in the networks that foreshadowed and surrounded Accra that were outlined in chapter three, Chiume and his contemporaries harnessed the bureaucracy and law-enforcement practices of the 'very late' colonial state to present a picture of colonialism to a public that itself needed to be imagined and formed.

[497] The 'second colonial occupation' was coined in Low and Lonsdale, 'Introduction: Towards the New Order, 1945-1963', 12–16. The 'late colonial shift', with some decentring of economic development, was the comparative optic in Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact*. See also John Darwin, 'What Was the Late Colonial State?', *Itinerario*, 23 (1999).

[498] On being more state-like, see Martin Shipway, 'Afterword: Achilles and the Tortoise: The Tortoise's View of Late Colonialism and Decolonization', in Chris Jeppesen and Andrew W.M Smith (eds.), *Britain, France and the Decolonization of Africa: Future Imperfect?* (London: UCL Press, 2017), 183. Shipway also reflects upon his use of the late colonial state in this essay. On interventionism, see Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, England ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 410.

[499] For an overview of the scholarship, see Mawby, *The Transformation and Decline of the British Empire*, Chapter 4. On intelligence, see Martin Thomas, *Empires of Intelligence : Security Services and Colonial Disorder after 1914* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2008). On 'lawyering' see Meredith Terretta, 'Anti-Colonial Lawyering, Postwar Human Rights, and Decolonization across Imperial Boundaries in Africa', *Canadian Journal of History*, 52 (2017).

4.1 Pamphlets: Kanyama Chiume's London sojourn and the question of the 'public'

Kanyama Chiume has a well-established biography within the history of Malawian nationalism. One of the 'young Turks' who supported Hastings Banda's rise to power, he was exiled from newly independent Malawi during the Cabinet Crisis of 1964.[500] However, these aspects of his biography easily obscure his role in the development of a regional and transnational anticolonial culture. Chiume was encountered in previous chapters as a signatory to the Student Guild letter to the Makerere principal following the strike; dismissed from his teaching post together with Oscar Kambona after encouraging a student strike; contributing articles to the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) newsletter, *Kwaca*; guiding the international outlook of PAFMECA and putting the organisation's agenda points before the All African Peoples Conference (AAPC) in 1958. From Accra, Chiume travelled to London as NAC Publicity Secretary to spend a month raising awareness about the failings of the Central African Federation and to demand secession and self-government for Nyasaland. As he was travelling back to Nyasaland, the State of Emergency was declared. All key congress members were arrested, and Chiume returned to London, effectively as a political exile, to speak on behalf of imprisoned members of the NAC and to relay to an international public the events of the Emergency from the perspective of the party, now a proscribed organisation under the Emergency regulations.[501] As Meredith Terretta has shown in the case of the *Union des Populations du Cameroun*, the experience of exile pushed anticolonial activists to pursue techniques that operated on the international (as opposed to national) level.[502]

Such is the narrative relayed in Chiume's autobiography, which he wrote from 1970s Dar es Salaam, a setting whose pan-African, internationalist flavour played out in the text. Chiume was born in 1929 at Usisya, on the shores of Lake Nyasa (now Lake Malawi) in Nyasaland's Northern Province. Following the death of his mother, he moved with an uncle to Kiberege in central Tanganyika, where he attended primary school and quickly picked up Swahili. He moved to Dar es Salaam in 1942 to attend Dar es Salaam Central School; there he shared a dormitory with Rashid Kawawa, who was later to become Prime Minister of Tanzania, and a rival of Oscar Kambona. Chiume, in his autobiography, recalled feeling keenly the

[500] On the 'young Turks' group, see Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, 123–135; Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 268–71; Kalinga, 'Resistance, Politics of Protest, and Mass Nationalism in Colonial Malawi, 1950-1960. A Reconsideration (Résistance, Contestation Politique et Nationalisme de Masse Au Malawi (1950-1960). Une Réévaluation)'.
[501] Chiume, *Kwacha*, 105–117.
[502] Terretta, 'Cameroonian Nationalists Go Global'.

discriminatory spatial layout of the city, and that students would air such grievances during structured debates that took place in English classes for students in standards seven to ten. Many of the teaching staff at the school were African and one, Joseph Matovu, would take students back to his house to discuss political developments in the city, namely the campaigns of the Tanganyika African Association and Tanganyika African Government Servants' Association, which would later give rise to the formation of the Tanganyika African National Union in 1954. Chiume successfully gained entry to Tabora Secondary school, alma mater of Julius Nyerere and Kinguge Ngombale Mwiru among many others, where he was frequently singled out because of his non-Tanganyikan heritage, and told to 'go back to Blantyre', where Nyasaland's secondary school was located.[503]

When he landed in London as a political exile, on 7 March 1959, following the Emergency declaration, Chiume spent his last coins on a phone call to the Committee of African Organisations (CAO) at 200 Gower Street, and was met at the airport by a typical welcoming committee, including Abu Mayanja, Dennis Phombeah, Chango Machyo and John Holness. He contacted CAO over and above other London-based organisations (which he was familiar with) because 'there Africans spoke for and on behalf of Africa'. In Chiume's autobiography, 200 Gower Street became a hive of activity, dedication and enthusiasm for the following fourteen months.[504] This was perhaps the peak of CAO's importance as a structure for transnational, African-led anticolonial campaigns. Thomas Fox-Pitt of the Anti-Slavery Society described CAO as 'very influential' in December 1959, and Marga Holness, a friend of Dennis Phombeah who later married John Holness, felt that the organisation was never the same once it changed premises in 1960.[505]

Whilst in London, Chiume wrote two pamphlets. *Nyasaland Speaks: An appeal to the British people* was published soon after Chiume's arrival, in March, by two lobbying groups introduced in chapter two, the Movement for Colonial Freedom (MCF) and the Union of Democratic Control (UDC). According to Chiume's autobiography, the first 5000 copies sold immediately, and the next order of 1000 before they had even gone to print.[506] The UDC also

[503] Chiume, *Kwacha*, 3–31.
[504] Chiume, *Kwacha*, 112–140.
[505] Fox-Pitt to Mainza Chona, 4 December 1959, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/3 Movement for Colonial Freedom; Interview with Marga Holness, 17 July 2015, London.
[506] Chiume, *Kwacha*, 120.

claimed that the pamphlet was serialised in a Ghanaian newspaper, and that it was used by Labour MPs and trades union leaders who sought information on the Nyasaland Emergency.[507]

Chiume's other pamphlet was published a few months later, around July 1959, with the title *Nyasaland demands secession and independence: An appeal to Africa*. The publisher is listed as CAO but, given that the organisation had no resources for publishing pamphlets, the financial backing came largely from Kwame Nkrumah's government, through the AAPC. Chiume probably negotiated this when he travelled to Conakry in April 1959 to attend an Emergency meeting of the AAPC steering committee dedicated to the Federation and the Belgian Congo, also attended by John Kale.[508] This pamphlet, according to Chiume, was circulated on a global scale, across Europe and America as well as East Africa, and somebody was arrested for possessing it in Nyasaland itself.[509]

Reading the two pamphlets alongside one another, and in relation to the themes presented in this chapter, sheds light on how Chiume navigated ideas of various audiences or publics, as they were constructed in the circles of anticolonial activists that he had been moving among. The two texts were written for very different audiences, as their titles suggest, but the message they conveyed was broadly the same: they both presented an overview of Nyasaland's position in the Federation and the events of the emergency from a nationalist perspective, maintaining that the Federation was imposed against African will and denying the existence of a nationalist 'massacre plot'. Both argued the case for democratic elections in Nyasaland which would allow for the right to secede from the federation and to obtain self-government.

However, there are methodological complications when comparing the two pamphlets. Not only did the source of funding shape the approach and content; it is unclear to what extent the texts published were written by Chiume at all. Chiume's account of the publication of *Nyasaland Speaks* is called to question by that of Audrey Jupp, General Secretary of co-publisher UDC. Jupp completed her unpublished memoirs in 1990, aged 76. In them, she claimed that Chiume found himself too busy with meetings and press conferences to write the pamphlet that UDC had agreed to publish:

[507] UDC circular to African Embassy Officials, 26 November 1959, Hull History Centre Papers of the Union for Democratic Control DDC/3/10; Audrey Jupp to Mbiyu Koinange, 27 October 1959, DDC/3/10.
[508] The meeting declaration is reproduced in Kanyama Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa* (Committee of African Organisations, 1959), 24–5.
[509] Chiume, *Kwacha*, 120–22.

> He gave me all his papers and I took a day off from the office, returning to the office next day with a 5000 word document. I insisted that it must appear under his name and I tried (successfully I think) to alter my normal style of writing so that members of the UDC and others familiar with the pamphlets I had produced under my own name would not recognise it.[510]

The methodological issues this raises are by no means confined to this pamphlet, even if they emerge visibly here in the archive. If ambiguous authorship lies in the background of our reading of diverse primary sources, however, it is perhaps particularly pertinent in the case of quickly produced political campaign pamphlets.

Whatever these conflicting stories obscure (the precise authorship of *Nyasaland Speaks*) they reveal far more about the changing balance of power in anticolonial work in London. Jupp, throughout her memoirs, constructed a narrative revolving around her work going unnoticed and uncredited, one with very real roots in the nature of her contribution to the UDC, as in the work of the female secretaries of similar pressure groups. It is worth noting that although Jupp was the UDC Secretary General she often simultaneously fulfilled the role of secretary-typist. While Chiume's account of his campaign work in London more broadly focused on CAO and barely mentioned the UDC, Jupp claimed of Chiume and Joshua Nkomo that 'almost all of their secretarial work was done by our secretaries, although both of them also spent some time in an office in Gower Street', referring implicitly to CAO.[511] If Jupp did author Chiume's pamphlet then it can be assumed that she, on her own behalf or on that of the UDC, considered its publication worthwhile. UDC frequently turned down pamphlet manuscripts from African activists around the same period, including those of Mainza Chona and Arthur Wina for failing to 'appeal to a British audience'; similarly, the Africa Bureau had refused to publish a pamphlet that Chiume had sent to them in 1957.[512] As considered in chapters two and three, this generation of activists were increasingly disillusioned with British anticolonialism, but were also increasingly relied on for up-to-date information from 'home'. The potential for public and media interest in the Nyasaland Emergency made this an important moment for compromise between British groups and visiting activists. Giving a larger role to a party representative than previously, the UDC framed its work with Chiume as a collaborative venture, for example through staging photographs like the one below, in which a racially-mixed

[510] Audrey Jupp, *Nor lose the common touch* (1990), unpublished memoirs, DJT/5 p. 236.
[511] Audrey Jupp, *Nor lose the common touch* (1990), unpublished memoirs, DJT/5 p. 236.
[512] Audrey Jupp to Mainza Chona, 29 March 1960, DDC/3/1 Promotion of writing of pamphlets; Africa Bureau to Chiume, 15 March 1957, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 241 File 11 Nyasaland correspondence (1953-63).

team packaged Chiume's pamphlets for distribution. Regardless of the pamphlet's authorship, Chiume provided material and agreed to his name being attached to the publication, presumably believing that it effectively portrayed a suitable message for its British audience.

Figure 2: Audrey Jupp (seated, centre) and Kanyama Chiume (standing, right) packaging *Nyasaland Speaks* for postage, 1959. Hull History Centre

In this sense, the uncertainty about the authorship of the pamphlets does not reduce the importance of their historically specific materiality. The act of publishing and distributing a pamphlet was attributed political value in a different way to written expression via newspapers and periodicals, or to oral expression via public meetings. This assumed specific meaning in the post-Accra moment. CAO understood publicity work precisely within this framework:

> [N]ow that the leaders of our struggle accepted, as the Accra Resolution showed, that in principle the fight for freedom will be non-violent, then the success of such tactics will depend

> largely on a favourable and sympathetic world opinion, which the Committee can, to some extent, help to achieve.[513]

This understanding of the mutually dependent relationship between violence and public opinion gets to the heart of the difference between the two visions of decolonisation presented. The UDC pamphlet *Nyasaland Speaks* referred to Accra under a sub-heading 'Non-violence', framing the AAPC as a moderating force. This section, and the pamphlet as a whole, centred around Hastings Kamuzu Banda as a leader with the authority to direct the people of Nyasaland along a path of non-violent protest. Accordingly, a photo of Banda appeared on the cover of the pamphlet (Chiume was pictured only inside the front flap). Banda was central to the UDC's campaign: they also funded Chiume to distribute postcards and pin-badges picturing Banda's portrait.[514] This focus makes sense to the British target audience of the pamphlet: Banda was a well-known and widely respected personality. As such, Chiume's voice in this pamphlet is as the mouthpiece of imprisoned Banda, who is described as the 'natural leader' of Nyasaland, who made Congress a viable political force partly by merit of having spent most of his life in Britain and the US.[515]

In fitting with its targeted readership, the pamphlet fixated on the idea of the British and Nyasaland 'peoples', painting a picture of a coherent British public and its values, and then elevating the potential for this public to have a decisive impact on the course of decolonisation. It noted the 'traditional friendship between my people [of Nyasaland] and the British', and argued that, with federation, Nyasaland's faith in the British had been destroyed. Instead of referring to party politics in Malawi, or structural aspects of class and colonialism, the pamphlet imagined an organic relationship between the 'people' of Nyasaland and Britain: rather than condemning the colonial structure from which the Emergency arose, this echoed a paternalist justification for the colonial presence in Nyasaland.

In contrast, the AAPC-funded pamphlet, *Nyasaland Demands*, shifted the anticolonial agency from the British public to the independent African states. Although the pamphlet was introduced with the aim of 'putting the truth before the people of Africa, Britain and the world', this task was framed as the work of the (banned) NAC within a practical vision of pan-

[513] 'Introduction', [undated, probably early 1959], KNA MAC/AFG/1/3 Committee of African Organisations in London.
[514] Audrey Jupp, *Nor lose the common touch* (1990), unpublished memoirs, DJT/5 p. 236.
[515] Kanyama Chiume, *Nyasaland Speaks: An Appeal to the British People* (Union of Democratic Control; Movement for Colonial Freedom, 1959).

Africanism as part of an internationalist global order. The pamphlet included a photograph of African leaders at the Accra Conference and, in line with the driving motors of PAFMECA and CAO, called independent states to form a bloc in the UN to put pressure on colonial powers. The focus was on the legitimacy of the party, rather than the leadership of Banda, who appeared simply in the list of imprisoned NAC members for whom Chiume was speaking.

The four aims of the party, absent in the other pamphlet, were printed on the first page; they reveal the ways that Chiume was using the party as a vehicle for engaging with a wider anticolonial culture than Malawian nationalism. One, to 'work as a vigorous conscious vanguard for removing all forms of oppression and for the establishment of a democratic government in Nyasaland' hinted at the ongoing self-narration of this generation of activists as those to whom the duty of action had befallen, whether at the 'centre' of the struggle or in a region little-talked about in pan-African circles. Another aim, to 'work with other nationalistic organisations with a view to removing all forms of racialism, colonialism […] and economic inequality […] and to support all actions for World peace' reiterated an internationalist vision of a connected struggle against colonialism, concurrent with Accra. It also engaged directly with the message of John Kale's *Colonialism is incompatible with Peace*; foreshadowing motifs that would become prominent in the 1960s, Chiume inserted the Nyasaland Emergency into this paradigm by listing precursors to alleged 'plots' later proven baseless, in Ghana (1948), British Guiana (1953) and the Cyprus Grivas Diaries (1956).[516]

In sum, both pamphlets situate the Emergency as a turning point in anticolonial work, but within two diverging narratives of Malawian history. The UDC pamphlet *Nyasaland Speaks* imagines the Emergency and accompanying police violence as an aberration in the 'faith' and 'goodwill' that had sustained peace in the Nyasaland protectorate, speaking to a responsibility of the British people to lead Nyasaland to self-government. In contrast, the CAO pamphlet Nyasaland Demands imagines the violence of the Emergency as a continuation of colonialism that the NAC has risen to challenge. The moulding of these purpose-built visions of the Emergency relied on harnessing activists' confrontations with the colonial state in both its everyday and exceptional forms, four of which are considered in more detail.

[516] Kanyama Chiume, *Nyasaland demands secession and independence: An appeal to Africa* (CAO, London: 1959)

4.2 Permits: The violence of everyday bureaucracy

The file of correspondence for the District Office in Same, a small town on the Tanzanian side of the Kenya-Tanzania border, contains dozens of forms completed by local office-holders of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), during 1957, requesting permits to hold public meetings to promote and discuss the work of the party.[517] The District Commissioner rarely refused a permit, although he was strict about the forms being filled in properly and regularly asked TANU officers to correct and resubmit a permit application. Permits each came with various conditions, that, for example, forbade audio recording of the meeting or collection of funds and required crowds to disperse before a certain time. If these conditions were broken, for example when literature and photographs were sold at a meeting on 14 June 1957, the District Commissioner wrote to the TANU office saying that if this happened again he would refuse permits.[518]

Conditions were not always so precise: in Ngeza, 300km west of Dar es Salaam, permits were granted during 1956 on the condition that 'proper provision be made for the maintenance of good order'.[519] During the same year, the District Officer in Bukoba, a town on the Tanganyikan shore of Lake Victoria, also facilitated public meetings for TANU, with yet different conditions on the permit, specifying that no banners should be displayed and no fundraising carried out.[520] Sometimes, special permission could be obtained for activities otherwise prohibited. For example, for a meeting on 7 July 1957, the TANU Provincial Secretary in Bukoba asked for permission to use a loudspeaker but was told that the police needed to use said loudspeaker in the same day.[521] For the meeting of 24 October 1957, he requested, and was granted, permission to collect funds to purchase a vehicle to be used by TANU.[522]

Between TANU's formation in 1954 and its landslide victory in the 1958-59 general elections (which saw TANU officers take up ministerial posts as well as elected Legco seats), these sorts

[517] TNA Accession no. 517: District Office Same. A6/5 Vol. II Associations: Tanganyika African National Union, TNA.
[518] District Commissioner, Same to Assistant provincial TANU Secretary, Same, 22 June 1957, TNA Accession no. 517: District Office Same, A6/5 Vol. II Associations: Tanganyika African National Union.
[519] District Commissioner, Ngeza to TANU District Secretary, 29 October 1956, TNA Accession no. 262: District Office Ngeza, A 6/4 Associations Tanganyika African National Union.
[520] TNA Accession no. 71: District Office Bukoba: A 6/16 TANU.
[521] Secretary to the council of Bakama to TANU Provincial Secretary, 27 June 1957, TNA Accession no. 71: District Office Bukoba: A 6/16 TANU, TNA.
[522] TANU Provincial Secretary West Lake Bukoba to Deputy Provincial Commissioner Bukoba, 26 October 1957, TNA Accession no. 71: District Office Bukoba: A 6/16 TANU.

of exchanges were routine. The broad picture, formed from a particularly 'gappy' set of archival files, is one of frequent and largely cordial correspondence between TANU officers and local colonial administrators. Procedures were unstandardized and highly localised, with much depending on the attitude of the individual District Commissioner and TANU officer. Anticolonial protest as it functioned through the machinery of the authorised work of TANU party branches was a bureaucratic jungle – and often quite mundane work.

In some ways, this is a picture unique to the struggle for independence in Tanganyika. During the second half of the 1950s, while tensions over the legality of political organisations increased and eventually led to violence in the Federation, TANU's battle has been framed as one of tactical, measured negotiations.[523] Yet the experience of party organisation across East and Central Africa entailed shared frustrations that emerge in anticolonial critiques. Permit procedures and Emergency banning orders alike were about the legal might of colonialism and the power that this gave to shape ideas of legitimacy on a global stage. Zooming in on the unglamorous, everyday work of anticolonial organisation in a local setting works to ground the activism of mobile individuals involved in transnational activism. These two worlds – of small-town relationships with colonial administrators and of transnational publicity – were not discrete: not only did activists move between these settings, colonial attempts to frustrate local political organisation were the fuel for international appeals. As such, activists from Tanganyika nuanced the narrative of the party's rise to prominence as smooth and straightforward in certain contexts. At the second AAPC in Tunis, January 1960, the TANU speech by Oscar Kambona drew attention to certain party branches having been banned, and members arrested then fitted this within a larger framework of civil liberties in which 'freedom' must not just mean from foreign rule, but 'freedom for the individual man and woman […] from every form of indignity […] intimidation or oppression'.[524] In this way, experiences of everyday anticolonial organisation filtered into appeals that spoke to an emerging interest in individual rights as a critique of colonial structures.

Equally, documents from the file of permit applications attest to the ways in which bureaucratic frustrations on the ground fed into more explicitly political colonial critiques. In Kahama, north-west Tanzania, the local TANU branch was refused a permit to hold a procession in April

[523] Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 43–59.
[524] Oscar Kambona' speech at the All-African People's Conference, Tunis, January 1960, KNA MAC/CON/185/4 2nd AAPC speeches.

1959, the reason given being that the streets of the town were too narrow, making a procession disruptive to traffic. On receiving the refusal, the TANU District Secretary responded to the District Commissioner that 'we won't, any longer, endure this domination'.[525] Bureaucratic measures that, in themselves, seem more tiresome than directly repressive had a cumulative effect, and, without a doubt, the apparent willingness of the majority of TANU officers to work within them does not contradict the unending frustration that only occasionally surfaces in the colonial archive. The letter-writer had a particular understanding of the dynamic of the colonial system. He went on to write, suggestively if a little ambiguously, that other towns in the province with equally narrow streets had been allowed to hold processions, and, this considered, 'we don't want foolish people to regard Kahama [as] a peculiarly administered district'.[526] The implication seems to be that continuous refusal of permits could create problems for the District Commissioner, presumably because of popular dissatisfaction and the potential for the TANU secretary to publicise the matter within TANU, the colonial administration, or the press.

Such a reading of bureaucratic interaction as a platform for activists to evoke the potential for damaging colonial 'reputations' is given weight in the context of a similar set of correspondence. Also during 1959, the TANU Youth League sought to officially open local and regional branches.[527] The colonial Registrar General received completed forms from across the country for the registration of each branch, but found going through them to be 'troublesome work': there was inconsistency between the submitted Youth League constitution and the applications of each branch, specifically regarding whether membership of the Youth League was restricted by age, race or existing membership of TANU. The lack of knowledge of their own constitution among committee members, the registrar wrote to the TANU Organising General Secretary, was delaying the registration process, and if he received any further forms completed incorrectly he would simply refuse them. He told TANU that this would create 'publicity' best avoided – for colonial and TANU officers alike.[528] The system of applications, re-applications, granted permits and obscure conditions was one that functioned

[525] TANU District Secretary to District Commissioner Kahama, 20 July 1959, TNA Accession no. 213: DO Kahama, A.6/10 Associations TANU.
[526] TANU District Secretary to District Commissioner Kahama, 20 July 1959, TNA Accession no. 213: DO Kahama, A.6/10 Associations TANU.
[527] On the Youth League, which functioned semi-officially before 1959, see Brennan, 'Youth, the TANU Youth League and Managed Vigilantism in Dar Es Salaam'.
[528] DJA Dowdall (Registrar General) to TANU Organising Secretary General, 18 September 1959, TNA Accession no. 517: District Office Same, A6/5 Vol. II Associations - Tanganyika African National Union.

on the negotiation of the limits of reasonable and respectable and the threat of disruption to the procedures of the late colonial state.

In Nyasaland, despite the contrasting relationship between the colonial (in this case Federal) state and the NAC, party activists faced many of the same problems. Daniel Mkandawire, Congress organiser for Rumpi branch, northern Nyasaland, wrote to Dunduzu Chisiza at the Congress central office in December 1958. He was dissatisfied that his branch seemed to be being neglected (they had not received a copy of the new constitution and had ran out of membership cards). He also wanted to share his experience with meeting permits from Rumpi police: Mkandawire had eventually been granted a permit, with certain conditions.[529] Chisiza replied from Congress headquarters that some of the conditions described by Mkandawire, such as the prohibition of 'procession, demonstration or singing of political songs' seemed to be in force across the territory, while others, such as denying use of government buildings and schools for holding meetings, had recently arisen in several isolated districts. Like in Tanganyika, restrictions during the late 1950s in Nyasaland were fluid: the decentralised nature of the late colonial state meant that nationalist party branches – if sufficiently coordinated with one another – could take advantage of this unevenness to make comparisons to the conditions imposed in other regions in order challenge the legitimacy of the state.

Chisiza gave Mkandawire advice for applying for permits. The submitted agenda, he advised, should be 'as vague and elastic as possible', for example 'current political events', under which bracket 'you can discuss almost anything under the sun'.[530] Mkandawire did not take the advice on board: the agenda he submitted to Rumpi police in January 1959 included the 'evils of Federation', which would have been enough to prompt imprisonment under Emergency regulations.[531] Nevertheless a permit was granted: Congress' (or Chisiza's) promotion of a degree of appeasement was in this case mirrored by the local colonial administrator. This sense of meeting in the middle, of a mutually-agreed pragmatism in the common interest was typical of the approach of Congress under an older generation of leaders during the first half of the 1950s. In September 1953, shortly after the imposition of the Federation, NAC president JRN Chinyama wrote to the Nyasaland Chief Secretary advocating for meetings to be arranged

[529] Mkandawire to Congress headquarters, 8 December 1958, MNA DMM 1/1 Daniel Mchawe Mkandawire.
[530] Chisiza to Mkandawire, 23 December 1958, MNA DMM 1/1.
[531] Mkandawire to Rumpi Police, 13 January 1959, MNA DMM 1/1; Permit for meeting, 13 January 1959, MNA DMM 1/1.

between Congress and the new federal government, in the name of 'harmony' and 'mutual trust'.[532]

By the time Chiume wrote *Nyasaland Demands*, the territorial and Federal attempts to frustrate NAC work through bureaucratic procedure had become a central element of his critique of the colonial police. He related that the requirement for a police permit for every meeting had been supplemented with the requirement for a permit from the local chief, and that chiefs were 'intimidated into refusing permits by District Commissioners'.[533] Chiume added that in an 'attempt to break up the Congress from without, laws were passed to make it difficult for us to raise funds and thus to organise ourselves'.[534] In this way, permit refusals gained political weight as signifiers of poor governance linked to other, more explicitly violent, rights abuses. In Kenya during the same year, when Julius Gikonyo Kiano (present at the PAFMECA founding meeting of 1958) was refused a permit to publish a newspaper, he released a press statement in response that claimed that Kenya was 'fast adopting the tactics of a police state' and that 'the spirit of freedom will survive even the most perfected totalitarianism, such as Hilter's and Joseph Stalin's'.[535] Such allusions to permit refusals as totalitarianism were employed more readily in Kenya, but in the rest of East and Central Africa too rights in the bureaucratic framework were increasingly being placed in the same vision of colonialism as violence under Emergency conditions.

4.3 Police: Criminalising colonialism

In a reflection on African decolonisation (one that challenged the centrality of nationalism as ideology), Basil Davidson, writing in 1992, several decades after his own involvement in anticolonial activism in Britain and abroad, observed that the British treated African nationalism 'as a subversion better handled by the police'. Davidson's account argued for a high level of contingency between, on the one hand, the prominence of police and military services in colonial administration in late colonial British Africa and, on the other, the possible routes through the independence process and the workable forms of anticolonial activism.[536] Recent academic accounts have often taken for granted what Davidson problematised. Colonial

[532] JRN Chinyama to Chief Secretary, September 1953, MNA SMP NAT.34 Vol V, Nyasaland African Congress 1953-March 1955.
[533] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 13.
[534] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 17.
[535] Julius Gikonyo Kiano, Press Release, 24 February 1959, reproduced in UKNA FCO 141/6858 J.G. Kiano.
[536] Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*, 163–95.

policing has come to be seen as part of the package of the late colonial state, while research on nationalism has (until recently) privileged ideology over possibility.[537] The shared experience of late colonial policing provided fuel for colonial critique in which the police (alongside military forces and Special Branch) assumed a unique position that functioned, in certain circumstances, to support a broader critique of colonialism as totalitarianism while, in others, shifting accusations away from colonial structures and powers in different circumstances.

In the bureaucratic struggle that constituted TANU's organisation at a local level, complaints to colonial administrators at times cast police and intelligence services as a shared enemy. After the previously-mentioned Bukoba meeting of 24 October 1957, the TANU Provincial Secretary wrote to the deputy Provincial Commissioner complaining that in the aftermath of the meeting one TANU member was approached by Special Branch police and asked to describe the meeting (which was public), and apparently coerced into signing the version of events he dictated. It came as no surprise to the TANU secretary that Special Branch took an interest in TANU public meetings, but he expressed his concern to the Deputy Provincial Commissioner for Bukoba that the practice 'may cause suspicion between Government and the people' and although he accepted the use of informants in principle, he asked if they were authorised 'to compel people to sign what they are intending to report'.[538] The role of Special Branch informants was an ongoing source of tension: the TANU District Secretary in Kahama suggested to the District Commissioner in July 1959 that it would be possible to 'do away with any misunderstandings' arising from informant accounts of TANU meetings if he himself were to 'report to [the District Commissioner] what has been spoken at all the meetings and then compare my reports with that of your informers'.[539] The involvement of the police and the use of informants was understood as a hindrance to building trust between TANU and the colonial administration.

This distinction drawn between the colonial administration on the one hand and its intelligence and law enforcement on the other appeared much higher up in the party around the same time. In early 1958, Julius Nyerere began to implement plans to open an adult education centre, based on Ruskin College, Oxford (the college itself will be returned to in chapter five). Nyerere wrote

[537] On the late colonial state and 'war', see Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact*. On the framework of possibility for understanding decolonisation, see Cooper, 'Possibility and Constraint'.
[538] TANU Provincial Secretary West Lake Bukoba to Deputy Provincial Commissioner Bukoba, 26 October 1957, TNA Accession no. 71: District Office Bukoba: A 6/16 TANU.
[539] TANU District Secretary to District Commissioner Kahama, 2 November 1959, TNA Accession no. 213: DO Kahama, A.6/10 Associations TANU.

to the Assistant Commissioner for Police on 27 February 1958 asking for permission to raise funds across Tanganyika for the building of the college.[540] A month later the Commissioner replied saying that the college needed to be registered before funds could be raised. TANU officer Elias Kisenge thus wrote to the Tanganyika Director of Education requesting to register the college.[541] The matter was passed to the police, who eventually informed Nyerere on 20 May that the college could not be registered without full plans for its feasibility, which presumably required some initial funds.[542] Colonial bureaucracy blocked Nyerere's plans, despite them being in keeping with broader colonial policy. Moreover, the Commissioner told Nyerere that the police were not satisfied with TANU's book-keeping: apparently the £700 TANU had raised for the building of a party office had later been transferred to TANU general funds. At this accusation, Nyerere's tone changed quickly from polite to indignant: 'your stupid informer should also have told you that […] the Headquarters of my Union has audited accounts and balanced statements for the years 1955, 1956 and 1957'. He went on to claim that 'It is for political reasons that the government is refusing us permission to build a College… They imagine some competition between TANU and themselves in building Colleges and Universities and being not so certain of their own ability to build the proposed University they think TANU would beat them at it!' and asks the police service 'not to try and involve itself by cooking up some silly excuses for government'.[543]

Criticism of the police was a long-standing element of nationalist engagement with the state in Nyasaland too. In 1953 Congress president JRN Chinyama advised the Nyasaland Chief Secretary that while the police played a role in 'maintaining law and order […] not everything should be left to them', notably discussing the people's grievances, if the government wanted to avoid arousing fear and suspicion among African people.[544] Aside from during organisational efforts of political parties, the police were frequently the object of criticism in relation to the freedom of movement of activists from these territories. Deportations of political leaders from neighbouring territories also received increased attention in the second half of the 1950s, especially in the Central African Federation, given the irony that this 'closer relationship' made it harder than ever for Africans from across the territories to communicate. For example, deportation was one of the issues raised by the Nyasaland African Congress in

[540] Julius Nyerere to Tanganyika Director of Education, 27 February 1958, JNRC CCM 3/115.
[541] Elias Kisenge to Tanganyika Director of Education, 21 March 1958, JNRC CCM 3/115, NRC.
[542] Tanganyika Police to Julius Nyerere, 20 May 1958, JNRC CCM 3/115.
[543] Julius Nyerere to Tanganyika Police, 27 May 1958, JNRC CCM 3/115.
[544] J.R.N. Chinyama to Chief Secretary, September 1953, MNA SMP NAT.34 Vol V, Nyasaland African Congress 1953 - March 1955 (previously box 111, 22.25.1R).

its meeting in January 1957 with Colonial secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd, who did not discuss the issue in the meeting and later brushed it off as absurd: Congress could hardly 'claim the right to insist that nationals be permitted to disturb the state of law and order in another country'.[545] These issues of movement within the Federation mirrored agenda points in party meetings about immigration officers and passport refusals for trips abroad: the NAC resolutions from a meeting in January 1958 condemned the government's decision to prevent Congress president T.D.T. Banda from attending the first Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Cairo in December 1957.[546] The Nyasaland government continued to tighten regulations on movement throughout the period preceding independence. For example, from 1961, colonial subjects from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia needed a passport to enter Uganda, where previously they only required a letter confirming their identity.[547] In addition, passport requests from students would now have to be approved by the Department for Education and those of Trade Union leaders by the Department of Labour, before they were considered by Immigration.[548]

The experience of political exile during Emergency regulations saw these grievances come together in a wider discourse that was shaped by activists' participation in forums that were discussing colonialism in comparative perspective. Chiume's *Nyasaland Demands*, the pamphlet funded by the AAPC, opened by detailing shootings, beatings and ransackings 'by the so-called forces of "Law and Order"'.[549] Again, Chiume linked this to questions of publicity, stating that 'no headline appears when schoolboys are going home from school are shot by police and security thugs in Central Africa'.[550] Words like 'thugs' and 'toughs' were used throughout to hint at a police service beyond the control of the state.

The focus on informants and spies also took on new weight with the expansion of colonial intelligence in the 'very late' colonial state fuelled by fears of radicalism surrounding Accra. The arrival of 'plain clothes' Special Branch officers in the Karonga district in Northern Nyasaland has been identified as prompting a new culture of suspicion.[551] A similar feeling

[545] Chief Secretary on behalf of the Colonial Secretary to the Nyasaland African Congress, 30 April 1957, MNA SMP 30007A, Visit of Secretary of State: Nyasaland African Congress.
[546] Resolutions of Emergency meeting 1-2 January 1958, MNA SMP NAT.34, Nyasaland African Congress March 1955-March 1959, previously Box 118.
[547] Acting Chief Secretary, circular to Provincial Commissioners, 21 February 1961, MNA PCN 1/19/1.
[548] Chief Secretary to Provincial Commissioners, 28 July 1961 and 2 September 1961, MNA PCN 1/19/1.
[549] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 4.
[550] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 6.
[551] Kalinga, 'Understanding the Nyasaland State of Emergency in the Karonga District', 53.

pervades Chiume's pamphlet: he described a security section 'controlled from Salisbury' and security men who might be found as 'teachers, Agricultural officers, clerks and as Congress officials'.[552] The pamphlet reproduced a document circulated by the Nyasaland Information Department encouraging people to report members of Congress who had not already been arrested to their District Commissioner.[553] The connection between police secrecy and anticolonial publicity comes to the fore in a letter that Congress member Henry Chipembere wrote to CAO in London prior to his arrest, which was reproduced in (or fabricated for) the pamphlet. Chipembere related that 'when top leaders are present, the police tend to avoid behaving in their usual provocative manner', which involved arbitrary beatings, and violent dispersal of crowds without warning.[554]

These narratives drew inspiration, both implicitly and explicitly, from contemporaneous and historical discourses on policing and the state. In London, CAO had been campaigning about racist policing, especially since the violent clashes in Notting Hill in August-September 1958: in a letter to the Observer, CAO argued that 'coloured citizens in the United Kingdom […] have lost confidence in the ability of the law-enforcing agencies to protect them'.[555] In pan-African forums, Algeria (more than Hola) was used as an archetype of brutal colonial counter-insurgency. At the AAPC Tunis meeting in January 1960, Mainza Chona stated that the situation in the Central African Federation was 'identical' to that in Algeria. The government was 'obstructing' UNIP from organising: some branches of UNIP, he said, had not held public meetings since 1958, because applications were refused. He then suggested that the 'situation would have precipitated war', as in Algeria, if people in Northern Rhodesia had had easy access to arms.[556] Chona's speech revealed how what appeared as bureaucratic frustrations could find themselves in the same framework as violence, by way of colonial policing. Delegates from territories that were not viewed as 'hotspots' in the pan-African anticolonial imaginary had to insert on-the-ground frustrations into a discursive framework that took notice of them. At the same conference, Ugandan JBT Kakonge argued that a tense time in Uganda was going unnoticed outside: the 'disturbed areas' declared by the protectorate government were a 'smoke

[552] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 12.
[553] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 4, 32.
[554] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 26–28.
[555] 'Fear Dominates a Troubled Week', *The Observer*, 24 May 1959, 15.
[556] Mainza Chona at the All-African People's Conference, Tunis, January 1960, KNA MAC/CON/185/4 2nd AAPC speeches.

screen' for 'curbing political rights and the rights of the individual' through curfews and arbitrary arrests.[557]

Indeed, the delegate representing the *Front de Libération National* (FLN) was allowed to present a much longer speech, with which delegates from East and Central Africa formed a dialogue. FLN delegate Ali Boumendjel reminded other African delegates 'that they also are being confronted with a form of Nazism which resorts to torture, physical destruction and genocide', noting that although 'diplomacy and psychology play a certain part in the struggle […] colonialism always thinks in terms of strength'.[558] The lines drawn between Nazism and colonial responses to anticolonial dissent have been made most clear in relation to the Algerian war of independence. The discourses of FLN leaders made their way into the public eye through public intellectuals like Jean-Paul Sartre and the publication of accounts of torture like that of Henri Alleg, and thus into accounts of historians.[559] However, parallels drawn between Nazism and colonialism have a history that spatially and chronologically extends beyond the Algerian War. At the World Conference on Colonial Liberation at Margate in November 1955 (see chapter two), Joseph Murumbi described the colonial response to Mau Mau as Nazism.[560] Around the same time, the comparison was commonplace in relation to the imposition of the Central African Federation: in 1955 the NAC submitted a memorandum to Labour MP John Hatch comparing the Conservative party to Hitler, while the NRANC said that 'concentration camps' would be required to silence African opposition to the Federation.[561] These comparisons circulated locally as well as within international lobbying networks: Peter Fraenkel, the European director of Radio Lusaka during the 1950s, was asked by one employee if life in the Federation was like that in Nazi Germany.[562] In contrast to the distinction between police and administration made by Nyerere and TANU members looking to secure concessions in organisation 'at home', the parallel with Nazism was pulled from anticolonial discourse within the territory for use in international publicity in ways that brought the state and law enforcement under the same umbrella in a wider critique of colonialism: even when the term

[557] JBT Kakonge at the All-African People's Conference, Tunis, January 1960, KNA MAC/CON/185/4 2nd AAPC speeches.
[558] Boumendjel, speech at the AAPC, Tunis, January 1960, CCM Archives Box 202, File: All African Peoples Conference.
[559] Henri Alleg, *La question, Suivi de une victoire par Jean-Paul Sartre* (Paris: Pauvert, 1958).
[560] Report of the World Conference for Colonial Liberation, Margate, November 1955, IISH International Meetings and Organisations 159.
[561] NAC memorandum to John Hatch, 2 June 1955; NRANC 'Message to the people', 6 March 1955; both in Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 238 File 4 NAC correspondence (1955-61). See also a letter from Sangala to Eirene White, in Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 267.
[562] Peter Fraenkel, *Wayaleshi* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1959), 221.

'totalitarianism' was not employed, activists were increasingly understanding police violence not as an aberration of good governance but as a natural expression of a violent system.

4.4 Prison: From terrorism to martyrdom

When Mayanja wrote to Thomas Fox-Pitt that 'I don't think they mean to put me in jail, but I do think we must get widest possible political capital thereon' the implication was that the motif of 'jail' had potency beyond any realities in the anticolonial vocabulary.[563] Two weeks later, before his return to London, Mayanja was interviewed by a colonial administrator, who wrote in his report that Mayanja 'openly said that upon his eventually [sic] return to Uganda he expected to serve some time in goal [sic]. He may thus be looking for martyrdom'.[564] The link between imprisonment and martyrdom assumed particular significance in the second half of the 1950s, culminating in the Nyasaland Emergency of 1959. While poor prison conditions became part of the arsenal of allegations in an anticolonial rhetoric in line with the British Labour Party's attempts to invoke 'moral outrage' in empire, the idea of having passed through jail to become a 'prison graduate' became increasingly important to the narratives of the making of a freedom fighter.[565]

Conditions for colonial prisoners (often detached from debates over political prisoners and the right to a fair trial) became a measure of 'humane' colonialism in the political circles and press of the British liberal Left. This emphasis on harm to individual bodies over critiques of colonialism as a system can be understood by way of the history of British anticolonial (or colonial reform) activism, particularly the importance of the campaign against the brutalities committed in King Leopold's Congo to this trajectory.[566] Prisons became a focal point for several campaigns related to East and Central Africa over the period preceding independence. Kenya featured prominently: campaigns demanding the release of Jomo Kenyatta (imprisoned in Lokitaung 1952-59) and publicising the Hola massacre (in which 11 detainees at Hola were clubbed to death by guards on 3 March 1959) became reference points for the wider region and

[563] Mayanja to Fox-Pitt, 2 November 1958, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 294 File 6 Abubakar Mayanja correspondence 1952-61.
[564] Summary of Mr. Baxendale's interview with Abu Mayanja (20 November 1958, Kampala Town Hall), Foreign and Commonwealth Office and predecessors, UKNA FCO 141/18247 A.K. Mayanja.
[565] On the Labour Party and 'moral outrage', see Morgan, 'Imperialists at Bay'.
[566] Amalia Ribi Forclaz, *Humanitarian Imperialism: The Politics of Anti-Slavery Activism, 1880-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 36–41; Kevin Grant, *A Civilised Savagery : Britain and the New Slaveries in Africa, 1884-1926* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 39–78.

issue, just as the Sharpeville massacre (1960) and the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela did in the 1960s.[567]

However, the British media campaign surrounding Hola had several precedents, particularly in relation to the Central African Federation. During 1956-57 Thomas Fox-Pitt, recipient of Mayanja's letter, built a campaign around the poor treatment of Zambian prisoners in Salisbury prison. He told Fenner Brockway that more needed to be done to publicise the ill-treatment of prisoners and put the matter before the Colonial Secretary, and to this end he obtained letters written by prisoners and translated from Bemba, through contacts in NRANC.[568] In one example the author detailed arbitrary beatings accompanied by the declaration that Central Africa was 'the white man's land'; he doubted that he would survive the year.[569] Fox-Pitt wrote to the *New Statesman* describing this and similar letters in 1957.[570] Campaigns against prison conditions escalated as metropolitan lobbying groups became better connected to African regional and national organisations. These connections, as outlined in chapters two and three, were coordinated by young mobile activists who moved between London, Cairo, Delhi and Accra. Guided by increasingly well-established communication channels between prisons and external organisations, the focus on prisons made way for broader critiques that, for example, pointed out disparities between sentences for Europeans and Africans in Northern Rhodesia.[571] Audrey Jupp claimed in her memoirs that Mawali prisoners had knelt to pray for a Labour victory during the 1959 general election in Britain.[572]

The focus on prison conditions and political prisoners in Britain accompanied a narrative among African activists that passing through prison was a meaningful contribution to the anticolonial struggle. As Nephas Tembo wrote to Simon Zukas in London in 1952, '[j]ail does not only strengthen one's belief but makes a man wiser'.[573] This took on further resonance when prominent Central Africa leaders were arrested: the imprisonment of Kenneth Kaunda and Harry Nkumbula in 1955, has become a turning point in narratives of Zambian nationalism

[567] On Hola, see Elkins, *Britain's Gulag*, 344–53.
[568] Fox-Pitt to Fenner Brockway, 1 June 1956, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/9 The Anti-Slavery Society (1955-60).
[569] Undated translated letter from Salisbury Prison, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/9 The Anti-Slavery Society (1955-60).
[570] Fox Pitt to the *New Statesman,* 13 June 1957, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/9 The Anti-Slavery Society (1955-60).
[571] Thomas Fox-Pitt to Fenner Brockway, 8 March 1956, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/9 The Anti-Slavery Society (1955-60).
[572] Audrey Jupp, *Nor lose the common touch* (1990), unpulished memoirs, DJT/5 p. 267.
[573] Nephas Tembo to Simon Zukas, 17 July 1952, ZNA Simon Zukas Personal Papers HM/PP/1 Correspondence 1952-64.

which emphasise that Kaunda was 'radicalised' in prison. These ideas were further entrenched in the context of Emergency Regulations in Central Africa, in particular 'Operation Sunrise' which led to the imprisonment of Hastings Banda in 1959: the introduction of Chiume's pamphlet *Nyasaland Demands* lists every NAC office holder and the location where they are detained (beside his own name is written 'exiled in London carrying on the work of Congress) laid out almost like a tribute to those killed in battle.[574] This accompanied a growing conviction that prison sentences were designed to prevent intelligent young people from leading mass movements, as articulated by Munu Sipalo in the *Voice of Africa* (Accra) in 1962.[575]

Correspondingly, a certain amount of shame was attached to avoiding prison through (self-imposed) exile, as Chiume did. Zambian Mainza Chona also went into exile to escape arrest under Emergency regulations, but framed this to outside organisations as party policy (indeed, Chona had founded and become 'caretaker' of the United National Independence Party while Kaunda was in prison). When writing to Kurt Kristiansson of the International Union of Socialist Youth, Chona said that it was up to Kaunda to decide if and when he should return to Northern Rhodesia and face charges, despite declaring that 'I feel I should'.[576] Chona's misgivings emerged a few months later in a letter to a UNIP colleague Frank Chitambala, who had just been released from jail. 'I feel I have done nothing outside', Chona wrote, 'and you should feel particularly proud for suffering for your country since you went to prison as an innocent person with clean hands'.[577] Chona's letter attested to how time spent in prison stood for dedication, an idea reiterated in rituals surrounding releases: fourteen detainees released from Kanjedza prison in September 1960, after the Nyasaland Emergency were presented with 'prison graduate gowns' sewn by the Zomba League of Malawi Women.[578]

Historians of the region's liberation struggles have noted the tactical use of prison sentences: historian Robert Rotberg describes how activists in Northern Rhodesia 'courted arrest' (when Rotberg visited Sikota Wina in prison, having negotiated his release to offer him a scholarship in the United States, Wina refused – again seeing the sentence as a duty).[579] But the discourse surrounding this tactic has a history too, one in dialogue with wider currents. Navigating the

[574] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 3.
[575] Munu Sipalo, 'Federation of Rhodesias and Nyasaland', *Voice of Africa* Vol. 2 No. 1, February 1962.
[576] Chona to Kurt Kristiansson, 7 May 1960, IISH IUSY 1364 Documents on Zambia.
[577] Chona to Chitambala, 5 December 1960, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/3 Movement for Colonial Freedom (1959-61).
[578] Power, *Political Culture and Nationalism in Malawi*, 143.
[579] Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa*, 299. Interview with Sikota Wina, Lusaka, 18 September 2017.

reverberations of Mau Mau, Malaya and the Battle of Algiers, activists of Chiume's generation frequently engaged with the charge of 'terrorism' to describe anticolonial protest. *Nyasaland Demands* uses 'terrorism' rhetoric to point to the limitations of liberal campaigns revolving around prison conditions that instead should focus on an entire re-framing of the debate on colonialism and legality, which can only come from the African continent:

> … it is only in Africa that we can expect a fully committed support for our cause. However sympathetic a minority in Europe and America may be, public opinion is conditioned by newspapers and politicians, who, when Cypriots, Kenya Africans, Malayans, and Algerians fight for freedom, call them terrorists. Nyasaland Africans even without guns are labelled 'terrorists', while Hungarians who fought for the same thing were 'freedom fighters'[580]

Chiume's comparative tone is less about Cold War geopolitics than it is about the power of language in the hands of Western media distributors to guide public opinion – and with it the course of the independence campaign. The relabelling of 'terrorists' as 'freedom fighters' was considered a powerful way to shape public opinion. Prison sentences and the suffering they entailed (in part, precisely because of the poor conditions that British activists leaped on) quickly became standard parts of the life histories of leaders and activists. For those party leaders who were never imprisoned, there sometimes even exists an element of regret: when asked if he was imprisoned during the Nyasaland Emergency, John Tembo said no, but felt obliged to justify the usefulness of his escaping prison and clarify that he had been in prison since independence.[581]

The staging of prison sentences as anticolonial duty served to reveal the futility of legal procedure as colonial counter-insurgency. This strategy was further performed through infiltration of the prison system: Catherine Chipembere recounted how she smuggled letters with political news into the cell of her husband by way of the prison cook.[582] A sense of victory surrounded prison releases, supported by the dictum that, as Chiume claimed during his speech to the All African Peoples Conference in Tunis, imperial powers 'have not so far succeeded in building prisons for imprisoning human minds'.[583] This idea of immutability would solidify around the 'Long Live Lumumba' campaign following Lumumba's murder in January 1961: Lumumba's final letter to his wife was printed in UNIP's African Life journal and frequently

[580] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 6.
[581] Interview with John Tembo, Lilongwe, 18 July 2017.
[582] Interview with Catherine Chipembere, Lilongwe, 18-20 July 2017.
[583] Kanyama Chiume, Speech to the Second All African Peoples Conference, Tunis, January 1960, CCM Archives Box 202 File: All African Peoples Conference.

circulated, for example passed from Malawian J.D. Mathiah to Tanzanian Bhoke Munanka after the two met on a flight between Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1963.[584]

As such, activists who found themselves outside of prison, particularly those exiled abroad, justified their position by framing themselves as spokespersons for those who were not able to contact the press or address meetings. As Chiume wrote in his autobiography: 'All my colleagues were now in prison or detention; the burden was now mine. I had a passport and if I could find the money to enable me to return to Britain I would speak out there'.[585] During the period that Chiume spent in London, Dennis Phombeah wrote a letter to *The Manchester Guardian* concerning Nyasaland's right to secede from the Federation. 'We Africans outside of the grasp of Federal and Territorial Governments' Phombeah wrote, 'feel a particular responsibility at this time when all the spokesmen for the African millions of the Federation are in prison, detention or exile'.[586]

This understanding of the role of exiles as ambassadors emerges clearly in Chiume's *Nyasaland Demands*. The pamphlet includes several appendices, including the reproduction of letters from Henry Chipembere and Hastings Banda prior to their arrest. The pamphlet's postscript is an account from an anonymous prisoner at Kanjedza which, as the preamble emphasises, had previously been published in the Southern Rhodesian white liberal periodical *Dissent*. The account detailed the author's arrival at Kanjedza prison, during which prisoners were shaved and made to relinquish any personal possessions and clothes. Although the account eluded to routine beatings and insufficient food, it contained no graphic descriptions of brutality, instead detailing how many letters prisoners were allowed to send and how many blankets they were given. Rather, the focus was on patterns of arrest and imprisonment as a miscarriage of justice: the author recalled that some prisoners had never heard of the NAC until fellow detainees told them about it, despite being arrested under this pretence. A paragraph was devoted to the visit of the 'Commission' (perhaps the Devlin Commission) to Nyasaland and the fact that prisoners were prevented from submitting their memoranda to the Commission because 'only those that would be pro-Government would be directed at the Commission', while statements that criticised government would be used as cause for further punishments.[587]

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[584] J.D. Mathiah to Bhoke Munanka, 27 December 1963, Bhoke Munanka personal papers, TNA BMC 46/04 PAFMECA. Lumumba's letter is available at https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/lumumba/1961/xx/letter.htm [accessed 8 January 2019]
[585] Chiume, *Kwacha*, 115.
[586] Denis Phombeah, 'Nyasaland', *The Machester Guardian*, 1 May 1959, p. 8.
[587] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 32–36.

The practice of reproducing letters and first-hand accounts was in part an extension of the relationship between British lobbyists and East and Central African activists during the early 1950s, which relied on the circulation of eye-witness accounts and capitalized on the emotional impact of individual experience. This privileging of letters as sources reappeared in diverse forms: the inclusion of letters played an important role in a specific genre of Swahili autobiographical nationalist histories in postcolonial Tanzania, for example.[588] As activists from the region were increasingly able to access opportunities for publishing pamphlets, thanks to networks not only in Britain but also, in this case, through the AAPC, these sorts of documents assumed a role within pamphlets as markers of 'legitimacy' and 'authenticity'.

The last paragraph of the postscript, and of the entire pamphlet, was in bold print. It read:

> The result of all this treatment, to be frank to the world, is that those of us who were detained feel proud as martyrs and freedom fighters […] Nobody, subjected to the different tortures of being in detention camps, of having relations shot or wounded, etc., etc., will ever have confidence in the Government again [589]

To emphasise this passage was probably an editing choice of CAO and Chiume rather than *Dissent* magazine. It captures perfectly how this generation of activists harnessed the critiques of prison conditions in the tradition of colonial reformers from a liberal humanitarian perspective and gave them political urgency. The experience of prison became not an individual process of radicalisation or submission, but a mass call to action. The arrests of the Nyasaland Emergency were posited as an irreversible tipping point, put before a world audience to make clear that the legitimacy of colonialism, as acted out in the penal system, could not be recovered.

4.5 Press: Meeting with moderation

The growing tendency among activists during the second half of the 1950s to frame colonial critiques around ideas of legality and criminality was frustrated by the fact that the very same structures that underpinned these grievances also prevented accounts of them from being freely published and distributed from within the region. This generation's growing engagement with and critique of the structures of the British, colonial and international press during the early 1950s assumed a more formal dimension during the second half of the decade. This was both

[588] Hunter, 'The History and Affairs of TANU'.
[589] Chiume, *Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence: An Appeal to Africa*, 35–6.

in line with participation in the transnational forums outlined in chapter three, and as a way to harness the potential of the motifs of 'law and order' for new publics. It was during these years that nationalist parties in the region appointed publicity secretaries whose task was to understand the dynamics of external press in ways that could boost the party's international reputation. The growing involvement of activists from East and Central Africa in global anticolonial networks solidified the idea that colonial injustices could be capitalised on if represented in a certain way to a certain audience.

Julius Nyerere developed a strong argument concerning the relationship between press freedoms and 'law and order' during the 1950s. The party newsletter, *Sauti ya TANU*, and the newsletter of the Asian Socialist Conference Anti-Colonial Bureau published, during March-April 1957 similar accounts of Nyerere's recent conflict with the colonial press. Nyerere reported that, following speeches that he had made on his return from the UK and US, the Tanganyika government had attempted to 'muzzle' him, under the guise of 'preserving law and order', but that he had not said the things they accused him of saying. He repeated the points of the speeches that had been picked up on, condemning in particular the parallels that the press had drawn between his own proposals (such as building more schools) and Mau Mau 'terrorism'. Nyerere then used this idea of deliberate misinformation to challenge the banning of certain TANU branches: if government accused him of saying things he had never said, how could he rely on their accusations relating to TANU officials (which involved misconduct used as justification for closing branches).[590] That Nyerere posited press bias as a way of framing colonial restrictions and counter-insurgency would have appealed to the ASC, whose interest in press freedoms, as we saw in chapter 3.1, had developed in dialogue with figures like Munu Sipalo.

This insertion of colonial oppression into critiques of restricted liberties also allowed activists to use existing 'sympathetic' media outlets to publicise stories relating to legal and penal injustices by allowing these existing publications to assume roles as 'spokespersons'. The Labour weekly, *Tribune*, for example focused on the presence of outside troops in Nyasaland in its coverage of developments in the Central African Federation and in framing the alignment between Congress and the British Labour movement. On 6 March 1959, three days after the declaration of the State of Emergency, *Tribune*'s front page featured a portrait of Hastings

[590] *Sauti ya TANU* No. 5, 30 March 1957; undated *Sauti ya TANU*, both in CCM Archives Box 174 Sauti ya TANU; *Asian Socialist Conference Anti-Colonial Bureau Newsletter* No. 28, March-April 1957, Records of the ANC (British Library) EAP121/1/5/8 Various Political, Economic and Cultural Organisations (1953-58).

Banda accompanied by a quotation that protested the use of troops and police from Southern Rhodesia.[591] The previous issue, just prior to the Emergency, had featured an editorial article 'Nyasaland: This way for bloodshed', which judged that 'it looks like there will be another Cyprus, or Kenya, or Malaya', due to Roy Welensky's decision to send in troops. The article described 'crowds brutally dispersed by bayonet charges' and quoted Labour MP John Stonehouse who in a public address in Rhodesia had encouraged Central Africans to 'lift your heads high and behave as though the country belongs to you. The British Labour movement would like to look upon this as a joint struggle'.[592] It was the issue of troops and illegality which paved the way for Labour figures to imagine a 'joint struggle'.

Indeed, within the Federation, the State of Emergency did not only limit the possibilities of protest for activists but in fact also prompted new, strategically moderate, pro-Congress publications. The monthly magazine *Tsopano* ('now' in Nyanja) was first published in Nyasaland in October 1959 as a response to the closing down of outlets for the publication of African opinion since the implementation of the Emergency regulations. Its first issue outlined the 'dilemma' faced by the editorial board: its 'desire to provide a true and genuine expression of African opinion in Nyasaland' and the 'knowledge that unless this opinion is expressed in the most restrained fashion' the publication would be banned under the regulations. Its policy would be to take a 'middle course' by publishing only contributions that its legal advisors thought would not contravene the regulations: 'We cannot, for instance, publish statements such as 'Federation is disgusting' […] We can, however, publish articles giving a writer's reasons for not liking Federation and his proposals for remedying his dislike, provided these are constructive'.[593] On its own terms, the policy was successful: a high-quality, circa twenty-page magazine was published from Salisbury for at least a year, claiming the circulation of its first three issues as 1200, 2400 and 3600.[594] A copy reached Julius Nyerere in early 1960, seemingly by way of Joan Wicken, who had recently begun working as Nyerere's personal assistant and had strong links with British Labour circles.[595] The editorial board provided only a P.O. Box in Blantyre to send contributions and the individuals involved were not listed, presumably to protect their identities, but the driving force behind the magazine was a British

[591] 'Letter from Hastings Banda', *Tribune*, 6 March 1959, front page.
[592] 'Nyasaland: This way for bloodshed', *Tribune*, 27 February 1959, p. 12.
[593] 'Tsopano and the Emergency Regulations', *Tsopano* No. 1, October 1959. Tsopano is consultable at MNA.
[594] 'Publishers' Announcement', *Tsopano* No. 3, December 1959.
[595] Copy of *Tsopano* No. 5, February 1960, with 'Joan Wicken' handwritten on the cover can be found in CCM Archives Box 91, File: President.

farmer-turned-journalist, Peter Mackay.[596] *Tsopano*'s 'middle course' policy fitted into the idea that colonial excesses were best responded to with anticolonial moderation, one that was prominent among British activists of the liberal tradition: Thomas Fox-Pitt told an activist in Northern Rhodesia to make only 'modest' demands, for example for bicycle donations, from external organisations, because British people wanted to 'hear of modesty and determination in the face of hardship'.[597] Although *Tsopano* did not declare any links to the banned Nyasaland African Congress (NAC), it did publish a two-page spread introducing Orton Chirwa as 'caretaker' of the Malawi Congress Party that he founded to replace the NAC and maintain Congress work until Hastings Banda was released from prison.[598] For Malawians both inside and outside of the country (including those in prison who could receive letters and visitors) the success of *Tsopano* posed important questions about how useful 'moderate' European support could be in campaign strategies.

The idea of moderation as a response to the clamping down of the colonial state appeared in British pressure groups at the same time. In January 1959 (before the climax of violence in the Federation) the Africa Bureau wrote to its various Central African contacts asking for contributions for a new periodical dedicated to the Federation that would inform the British Public about African opinion.[599] In the event, African opinion was less central to the magazine than was first implied: the first issue had a section headed 'European views' and another 'African views'.[600] This was not only in line with the Africa Bureau's prioritisation of 'education' over 'political' questions (the magazine had no editorial comment), it was also a specific way of framing African opinion as part of a balanced debate. Rather than political independence as a 'tide of history' and a question of inalienable rights, it became, for the purpose of presenting it to the British readership, one of differing opinions in which a compromise could be reached by way of appropriate responses on each side. In its second issue, prior of the declaration of the Emergency, the opinions presented tended towards the idea that escalating police violence was provoked by uncontrolled African demonstrations.[601] This

[596] See the recent cataloguing work of Mackay's archive at Stirling University, https://mackayarchive.stir.ac.uk/2017/03/10/tsopano-magazine/ [accessed 27 February 2019].
[597] Fox-Pitt to Kalichimi, 14 August 1959, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/3 Movement for Colonial Freedom (1959-61).
[598] 'Orton Chirwa – Caretaker of Congress', *Tsopano* No. 2, November 1959, pp. 8-9.
[599] Jane Symonds to Henry Chipembere and others, 29 January 1959, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) AB/233/10 CAF Newsletter 1959.
[600] *Central African Newsletter* No. 1, 16 February 1959, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) AB/233/10 CAF Newsletter 1959.
[601] *Central African Newsletter* No. 2, 3 March 1959, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) AB/233/10 CAF Newsletter 1959.

changed in the aftermath of the Emergency declaration: the issue of 8 April 1959 gave the majority of space to statements by Henry Chipembere and Kenneth Kaunda, both of which emphasised the unlawfulness of police responses to African protests prior to and during the Emergency. Chipembere detailed arbitrary arrests and beatings while Kaunda demanded that allegations of ANC violence and 'witchcraft' be put before a court of law, claiming that unlawful conduct on the part of the ANC was impossible because 'Zambia is a full police state'.[602] Indeed, the British press included other descriptions, from Central African leaders, of the Federation as a police state prior to the publication of the Devlin report: the front page of *Tribune* on 4 January 1957 featured a small article 'Federation a "police state" – say African leaders'.[603]

Regardless of whether this 'middle ground' approach undermined nationalist demands on the ground, activists working from London at the time readily fitted their own statements into the framework of justice through compromise. Where the recurring watchword of Chiume's *Nyasaland Demands* (CAO/AAPC) is 'freedom', that of *Nyasaland Speaks* (UDC/MCF) is 'justice'. This latter, British-oriented pamphlet opens with a quotation by John Bright, a nineteenth-century British Quaker, liberal and radical. In doing so, the pamphlet situates post-war British anticolonialism against a long history of British radicalism, bringing to mind the role of the Quakers in the anti-slavery movement. The quotation itself alludes to the debates over violent protest that both anticolonial nationalists and British sympathisers were grappling with: 'I have never said a word in favour of force […] But I am at liberty to warn those in authority that justice long-delayed always provokes the employment of force'.[604] As discussed in previous chapters, Mau Mau was used as a reference point by East and Central African activists for the ever-present possibility of violent protest; here, an entirely different historical trajectory was used to argue the same thing, working to disassociate violent protest from African nationalisms in the minds of a British public who had been fed this association through the media since Mau Mau. The pamphlet closed by presenting two possible 'roads' for the future, the 'road of justice' or a 'long and painful road to a dictatorship' and implied that British support for Congress would favour the former.[605]

[602] 'Communications from Central Africa', *Central African Newsletter* No. 4, 8 April 1959, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) AB/233/10 CAF Newsletter 1959.
[603] 'Federation a "police state" – say African leaders, *Tribune*, 4 January 1957, front page.
[604] Chiume, *Nyasaland Speaks: An Appeal to the British People*.
[605] Chiume, *Nyasaland Speaks: An Appeal to the British People*, 12.

This idea of 'justice' is reiterated in Chiume's pamphlet through the story of John Stonehouse, the Labour MP who was declared a Prohibited Immigrant in the Federation following a speech in Southern Rhodesia. *Nyasaland Speaks* used Stonehouse's banning order as evidence of 'the amount of power that the British Government had handed to the Federation', specifically Roy Welesksy's Federal government in Salisbury. The pamphlet told how, following Stonehouse's 'mild statements' during a public speech in Southern Rhodesia, he was prevented from entering Nyasaland; it then asked rhetorically, 'Did [the British people] realise in 1953 that a British MP would be prevented from visiting a territory alleged to be under the protection of the British Government, by the Federal Prime Minister?'. The British government appeared almost as a victim, duped into unwittingly supporting Federal policies that were 'unworthy of the good name of Britain and its sense of justice'.[606]

Chiume's pamphlet was not alone: the second half of the 1950s saw young activists repeatedly capitalise on the issue of prominent sympathisers who were declared Prohibited Immigrants in East and Central Africa by the territorial and Federal governments. When Fox-Pitt was declared a Prohibited Immigrant in 1958, prior to a planned visit to Northern Rhodesia, he wrote to a Congress activist Titus Mukupo asking if Congress had seen the news and hoping that it would also come up in a Commons debate. 'It will be bad propaganda that yet another friend of the Africans is being kept out of the country', Fox-Pitt wrote. The 'political capital' of 'respectable' personalities being declared Prohibited Immigrants had been recognised elsewhere too: in February 1958 Cairo's Swahili-language *Voice of Free Africa* broadcast an account of Basil Davidson's banning from East and Central Africa without good reason by (according to the British intelligence translation) the 'dogs' who administered the region.[607] In July 1957, George Houser of the American Committee on Africa, declared a Prohibited Immigrant on attempting to visit Northern Rhodesia, wrote to Harry Nkumbula: 'How can the Federation convince the outside world of its just intention to build a democratic society if they refuse admittance to the representative of a responsible American organisation?' Once TANU began to play a decisive role in government in Tanganyika from 1959, they were in a position to reverse banning orders for the territory, and perhaps surprisingly (given the scale of work involved in the Africanisation of the state) this was considered important: Chiume wrote to

[606] Chiume, *Nyasaland Speaks: An Appeal to the British People*, 10, 1.
[607] 'Comment on the ban of Mr. Basil Davidson', Voice of Free Africa, 10 February 1958, reproduced in English translation in Records of the Security Services, UKNA KV 2/3697 Basil Davidson.

Nyerere personally asking him to lift the ban on Davidson, who wanted to visit the country to carry out research for a history of precolonial Africa.[608]

The willingness of this generation of mobile activists to harness the 'brutality' of Federal and colonial actors against 'respectable friends', even while they became increasingly sceptical of these 'friends' broader position in the anticolonial world, was part of the coalescing idea of publicity and the importance of the 'publicity secretary' during the late 1950s. After Thomas Fox-Pitt had met Chiume in London, he wrote to Mainza Chona arguing for the need of an equivalent 'political' person from Northern Rhodesia, to ensure the country was not 'forgotten' in the British public sphere.[609] Soon after, Chona himself arrived in London to run a UNIP London office at the same premises as CAO, on 200 Gower Street: Chiume wrote in his autobiography that he left Chona to man the office when he returned to Nyasaland in May 1960.[610] Roland Mwanjisi became TANU Publicity Secretary around 1958, having only graduated from Makerere a year or so previously.[611] He was probably in charge of editing *Sauti ya TANU* during the period when the newsletter reported on the Nyasaland Emergency. The report, on the front page of the newsletter in April 1959, used a quotation from *Time* magazine that made a (rather ill-considered) contrast between the 'clubs, stones and pangas' that Africans were armed with during the violence and the 'Bren guns, sten guns, spotter planes' used by counter-insurgency forces.[612] The international visibility of the Nyasaland Emergency as a globally-relevant 'colonial crisis' made international media receptive to reports: *Pravda* published an article on the Emergency by Chiume (on behalf of CAO) in April 1959, for example.[613]

Conclusion

Violent colonial counter-insurgency in Kenya and Algeria provided ready ammunition for anticolonial activists who wanted to undermine the late colonial state's claims to legitimacy. But for activists in Tanganyika, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it was the

[608] Chiume to Nyerere, 6 February 1960, JNRC CCM/3/10.
[609] Fox-Pitt to Mainza Chona, 18 December 1959, Records of UNIP (Britis Library) EAP 121/2/5/5/3 Movement for Colonial Freedom (1959-61).
[610] Chiume, *Kwacha*, 140.
[611] J. Koseth Bart[?], 'My interpretation of TANU Publicity and Press department' (September 1960), CCM Archives Box 187 File 1037 TANU Publicity and Press department; Mtei, *From Goatherd to Governor. The Autobiography of Edwin Mtei*, 51.
[612] 'Nyasaland – The planned massacre', *Sauti ya TANU* No. 50, 8 April 1959.
[613] Copy of Chiume's article 'Nyasaland will be free', printed in *Pravda*, 14 April 1959, UKNA FCO 141/14203, f. 53a.

everyday violence of the ‘very late’ colonial state that needed to be brought together into a wider critique of colonialism as a system. The generation of activists who were beginning to find their way into the mainstream of nationalist politics at home were central to this endeavour. Their mobility – exceptional in the context of the main thrust of nationalist campaigns in the region – enabled their participation in pan-African and other transnational forums leading up to and following Accra. This gave them a unique understanding of how colonial critiques could be framed to various interested publics. But the vision that emerged, which ultimately coalesced to describe colonialism as totalitarianism, was not simply borrowed from other struggles. It drew first and foremost on experiences of the frustrations of anticolonial organisation at home and used first-hand accounts of these, shared through networks which were growing even as they were becoming problematic, as the fuel for this critique; these built upon earlier engagement with ideas of ‘constitutional’ protest during the early 1950s. All this informed the way that Chiume, as publicity secretary, was able to react to the Nyasaland Emergency: if police conduct, refused permits and inhumane prison conditions could be used to show how the Federation had ‘gone wrong’, they could also be employed to cast the late colonial state as inevitably and inherently ‘wrong’.

Chapter Five

Closing doors and falling dominoes: Conspiracy and the Cold War, 1960-64

In September 1961, at the founding conference of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade, Munu Sipalo presented and circulated a pamphlet, published by the UNIP 'International Publicity Bureau' and printed by Atlas Printers in Cairo.[614] 'British Secret Plan on African Discovered: Africa is not a geographical extension of Europe!', as it was titled, claimed to reproduce a letter written in London by Duncan Sandys, Conservative Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, dated 4 March 1961. The introduction, written by Sipalo and UNIP representative in Cairo, Reuben Kamanga, framed this letter as evidence of a colonial and neo-colonial conspiracy. The physical trajectory and conspiracy theory form of the pamphlet might initially appear marginal to anticolonial work during the period in which East and Central Africa was on the brink of official independence, with party representatives travelling back and forward to London to attend constitutional conferences. And yet, as the threads of anticolonial culture explored in previous chapters are traced into the early 1960s, the sentiment expressed by this pamphlet plays an important role in answering the question of how this generation of activists, who came of age together with party politics in the region, experienced and harnessed the momentum of decolonisation, and how the shifting geographies of the Cold War played out in conceptions of what effective anticolonial work required.

The year 1960 is routinely identified as one of turbulence in histories of decolonisation. Proclamations of the 'year of Africa' heralded the achievement of independent statehood by seventeen African states. But events over the course of the year cast heavy doubt on triumphalist readings of decolonisation: in South Africa, police opened fire onto a crowd of protesters at Sharpeville in March; just a month after the independence of the Congo in June,

[614] *British Secret Plan on African Discovered: Africa is not a geographical extension of Europe!* (Cairo, 1961), consulted in MCF/COU/96A Northern Rhodesia.

its Katanga province seceded under the leadership of Moïse Tshombe with the support of Belgian forces and international mining companies leading to a prolonged crisis; during the same months, French officers and European residents in Algeria defied Charles De Gaulle's attempts to begin negotiating with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic – the FLN in exile. If 'decolonisation' was increasingly perceived and depicted as a natural historical tide,[615] the idea that the process was about the relationship between metropole and colony was increasingly laughable: the UN, the Cold War superpowers, the independent Afro-Asian bloc, and South Africa were visibly and irrefutably players in the decolonising Africa of the early 1960s.[616] A new 'wave' of struggles in Portuguese Africa (where independence would not be achieved until the 1970s) and in Southern Africa (ending with the end of apartheid in 1994) could be seen on the horizon.

Given this picture of the early 1960s, it is easy to see why recent accounts of a 'global' decolonisation, even in the wake of interventions that warn of the perils of writing history from the vantage point of knowing how it ends, imagine the independence of East and Central Africa (with the exception of Zimbabwe) as the predictable end of a wave already in motion, almost like falling dominoes at the end of a line that began, perhaps, in Ghana in 1957. From the perspective of activists from the region, however, things looked very different. At the dawn of the new decade, Ugandan anticolonial politics remained divided along religious and regional lines with no clear path to the surprising coalition that would assume government in October 1962 between Milton Obote's Uganda People's Congress (which was only formed in 1960) and the monarchist Kabaka Yekka. Leaders in Tanganyika, even with responsible government promised during 1960, did not imagine full independence would happen for another five or ten years.[617] In December 1961, Tanganyika became an independent state under a TANU government, radically altering ideas of the possibilities of the independence process among leaders in the region. Even so, as Tanganyika gained self-government, the Central African Federation seemed as entrenched as ever, still partly under Emergency regulations that kept leaders imprisoned; not until 1962 was self-government in Nyasaland timetabled and, in Northern Rhodesia in October, elections saw another surprising and fragile coalition between

[615] Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*.
[616] On the importance of the UN Afro-Asian bloc in the Congo crisis, see O'Malley, *The Diplomacy of Decolonisation: America, Britain and the United Nations during the Congo Crisis 1960-1964*.
[617] Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, 566.

UNIP and the NRANC. The Federation would be dissolved in December 1963 and Malawi and Zambia would achieve political independence in July and October of 1964, respectively.

These processes were anything but predetermined and happened in an atmosphere of intense uncertainty. Every leader that assumed power at independence faced heavy opposition from within their own party (and within coalition governments where they existed) as well as from significant opposition parties and local and international interest groups; this opposition is still being recovered from the occlusions of nationalist histories.[618] Against a continental narrative backdrop of 'radicalisation' of African nationalism in these years, especially with regard to the legitimacy of armed struggle, in *these* territories the work of projecting an image of a 'responsible' party facing an unlawful colonial state was more important than ever. Momentum was certainly felt, talked about and grasped at, but there was also a widespread fear of its uncontrollability. This was a moment of existential crisis not only for individual nationalist parties but for anticolonialism itself. The generation of mobile activists who had defined the external work of anticolonialism had, by this point, various relationships with the parties that would assume government in these years. By exploring this period via the ongoing work of such activists, who continued to travel to independent states to attend conferences, to publish and to broadcast, it is possible to recover not only the fragility of the networks they operated through but the feeling of distrust that permeated and shaped this work.

5.1 Suspicion and distrust as anticolonial critique

The pamphlet 'British secret plan on Africa discovered' allows some of the discursive aspects of this culture of distrust to be traced across the 1950s and early 1960s, which can serve as a backdrop for exploring the practical work of anticolonialism against the shifting geographies of decolonisation and the Cold War. Chapters three and four demonstrated how, with the increased restrictions of the late colonial state during the second half of the 1950s, activists increasingly prioritised the ability to produce and disseminate their own version of colonialism – to produce anticolonial knowledge. Events in the Congo, within a wider Cold War environment, converged with existing suspicions relating to the Central African Federation to allow activists to articulate a vision of colonial hegemony that relied on knowledge production in the form of conspiracy. In the wake of interventions of anthropologists and cultural theorists, historians of twentieth century Africa are increasingly finding ways to take seriously beliefs

[618] Opposition as an object of enquiry is proposed in Larmer, *Rethinking African Politics*.

and fears as historical motors.[619] The concept of conspiracy can be understood in this light. This body of work has demonstrated that, regardless of material veracity, beliefs serve a discursive purpose: Luise White argues that stories about vampires in East Africa were vehicles for very real grievances in colonial societies.[620]

The pamphlet claimed to reproduce a letter from Duncan Sandys. It amounted to a personal and professional reflection on Britain's prospects for maintaining control over the transfer of power to African governments and retaining influence in the region after independence. 'The vital thing', the letter concluded, 'is that security, mines, foreign relations and the judiciary should remain under our real control whatever nominal power and position is given to the Africans', who needed simply to be convinced 'that they in fact "win" something'. Specifically, the letter's author suggested that the extreme views of the federal government could be instrumentalised to give the impression that the Colonial Office was under pressure from both sides and was sympathetic to African demands. For example, Welensky's opposition to the Macleod Plan (whereby the Northern Rhodesian constitution would open up a slim possibility for 'moderate' Africans to be elected to the Legislative Council through a complicated procedure of two electoral rolls, both with a qualified franchise) could be used to make the changes appear to UNIP as being more radical than they were (and certainly they fell far short of UNIP's demands). The letter ventured that the Central African Federation could be extended to include the East African states, Bechuanaland (Botswana) to the south, and Mozambique.[621]

That the Colonial Office's collusion with mining companies and the settler lobby shaped constitutional agreements with African leaders was not a farcical suggestion.[622] Peter Brooke has uncovered the personal attempts of Sandys to slow the process of decolonisation through 'irregular' channels for the sake of his own business interests.[623] Contemporary commentators also recognised the involvement of business interests: anthropologist Alvin Woolfe understood

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[619] Reflecting on the agency of the 'supernatural' from the perspective of postcolonial studies, Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe : Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), especially chapters three and four. An important substantive account of the agency of the 'non-material' is David M. Gordon, *Invisible Agents: Spirits in a Central African History* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012).

[620] Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[621] *British Secret Plan on African Discovered: Africa is not a geographical extension of Europe!* (Cairo, 1961).

[622] Allegations of colonial conspiracies and cover-ups, especially surrounding the Congo and Roy Welensky, continue to be made, with ample evidence, by scholars, for example A. Susan Williams, *Who Killed Hammarskjöld? : The UN, the Cold War and White Supremacy in Africa* (London: C. Hurst & Co Publishers, 2011).

[623] Peter Brooke, *Duncan Sandys and the Informal Politics of Britain's Late Decolonisation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

mining companies as a uniquely determining force in the decolonisation of Southern Africa.[624] Regardless, it is very unlikely that the letter was written by Sandys, or any other Colonial Office representative.[625] The pamphlet received little attention in the press, but (anti-communist) *Observer* correspondent Frank Barber, who had recently reported from Cyprus and the Congo, doubted the document's authenticity and considered it most likely to be of Soviet origin. Barber pointed to mistakes in the letter 'not likely to be made by a Conservative MP' and referred to fifty or so Soviet forgeries that had appeared in the previous four years, all seeking to 'exploit fears and apprehensions among people in Africa, Asia and South America'.[626]

One of these in particular had attracted more attention than Sipalo's pamphlet. This was a 1960 'British Cabinet Paper', purportedly revealing a conspiracy among senior European and US ministers and trades union leaders to manipulate African trades unions through the anti-communist International Confederation of Free Trades Unions (ICFTU). The document emerged shortly after the creation to the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) in November 1959, independent to ICFTU and its communist-bloc equivalent, the World Federation of Trade Unions. A CIA agent working on 'communist forgeries' at the time drew a map illustrating the circulation of this document in its various versions, suggesting that centres for distribution (following its apparently Soviet origin) were Ghana, Nigeria and Ethiopia, and that it was ultimately circulated in most African countries, and as a far afield as India, New Zealand and Finland.[627] Whilst it was widely accepted as a forgery, this pamphlet was also understood to have impacted relations between the ICFTU, AATUF, and African union leaders involved in the former, such as Tom Mboya.[628] The revelatory framing of Sipalo's pamphlet was received and circulated in anticolonial circles with underlying assumptions of this same potential: the UNIP representative in Dar es Salaam sent the pamphlet to the African Students

[624] Alvin Wolfe, '"The Team" Rules Mining in Southern Africa', *Toward Freedom: A Newsletter on New Nations*, 11 (1962).
[625] My thanks to Philip Murphy for his expert opinion on this question.
[626] Frank Barber, 'Secret U.K. aims in Africa alleged: Mystery letter from Tory M.P.' *The Observer* 10 September 1961; Obituary of Frank Barber: http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/obituary-frank-barber-1104745.html [accessed 12 May 2018].
[627] Distribution of Forged "British Cabinet Paper" (1961), Persuasive Maps: PJ Mode Collection, Cornell Univbersity Library Digital Collections, online at https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:19343326 [accessed 1 February 2018].
[628] Yevette Richards, *Maida Springer: Pan Africanist and International Labor Leader* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), 209–210.

Association in New Delhi instructing members to publicise it there, and it was also reproduced in the *Voice of Africa* magazine printed in Accra (see below).[629]

But the suspicion of a colonial 'plot' also had a specific heritage in Central Africa. The imposition of the Federation in 1953 was accompanied by rumour and conspiracy theories, for example that sugar had been poisoned to make Africans infertile and exterminate the race.[630] Throughout the late 1950s this idea of a 'trick' assumed various forms – some more subtly concerned with rhetorical deception. When the Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox-Boyd, met with representatives of the Nyasaland African Congress in January 1957, Dunduzu Chisiza argued that Federation had been 'rationalised' by its advocates, and distorted to take on a 'politically acceptable form'.[631]

In the case of Sipalo and Kamanga's pamphlet introduction, embracing the idea of a colonial conspiracy allowed activists to articulate a vision of colonialism as an evolving system whose legitimacy relied on a hegemony of knowledge production and dissemination.

> The treachery of British colonialism and imperialism should NOT be underestimated. We know the brutal arrogant colonization which regards us not as men but as inferior beings, the colonization which uses and misuses force. We have known another period of justification of colonization, the period when colonialism[,] no longer daring show its military strength, tried to persuade us that it was the highest expression of justice, of culture, of civilisation. Finally has come a stage, issuing out of the new relationship of forces which is being established on the international and African levels. The colonial powers have now found it necessary to find new and appropriate forms which[,] through deceptive generosities and hesitating measures[,] will create an appearance of change while maintaining and reinforcing the colonial influence whose practices will continue to oppress the African people – this is the whole question.[632]

This assessment of colonialism in *longue durée* perspective, and of neo-colonialism (although the pamphlet does not use this latter term) draws on Sipalo's previous engagement with the psychological aspects of colonialism, which was becoming more prominent in East and Central Africa in the early 1960s, thanks in part to contact with Francophone anticolonial culture.

[629] R. Masaka to African Students Association New Delhi, 12 November 1961, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/4/5 Students abroad; *Voice of Africa*, Vol. 1 No. 10 October 1961, pp. 4-17.
[630] Resolutions passed at a public meeting in Chinika African Township 14 December 1952, MNA 151/DMM/1/1 Daniel Mchawe Mkandawire. See also White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa*, 83–4.
[631] Record of a meeting between Alan Lennox-Boyd and the Nyasaland African Congress, 15 January 1957, MNA SMP 30007A, Visit of Secretary of State: Nyasaland African Congress.
[632] *British Secret Plan on African Discovered: Africa is not a geographical extension of Europe!* (Cairo, 1961).

Sipalo would not have been reading the seminal works of Aimé Cesaire and Albert Memmi, which had not yet been translated into English. The same is true of Frantz Fanon's 1952 *Peau noire, masques blancs*; his *Les Damnés de la Terre*, with its infamous preface by Jean Paul Sartre, was on the point of being published in French. Nevertheless, Sipalo's travels around West Africa did put him in a better position to incorporate francophone anticolonial discourses into his own critiques. In April 1960 he attended the Positive Action Conference in Accra and the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference in Conakry.[633] He would have heard Fanon speak (with translation) at both.[634]

Nevertheless Sipalo's experience moving within all of these circles was also of feeling that Central Africa was pushed out of the spotlight by the Algerian war and, now, foreign intervention in the Congo. Sipalo wrote to Accra in August 1960 and again in March 1961 complaining that Central Africa was being given 'very little attention' in Accra, despite that fact that, according to Sipalo, UNIP (and he referred to the party rather than a place) was 'the hurb [sic: hub?] of all National Movements South of the Congo'.[635] Much like the speeches of East and Central Africa at the 1960 and 1961 AAPC, the pamphlet worked to pull the region into the 'centre' of the struggle. Sipalo and Kamanga cast Zambia as the vanguard of this newest manifestation of colonialism: colonialism by deceit.

The allegation of a colonial conspiracy drew on pan-African critiques of the international order that revolved around the Congo, without adopting a deterministic model of neo-colonialism. Sipalo and Kamanga's introduction stated that 'the Commonwealth, the Common Market and NATO' were part of the colonial 'what we have we hold' conspiracy, and evidence of the 'scurrilous logic' of British colonialism. These structures were understood to be vulnerable to shifts in public opinion, however: 'Let this document [Sandy's letter] create new attitudes towards the British'. Belief in the strength of public opinion, already established in the anticolonial culture of the 1950s, drew on the rhetoric of the campaign, at this point centred in London, for a consumer boycott of South African goods, which had grown in prominence since the publicity that the Sharpeville massacre attracted.[636]

[633] Segal, *Political Africa: A Who's Who of Personalities and Parties*, 34.
[634] Giovanni Pirelli & Rachel E. Love (2015) Biographical Note on Frantz Fanon, *Interventions*, 17:3, 394-416.
[635] Munu Sipalo to Welbeck (BAA), 9 August 1960; Munu Sipalo to AAPC, 3 March 1961, both in Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/7.
[636] On the history of the boycott as strategy, see Simon Murray Stevens, 'Boycotts and Sanctions against South Africa: An International History, 1946-1970' (Columbia University PhD Thesis, 2016).

The inevitable vagueness of the pamphlet's 'world public' which would play a decisive role in decolonisation went hand in hand with publicity practices that increasingly tailored versions of the colonial situation for various audiences. In February 1961, before the publication of the pamphlet, when Sipalo returned to Lusaka from the constitutional conferences in London, he wrote to Kwesi Armah, CAO chairman and Ghanaian High Commissioner in London. 'We have found the situation at home very tense', he described, asking Armah to denounce Nkumbula, who had apparently solicited help from 'imperialist puppet' Tshombe, whose leadership of the secession of Katanga had been supported by Belgian mining firms.[637] Yet three days previously, he had told a UNIP colleague in London that the 'so called "tense situation" [is] so calm that the stationing of troops in strategic paces is mere childish play'.[638] The ways that different versions of colonial realities were fitted to different forums became increasingly clear with the opening of opportunities for external representatives from around 1960. For example, at a UNIP rally around the same time in Northern Rhodesia, Sipalo had little to say about colonialism as a conspiracy of knowledge: he sought to explain 'not only to Northern Rhodesia but to the whole world what our feeling are towards the dilly-dallying policies of the British government', yet his speech then focused on the 'moral and spiritual' responsibilities of ordinary people in the struggle to follow the non-violent methods of Gandhi while maintaining 'self-respect' by not getting drunk in beerhalls and by 'tell[ing] the white man: "you are wrong if you think you are going to dominate"'. In a local context in which the main agenda was maintaining party discipline, the idea of speaking to and being watched by 'the world' still had discursive power as a way to heighten notions of individual duty, but the structures of colonialism were reduced to racial domination.

The increasing participation of East and Central African activists in forums where global anticolonial solidarity was performed as an anticolonial strategy during the early 1960s gave rise to practices where divergent party lines could be taken at home and abroad. For example, the *Tanganyika Standard* reported unfavourably on the 1961 Cairo AAPC speech by TANU publicity secretary Roland Mwanjisi, which had identified 'the British' as a 'common enemy' among delegates. Mwanjisi defended himself against accusations that TANU spoke 'with two voices' by replying that he had made the statement because it was a pan-African conference, and that he would not have said the same at a TANU meeting: he saw the different forums and

[637] Munu Sipalo to Kwesi Armah, 27 February 1961, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/3 MCF 1959-61.
[638] Sipalo to Chikako Kamalondo, 24 February 1961, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/3 MCF 1959-61.

their differing audiences as suitable justification for framing the campaign for independence differently.[639] Indeed, accompanying long-standing frustrations with biased colonial reporting, increasing engagement with external publicity work gave rise to ideas about provoking the press in spaces not subject to Federal and Emergency regulations: Sikota Wina applauded Mainza Chona for his speech at the Tunis AAPC in January 1960, reporting that the local press in Northern Rhodesia 'got jittery over it which is a very good sign'.[640] Sipalo and other 'radical' UNIP figures were side-lined during the 1962 elections, having apparently caused Kenneth Kaunda difficulty at home, but such figures were readily sent abroad to represent the party.[641]

The only instance that Sipalo and Kamanga departed from a blanket world audience in the pamphlet was to directly address British sympathisers. Being 'aware that the British public and press will try to playdown [sic] the importance of this document', they 'request that those faithful few in Britain put this document to public examination' – as though international visibility required the British press as intermediary.[642] This was illustrative of the ambivalence towards London as a useful centre for anticolonial work in the early 1960s: following the opening of new hubs in the late 1950s, such as Cairo, as was considered in chapter three, London's practical constraints became more decisive. In 1962, Sipalo wrote to UNIP headquarters in London saying the office felt 'let down' and would have to cease functioning unless Lusaka sent funds.[643] And yet, a conceptualisation of colonialism that increasingly coalesced around knowledge production and secrecy reinforced London as an important centre of power – Chango Machyo's engagement with this problem will be considered below. Moreover, some of the practical constraints of alternative hubs in the 'Third World' were, during the early 1960s, becoming decisive.

5.2 Shifting geographies and Cold War practicalities

Around 400 delegates attended the Third Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference in Moshi, Tanganyika, 4-11 February 1963. The main focus of Western commentaries on the event was

[639] 'With two voices', *Tanganyika Standard*, 5 April 1961, clipping in the CCM Archives Box 43 File 196 Press Release Uhuru Issues.
[640] Sikota Wina to Mainza Chona [n.d. early 1960], Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/3 MCF 1959-61.
[641] Kaunda's difficulties are alluded to in: Report by James Callaghan on his visit to Cairo, Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, 23 March to 1 April 1961, Labour Party Archive and Study Centre, International sub-committee Minutes and documents 1953-62. See also Larmer, *Rethinking African Politics*, 32–48.
[642] *British Secret Plan on African Discovered: Africa is not a geographical extension of Europe!* (Cairo, 1961).
[643] Munu Sipalo to UNIP Deputy National Treasurer, 25 October 1962, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/7/1/51 Europe.

tensions between China and the Soviet Union: the communist parties of both states were AAPSO affiliates and had donated 95 360 US dollars and 55 000 US dollars, respectively, to the organisation during 1961.[644] Even a self-published report noted the 'triangular shape' of the conference, with delegates now keeping distance from not only the 'West' but also the Soviet Union and China, but went on to downplay this dynamic in favour of a narrative of Moshi as Bandung's successor, where anticolonial solidarity had triumphed over interested 'infiltration'.[645] The nature of Afro-Asian coordination was changing: while a new wave of scholarship has highlighted the decisive nature of the Afro-Asian bloc in the UN during the 1960s,[646] transnational solidarity organisations based on the affiliation of political parties (rather than states) seemed increasingly fragile and vulnerable to the interests of independent states. From around 1961, for example, China sought to perpetuate divisions between Arab and sub-Saharan African political groups and channel them into a 'race war' in order to form stronger alliances with newly independent sub-Saharan states.[647]

This shift had important implications for the status of Cairo in the anticolonial imaginary. Just as the existence of the Cairo offices had been held together by AAPSO in the late 1950s, AAPSO's instability had practical implications for the feasibility of working from the Cairo offices. Indeed, there was little distinction between the idea of the Cairo representative and of an AAPSO representative: Amanas Swai fulfilled both roles for TANU. TANU delegates to the sixth AAPSO council meeting in Algiers, March 1964, reported increasing tensions within the organisation. Under a heading 'Sino-Soviet ideological drama', they wrote that, despite hopes that the two powers would 'keep their ideological conflict out of the meeting', the TANU delegation had finally raised a point of order challenging Soviet delegates over their claim that Africans sided with them over China.[648] Swai wrote to TANU headquarters ahead of the fourth AAPSO conference in 1965 to advise that the delegation's AAPSO speech should reflect the exodus of liberation movement representatives from the city. He claimed that the few representatives left in Cairo 'have ceased to think of their activities as freedom fighters struggling against colonialism […] and are now being used as stooges of big powers, like

[644] 'Moshi: A Test of Solidarity', *Africa Today*, 10 (1963).
[645] *In the name of Afro-Asian Solidarity: Tanganyika Conference 1963* (no publisher or date included), consulted at Makerere University Africana section.
[646] Westad, *The Global Cold War*; Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution*; Irwin, *Gordian Knot*; O'Malley, *The Diplomacy of Decolonisation: America, Britain and the United Nations during the Congo Crisis 1960-1964*.
[647] Jeffrey James Byrne, 'Beyond Continents, Colours, and the Cold War: Yugoslavia, Algeria, and the Struggle for Non-Alignment', *The International History Review*, 37 (2015).
[648] Report of the TANU delegation on the sixth Council meeting, Algiers, 22-26 March 1964, CCM Archives Box 193 File 561 The Sixth Session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council.

China, Russia, Indonesia, Malaysia, India, UAR and Ghana'. [649] Newly independent African states, like the UAR, had come to be grouped with Cold War superpowers.

Yet Swai treated this situation not as a question of principle, but in terms of its practical implications. He claimed that statements he made on TANU's behalf were being ignored, while representatives of dependent countries like Northern Rhodesia were being forced to sign their name to statements drafted by external leaders.[650] The idea of using Cairo to escape colonial constraints on making public statements was losing traction. This mirrors other reports from Cairo around the same time that emphasise practical obstacles to the city's usefulness. In July 1962, J. H. Chimba, UNIP Cairo representative, wrote to Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka and Mainza Chona in London complaining that the Cairo office had not been kept adequately informed, leaving Chimba feeling 'embarrassed' when asked about current affairs at home.[651] This was not only about communication problems but also a sense of humiliation which echoed experiences of racism towards sub-Saharan Africans in Cairo. John Tembo, who travelled from Malawi to Cairo for a conference in 1964, recalled that 'Arabs spoke to us as African brothers in political meetings' but outside of them, in the city, there was a sense of superiority that engendered 'scepticism' towards the UAR among Malawi delegates.[652]

All the while, AAPSO demanded subscription fees that, with the acceleration of election campaigns 'at home', were no longer a priority. Sipalo told AAPSO headquarters at the end of 1963 that UNIP were unable to pay its obligatory contributions that year due to the upcoming elections.[653] But the Cairo offices themselves were also increasingly under-resourced. UNIP representative Nephas Tembo, wrote to the UNIP headquarters in December 1962 asking for twenty pounds for heating because 'the damn place is very cold'. Chimba 'really sympathise[d] with the shortage of stationary in the office at home' but had nothing he could send from Cairo.[654] This contrasted noticeably with descriptions of John Kale's well-stocked office that Abu Mayanja took with him to Uganda in 1958. In this sense, it was through the practical possibilities of anticolonial work that activists experienced the waning importance of Cairo.

[649] Amanas Swai to TANU General Secretary, 5 April 1965, CCM Archives Box 91 File SC/755.
[650] Amanas Swai to TANU General Secretary, 5 April 1965, CCM Archives Box 91 File SC/755.
[651] Chimba to Kaunda 17 July 1962; Chimba to Chona, 17 July 1962, both in Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/7/1/33 Cairo Office 1962.
[652] Interview with John Tembo, Lilongwe, 18 July 2017.
[653] Sipalo to Youssef El-Sebai (AAPSO), 26 November 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/20 Afro-Asian Solidarity Cairo.
[654] Tembo to UNIP, 11 December 1962; Chimba to UNIP, 5 August 1962, both in Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/7/1/33 Cairo Office 1962.

Similarly, the diversification of practical opportunities for travelling, conferencing and training, which accompanied Cold War interest in decolonising sub-Saharan Africa, took away much of Cairo's appeal. The presence of Soviet and Chinese representatives was among the important appeals of Cairo in the late 1950s, but alternative channels of communication with the Communist world appeared as embassies opened in other locations that East and Central Africans could travel to. Contacts with embassies often went hand in hand with journeys of education. For example, a UNIP member who took up a scholarship at the World Assembly of Youth 'Aloka' college in Mysore, India, in 1960 told UNIP headquarters that he would use the opportunity of the trip and the passport to raise international support for the party's campaign: when the course finished, he said, he would travel over 2000km to New Delhi in order to contact foreign embassies located there, including those of China and Indonesia.[655] When Tanzanian student Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru was dismissed from Cuttington College near Monrovia for political activities in 1961, he and the other expelled students – around a dozen – took the train to Conakry, Guinea.[656] This choice was in part because of Guinea's symbolic place in the anticolonial imagination, personified by Sekou Touré, since 1958, when it was the only Francophone West African country to have voted for complete independence instead of membership of the French Union. But Conakry was also a suitable place for pursuing further study opportunities since the opening of Soviet, Czechoslovak and Chinese embassies in 1959 – many of Ngombale Mwiru's colleagues went from Conakry to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.[657]

Equally, direct Soviet contacts in East and Central Africa became significant from around 1960. Recent scholarship on the Soviet role in decolonisation has attested to the importance of scholarly work on Africa: just as growing African studies centres in London and New Delhi bolstered both cities' usefulness in the 1950s, the work of Soviet Africanists underpinned the networks that enabled Africans to forge Soviet contacts during the 1960s.[658] Official Soviet interest in Africa began to take shape following the death of Stalin and the appointment of Nikita Khrushchev as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in

[655] [Illegible] to UNIP General Secretary, 29 November 1960, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/5/5/1.
[656] Interview with Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, 1 December 2017, Dar es Salaam.
[657] Bruce D. Larkin, *China and Africa, 1949-1970: The Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 40. Interview with Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, 1 December 2017, Dar es Salaam.
[658] Engerman, 'The Second World's Third World'.

1953.[659] However, the effects of this took several years to reach East and Central Africa. In 1952, Soviet contacts with the African continent were practically non-existent: there was no department concerned with African countries in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, nor any intelligence presence in Africa.[660] Cultural and educational exchanges often manifested through 'front' organisations such as the International Union of Students (see the section below). This remained the case until March 1958, when the Central Committee initiated a broad programme to expand Soviet influence in Africa, including a propaganda campaign, an increased number of scholarships for African students, and the training of Soviet 'Africanists'.[661] The most prominent among these was Ivan Potekhin, who regularly corresponded with British Africanists Basil Davidson and Thomas Hodgkin and with African students from around 1959 until his death in 1964.[662]

This scholarly interest coincided with Soviet involvement in the emerging Afro-Asian movement: the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa and Asia was established as a branch of AAPSO around the time of the latter's formation. The independence of Asian states was formative in the development of Soviet policy towards Africa, and Bandung pushed Soviet Africanists to articulate an anticolonial line that (ignoring the prickly question of 'nationalism') stated support for African liberation movements.[663] This decolonising 'momentum' meant that embassies could be established closer to dependent countries, in cities whose anticolonial (or anti-Western) credentials would shift with the opening of these embassies.

A similar interaction of diplomatic structures and practical education opportunities also played out in rising tensions between Israel and the Arab world. At the first AAPC in Accra in December 1958, the majority of delegations refused to be drawn into the Arab-Israeli conflict, despite Egypt's efforts to the contrary. By the time of the second AAPC in Cairo, March 1961, however, a resolution was passed that grouped Israel together with the United States, West Germany, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, South Africa and France, as "the main perpetrators of neo-colonialism". Meanwhile, Israel sought to gain support in the conflict

[659] Natalia Telepneva, 'Mediators of Liberation: Eastern-Bloc Officials, Mozambican Diplomacy and the Origins of Soviet Support for Frelimo, 1958–1965', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 43 (2017).
[660] Telepneva, 'Mediators of Liberation'.
[661] Marung, '"Leninian Moment"?'; Constantin Katsakioris, 'L'Union Soviétique et Les Intellectuels Africains: Internationalisme, Panafricanisme et Négritude Pendant Les Années de La Décolonisation, 1954-1964', *Cahiers Du Monde Russe*, 47 (2006).
[662] An obituary celebrating Potekhin's contribution to African studies is: George Skorov, 'Ivan Potekhin - Man, Scientist, and Friend of Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2 (1964).
[663] David Morison, *The USSR and Africa 1945-1963* (London: Institute of Race Relations, 1964), 1–11.

among independent African states. It was hoped that African states would at least withstand any pressure exerted by Nasser in the opposite direction, and that, ultimately, the Arab states might be surrounded by pro-Israeli forces, with the friendship of non-Arab, Muslim-majority states (notably Nigeria and Mali) being recognised as especially important.[664]

The Israel connection was never as important in East and Central Africa as it was, for example, in Ghana during the 1950s.[665] However, when training opportunities in Israel arose around 1960, this changed. The Socialist International and the British Labour Party linked leaders and activists to the Israeli Mapai party: in a 1959 circular to African students, the secretary of the Movement for Colonial Freedom described Israel as a model for cooperative development and the 'one really socialist state in the world today'.[666] The Afro-Asian Institute for Labour Studies and Co-operation in Tel Aviv opened in the late 1950s and in October 1960 opened its doors for the first six-month residential course, which included seminars on labour organisations, development and cooperatives, and had among its 71 attendees one Northern Rhodesian and two Ugandan students.[667] During the early 1960s, the African Students Association in Israel (dominated by West Africans) published *The African Student* magazine.[668] However, from 1961, these connections became complicated: one representative of the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) travelling around offices of European democratic socialist parties in the summer of that year feared that if he visited Israel then the UAR would refuse to let him pass the UPC Cairo office.[669]

Indeed, Cairo continued to be useful for the intensive training courses that were increasingly prioritised as Tanganyika, Uganda, Nyasaland and finally Northern Rhodesia began to timetable self-government, as will be explored in more detail below. In 1962, UNIP sought outside support for what they called a 'crash educational programme'.[670] Sipalo wrote to the central office informing them that he had managed to obtain five scholarships from the UAR state for a military short-course, and two for a full soldiery course.[671] Equally, even as East and

[664] Bernard Reich, 'Israel's Policy in Africa', *Middle East Journal*, 18 (1964).
[665] Zach Levey, 'The Rise and Decline of a Special Relationship: Israel and Ghana, 1957-1966', *African Studies Review*, 46 (2003).
[666] Joan Hymans, circular for the British Asian Overseas Socialist Fellowship, 9 March 1959, Labour Study Centre and Archive BAOSF correspondence.
[667] 'The Afro-Asian Institute for Labour Studies and Co-operation', UKNA FCO 141/7104, Kenya: International trade union developments in Africa.
[668] *The African Student*, No. 6, December 1964, consulted at the IISH, Amsterdam.
[669] Per Assen, 'A report on the visit to IUSY headquarters in Vienna by A.M. Obote (Serwada)', 14 August 1961, IISH Papers of the Socialist International 833 Uganda.
[670] David W. Baad (WAY) to UNIP National Secretary, 21 August 1962, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/5/5/11.
[671] Sipalo to Makasa, 22 Juanuary 1962, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/7/1/23.

Central African activists and parties moved away from AAPSO's political core, some specialist organisations that had grown out of it flourished, in alternative Afro-Asian centres. Yet, as representatives in Cairo increasingly felt the battle over decolonising states through the constraints it placed on publicity work, mobile activists looked towards (and were sent to) sub-Saharan anticolonial hubs that seemed to offer more opportunities than Cairo.

5.3 The Voice of Africa? Stooges and the problem of propaganda

At the dawn of the new decade, the most significant centre in sub-Saharan Africa for the publicity secretaries and external representatives of liberation movements was Accra. The symbolic importance of Accra was clear from the moment of Nkrumah's notorious 1957 independence speech, which declared Ghana's independence 'meaningless' unless linked with that of the entire continent, and even more so after the Conference of Independence African States (CIAS) and the All African Peoples Conference (AAPC) during 1958. As chapter three laid out, the AAPC was not the first or only forum for the coordination of liberation movements, or the only project of regional cooperation with a view to the post-independence era; East and Central African activists did not greet it uncritically. As Accra opened up to representatives of liberation movements from around 1959 some of the same tensions between the interests of liberation movements and those of independent states persisted. By looking at Accra from the perspective of Zambian activists working there during the early 1960s, it is possible to see how Ghanaian anxieties surrounding the consolidation of power in the new nation-state fed and were fed by the suspicions of foreign representatives.

The offices for the representatives of liberation movements in Accra were more formalised and have been better documented than those in Cairo. They functioned largely through the structures of the Bureau of African Affairs (BAA). BAA was a continuation of Trinidadian pan-Africanist George Padmore's 'Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs', renamed following Padmore's death in 1959. It was the first of Ghana's 'pan-African institutions' and functioned until 1966.[672] Historians have readily noted the importance of Accra as a hub of anticolonial pan-Africanism – famously, as the 'Mecca of pan-Africanism'.[673] While earlier work took an interest in the émigré community of African

[672] For a brief introduction to Ghana's 'pan-African institutions', see Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism*, 15–17.
[673] Peter Molotsi of the Pan-African Congress, quoted in Jeffrey S. Ahlman, 'Managing the Pan-African Workplace: Discipline, Ideology, and the Cultural Politics of the Ghanaian Bureau of African Affairs', *Ghana Studies*, 15–16 (2012), 338.

Americans and their ideological influences on Nkrumah, more recent work has uncovered Accra's importance to other sub-Saharan liberation struggles, particularly that of Cameroon and those of Southern Africa.[674]

The history of Ghana's foreign policy has recently undergone an important wave of revisionism, based largely on the availability of the papers of the BAA, which has formed the basis for two particularly relevant recent monographs.[675] Matteo Grilli, approaching Ghana's foreign policy through its pan-African institutions, has demonstrated that the widespread dismissal of Nkrumah's pan-Africanism as failure by historians writing in the aftermath of the 1966 coup has obscured the complexity of the relationships between the BAA and the nationalist parties it hosted during the early 1960s.[676] Grilli argues that, in fact, until 1966 and through the BAA, there was a 'strong following' among liberation movements of Nkrumahism – that is, Nkrumah's personal ideology of pan-Africanism, with roots in the long tradition of Atlantic pan-Africanism in combination with elements of Gandhism and Marxism.[677] These parties adopted and adapted elements of Nkrumahism, both ideological and organisational, to suit their own purposes, and the case of UNIP is used as an example of this.[678] Jeffrey Ahlman has approached the BAA from an entirely different perspective, attending to the social and cultural aspects of life in independent Ghana, where 'Nkrumahism' as a historically contingent term could be employed in multiple ways to negotiate life in the postcolonial state. Ahlman studies the BAA from the perspective of its workplace culture, highlighting in particular a gendered culture of suspicion and rumour, although he is less interested in the BAA's non-Ghanaian workers.[679]

My own treatment of the BAA draws inspiration from both accounts. Working from the perspective of resident activists, I am concerned less with the success or failure of the ideological exportation of Nkrumahism than I am with the ways these activists experienced life at the BAA, especially in terms of the opportunities it offered for publicity work. East and Central African representatives who spent a period working at the BAA (just a handful of individuals, many of whom, like Munu Sipalo, also spent time in London, Cairo or elsewhere)

[674] Terretta, 'Cameroonian Nationalists Go Global'; Ahlman, 'Road to Ghana'.
[675] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism*; Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism*.
[676] The most important studies in this framework are Henry L Bretton, *The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah: A Study of Personal Rule in Africa* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1967); W. Scott Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy 1957-1966: Diplomacy, Ideology, and the New State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).
[677] On Nkrumahism, also spelled Nkrumaism, see Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism*, 12–15.
[678] Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism*.
[679] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism*, especially Chapter 5 on the BAA.

played an amplified role in transmitting back to party headquarters accounts of life in the 'Mecca of pan-Africanism'. Like many of the Ghanaian citizens in Ahlman's account, the ideological content of Nkrumahism and the model of Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) was less important than the distrust that pervaded everyday life in the new state.

Humphrey Mulemba became UNIP representative in Accra in December 1962, taking over the role from Francis Kaunda, who had been studying at the University of Ghana (again we see the overlap of studying opportunities and external party work). In June 1963, Mulemba wrote to headquarters in Lusaka – from London. Hinting at corruption in the Bureau of African Affairs, he said he had been unable to write from Accra itself, because letters were censored by Ghanaian government officials for 'personal safeguards and the posts they hold'.[680] Mulemba relayed that the representatives of both the Bechuanaland People's Party and the South African Pan-African Congress had abandoned their offices (and salaries) in Accra, following a 'serious development at the Bureau of African Affairs which are [sic] becoming intolerable to nationalists generally'.[681] He enclosed a confidential report on the Accra Office, which explained that the number of organisations represented in the Bureau of African Affairs had dropped from sixteen to four during his six month stay.[682]

The report cast the Bureau as a hindrance to the work of exiles and foreign missions in the Ghanaian capital, concluding that it harmed the reputation of Ghana and Nkrumah's government. Some of the reasons for this Mulemba felt he 'cannot write about', but several points emerged in the report. One was the general attitude of the Bureau's director, Aloysius K. Barden, towards representatives of dependent countries.[683] Mulemba described the Bureau's 'paternalism', 'unreliability' and its 'humiliating' treatment of representatives. Requests for passing leaders such as Mainza Chona to meet Nkrumah were ignored, scholarship opportunities for Youth and Women's training were given to countries that were considered closer to independence, such as Malawi, and representatives were not provided with permanent office space. At the centre of the report, however, was the question of propaganda and the Ghana News Agency. Mulemba stated that the Bureau was a 'security/intelligence'

[680] On censorship in postcolonial Cameroon, see Meredith Terretta, 'From Below and to the Left?: Human Rights and Liberation Politics in Africa's Postcolonial Age', *Journal of World History*, 24 (2013), 413.
[681] Humphrey Mulemba to UNIP HQ, 18 June 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/7/1/79 London Office 1963.
[682] 'Accra Office (Confidential Report)' [nd], Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/18 Ghana UNIP Office, Correspondence (1963). Grilli's interviewee challenged these figures.
[683] Barden is one focus for Grilli's treatment of the BAA, see Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism*, 150–157.

organisation which controlled the press and, as such, foreign missions in Accra believed that those working in the Bureau (such as the UNIP representative) were 'agents of Ghana' as opposed to genuine representatives of the party. The Bureau apparently refused to publish Mulemba's statements (echoing Swai's complaint from Cairo), and he claimed to have got around this only by taking press releases directly to foreign missions in Accra and convincing them that he was working independently of the Bureau, as a UNIP representative.[684] In essence, a post at the BAA was meant to bestow international legitimacy on a representative, but in fact it seemed to revoke it.

As Mulemba saw it, this hampered his ability to represent UNIP as the only party in Zambia that commanded significant popular support: he feared that the BAA was propagating the idea that Harry Nkumbula's ANC was also a legitimate nationalist organisation and was offering the party assistance. This was probably untrue: since 1958, Nkrumah had advocated single nationalist parties in each territory and tended to favour those who presented their own anticolonialism as more 'radical', thus supporting UNIP over the ANC. This makes Mulemba's comments if anything more interesting: they reflect a paranoia of sorts revolving around loyalty and the projection and reception of the image of the party. How receptive or otherwise Mulemba was to Nkrumahism and the model of the CPP had little bearing on what he took from his experience at the BAA: the atmosphere of rumour, paranoia and distrust that Ahlman has pointed out in relation to cultures surrounding the BAA as a workplace was more significant.[685] There was also a sense of a tug of war over whether UNIP representatives at the BAA were under UNIP or BAA authority: the postscript of Mulemba's report warned Lusaka that the 'transfer of Comrade Sipalo from Accra Office to London is viewed by the Bureau as a victory [over] UNIP headquarters'.[686]

Indeed, Sipalo was an influential presence in Accra, especially through his involvement in the periodical *Voice of Africa*, of which he became associate editor immediately after his arrival in the city in December 1961.[687] The magazine was first considered by Nkrumah's African Affairs Committee in November 1959 as a way to promote Nkrumah's visions of pan-Africanism across Africa under the guise of an organ for liberation movements represented in Accra. The

[684] 'Accra Office (Confidential Report)' [nd], Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/18 Ghana UNIP Office, Correspondence (1963).
[685] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism*, 149.
[686] 'Accra Office (Confidential Report)' [nd], Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/18 Ghana UNIP Office, Correspondence (1963).
[687] Sipalo to Kenneth Kaunda, 8 December 1961, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/7/1/23 Accra Office, Correspondence (1961-63).

first issue appeared in January 1960 and its celebration of Positive Action, Positive Neutrality and Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party (CPP) was widely shipped across the continent. Following production problems during 1960, it resumed regular monthly publication under new numbering from January 1961.[688] Throughout 1961, the focus of the magazine was on Congo and Portuguese African territories, with a statement from Nkrumah included in every issue. There were also several articles condemning the Central African Federation and the concept of 'partnership', including one written by BAA director, Barden, and several by an anonymous 'African Nationalist' or 'Northern Rhodesian Nationalist'.

Sipalo was in touch with *Voice of Africa* before his arrival. The September 1961 issue reported on the Belgrade Conference (with a corrigendum that it took place in Yugoslavia, not Czechoslovakia); the October issue reproduced the letter from Sipalo's conspiracy pamphlet, accompanied by an edited version of the introduction written by him and Kamanga, removing all links to UNIP and Cairo, but reiterating the potency of exposing the conspiracy with the statement that the influence of the 'enemies of Africa' is 'as ephemerical [sic] as the deceits and illusions upon which it depends'.[689] During the first half of 1962, at least one article authored by Sipalo appeared in each issue (apart from the June 1962 issue, which was authored entirely by Nkrumah). Northern Rhodesia became perhaps the most strongly represented 'hotspot' of the anticolonial struggle.

Sipalo's largest contribution was a four-part piece on 'Why I hate the Federation of Rhodesias', with each instalment covering a double page spread. These articles consolidated many of the ideas met in chapter four, about linking violent counter-insurgency to restrictions on organisational freedoms but placed these within a framework of conspiracy that fed off both discourses that surrounded the implementation of the Federation and an environment of suspicion that pervaded life in the BAA. Sipalo not only listed deaths and arrests but argued that prisons were used to keep intelligent men out of the way, that the banning orders that were the basis of prison sentences had not received the international media attention they deserved, and that the governor was a 'dictator'. Not only was Federation a 'swindle', but the British Labour Party's opposition to it 'a confidence trick': colonial propaganda was used to 'hoodwink the British public and the outside world'.[690] These themes appeared alongside those of economic exploitation and racial discrimination, but the final instalment of the series

[688] Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism*, 181–86.
[689] 'Threat of Sabotage against Africa', *Voice of Africa* Vol. 1 No. 10, October 1962, p. 4.
[690] Munu Sipalo, 'Why I hate the Federation of Rhodesias', parts 1-3: *Voice of Africa* Vol. 2 No. 2, February 1962, pp. 23-25; Vol. 2 No. 3, March 1962, pp. 26-28; Vol. 2 No. 4, April 1962, pp. 34-35.

returned to that fact that people in the Federation were being 'denied freedom of speech, the right to assemble and petition, except with police consent and supervision'. It closed with the statement that the 'British are sanctimonious liars and hypocrites'.[691] This was largely a continuation of themes that appeared in Sipalo's speech as leader of the UNIP delegation to the third All African Peoples Conference in Cairo, March 1961. Here too he emphasised the denial of 'all rights and privileges of men' in Central Africa, tying this to the conference's focus on Congo and the Sharpeville massacre and claiming that the Central African Federation was the 'parallel of Hitlerism and Gestapo, the authoritarianism of the Fascists'. While Nazi parallels were by now commonplace among radical anticolonialists in international settings, the addition of 'Gestapo' in particular hinted at Sipalo's growing interest in secrecy, in addition to the brutality which was revealed through these comparisons in the 1950s.[692]

The emphasis on 'deception' was taken up in an article for *Voice of Africa* by Sikota Wina, during the same period. Under a subtitle 'The Swindle of the Century', Wina proposed that a non-existent split in the British cabinet had been deliberately leaked as part of a negotiating strategy to convince Kaunda that the British government was constrained in its policy on the Federation by Roy Welensky in Salisbury.[693] The narrative spoke directly to the forged letter in Sipalo's pamphlet, and relied on an increasingly important caricature of Welensky.

Indeed, the theme of conspiracy went hand in hand with the practice of ridiculing 'stooges'. One of the first issues published after Sipalo became associate editor opened with a double page spread titled 'Guilty men'. It featured large comically cut-out portraits of Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, and Moïse Tshombe, leader of secessionist Katanga, at the top of two columns. Tshombe was described as 'Traitor most accursed' for 1961 and Welensky as 'Criminal Colonialist puppet No. 1'. These two figures in particular were routinely picked out as archetypal 'stooges' for colonialism and in the pages of *Voice of Africa*, this portrayal was contrasted with articles that were equally as personality-focused and celebrated the leadership of, for example, Kamuzu Banda and Kenneth Kaunda.[694]

This was a manifestation of wider ideas about traitors that had been developing among party representatives abroad, in dialogue with both internal party politics and, now, Cold War rhetoric that revolved around the Congo. In a pamphlet *Eye-witness report on the Congo,*

[691] Munu Sipalo, 'Why I hate the federation of Rhodesias', part 4, *Voice of Africa* Vol. 3 No. 7, July 1962, p. 15.
[692] Speech of Munu Sipalo at the Third AAPC, Cairo, KNA MAC/CON/187/3 3rd AAPC Speeches of delegates 1961, Murumbi Africana Collection.
[693] Sikota Wina, 'The facts about this decade', *Voice of Africa* Vol. 3 No. 5, May 1962, pp. 29-30.
[694] 'Guilty men', *Voice of Africa*, Vol. 2 No. 2, February 1962, pp. 1-2.

published from London with a foreword by CAO Secretary General Dennis Phombeah, Cameroonian leader Félix Moumié called on liberation movements to expel 'adventurers, opportunists and agents of the enemy'.[695] Within party politics, the charge was also levelled at older or more moderate Congress members: the Malawi Congress Party described Manoah Chirwa as a 'stooge' for his refusal to boycott the Monckton Commission in 1960.[696] This rhetoric drew on elements of anticolonial culture from the 1950s, but it was also shaped by new environments like the BAA. For example, after Sipalo arrived in Accra in December 1961, he wrote to Kenneth Kaunda informing him that he had removed two UNIP workers from their posts at the Kwame Nkrumah Institute at Winneba for 'reactionarism' and accused one of being an 'ANC agent'. Sipalo insisted on the necessity of a 'water-tight system of selection' for when UNIP 'send our people out' to avoid this happening again. In the same letter he warned Kaunda against the British 'peace hoax' (a declared interest in maintaining peace) when in fact they were making plans to build a military base at Ndola.[697] On one hand, this rhetoric served to bolster ideas of party loyalty and discipline in order to consolidate the party's political power. But it was also a way of categorising people which did not rely on pre-existing notions of race, colonialism, or Cold War alliances, and was hence in the control of activists employing it. The motif of 'stooge' quickly assumed a whole momentum of its own. At the AAPSO Moshi meeting in 1963, Julius Nyerere warned that a 'fixation about imperialism' was fuelling accusations within Afro-Asian groups of 'imperialist stooge' at every opportunity – much to the satisfaction of superpowers.[698]

The *Voice of Africa* is not simply a source for tracing the use of concepts like colonial deception and imperial stooges. It was also, in its materiality, the substance of Accra's appeal: its pages were the tool with which colonialism could be exposed. From around mid-1962, however, the quality and diversity of the magazine suffered, foreshadowing Mulemba's difficulties at the BAA. A larger font size, an increasing quantity of anonymous editorials and articles already published elsewhere, and a single issue for October-December 1962 all indicated a waning interest on the part of resident representatives of liberation movements. Long before the 1966 coup in Ghana, resident activists felt the tensions between Ghana's national interests and

[695] Félix Moumié, *Eye-Witness Report on the Congo* (London: UPC Press and Information Service, 1960), 12.
[696] *Malawi News*, 5 March 1960, Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 238 File 5 NAC correspondence 1958-62.
[697] Sipalo to Kaunda, 5 December 1961, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/7/1/23 Accra Office correspondence (1961-63).
[698] Julius Nyerere, speech at the Third Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference, Moshi, 11-14 February 1963, CCM Archives Box 193 File 561 The Sixth Session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council.

Nkrumah's pan-African rhetoric. Increasingly, *Voice of Africa* attacked PAFMECA and plans for East African Federation, while publishing long articles confirming the popularity of Nkrumah across the continent.[699]

This shift paralleled the hardening frustrations felt in the BAA around 1962-64. Like in Cairo, representatives quickly found they were not the priority for larger solidarity groups; this was not only about Cold War dynamics but local, national and continental ones too, and it was felt first and foremost through the impossibility of being heard and believed as a representative of a party, its leader, and of the anticolonial struggle as a whole. This anxiety over the usefulness of party representatives became ever more pertinent as opportunities for studying abroad multiplied and with them the possibility of self-appointed and unofficial external representatives.

5.4 Students, Europe and another failed conference

In October 1960, the Committee of African Organisations (CAO) held a three-day All-African Students Conference (AASC) in London. It was framed as a subsidiary of the AAPC and was largely funded by a £2000 gift from Nkrumah's government. CAO members later claimed that the All-African Student Conferences that took place in Belgrade, Moscow and Warsaw over the following years were London's successor; historians have not made this link, and the Makerere 1958 conference (see chapter 3.3) could equally be described as a precedent. Ultimately, the London conference was widely regarded as a failure. Invitations were sent out late, and almost not at all to CAO member bodies; the dates chosen overlapped with an IUS conference; prominent invitees including Kwame Nkrumah, W. E. B. Dubois, Soviet Africanist Ivan Potekhin, and Harold Macmillan failed to attend; £300 was spent on translation services that, given the absence of non-Anglophone delegates, were redundant; and the capacity of Central Hall in Westminster was only a fraction used.[700] The conference was perhaps the peak of CAO's relationship with the British Communist Party, who provided administrative assistance.[701]

[699] For the article on PAFMECA, see *Voice of Africa* Vol. 3 No. 1, November 1963; For the article on Nkrumah's popularity in East Africa, see *Voice of Africa* Vol. 4 No. 1 January 1964.
[700] Secret report on the AASC, 12-14 October 1960, London, UKNA FCO 141/17755 Tanganyika: African conferences. See also UKNA FCO 141/17745.
[701] On the activities of the Communist Party see Smith, *British Communism and the Politics of Race*; Brownell, 'The Taint of Communism'.

Rather than dwell on the conference's 'failure' or disentangle its relationship to communist politics, here I consider how its resolutions reflect on the changing relationship between education, student politics and anticolonial activism in the early 1960s. The final resolutions were written by the organising 'praesidium', which included Chango Machyo (Uganda), Dennis Phombeah (Tanganyika) and Mainza Chona (Northern Rhodesia). All had close relationships to the largest nationalist parties in their respective territories, and so it is not surprising that the bulk of the resolutions mirrored those passed in other anticolonial forums around the same time: there were four resolutions on the Congo, and one on each of South Africa, the Portuguese colonies, nuclear tests in the Sahara, the 'barbarous colonial war' in Algeria, and the 'hated foreign-controlled Federation' in Central Africa. A strongly-worded if rather vague resolution 'charge[d] the independent nations of Africa with the duty to demand the liberation of all African territories […] their own independence [being] a sham so long as foreign powers continue to claim territories in Africa as their own'.[702] This spoke to the ongoing insistence of East and Central African delegates to pan-African conferences. The resolution 'on Western Powers' foreshadowed the rhetoric of conspiracy that was soon to appear in Sipalo's pamphlet and in relation to the Congo crisis: it urged African states 'to be vigilant and on guard against such designs and intrigues' of 'Western power and their allies and hirelings' and to take action when 'these undermining schemes and propositions are unmasked'.[703]

Two further resolutions suggest the ways in which students and ideas about education were in dialogue with this rhetoric and merit consideration in some depth: one on the 'role of youth and students' and another on 'institutions of colonialism'. On the role of youth and students, the praesidium called for the International Union of Students (IUS), the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), the Coordinating Secretary of the International Student Conference (COSEC), and the World Association of Youth (WAY) to resolve their differences and unite. These were organisations born out of the Cold War world: the first two were considered Soviet 'front' organisations, while the latter two were Western 'fronts'. Some of these organisations have appeared at previous points in the thesis, and they all have histories of their own – often underexploited as lenses through which to study the decolonising world they worked in. Ultimately, however, it was collectively that they appeared to this generation

[702] Secret report on the AASC, 12-14 October 1960, London, UKNA FCO 141/17755 Tanganyika: African conferences.
[703] Secret report on the AASC, 12-14 October 1960, London, UKNA FCO 141/17755 Tanganyika: African conferences.

of activists: in the papers of political parties, correspondence with one organisation is frequently filed in a folder dedicated to another, and the acronyms and personalities of these organisations easily confused.

Early connections with these organisations had been established through Makerere. From around the time of the 1952 strike, the Student Guild consciously sought to 'establish good relations with organisations of a similar nature' to their own.[704] In his capacity as president of the Guild, Zambian Arthur Wina (brother of Sikota) travelled to Copenhagen in January 1953 to attend the third (anti-communist) COSEC conference. He considered attending a meeting of the IUS in Finland after the Copenhagen conference, but his contact in London, R. E. Wraith, said this would be discourteous, as activities had been arranged for Wina there, insisting nevertheless that he did not want to 'prevent [Wina] from hearing the IUS's point of view'. On the copy of the letter sent to Makerere Principal De Bunsen, however, Wraith added that the trip was 'rapidly developing into a battle with the IUS'.[705] This was typical of London's, and to a lesser extent Makerere's reaction to international student politics: the idea of liberal education was forever underpinned by anti-communism. De Bunsen attributed what he considered as ideological 'fence-sitting' to the 'innocent idealism' of the students.[706] Two years later, two Tanganyika students used the opportunity of a COSEC meeting in Birmingham to attend an IUS meeting in Prague, and then denied having done so.[707]

Throughout the 1950s, these same dynamics guided relationships between party activists and youth and student internationals. Internationals slowly built up more extensive networks in the region and offered an increasing number of opportunities to attend courses and conferences. A handful of East and Central Africans attended the Aloka training centre set up by WAY in the 1950s, for example. These organisations were often in the background of anticolonial networks, and the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY), a fifth organisation not mentioned at the AASC, was also a link to the Socialist International and the networks considered in chapter two. Navigating the restrictions on passport applications, proscribed literature and censorship

[704] Bgiriwenka, Presidential Address 23 June 1952, Makerere Archives AR/MAK/63/2 Makerere University Students Guild correspondence 1950-56.
[705] R.E. Wraith to Arthur Wina, 13 January 1953, Makerere Archives AR/MAK/5/7 Bunsen, correspondence with students 1953.
[706] De Bunsen to RA Frost (British Council) 7 July 1955; De Bunsen to Langlands, 6 August 1955; De Bunsen personal notes, dated 9 August 1955, all in Makerere Archives AR/MAK/54/4 Student welfare: giving passports to students, correspondence 1955-57.
[707] The students were Mark Bomani and James Nesbitt. De Bunsen to RA Frost (British Council) 7 July 1955; De Bunsen to Langlands, 6 August 1955; De Bunsen to Andrew Cohen, 4 November 1955, all in Makerere Archives AR/MAK/54/4 Student welfare: giving passports to students, correspondence 1955-57.

of correspondence, activists were often in touch with multiple organisations – Sipalo probably with all of them at some point – and readily framed their own youth wings around the requirements for affiliation that the internationals laid down.[708]

This relationship transformed as the region moved towards independence in the early 1960s. As party membership grew alongside student numbers, the overlap between the party caucus and students abroad or returnees was not as numerically significant as it was during the 1950s. As mentioned above, short courses with practical applications were favoured as independence began to be timetabled, yet even these were approached with a certain ambivalence. One illustrative case is the Socialist International's invitation to TANU to host a party member for three months in Europe to study the workings of various European Socialist Parties. Secretary General Albert Carthy wrote to Julius Nyerere in January 1961 but received no response.[709] The Socialist International had only just established contacts in the region due to fears about political 'legitimacy' (mentioned in chapter two) that were allayed only when TANU achieved internal self-government, so Carthy sought advice from John Hatch, Labour Commonwealth Secretary (under whom Joan Wicken, now Nyerere's personal assistant, briefly worked).[710] Tanganyikans, Hatch replied, were 'poor correspondents at the best of times', but especially at this time, given that government was preparing for the upcoming constitutional conference.[711] On Hatch's advice, Carthy wrote in April 1961 to Oscar Kambona, but again received no reply.[712] Eventually, on 18 December, nine days after Tanganyika's official independence, Kambona sent a cable: 'Jumanne Abdallah has been selected for the bursary Leaving here January Please send air ticket'. An itinerary was arranged, but Abdallah never turned up. He had been appointed Regional Commissioner for Tanga and could not leave his post.[713]

Meanwhile, UNIP member Andrew Mutemba asked the Socialist International about training opportunities in November 1961, but Carthy replied that the organisation did not provide such opportunities.[714] Instead, the ticket intended for TANU's Abdallah was transferred to one

[708] A growing body of literature on African students in Cold War Europe attests to students' tendency to remain aloof from the ideological Cold War battle which they did not consider relevant to their own. Eric Burton, 'African Manpower Development during the Cold War: The Case of Tanzanian Students in the Two German States', in Andreas Exenberger and Ulrich Pallua (eds.), *Africa Research in Austria: Approaches and Perspectives* (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2016); Daniel Branch, 'Political Traffic: Kenyan Students in Eastern and Central Europe, 1958–69', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 53 (2018).
[709] Carthy to Nyerere 25 January 1961, IISH IUSY 826.
[710] Carthy to Hatch 27 April 1961, IISH IUSY 826.
[711] Hatch to Carthy 01 May 1961, IISH IUSY 826.
[712] Carthy to Kambona 03 November 1961, IISH IUSY 826.
[713] Correspondence in the folder IISH IUSY 826.
[714] Carthy to Andrew B. Mutemba 13 November 1961, IISH Socialist international 857.

Asmani Njopeka, who wrote to the International in August asking that his programme would include, where possible, visits to educational institutions, co-operatives, factories, agricultural centres, as well as Stonehenge, horse racing and night clubs.[715] On 23 September 1962, the Socialist International received a telegram: Njopeka had been appointed Area Commissioner for Kilosa, and Tibaijuka Waluca would be coming instead. The International's affiliates were increasingly reluctant to receive him, the plans having changed twice.[716] But the trip went ahead, including visits to the Danish affiliate and the IUSY headquarters in Vienna, as well as Ruskin College and the Ariel Foundation in London. In January 1963, two years after Carthy's original letter to Nyerere, Waluca sent a report, barely half a page in length, on his three-month tour. He was impressed by Danish interest in Tanganyika and, following his visit to the Berlin wall, was convinced that it would not need to exist in a world united under democratic socialism. 'The world is moving closer together', Waluca insisted, and the 'burning candle' of the Socialist International must be kept alight.[717] This was the tangible result of two years of planning and re-planning: as the Labour Party's David Ennals commented to Carthy, they 'had hoped for something more useful'.[718]

TANU's shift in priorities from study opportunities to local party organisation during the transition to independence was echoed by experiences in UNIP during the same period, despite the fact that free elections for self-government had still not been timetabled in Northern Rhodesia. For example, in November 1961, the UNIP education secretary wrote to the party representative in Dar es Salaam, R.S. Makasa, asking if there was a scholarship available in Tanganyika for one Mr. Zaza, to which Makasa replied in the negative. Besides, Makasa remarked, Zaza has already received help to study previously, which he had clearly not taken up with enough enthusiasm: it was 'time for Bwana Zaza to go into the field for the National Struggle', given that party offices were understaffed.[719] This tension persisted: in July 1963 UNIP London representative questioned whether his position in London was of value to the party, given the need for party members 'on the field'.[720]

[715] Njopeka to David Wedgewood Benn (Socialist International), 16 August 1962, IISH IUSY 826.
[716] Sven E. Beckius (Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetarpartiet) to Albert Carthy, 15 November 1962, IISH IUSY 826.
[717] Report by Tibaijuka Wa Luca (TANU) on three-month tour of Europe, 06 January 1963, IISH IUSY 826.
[718] David Ennals to Carthy, 14 January 1963, IISH IUSY 826.
[719] R.S. Makasa to UNIP Education Secretary, 6 November 1961, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/5/5/7.
[720] Bitwell Kuwani to UNIP headquarters, 26 July 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/7/1/79 London Office.

This was compounded with the potential for students abroad to embarrass the party during crucial pre-election periods. In 1962 Zilore Mumba was granted a scholarship to study in the Soviet Union through AAPSO but was reported to be 'disgusted' by his experience. This echoed reports of racism, harassment and censorship from African students in the Soviet Union (which were happily seized upon by anti-communist propaganda).[721] In this context, Sipalo believed Mumba should 'rough it up' in order to avoid party embarrassment.[722] Sipalo had the same advice a year later for C. Chipampata, who had finished his scholarship in Ghana but found that the Ghanaian sponsor would not pay for his flight home, so needed UNIP to send him a ticket.[723] Meanwhile, UNIP officials were concerned that some Zambian students in Yugoslavia had taken up scholarships from 'Western' embassies in return for denouncing UNIP on 'imperialist media'.[724] Cairo representative Nephas Tembo reminded central office in August 1963 that Cairo did not want to send blank tickets for sponsored study tours because 'instead of coming to Cairo they might have been used for joy-riding to London'.[725] Students abroad began to appear as a liability as much as an asset.

In October 1963 Sipalo took preventative measures. Writing to the UAR African Affairs department, he requested that no UNIP members should be allowed to leave Cairo airport without the permission of the central office, as they were being 'recruited' for training 'without our knowledge'.[726] The same message was sent to Dar es Salaam.[727] Wilted Phiri, the UNIP representative in Cairo, was pleased to hear of the decision: 'I have always thought that the system of whizzing off students and some "students" to overseas countries leaves much to be desired'.[728] As such, while in some ways the proliferation of study opportunities during the 1960s politicised education,[729] this was accompanied by a growing anxiety about the worth of overseas education among the generation of activists who themselves had benefitted from such opportunities; many of these now held central positions in parties that were contesting

[721] Report for the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 'Disillusioned students from colonial territories in Iron Curtain countries', 4 January 1961, UKNA FCO 141/18440. See also Julie Hessler, 'Death of an African Student in Moscow. Race, politics, and the Cold War', *Cahiers du monde russe. Russie - Empire russe - Union soviétique et États indépendants*, 47 (2006).
[722] M Sipalo to R S Makasa, 11 April 1962, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/7/1/23.
[723] Sipalo to Chipampata, July 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/5/5/18.
[724] Humphrey Mulemba (Accra rep) to Dar es Salaam rep, 1 April 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/7/1/23.
[725] Nephas Tembo to UNIP National Secretary, 21 August 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/7/1/71.
[726] Sipalo to UAR African Affairs, 27 October 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/7/1/71.
[727] Sipalo to Tanganyika rep, 27 October 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/5/4/4.
[728] Phiri to Sipalo, 12 November 1962, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP 121/2/7/1/71.
[729] Branch, 'Political Traffic'.

elections, transforming the structural relationship between leaders and students to one that cast studying abroad as a privilege rather than an anticolonial responsibility.

This paralleled increasing challenges to the usefulness of 'foreign' education from an epistemological perspective. To return to the resolutions passed by the AASC in London during 1960, this suspicion of proliferating education opportunities had another basis which speaks to evolving ideas among this generation of activists relating to knowledge production. Resolution Two called for the dissolution in decolonising Africa of institutions that were 'agents of colonialism', including the banning of 'literature, cinema, radio and other forms of mass communication detrimental to […] the people of Africa'. Instead, it advocated 'decolonisation through the re-writing of school textbooks which have distorted the historical facts'.[730] This engagement with the question of who controlled information about Africa stretched to the early 1950s, as examined previously, and was increasingly in dialogue with wider anticolonial discourses linked to West Africa and the Caribbean, notably through the *Négritude* movement. Through CAO in London during the early 1960s, however, it took on a more practical angle which was focused on the post-independence period, rather than on contested representations of the liberation movement. Two of the praesidium members launched publication ventures of their own in the wake of the AASC. Dennis Phombeah was responsible for 'African Research and Publications', an initiative that hoped to enable Africans to 'replace Europeans as experts on their country'.[731] A document probably written by Phombeah around the same time demanded an 'Inventory of African realities' in the form of an encyclopaedia, given that Africans 'must analyse and understand a process before being able to direct it'.[732] This was also the period during which CAO launched its own mouthpiece, *The United Africa*.[733] Meanwhile, Chango Machyo was the driving force behind the 'Africana Study Group' (although there is no suggestion that other figures were meaningfully involved), based at Africa Unity House.[734]

[730] 'Tanganyika: African conferences', UKNA FCO 141/17755.
[731] Dennis Phombeah, 'Foreword', in *Congo: Prelude to Independence* (London: African Research and Publications, 1961), consulted at Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London.
[732] Denis Phombeah, 'African Research and Publications' (probably 1964), W. E. B. DuBois Papers, online at http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b157-i122 [accessed 12 June 2015]
[733] Undated Constitution, Papers of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (Bodleian Library) AAM 1, f. 4. Three surviving issues can be found in CAO's papers in the Institute of Commonwealth Studies: No. 1 (June 1961); No. 2 (September 1961); No. 1 (December 1965). A 1962 issue is also described in Armah, *Africa's Golden Road*, 24.
[734] *New Statesman*, 4 January 1963, 443; Chango Machyo, *Aid and Neocolonialism* (London: Africana Study Group, 1964).

Once again, these initiatives were short-lived, financially unsustainable and almost absent in the archive. Yet the work of Machyo in particular gives an indication of how knowledge production came into dialogue with ideas of conspiracy in the anticolonial culture of the early 1960s. Machyo was born in 1927 in the Busia region of Uganda, close to the Kenyan border; in 1956 he and his wife spent a year with Moral Re-Armament in the United States and in 1957 Machyo was awarded a Bukedi local government scholarship to study at the University of London's College for Estate Management.[735] In London, he became heavily involved in the Uganda Students Association and, through it, in CAO; in 1961 he was elected treasurer and, shortly after, CAO chairman. During his time in London, Machyo spoke at Oxford University, and travelled to Warsaw to address the WFDY conference on behalf of CAO.[736] He also authored several pamphlets, including *Uganda: Riots against corruption and exploitation* (1960), *Africa in World Trade* (1963), *Land ownership and economic progress* (1963), and *Aid and Neo-colonialism* (1964).

In these pamphlets, Machyo developed an interpretation of the independence struggle along Marxist lines, arguing that imperialism could not be fully eradicated in the context of capitalism and advocating a socialist economic model for independent Africa. Within this interpretation, however, he made space for a dialogue with the role of education, generation and anticolonial 'truths'. In his 1960 *Uganda: Riots against corruption and exploitation*, Machyo conceived of a pattern of regional uprisings as part of a generational awakening, applauding leaders in Malawi for their 'determination' in the recent 'riots' during the Nyasaland Emergency.

> I strongly believe that those of us who through sheer luck have been able to acquire more knowledge than the millions of our people, have a very great responsibility for the future of our continent […] there is no doubt that the people look upon us and regard us as their eyes […] we should be quick in examining the weaknesses among us which we must heal before we can think of building a strong and united nation.[737]

This sense of responsibility through education was reiterated in *Africa in World Trade* (1963), in which Machyo quoted British historian of Africa Basil Davidson (whom he would have

[735] Unpublished autobiographical and biographical document prepared for the event of B. Chango Machyo's funeral in 2013, courtesy of his son, Dr. Peter Obanda Wanyama.
[736] 'Address to Oxford University Africa Society by B Chango Machyo' (1962), ICS 141/28 Papers of the Committee of African Organizations; Speech by B Chango Machyo at the WFDY, Warsaw, 10-16 August 1962, in undated 'CAO News Bulletin', KNA MSS/29/6, Committee of African Organisations.
[737] Chango Machyo, Manuscript for *Uganda: Riots against corruption and exploitation*, p. 2, in MCF/COU135 Uganda.

known well in London) in relation to Sekou Touré's call to 'decolonise the mind'.[738] Machyo cast his own pamphlet ventures as a responsibility to publish African political and economic thinking as part of the independence process. It was in reference to this conception of duty that he devoted a chapter in his 1964 *Aid and Neocolonialism* to 'Quislings and Tshombes'. Just as Vidkun Quisling, the leader of Norway's Nazi collaborationist regime during the Second World War, had assumed the status of a general noun to describe a collaborator during the postwar period in the European context, Machyo sought to attribute 'Tshombe' the same potency. He used both terms to refer to 'the behaviour and attitude of what one would consider to be some of the educated Africans'; Machyo cautioned against the role of these figures in the neo-colonial enterprise (using the definition of neo-colonialism adopted at the Cairo AAPC) and their acceptance of 'disguised aid'.[739] In the framework of Cold War and neo-colonial suspicion, obtaining education appeared in Machyo's pamphlet as a route not only to generational awakening but also to potential sabotage. In 1964, Machyo returned to Uganda to take up a position at the Makerere; he was dismissed by Idi Amin's regime in 1976.[740]

The increased opportunities for studying abroad during the early 1960s had a very different meaning for this generation of East and Central activists than they might have done in the 1950s. There was a two-pronged distrust both of colonial knowledge production via educational institutions as a tool of neo-colonialism and of the potential for students abroad with links to the party to damage the party's reputation at a decisive moment, when their labour could be better used 'at home' staffing local offices and preparing for elections and self-government. Given that many of those activists introduced at other points in the thesis had now received their education and were working close to the centre of the party, the relationship between student politics and anticolonialism also shifted. As such, the independence of Tanzania offered a new opportunity for training within the region.

[738] Chango Machyo, *Africa in World Trade* (London: Africana Study Group, 1964), p. 2; Quote in Ahmed Sékou Touré, *Toward Full Re-Africanisation: Policy and Principles of the Guinea Democratic Party* (Paris: Présence africaine, 1959). In this, Touré foreshadowed some of the concerns of Ngugi wa Thiongo. See Meghan Tinsley, 'Proclaiming Independence: Language and National Identity in Sékou Touré's Guinea', *Postcolonial Studies*, 18 (2015).
[739] Machyo, *Africa in World Trade*.
[740] Unpublished autobiographical and biographical document prepared for the event of B. Chango Machyo's funeral in 2013, courtesy of his son, Dr. Peter Obanda Wanyama.

5.5 Dar es Salaam: New hubs, old technologies

In January 1960, Julius Nyerere wrote to Kanyama Chiume, who was still exiled in London: 'it's high time you moved your headquarters from London to Dar es Salaam', Nyerere stated, insisting that Chiume could do a 'better job for the country if you are nearer home'.[741] Chiume was 'touched' by the offer and agreed that, once Tanganyika achieved self-government (internal self-government was gained on 1 May 1961, seven months before full independence), the city would provide an ideal base. 'We have already done much to put Nyasaland on the International scene', Chiume wrote, 'and what is now needed is to organise people. There could be no better way of organising people than to be near home in Tanganyika'.[742] By the March 1964 meeting of AAPSO in Algiers, TANU publicity secretary Wilbert Klerruu described Tanganyika as the 'threshold' to the struggles of East and Central Africa, a fact that was, by 1964, widely accepted.[743] Pointedly, a few months previously, on New Year's Day, the 'Central African Federation Burial Committee' and the UNIP representatives in Dar es Salaam had led a procession through the city, starting from TANU headquarters, to celebrate the liquidation of the Federation on 31 December 1963.[744]

For this generation of East and Central African activists Dar es Salaam, more than Cairo or Accra, offered a vision of what an independent capital could look like. The city was scattered with symbols of how statehood gave an answer to the fear and frustration of working around a colonial state. For example, and with reference to the previous section, Kivukoni College officially opened in July 1961, when TANU assumed internal government in Tanganyika, following three years of fighting for the right to raise funds for the project. An adult education centre modelled on Ruskin College Oxford, it was heavily supported by the British Labour Party. Joan Wicken, who had met Nyerere in Tanganyika while carrying out research on an Oxford scholarship in 1956-57, presided over the Tanganyika Education Trust Fund which established Kivukoni. The College quickly became an ideological training ground for TANU officials and officials-to-be – a hub for the discussion and dissemination of Nyerere's socialism. Wicken became Nyerere's personal assistant, a role which she would retain for almost Nyerere's whole life, devoting her career to independent Tanzania. In this sense,

[741] Nyerere to Chiume, 21 January 1960, JNRC CCM/3/48.
[742] Chiume to Nyerere, 6 February 1960, JNRC CCM/3/10.
[743] Wilbert Klerruu, speech at the Sixth Session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council, March 22-26 1964, Algiers, CCM Archives Box 193 File 561.
[744] D.D. Phiri (secretary of the Central African Federation Burial Committee) to TANU secretary, 29 December 1963, CCM Archives, Box 122 File: UNIP.

Kivukoni's trajectory mapped onto a broader move away from socialist circles in London in favour of regional links around the turn of the decade. Indeed, when an old friend of Joan Wicken, the secretary of the Africa Bureau Jane Symonds, visited Tanganyika for the independence celebrations in December 1961, what she witnessed was a city at the vanguard of change in Africa, which had become 'like Accra did in 1957, a centre for representatives' where lobbying groups in London were increasingly irrelevant:

> This report is already dated, which shows how hard it is to keep up-to-date. If the [Africa] Bureau is to continue offering a service to African leaders we need to improve our contacts. This can be done to some extent in London, by paying more attention to party representatives; but in some cases these men are not properly informed about their party's affairs, and the political pressures operating on them in London are different from those operating on them back home.[745]

But this narrative of a region in the throes of revolution, with Dar es Salaam as its new, truly independent hub is only one part of the story. It is the smaller stories of resident activists from elsewhere, especially Central Africa, that allow Dar es Salaam in the early 1960s to be placed within the patterns of this chapter. One of these stories, to which this section will be mainly devoted, is that of radio broadcasting, which takes the thread of the everyday work of anticolonialism in a new direction and yet ties this moment up with the suspicion that pervaded external anticolonial work as this region gained political independence.

Broadcasting infrastructure in East and Central Africa had been put in place by the British in the service of wartime recruitment and was then harnessed by the Colonial Information Services as part of a postwar propaganda drive.[746] Stations for educated African listeners and the training of junior African staff signified preparation for self-government that could answer international scrutiny and nationalist demands. Alongside growing numbers of dedicated 'listening clubs', the invention of the low energy transistor radio saw the numbers of receivers in sub-Saharan Africa (exclusive of South Africa) grow from an estimated 460,000 in 1955 to 4.8 million in 1965. In mainland Tanzania alone, the number of receivers rose from about 1,000 in 1951 to 70,000 in 1960, and to 1.7 million in 1973.[747]

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[745] 'Report on visit to East and Central Africa 8 December 1961 – 14 January 1962', Africa Bureau (Bodleian Library) Box 11 File 3 Jne Symonds letters and other papers 1953-67.
[746] Kate Law and Ashley Jackson, 'Influence in British Colonial Africa', *British Propaganda and Wars of Empire: Influencing Friend and Foe 1900–2010* (Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 108–9.
[747] James Brennan, 'Communications and Media in African History', *The Oxford Handbook of Modern African History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 501.

One of the most famous services for African listeners was aired from the Central African Broadcasting Station in Lusaka, which became the Federal Broadcasting Company (FBC) after 1953.[748] Financed through the British Colonial Welfare and Development Fund, it maintaining some degree of independence from the Federal government, and broadcast in English and several vernacular languages. For example, a series 'In search of good government' was aired in English in 1954, with the intention of demonstrating (in the words of the colonial broadcasting officer) the 'evils of communism' and was aimed at Africans who had completed secondary education.[749]

Needless to say, there was no space for anticolonial or party broadcasting on FBC, and the station quickly developed a reputation among African listeners for spreading unjustified rumours about the African Congresses in both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, in an attempt to sabotage the parties' membership drives.[750] Around 1960, one UNIP broadcaster, Masiya, addressed a memo to other party members: 'To be consistent in our stand against everything Federal, it is high time all UNIP officials were ordered not to speak on the FBC radio or to allow their voices to be heard over it. It makes the party look ridiculous'. UNIP should 'refuse to have anything to do with the FBC and their machines. When giving press conferences, our officials should refuse to let the FBC record them'.[751]

This mirrored attitudes towards the Tanganyika Broadcasting Company (TBC). In 1958, J. Masakilija wrote to TANU from New Delhi, where he was broadcasting from All India Radio. He encouraged TANU to send material to India for him to broadcast, given that TBC did not allow TANU broadcasts and that in New Delhi he was 'a free man to talk on any controversial subject as long as they are fairly represented'. However, he also hinted at the limitations of transnational broadcasting, in that 'Tanganyika people don't listen [to All India Radio]. They listen to the pro-British talks from TBC with no intellectual value for them'.[752] By 1961, Masakilija was working through TBC, where, indeed, just months before independence, his suggested scripts had to pass through the office of the director, T. W. Chalmers.[753] So close to independence, Chalmers struggled to maintain his authority, however. Following his criticism

[748] For a personal account of working for this station, see Fraenkel, *Wayaleshi*.
[749] A.M. Kittermaster (Broadcasting Officer) to District Commissioners, 5 October 1954, MNA PCN 1/38/3 'Broadcasting June 1951 - March 1961'.
[750] This view is related in Komani Chakalipa Phiri, 'My political experience and birth etc.', MNA Historical Manuscripts.
[751] Masiya, 'UNIP requirements' [nd], Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/4/4.
[752] J. Masakilija to Julius Nyerere, 23 May 1958, CCM Archives Box 43 File: Publications.
[753] Masakilija to Chalmers, 15 September 1961, CCM Archives Box 102 FIle: TBC correspondence ADM/82.

of his programme in November 1961, Mbutta Milando told Chalmers: 'I am prepared to discuss my script and listen to advice provided always that the final word shall be mine'.[754]

Alternatives to colonial broadcasting, like All India Radio, mapped onto important external hubs and their own peak of importance. Radio Cairo, for example, produced Swahili-language broadcasts for East Africa from 1954. James Brennan has pointed out the effectiveness of shortwave radio broadcasting in developing a shared anticolonial vocabulary and has argued that Cairo was the most important site for broadcasting a 'generic' anticolonialism.[755] However, from around 1959 Radio Cairo's pan-Africanism increasingly gave way to pan-Arabism and by the turn of the decade Cairo's effectiveness was compromised by its tendency to avoid polarising issues, such as the status of the Kabaka in Uganda.[756] Interest soon waned among East and Central African parties: in August 1963, Nephas Tembo, a UNIP representative in Cairo, wrote to UNIP headquarters in Lusaka about the opportunities for UNIP at Cairo Radio. 'Our Party was allocated, some few years back, three places on the 'Voice of Africa' Radio station here in Cairo', but in 1963 only one had been taken up (by himself). He reported that last year, when Cairo Radio has sent two blank air tickets to UNIP, these had been used for other purposes and that UNIP representatives then being employed by Cairo Radio had been forced to pay for the tickets from their own salary.[757] The launch of the External Service of the Ghana Broadcasting System in mid-1961 sought to address some of Cairo's political problems. Echoing Ghana's foreign policy more generally, Nkrumah's opening speech cast Ghana's interests as synonymous with the African continent, emphasising that broadcasts, in fifteen languages, would be from an 'African' standpoint, 'without concealment or distortion', in opposition to 'foreign-dominated' radio stations elsewhere.[758]

By this time, however, East and Central African broadcasters had an option closer to home in the form of Tanganyika Broadcasting Company (TBC), transferred to TANU with independence. UNIP soon drew up agreements with TBC, together with arrangements for UNIP branches in towns and cities across Tanganyika.[759] In June 1962, TBC allocated UNIP a 45 minute 'slot' at 9pm daily for broadcasts in English, Nyanja and Shona, which would be

[754] Milando to Chalmers, 13 November 1961, CCM Archives Box 102 File: TBC correspondence ADM/82.
[755] Brennan, 'Radio Cairo and the Decolonization of East Africa'.
[756] Brennan, 'Radio Cairo and the Decolonization of East Africa', 186.
[757] Tembo to UNIP, 22 August 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/7/1/71.
[758] Kwame Nkrumah, 'The Voice of Africa: A Speech on the Openning of the Ghana External Broadcasting Services', Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, (1961). at http://www.nkrumah.net/gov-pubs/gp-a917-61-62/gen.php?index=1
[759] Interview with Sikota Wina, 18 September 2017, Lusaka.

reachable across Northern Rhodesia, as well as Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia.[760] However this came with a set of conditions: the scripts for all UNIP broadcasts had to be submitted to TBC 48 hours before broadcasting, together with an English translation. The contract also forbade UNIP from broadcasting anything that could be considered slanderous, seditious, defamatory, liable to cause racial hatred, or a 'breach of peace' in the Central African Federation, which was a broad an inclusive category of statements under Federal law. UNIP would be charged 50 shillings per broadcast.[761]

Despite these limitations, TBC offered UNIP a valuable tool for allowing local speeches to be heard across the region. Writing from Dar es Salaam, UNIP broadcaster Masiya advised UNIP to get hold of a recording machine (he gave specific advice on the model) to use for recording party speeches that could then be sent to representatives at TBC for broadcasting.[762] In mid-1963, however, Masiya was granted a scholarship to study in the United States, and was instructed by Kaunda to pursue broadcasting there. However, some tensions surrounded Masiya's departure. Masiya had been 'involved in defending [UNIP colleague] Kaenga because we have been subject to humiliation' in Dar es Salaam. Masiya stated that things had 'changed' at TBC:

> The trouble is that they now want us to do things as they want them – even if this is useless to our cause. For a long time now I have felt that our presence here was useless because they do not allow us to work as we did before. Everything we do is under scrutiny and we have to translate everything said into English. This is Black imperialism of a worst kind.[763]

With echoes of working life in Accra and Cairo, Dar es Salaam seemed like yet another controlling guardian. On top of this, TBC seemed to lack the necessary funds for supporting broadcasters. Following Masiya's departure, they asked UNIP to send £400 to buy a car for Kaenga's use, because TBC did 'not want Mr Kaenga's services to be frustrated in any way'.[764] Both Masiya and Kaenga suggested looking elsewhere for help with broadcasting, to the newly-established Radio Malawi. One listener in Tanganyika also bemoaned the station's

[760] TBC to Sikota Wina, 11 June 1962, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/8.
[761] Undated TBC broadcasting conditions for UNIP, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/8.
[762] Masiya, 'UNIP requirements' [nd], Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/4/4.
[763] Masiya to Kawanga, 17 August 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/4/4.
[764] P Sozigwa (TBC) to S Kapwepwe, 19 August 1963, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/4/4.

conservatism, in particular its failure to denounce Tshombe: 'One wonders whether one is tuned into TBC or the Rhodesian FBC or Radio Brazzaville'.[765]

The example of TBC is illustrative of similar difficulties faced by party representatives outside of the sphere of broadcasting. For UNIP, branches in Tanganyika were the most important: UNIP eventually opened a branch in Blantyre (Malawi) in July 1962, for example, while activist-level connections with Uganda seemed to happen mostly via Makerere, just as they had for decades.[766] But Tanganyika as a base proved problematic. The UNIP representative in Tanga, north of Dar es Salaam on the Tanganyika coast, claimed in September 1963 that TANU, having initially encouraged the UNIP office, was now 'hindering and intimidating' UNIP representatives, by saying they must become TANU members before raising funds for UNIP – a charge which TANU denied.[767] Again this demonstrates suspicion of 'sabotage' of party interests by outside sympathisers. Yet this was not a one-way frustration in which TANU (as a governing party) had control: TANU was also struggling to keep track of its own external branches. TANU wrote to UNIP in November 1964 requesting they 'deal with' a Tanzanian who was claiming to run a TANU club in Ndola (Zambia), insisting that the only 'recognised' TANU branch in Zambia was the Kitwe branch.[768] In this sense, the anxiety over false representatives and 'stooges' was not confined to the pre-independence period nor to a Cold War framework.

Indeed, statehood did not lessen the difficulties in communication and cooperation that had, during the 1950s, been attributed to the restrictions of colonial rule. While UNIP and TANU officials vied over questions of 'official' representatives in Tanzania and Zambia, connections between parties that had seemed important in the various regional forums during the late 1950s, such as those described in chapter three, also fell away after independence. For example, when TANU publicity secretary Sam Kajunjamele attended the April 1964 conference of the UPC in Gulu (Uganda) as an observer, he was alarmed by the party's insularity and the public's

[765] P. Kigosi to TBC Director M. B. Mdoe [undated, early 1962], CCM Archives Box 102 FIle: TBC correspondence ADM/82.
[766] Report on the establishment of the Blantyre branch on 12 July 1962, Records of UNIP (British Library) EAP121/2/5/5/14 Malawi.
[767] P.W. Changala (UNIP Tanga branch) to UNIP Mbeya branch, 18 September 1963; TANU Deputy Secretary General to UNIP Dar es Salaam, 24 December 1963, both in CCM Archives Box 122 File: UNIP.
[768] TANU headquarters to UNIP headquarters, 11 November 1964, CCM Archives Box 122 File: UNIP.

ignorance of events in neighbouring countries.[769] The UPC seemed not even to have a copy of TANU's manifesto and on requesting one were told it was out of print.[770]

This sense of fraying connections manifested in the fate of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) during the early 1960s. Despite the dominance of Julius Nyerere and of Dar es Salaam as a growing radical hub in narratives of PAFMECA, when the organisation met at Addis Ababa in February 1962, Nyerere did not attend – both Munu Sipalo and Kanyama Chiume did, however. The meeting adopted a new acronym, PAFMESCA, to reflect its changing shape with the inclusion of 'Southern' African liberation movements, as well as the Ethiopian state. It also resolved to make Kenneth Kaunda's UNIP 'first priority' and established a 'freedom fund' for this purpose.[771] The freedom fund had been one Chiume's proposals at Mwanza in 1958 and in 1962 became one of the most concrete manifestations of regional cooperation within the framework of PAFMECA. And yet, it soon became plagued by conflicting ideas of how money should be channelled to UNIP; somewhat surprisingly given the increasing ambivalence towards London among this generation of activists and given that the PAFMESCA headquarters were in independent Tanganyika, the freedom fund was established with intimate links to the circle of British Labour MPs with anticolonial sympathies and Michael Scott's Africa Bureau, as well as his newly formed World Peace Brigade.[772]

These persisting, economic links with London, together with the strained relations between parties and representatives in the region give a rather different picture of Dar es Salaam in the early 1960s from the one this section opened with. Certainly, the years 1960-64 were critical in the making of Dar es Salaam as the intellectual and political hub that it would appear as in the late 1960s and 1970s.[773] For UNIP in particular, the city, TANU and independent Tanganyika as a whole were important for the practical aspects of party work required ahead

[769] Report of TANU delegate to UPC conference, Gulu, 29 April 1964, CCM Archives Box 95 File: A report of TANU delegate to UPC conference.
[770] A.M. Kirunda-Kivejjinja (UPC Research and Information Bureau) to TANU secretary, 1 August 1963; W. Klerruu to Kirunda-Kivejjinja, 20 August 1963, both in CCM Archives Box 127 File: ADM/180 The Uganda Peoples Congress.
[771] Booklet for the fourth PAFMECA conference, Addis Ababa, 2-9 February 1962, KNA MAC/CON/198/5 PAFMECA, Addis Ababa Conference; Mbiyu Koinange to PAFMECA delegates, 7 March 1962, UKNA FCO 141/6894 PAFMECA.
[772] A forthcoming article will explore these entanglements and their meaning for Dar es Salaam as hub of liberation movements in the 1960s. On Scott's peace activism during the preceding period, see Rob Skinner, 'Bombs and Border Crossings: Peace Activist Networks and the Post-Colonial State in Africa, 1959–62', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 50 (2015).
[773] For an excellent exploration of the relevance of Dar es Salaam in this later period, see George Roberts, 'Politics, Decolonisation, and the Cold War in Dar Es Salaam c. 1965-72' (University of Warwick PhD Thesis, 2016).

of Zambia's 1964 elections. But the symbols of regional rebirth, like Kivukoni and the PAFMECA headquarters in Freedom House, went hand in hand with a sense of distrust between the independent state and representatives of liberation movements.

Conclusion

If we were to map the physical and imaginative geographies of anticolonial work for this generation of East and Central Africans over the period in question, the early 1960s would reveal a diversification of trajectories and opportunities in comparison to the 1950s. The increasing numbers of independent sub-Saharan states would be visible in such a map, with a pin in Addis Ababa where the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) formed in May 1963, widely regarded as a defeat of radical pan-African and federal visions and a reiteration of the sovereign borders of independent nation-states – PAFMECA was ceasing to function when it was dissolved into the OAU. But in some ways this African focus would obscure the increasing relevance of the Cold War for this generation of East and Central African activists. For them, this relevance was less about the struggle for non-alignment and positive neutralism in the midst of an ideological 'battle for hearts and minds' than it was about a diversification of possibilities, routes, and openings. This was not just about higher numbers of East and Central African students in the United States and Soviet Union: the larger part of the engagement with the Cold War happened in cities like Cairo, Conakry and London, via embassies and student internationals more than through direct links. It was within the Cold War's discursive field of stooges, agents, plots and truths that activists approached the question of what sort of publicity work was useful and where: in the face of increasing student numbers and the need for manpower 'at home' in preparation for election campaigns, this generation of activists increasingly saw students abroad as liabilities and sought to distance the party from a new, larger wave of mobile young people who, in the 1950s, would have been seen as useful party representatives. In some ways this closed a door to one mode of activism that had defined the previous decade. But, as this chapter has demonstrated, this motif of distrust and suspicion was not simply a reflection of the Cold War world: it was also one of the uncertainties of the transition to independence and its speed. Given that self-government and independence in Zambia came 'late' relative to the first wave of sub-Saharan decolonisations, the stories that come from UNIP representatives in Cairo, Accra and Dar es Salaam during the early 1960s can be read as a corrective to the idea of the inspiration that new states provided to liberation movements, the idea that decolonisation was somehow more in reach by way of the external

practical aid of precedents. This work was also about the enduring uncontrollability of anticolonial work, about the fear of being undermined from any direction at the crucial moment. In this sense, during the early 1960s, windows of opportunity for anticolonial work were closing as much as they were opening: connections between regional activists that had been decisive during the 1950s, along with those with external sympathisers in London as well as hubs in the global South, were fraying under the pressure to consolidate political support.

Conclusion: The frustration of futures out of reach

Towards the end of 1963 a student at Makerere wrote to *African Revolution,* a periodical published since the beginning of that year from its editorial office in Algiers and distributed via offices in London, Peking, Rome, Paris, Havana, Lausanne, Dar es Salaam and New York. The student lamented the absence of East Africa in the magazine, whose focus was instead on the liberation struggles in Southern African and Lusophone Africa: 'Why don't *our* revolutionaries in *our* countries provide you with the type of articles that we need in our struggle here [in Africa] against imperialism and its newest creation, neo-colonialism?'.[774] Just a few weeks later, the Zanzibar revolution would in some sense answer this call, but the student had a point about the geographies of the anticolonial imagination prior to 1964. Writing notes on 'This Africa to come' during 1960, Frantz Fanon considered Guinea the 'point of departure' for an African revolution; Ghana's primary role, he felt, writing from the 'Mecca of pan-Africanism' in Accra, was merely to act as a door, together with Mali, through which to smuggle arms to Algeria and 'carry Algeria to the four corners of Africa', with Congo being the 'landing beach for revolutionary ideas'.[775] Anglophone sub-Saharan Africa in general, and East and Central Africa especially, were for Fanon devoid of revolutionary potential – the receivers of change rather than the makers of it.

The anticolonial activists from Uganda, Zambia, Malawi and mainland Tanzania who have appeared in this thesis always understood the campaign for national self-determination within the framework of global decolonisation. They had a clear sense of the connected nature of decolonisation, of where the 'hotspots' of the struggle and the pressure points of imperialism could be identified at any particular moment, and they articulated the sensation of the

[774] Anon. Makerere student, 'Wants more about East Africa', *African Revolution* Vol. 1 No. 8, Dec 1963, p. 2. My emphasis.
[775] Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution* (London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1980), 177–197.

replacement of empires with independent nation-states (federated or otherwise) as a wind, a tide, or a 'swarming river'.[776] But this was not about inevitability. The imagination of a global process, at times even of a revolution, was accompanied by an acute fear of missing the momentum, being at its edges or catching it too late. The wind needed to be harnessed.

This understanding was, at various moments, both the cause and consequence of an anticolonial culture distinctive to this set of young, mobile activists. This thesis set out to understand this anticolonial culture, extricate it from the blanket of nationalism in the framework of the postwar shift from empire to nation-state, and place it in a new framework, one that foregrounds the everyday experience of individual activists as a way to understand the global connectedness of decolonisation. By tracing activists who appeared in the historical record of anticolonial work that overflowed the borders of the four countries under consideration, I proposed, it would be possible to 'map' a multifocal world of physical trajectories and imagined routes to decolonisation. The purpose of unearthing this world of transnational activism was not to refute the significance of mass nationalist mobilisation in local settings for understanding decolonisation; this 'map' could not answer the question of whether the external work of the activists made a difference to when and how flag independence was achieved. But there were other questions it could answer about the transformative shift that was decolonisation, about what drove an individual's sense of their own role in a larger political process, how far activists were able to find space to carry out the anticolonial work they imagined, and what practices of activism this resulted in. It could elucidate the relationship between the environment of the specific colonial state in which local campaigns were taking place and the form which work that tried to circumvent this same state might take. In this sense, it could go some way in explaining why decolonisation was not uniform, predictable or formulaic, why certain forms of anticolonialism, certain anticolonial cultures, arose in certain times and places and not in others, *despite* the connections forged by transnational work.

The world of transnational anticolonial activism that I have pieced together from disparate archival traces, autobiographies and interviews has indeed provided rich, if sometimes problematic, answers to these questions. Liberation movements and their campaigns for self-rule in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Uganda during the period 1952-64 were, I have shown, in vigorous dialogue with the politics of newly independent states in the global South, particularly India, Egypt (UAR), and Ghana, in ways that have been flattened by

[776] The phrase 'swarming river' is used in 'The Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa' (anon.), *Sauti ya TANU* 56, 4 September 1959. Consulted at CCM Archives Box 174, File: Sauti ya TANU.

the myths of not only nationalism, but of pan-Africanism, Afro-Asian solidarity and Third World non-alignment too. They were also dynamically connected with the politics of the European Left (both its radical and liberal wings), especially in Britain, in ways that defy colonial binaries, and with International Non-Governmental Organisations in a Cold War context in ways that challenge the dominance of the Cold War as an explanatory framework for the second half of the twentieth century. By placing all of these entanglements alongside one another for the first time, several things have become apparent.

Firstly, these connections ebbed and flowed with the founding of organisations like the Asian Socialist Conference, the All African Peoples Conference, the Movement for Colonial Freedom or the Africa Bureau, and with events of global-historical significance like the Mau Mau uprising, the Suez Crisis, the Algerian War, the Sharpeville massacre and the Congo Crisis, the relevance of which I will consider further below. Secondly, these connections were to a significant extent forged and sustained by a generation of mobile activists born in the late 1920s and the early 1930s, who had passed through a postwar education system and pursued higher education, often abroad but also at regional institutions like Makerere (Uganda), Fort Hare (South Africa) or Roma (Lesotho/Basutoland), during a window of opportunity in which education in the region was rapidly politicised by the emergence of party politics in the context of Mau Mau, the Central African Federation and the deportation of the Kabaka of Buganda. These activists carried out the journeys, letter-writing, pamphlet distribution and conference organisation that 'nationalism's' external connections and publicity relied on.

This much was fairly easy to establish – and even if neither historians of decolonisation nor of East and Central Africa have systematically considered these connections, they would probably not be surprised by them. More striking than the existence of these networks is the worldview that underpinned them. It was not taken for granted that forging contacts beyond borders was useful to campaigns for equal rights, representation and eventually self-government; anticolonial networks were not a foregone conclusion, and the structures of the colonial state were in an advantageous position to stem them. Rather, they were the result of a vision shared by a set of individuals that became increasingly clear over the course of the 1950s, a vision shaped and reshaped by the experience of carrying out political work inside the late, and then the 'very late', colonial state. This state progressively – if sporadically and unevenly – took away space for coordinating grievance-based campaigns, by controlling the internal press, public meetings and fund raising and instead trying to channel criticism of colonial and territorial policy through unelected representatives with interests in the colonial system. It also

attempted to maintain the sovereignty of its borders by proscribing certain foreign publications, censoring correspondence and denying passports. In this sense, the decision to physically leave the colonial state in order to circumvent its restrictions was a radical one: it differed radically from the forms of protest that had preceded it, and it was certainly not a vision shared by all African leaders who were demanding political development. The handful of individuals who created this vision simultaneously created the idea that this work was the duty of their own generation in a regional context.

This determination to 'go around' the colonial state was thus fed by the everyday frustrations of political organisation and itself fed evolving anticolonial thought. A glimpse of the dynamic interaction between experience, ideas and practice would look something like the following. The growing centrality of civil liberties in the anticolonial rhetoric of the mid-1950s can be understood not as an adoption of contemporary Western discourses on rights, but a recognition that this was also the terrain on which demands for political representation took place and, simultaneously, that this was the obstacle to these demands being met. Individuals were pushed to travel in search of the individual political freedoms they were denied. Once in contact with anticolonial organisations abroad, however, it became clear that neither mobility nor the patronage of an external organisation automatically granted freedoms to publish and organise. The obstacles, from this vantage point, now appeared to be the lack of availability of up to date information on the colonial situation outside of the territory and the biased colonial and metropolitan media that accompanied this. Practices of sending meeting minutes and eye-witness accounts came to be prioritised, but then came the question of why these materials were not transformative. Thus, 'knowledge' and 'truth' were introduced as a new arena for the struggle for representation, encouraging activists to engage with contemporary (often Francophone) discourses on psychological aspects of colonialism. Accordingly, publication practices increasingly sought to 'reveal' the violence of the colonial situation and rewrite false portrayals of nationalist demands. The experience of disseminating this critique showed the importance of audience and so appeals were made to specific 'British', 'international', or 'world' publics, or to newly independent African states, in ways which emphasised 'duty' and thus narrated an interdependent colonial system in which 'stooges' played a decisive role. In short, it was in part the experiences of carrying out activism in a setting beyond the colonial state that enabled activists to develop their own critique of colonialism as an inherently oppressive system, rather than one that was simply failing to deliver its promises.

This gives a sense of how a distinct anticolonial culture grew together with the trajectories of mobile activists. But this was not an isolated evolution: the shape of this process was strung onto certain events, organisations and institutions, and onto the historical spaces in which it happened – four spaces in particular that this thesis has relentlessly moved between together with its protagonists. One of these spaces was late colonial East and Central Africa. The Mau Mau uprising posed urgent questions to young politically-minded people in the region about the adequacy of 'constitutional' methods of protest and provided a motif of the possibility of violent uprising that could be employed throughout the 1950s. The campaign against the Central African Federation, meanwhile, brought questions of the protection of African rights to the fore; the imposition of the Federation was fuel for the idea of colonial deception and raised fears of a regional trajectory that could follow that of South Africa rather than that of Ghana. Both of these events encouraged activists to express themselves in a regionally comparative framework. Makerere College was decisive as an institution to enable this regional dialogue, in which questions of (multi-)racialism and (non-)violence were central; these discourses were kept alive by emerging party politics. As policing and bureaucratic practices hardened in the 'very late' colonial state during the second half of the 1950s, the state's attempts to contain anticolonialism legally and physically in locally specific settings, notably during the Nyasaland Emergency, gave fuel to external anticolonial activism that was now well-connected to various lobbying groups. Attempts to coordinate activism regionally happened most tangibly when based in the region itself, with the founding of PAFMECA at Mwanza in 1958. In some senses this meeting also marked the ascendency of Tanganyika and Dar es Salaam as regional spaces that served both as a model for decolonisation and a useful base, for Central Africans in particular, to carry out anticolonial work, even if this came with its own limited freedoms.

Another space was the colonial metropole, and London in particular, where the internationally significant nature of Mau Mau and the Central African Federation stimulated both scholarly interest in East and Central Africa and the 'organisational' nature of British anticolonial lobbying during the early 1950s. Competing British organisations, whose *ad hoc* basis assumed its own momentum, provided structures within which visiting and resident activists could contest the terrain of anticolonial work. The Africa Bureau (formed 1952) and the MCF (formed 1954) were particularly important, despite limitations that came from the survival instincts of these under-funded groups against charges of communist infiltration. Some of these limitations were addressed by the formation of CAO in 1958, the first African-led London-

based anticolonial coordination group, in which East and Central Africans played a central and unacknowledged role. London continued to be an important centre for carrying out anticolonial work into the 1960s, but its connections with realities in East and Central Africa always relied on activists who were increasingly sceptical of a geography that put London and its knowledge production at the centre. While activism in Britain took on a mass participatory nature, especially in relation to anti-Apartheid following the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, its connections with this generation of activists was overshadowed by the dialogue between the Colonial Office and the new leaders in East and Central Africa.

Yet, the creation of PAFMECA and CAO in these two respective spaces was looking towards another, vaster space that lies at the centre of this story of anticolonial culture: an independent, postcolonial Africa, within a larger 'Third World'. Within this space – an imagined future as much as a material reality – the very real opportunities of New Delhi, Cairo and Accra each had particular significance. Gandhi's positive action, Nasser's militancy at Suez and Nkrumah's continental vision each had inspirational value for this generation that should not be underestimated. But within this thesis there emerges another picture of the relationship between liberation movements and anticolonial hubs. Activists searching for space to carry out anticolonial publicity work seized opportunities for publishing, broadcasting, and organising from within new states, at the same time as using their presence to hold these states accountable to the visions they professed of continental, regional and anticolonial solidarity. The role of organisations and institutions (the distinction was blurry) was crucial here: the ASC, AAPSO, AAPC and BAA were what gave individual trajectories shape and gave activists leverage. Moving within and between emerging hubs, as the patronage they offered ebbed and flowed, allowed activists to use the events and concerns of these organisations in their own critiques and demands. The Algerian war and later the Congo crisis were used by activists as benchmarks against which they could cast their own struggles in regional, transnational and sometimes international forums.

A final space in which these activists shaped and reshaped an anticolonial culture – or perhaps better understood as an additional layer covering the spaces outlined above – was an imagined Cold War world and, materially, the proliferation of journeys to conferences and training courses that this world afforded. During the 1950s this was a backdrop for claims relating to the denial of civil and political liberties. But increasingly, and especially after the beginning of the Congo Crisis in mid-1960, East and Central African activists felt this Cold War world as suspicion, a trope which both drew on and fuelled critiques of colonial deceit. Alliances within

a Cold War framework during the early 1950s, in particular the Socialist International and Asian Socialist Conference, enabled this generation of activists to shape criticisms of colonialism that were voiced by independent states. But by the early 1960s, the thrust of non-aligned politics lay with independent states in the Afro-Asian bloc in the UN, from which these activists were largely excluded; projects like AAPSO that did not function of the basis of state membership found that membership based on political parties or organisations was less able, politically and financially, to stave off the interests of Cold War superpowers

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The picture of an anticolonial culture that emerges from these conclusions has three important implications for how historians can and should understand, respectively, the practices of transnational activism, the global nature of anticolonial thought, and the possibilities of decolonisation. Firstly, the anticolonial work uncovered here shows that shifts in how activism was conceived of and practiced over the course of the twentieth century rested not only on campaigns that found an international stage but on those that happened under the radar too. In this sense, Matthew Connelly's framing of the Algerian war and the FLN as a 'laboratory' for new strategies of international diplomacy is bestowed a further dimension by way of the findings of this thesis relating to chronologically parallel but substantively distinct campaigns.[777] The strategising of East and Central African activists that I have outlined here had much in common with that of Connelly's FLN: for these activists too, the external aspect of anticolonial work was imagined to be more decisive than, perhaps, it was, and ultimately this aspect's importance was self-fulfilling, in that it created the interested audiences that it imagined. For these activists, like Connelly's FLN, practises were devised to surmount the isolation of colonial structures and were fuelled precisely by colonial desperation to maintain this isolation (regardless of the very specific legal status of Algeria within the French state). Yet the activists I deal with could not and did not rely on armed insurgency to assure them an international audience; international diplomacy in a classic sense was not available to them prior to political independence.[778] Nor were they simply 'borrowing' from FLN activists, with whom they had few avenues of connection prior to building networks around Cairo in the late 1950s; their own ideas about 'the external', as noted above, had regional roots. The sorts of source material that this thesis has based its conclusions on allow Connelly's interpretation of mid-twentieth century shifts in diplomacy to be placed within the same framework as external

[777] Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution*, 5.
[778] Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution*, 6–8.

anticolonial work which was *not* fed by armed insurgency – in the same framework as conferences that never happened and periodicals that never made it past the second issue. Because, in fact, the production and exchange of pamphlets, minutes, newsletters, press statements and correspondence between individuals and organisations *below* the level of international forums was the substance of anticolonial work when neither classic diplomacy nor armed struggle were possible. As much as the diplomacy strategies of the FLN, these strategies were precursors to the mass transnational, public campaigns that characterised anti-Apartheid and anti-Vietnam in later decades, which rode on connections between various local solidarity campaigns in diverse geographical hubs. As such, the results I have presented here lend weight to the recent assertions of historians of African print cultures: firstly, that writing and publication practices could bring into being certain types of historical narration distinct from those rooted in orality,[779] in this case anticolonial critiques written for an international or world stage (regardless of whether they *had* such a stage); secondly, that writing did not only serve political causes but was also served *by* politics in as much as the campaign to 'speak and be heard' as an individual harnessed the interest of the international media in the drama of decolonisation.[780] In as much as these strategies responded to curtailments of political expression, they are also about responses of young people to totalitarian regimes in settings other than colonial Africa. Ephemeral printed material, published in small batches, distributed in circles often lacking political leverage and found in archives of little-known organisations, could play a decisive role in writing the broader history of transnational activism: this material not only conveys neglected visions of the twentieth-century global order; by its very materiality it hoped to change this order.

Secondly, extending the implications of taking marginal archival material seriously, this thesis serves as an example of how intellectual and political thought can be studied in a global setting without reverting to dichotomous frameworks of knowledge transfer. That 'anticolonialism' was not a coherent or self-referential school of thought with a canon of thinkers and founding texts does not disqualify it from being studied as an array of worldviews with transformative potential, in mid-twentieth century Africa in particular. The picture of anticolonial culture outlined in this thesis attests to this. Analysing marginal leaders and activists in the colonial

[779] Stephanie Newell, 'Afterword', in Derek R. Peterson, Emma Hunter, and Stephanie Newell (eds.), *African Print Cultures: Newspapers and Their Publics in the Twentieth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 426. See also Kate Skinner, *The Fruits of Freedom in British Togoland: Literacy, Politics and Nationalism, 1914-2014* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 254–5.
[780] Polsgrove, *Ending British Rule in Africa*, 168–9.

world as thinkers, in the absence of the civil society structures and their accompanying archives that intellectual historians typically rely on, has demanded methodological creativity, but the approaches arrived at can open up new ways of thinking about histories of ideas more broadly. As Leslie James has argued, scholarship on anticolonialism has been slow to respond to the transformations of scholarship on colonialism during the last two decades, especially when it comes to pulling apart the binaries on which colonialism rested.[781] In this respect, this thesis is a crucial counterpart to the work of historians such as Talbot Imlay and Christoph Kalter, who argue for the importance of the decolonising world in mid-century Western European political thought, particularly on the Left, thus laying to rest the impression that flows of ideas and 'modernity' happened in a 'West to South' direction.[782] For the first time, this thesis has approached the activism of anticolonial 'sympathisers' in independent states from the perspective of activists from dependent states, placing metropolitan actors and spaces within the same framework as those within the global South. This multi-sited approach has to some extent elucidated multi-directional flows of ideas, showing, for example, how ideas about information isolation of a Zambian student in New Delhi might end up on the agenda of the Asian Socialist Conference and shape the anticolonialism of the Socialist International. But it has also questioned whether the intellectual world that these activists occupied can be understood by way of encounter and knowledge transfer. By foregrounding the frustrating everyday experience of carrying out anticolonial work as a colonial subject, I have made legible scraps of archival material that would not otherwise fit into intellectual biographies that seek to elucidate a coherent political worldview. Specifically, this muddle of intellectual production has *not* suggested that anticolonial activists were preoccupied with how to integrate the Western 'modern' and the African 'traditional'.[783] Instead, it has suggested that they were concerned with their roles as self-reflective individuals within a changing world in which their region and generation could play a decisive role; they naturally drew on existing patterns of thought to express their ideas in ways geared to different audiences. This approach offers a different way to understand, as Pankaj Mishra put it, the 'irony' of the potency of Western thinkers like Marx, Hegel and John Stuart Mill for anticolonial thinkers.[784] A truly global intellectual history of anticolonialism (a necessarily collaborative project), would make use of

[781] James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, 7.
[782] Imlay, *The Practice of Socialist Internationalism*; Kalter, *The Discovery of the Third World*.
[783] This preoccupation appears not only in classic works on nationalism but in recent revisionist histories of African nationalism too (not as a dichotomy in reality but one that existed in the strategies of anticolonial leaders). See Larmer, *Rethinking African Politics*, 31; Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism*, 10.
[784] Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire*, 7.

the everyday work of marginal activists, who had few opportunities to fashion themselves as 'intellectuals', in order to understand everything between the grand anti-Western ideologies like those elucidated by Mishra and the sort of realpolitik multilateralism identified by Kris Manjapra.[785]

Thirdly, the stories I have told over the course of this thesis make a difference to how we are able to narrate postwar decolonisation as a major transformative event of the twentieth century global order. The anticolonial culture that I have described confirms the assertions that historians of decolonisation have made in recent years: that the emergence of new nation-states was not the automatic or inevitable outcome of the process, in so much as it was not the sole or most important imagined end product of anticolonial leaders, even if, as Chris Vaughan has most recently demonstrated, regionalism and nationalism (and we might add pan-Africanism and organising structures and identities below the national level too) could be mutually constitutive as much as mutually exclusive.[786] Importantly, however, I have not joined these debates with a focus on constitutionally possible outcomes with a view to explaining why the nation-state prevailed, or used contingency as a counterweight to the myth of a planned, orderly decolonisation from the perspective of the late colonial state.[787] Rather, I have presented the possibilities and constraints of decolonisation as they appeared to mobile activists – who indeed would have had little incentive to carry out external anticolonial work had they not been convinced precisely of the contingency of decolonisation and of their ability to shape it. Sometimes this conviction was based on shaky premises, like the extent of accountability of the British government to the British 'public', or the leverage of newly independent states in the UN, or the revolutionary potential of, for example, press freedoms. Often, the intellectual production of this generation consciously amplified their own coherence and decisive impact. It has not been within the scope of this thesis to assess whether and precisely how these individuals and their anticolonial culture made a difference to the nation-state 'outcome'. Nevertheless, it has become clear that these individuals were, at certain moments, able to guide and shape the process of decolonisation: their work and the culture that formed around it constituted one of the links between the global and specific scales of decolonisation (or, in an

[785] Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire*, 7; Manjapra, *Age of Entanglement*, 6.
[786] Cooper, *Citizenship between Empire and Nation*; Vaughan, 'The Politics of Regionalism and Federation in East Africa, 1958–1964'.
[787] On these two approaches, respectively, see Moyn, 'Fantasies of Federalism'; Smith and Jeppesen, *Britain, France and the Decolonization of Africa*.

older scholarship, the metropolitan, nationalist and international 'factors' in decolonisation)[788] that histories of the period continue to grapple with.[789] This assertion, that these links were part of what decolonisation meant, supports recent revisionist histories of African nationalisms that attest to the importance of external support in determining the first statesmen (and nationalist heroes) of independent Africa.[790] But histories that seek to refute the isolation of nationalism while still taking the nation-to-be as the object of study will necessarily land at a certain *shape* of contingency. In contrast, a regional framework serves as a stepping stone between national and global scales, and it is only by employing such a framework that I have been able to unearth the specific sort of contingency outlined here, revolving around the limited possibility to coordinate work within the region and the decisiveness of regional links made between activists in spaces outside of it. In this way, this thesis constitutes a strong case for historians of Africa to allow the object of enquiry (here, a distinct anticolonial culture) to define the spatial parameters of their research, rather than work with preconceived national or regional parameters. In doing so, it has allowed East and Central Africa to occupy a central position in a global story in which the region has often been marginalised. In the scholarly effort to ensure that global histories of decolonisation give the experience of African individuals the weight they merit, this sort of spatial approach could well be transformative.

Indeed, activists did not cease to imagine a region after independent African nation-states became a reality. Henry Masauko Chipembere wrote in his autobiography: 'What my colleagues and I failed to do in Malawi against [Hastings] Banda is exactly what [Oginga] Odinga failed to do in Kenya, what [Oscar] Kambona failed to do in Tanzania, and what [Simon] Kapwepwe failed to do in Zambia'.[791] The sense of generational-regional responsibility that I have traced the emergence and employment of throughout this thesis in many cases outlived the political careers of the activists that populated it.

[788] John Darwin, 'Decolonization and the End of Empire', in Robin W Winks, Alaine Low, and William Roger Louis (eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume 5: Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[789] Jansen and Osterhammel, *Decolonization*.
[790] Larmer, *Rethinking African Politics*, 42–46.
[791] Chipembere and Rotberg, *Hero of the Nation*, 302.

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