

# Decolonization in Africa and Asia: A Resource Guide

Compiled by **Cheyenne Pettit**, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Michigan



To talk to the sales department, contact us at  
**1-800-779-0137** or [sales@proquest.com](mailto:sales@proquest.com).



# Table of Contents

Introduction .....	2
Topic 1: Nigeria.....	3
Topic 2: The Congo.....	7
Topic 3: Algeria .....	10
Topic 4: Indonesia .....	12
Topic 5: India.....	13
Conclusion.....	16

## Introduction

European colonization and exploitation from the 1500s to the 20th century have profoundly shaped the cultural, social, and geographic contours of the present world. Under imperial rule, colonized peoples suffered gravely. Colonization decimated vulnerable communities and their cultures in order to harvest valuable resources and exploit indigenous labor for the benefit of European markets. However, for as long as colonialism has gripped the world, there have also been successful indigenous efforts of resistance. These efforts culminated in the 20th century in anti-colonial movements and decolonization.

Following the conclusions of both World War I and World War II, formerly powerful European countries struggled to regain control over colonized areas. Struggling economies and the devastation visited upon Europe by the wars rendered these efforts unlikely to succeed in the face of indigenous resistance. Decolonization efforts were reinvigorated in colonized areas across the globe. These movements successfully agitated for the separation of colonized peoples from imperial rule to be replaced by self-rule of their own design. But decolonization didn't happen for all colonized areas at the same time or in the same ways. Formerly colonized areas in the Pacific and Asia were especially early to assert full control over themselves. One reason for this is that European colonizers had often been thrown out by Japanese occupiers during World War II. As Japanese forces pulled out of colonized areas, indigenous groups attempted to retake control over their lands and resources. In most cases, Europeans attempted to reassert their colonial influence, but often these efforts were not successful. After these Asian colonies were 'lost,' European empires redoubled their efforts to maintain control over colonized peoples in Africa. Decolonization efforts continue across the globe today. The structural inequalities baked into the imperial system are difficult to dismantle and former colonizers continue to try and impede decolonization processes. After centuries of abuse

and exploitation, former colonies continue to fight for equal access to their own resources and to find revenue for infrastructural repairs made necessary by centuries of imperial neglect.

This resource guide examines decolonization and anti-colonial efforts in 5 countries and 2 regions across the world. These regions represent colonization efforts perpetrated by a variety of European powers and span several decades. This guide includes documents that demonstrate early anti-colonial and decolonial efforts, as well as those events and efforts that took place during and after self-rule was achieved by indigenous groups. This guide will provide students with a brief overview of what some decolonization efforts looked like after World War II and how indigenous citizens rebuilt their own countries following the retreat of imperial policies. Although it is not possible to provide an exhaustive overview of all the forms and expressions of decolonization, this guide can act as a starting point for students newly interested in the history of decolonization and continuing efforts to decolonize the world.





It is important to note that decolonization efforts are not limited to formerly colonized areas. Indigenous communities in the United States and Canada still struggle with the effects of colonization. As a result, their efforts at decolonization look much different than those mentioned in this guide.

The resources listed below are written in English and thus are often told from the perspective of colonizing countries. It is not possible to tell the whole story of decolonization only through these sources because of their inherent biases. However, they are a useful resource for students with limited language abilities who want to begin their own investigations of decolonization. To that end, the guide also includes sections that detail some helpful 'keywords' or alternative search words to use when trying to find additional documentation on decolonization. A large part of colonial efforts to eradicate local indigenous traditions involved renaming events and places. Decolonization efforts often include trying to reclaim those names. This is an important part of anti-colonial recovery, but it does lead to some difficulties when researching these topics. When applicable, the guide notes the differing names so that students can locate as many resources that might be useful to them as possible.

The resources noted in this guide highlight the ways that different regions approached decolonization differently based on their needs. It also demonstrates the ways that colonization and decolonization were global endeavors that relied on international webs of commerce and connection to function. These resources also address the social movements and efforts of women that accompanied and complemented decolonization efforts. Through the analysis of U.S. federal documents and British periodicals, students can learn about the demographics of anti-colonial and decolonization movements in these countries and the ways anti-colonial groups approached decolonization differently. Students can also learn about the priorities of European empires and their allies as they worked against decolonial enterprises. These resources are valuable and require students to remember that many of these documents originate from the perspectives of Empires with clear stakes in the question of decolonial legitimacy. When read this way, these resources highlight the variety and richness of decolonial activities across the world. These documents allow students to practice "reading against the grain" which is valuable for improving critical thinking skills and are a crucial part of learning to do historical work. The documents following decolonization efforts in each of these regions should be read with the understanding that the United States had its own reasons for collecting this information and it was often done with the intention of allowing the U.S. to shape the geopolitical environment to suit its own interests. These interests were often contrary

to the interests of the indigenous groups struggling toward decolonization. The term decolonization is used to describe a vast array of particular decolonizing activities and theories. This guide will help acclimate students to decolonization as both historical events and continuing efforts toward greater global equity.

## Topic 1: Nigeria

The region we now refer to as Nigeria was first exploited by a British corporation called the Royal Niger Company, with the first forays into the area starting in the 1830s. The British government assumed direct control of this area in 1900 and divided it in half giving the area the title of Protectorate. In 1914, the two Protectorates were merged and put under the control of a single governor-general in Lagos. During this time, the governor utilized a system called "indirect rule" wherein traditional regional chiefs were left to govern with European supervision. This two-tier system involved a more powerful central authority overseen by the governor-general in London and a local administration run through "indirect rule." British agents intentionally fueled regional conflict between indigenous groups to limit resistance to imperial rule as much as possible. This region became embroiled in German and British proxy wars during the First World War which resulted in regional devastation and mass death.

ORIGIN/ACTION		DEPARTMENT OF STATE		POL 15-1 BIAFRA	
RY	REP	<b>AIRGRAM</b>		FOR RM USE ONLY	
ANA	EUR	A-129		LIMITED OFFICIAL USE <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
NEA	CU	NO.		HANDLING INDICATOR	
E	P	TO : Department of State		RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE SEP 20 7 59 AM 1969 ANALYSIS BRANCH DATE: September 21, 1969	
L	FBO	INFO : KADUNA, LAGOS		HARRY B. JONES	
AGR	COM	FROM : Amconsul IBADAN			
INT	LAB	SUBJECT : What Makes Ojukwu Tick - A Yoruba Version			
TR	XMB	REF :			
ARMY	CIA	1. In an informal conversation with me before he left to visit the United States, Richard Akinjide, well-known Ibadan Yoruba lawyer/politician (NNPP), gave me his explanation of Ojukwu's personality. Akinjide claims to have known Ojukwu well when he was a Federal Minister in Lagos.			
NAVY	NSA	2. Akinjide believes Ojukwu suffers from a Hitler-like megalomania. His explanation is as follows: Ojukwu, he says, was rejected as a child. He was the child of a girl friend of his father and the father did not recognize him or take him into his home. Instead, he packed the mother and baby off to the North, where the mother made her living as a trader. When the boy began to grow up (age not specified), friends of Ojukwu's father prevailed upon him to recognize the boy as his son. He agreed to do so, but the boy was something of an embarrassment, so he sent him off to England to school. The boy continued his education there until he completed his university degree at Oxford - a mediocre degree in history.			
AIR	NSA	3. On Ojukwu's return to Nigeria, he tried to get a job with the Nigerian Tobacco Company (NTC), but was turned down. (Akinjide speculated on how different Nigerian history might have been if NTC had given Ojukwu a job.) He then drifted into the civil service and was given a position as Assistant District Officer at a bush post in the East. He was unhappy in this position where he did not feel his talents were properly recognized. Seeking a better road to power and influence he joined the Nigerian Army and because of his good educational background was soon sent to Sandhurst. He thus joined the rather select few Sandhurst-trained officers in the Nigerian Army.			
3	20	1969 SEP 20 AM 9 42		COP-FLD-PBR	
3	10	Exempt from automatic decontrol.		FOR DEPT. USE ONLY	
3	10	LIMITED OFFICIAL USE		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> In <input type="checkbox"/> Out	
FORM DS-323		Content and Classification Approved by:			
Dated by: CCStable:gor 9/10/69		Acting DCM: Mr. Jones		William D. Jones	
Clearance:					

Women in Nigeria have a long history of organizing and participating in anti-colonial revolts. In 1929, the Nigerian Women's War (known at the time as the Aba women's riots by British audiences) broke out in Nigeria. This was an anti-colonial movement that targeted "warrant chiefs," which were an element of the "indirect rule" system. Nigerian women claimed that these warrant chiefs intentionally reduced the role that women were allowed to play in the government. Women had traditionally held government and community leadership roles until the new European "indirect rule" system began, which discouraged women's participation in government based on Europe's patriarchal belief that women were inferior and incapable of leading. In 1928, a series of direct taxes were levied against men. The following year, there was some talk that women would now also be asked to pay taxes despite this lack of representation and the fact that these taxes had devastated many families. In response, women gathered at Oloko (estimates say around 10,000 gathered) to demonstrate against this British incursion. These demonstrations spread and eventually targeted and destroyed Native Courts, which were part of the system oppressing Nigerian women. In 1930, the warrant chieftains were abolished, and women were appointed to sit on the Native Court. These kinds of anti-colonial activities continued and became overwhelming until Nigerian independence was achieved in 1960.

Newly independent Nigeria was created by a new constitution that established a federal system with an elected prime minister and a ceremonial head of state. Balewa served as the Prime Minister and Azikiwe Nnamdi served as the president of the senate, which was largely ceremonial. After a 1961 referendum, the Cameroons joined Nigeria and in 1963 Nigeria became a republic. The regional conflicts, which had long been stoked by British agents, continued to cause strife in the new republic resulting in the eventual partitioning of Nigeria into 3 regions which were overseen by the Yoruba, the Igbo, and the Hausa-Fulani. Tensions continued to simmer and eventually Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi was installed after a military coup and the assassination of Balewa. This government too was plagued by in-fighting and was eventually overthrown resulting in a civil war beginning in 1967. Ojukwu declared the succession of three states which were then called Biafra. But Biafra collapsed two short years later through military intervention by General Gowon. Gowon held power until 1975 after he postponed a return to civilian rule. In his place, Brig. General Murtala Ramat took office. Ramat ushered in many important changes to address government instability before being assassinated during an unsuccessful coup and replaced by his top aid, Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo. Obasanjo continued the attempts to return to civilian rule and created a new constitution, which replaced the British parliamentary system with a presidential one. Five political parties emerged to engage in this new republican movement. Power has since oscillated between military and civilian hands. In the most recent election (2019), Buhari was re-elected for a second term with 56% of the vote.

*66*

*POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*  
*AKPOL 3 OAU 285236*

**OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State**

INDICATE:  COLLECT  CHANGE TO

*25* SECRET  
Classification

11 DEC 68 01 46 Z

TO: ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
Amembassy LONDON  
INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
Amembassy PARIS

STATE: \_\_\_\_\_

EXDIS: \_\_\_\_\_

REF: London 14898 and Lagos 15081

1. British Ambassador called on Under Secretary today at latter's request to discuss Nigerian situation.
2. Under Secretary outlined our growing concern re humanitarian problem and indicated we have been considering what initiatives USG might take. Before doing so however, we wished ascertain any further information Ambassador could give us re possible actions HMG may have in mind.
3. Ambassador confirmed substance Lagos reftel re preliminary soundings with Gowon and latter's acquiescence in possible UK initiative. UK cabinet met yesterday and decided send Shepherd to Lagos where he will arrive this evening and Foley to Addis Ababa, leaving tonight. He added Foley's purpose is to sound out Emperor on UK ideas and receive his reactions. HMG considers Nigerian problem basically an African responsibility and does not want to get in way of OAU. Further Cabinet meeting taking place today on substance UK proposals which will be forwarded two emissaries. Ambassador at pains to emphasize this initiative will not repeat not involve any change in UK policy. He apparently

*285236*

*5*

AF: Palmer:gm:emb 12/10/68  
S/S - Mr. Parke

Tel. No. 5374  
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: U - The Under Secretary

ORIGIN/ACTION: *AFS*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**AIRGRAM**

*Pol 15/ Biafra*

FOR RM USE ONLY

A-132 LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NO. \_\_\_\_\_

HANDLING INDICATOR: *RSR file*

TO: Department of State

INFO: KADUNA, LAGOS

DATE: September 19, 1969

FROM: Amconsul IBADAN

SUBJECT: Psyching-Out Ojukwu

REF: Ibadan A-129

ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
3	10	3
NSC		

As a footnote to Dr. Azikiwe's visit to Ibadan there is the curious anecdote which Zik is reported to have told Western State Military Governor Adebayo over lunch. Zik claims that at one point he had settled a dispute between Ojukwu and his father which had already reached the proportions where Ojukwu had threatened to shoot his father. The latter being a good friend of Zik's, he prevailed upon Ojukwu not to carry out his threat. Since then, Zik said, Ojukwu had been very unfriendly toward him; "perhaps I offended him by preventing him from shooting his father."

Such a tale seems peculiarly consistent with the story reported in the referenced airgram to the effect that Ojukwu was a bastard son, unrecognized in his childhood by his father, and later recognized only grudgingly and shipped off overseas.

The Consulate has no way of assessing the accuracy of either story but the fact that they are being circulated is itself rather interesting. They may be simply the sort of yarns that partisans tell one another to bolster their conviction that their adversary is driven by unworthy motives and is a bastard to boot.

**STRONG**

## Key Terms:

- “Aba Riots” for Nigerian Women’s War
- Ojukwu or Chukwuemeka Odumegwu “Emeka”
- Try searching Nigerian capital cities such as “Lagos”
- Biafra or Biafra government

## Books:

- Abegunrin, Olayiwola. *The Political Philosophy of Chief Obafemi Awolowo*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - This book examines the life and ideologies of an important figure in Decolonial history in Nigeria. It focuses on Chief Awolowo’s interests in democratic socialism and his attempts to aid decolonization and the populace of Nigeria.
- Creary, Nicholas M., ed. *African Intellectuals and Decolonization*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - Decades after independence for most African states, the struggle for decolonization is still incomplete, as demonstrated by the fact that Africa remains associated in many Western minds with chaos, illness, and disorder. As this book shows, Africa’s decolonization is an ongoing process across a range of fronts, and intellectuals—both African and non-African—have significant roles to play in that process.
- Falola, Toyin. *Colonialism and Violence in Nigeria*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://www.proquest.com/legacydocview/EBC/474474?accountid=131239>
  - This book seeks to answer an often-asked question about why Nigerian democracy has been so difficult to establish following imperial rule. Falola analyzes the history of colonial violence and instability to explain how Nigeria.
- *Writing the Nigeria-Biafra War*, edited by Toyin Falola, and Ogechukwu Ezekwem, Boydell & Brewer, Limited, 2016. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://www.proquest.com/legacydocview/EBC/4529812?accountid=131239>
  - Focuses on the fictional and non-fiction writings of the Civil War period. These essays will help students understand the context of the Civil War and the ways that participants understood their participation and the needs of Nigeria at the time. This includes discussions about well-known author Chinua Achebe.
- Matera, Marc, et al. *The Women’s War Of 1929: Gender and Violence in Colonial Nigeria*, Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011. ProQuest Ebook Central. <https://www.proquest.com/legacydocview/EBC/815884?accountid=131239>

### Visit of the Bechuana Chief, Tshekedi Khama.

AN interesting event of last month was the visit of the Regent of the Bamangwato tribe of Bechuanaland, Tshekedi Khama, who is a son of the well-known Chief Khama, who visited England more than thirty years ago to ask the Government for protection from the evils of the liquor trade. Our Society was approached earlier in the year by Mr. John E. Whiting, Chairman of the Arthington Trust of the London Missionary Society, stating that Chief Tshekedi was anxious to come to England for several reasons. The High Commissioner had made a speech to the Bamangwato tribe, in which he expressed his opinion that their land might be taken away and other penalties inflicted unless they were prepared to show greater energy. The Chief, considering that the character of his tribe was unfairly attacked, wished to place his case before the Government, and was especially exercised regarding the question of a mining concession in his country which the British South Africa Company desired to enforce. It appeared that pressure had been put on the Chief to sign a new agreement for mining before a certain date. The Society took steps to put questions in the House and to press the Dominions Office on the subject, and in reply, were informed that no pressure had been put on the Chief, and that a meeting upon the subject had been cancelled. It was correct that the Secretary of State did not think it desirable for the Chief to come to this country, but he was free to do so if he wished. Members of our Committee and others saw Lord Passfield, who promised that he would give an interview to the Chief on arrival. This interview has since taken place; indeed, the Chief has had more than one interview with Lord Passfield. The Society hoped to arrange a meeting for him with Members of Parliament, but his early return to South Africa has now made this impossible.

### The Native in Parliament.

#### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

GOVERNMENT POLICY.

18th December.

Sir HILTON YOUNG asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies the decision of the Government as to the recommendations of the committee on the closer union of British territories in East Africa relating to Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika?

Dr. SHIELS: I would refer the right hon. and gallant Member to the reply given to the hon. Member for Leyton, East (Mr. Brockway) on 11th December.

Sir H. YOUNG asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies what is the decision of the Government as to the recommendations of the

- Examines the Women’s War and the events and legacies that led up to it. The intriguing thing about this book is that it brings together the perspectives of colonized and colonial participants within a gender studies frame to discuss these events in a new light.
- Okeke-Agulu, Chika. *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in Twentieth-Century Nigeria*. North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - This book includes beautiful color images of African art to tell the history of artistic modernism in response to decolonial struggles in Nigeria.

## Newspaper and Magazine Articles:

- “The Native in Parliament.” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines’ Friend* 20, no. 1 (04, 1930): 11–43. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/native-parliament/docview/3048773/se-2?accountid=14667>
  - This has a good discussion about how the riots started (from the British perspective). I find it interesting that the individuals in question (ministers and parliament members) have no clue which areas in African have ‘always been’ British holding and which were war gains from Germany.



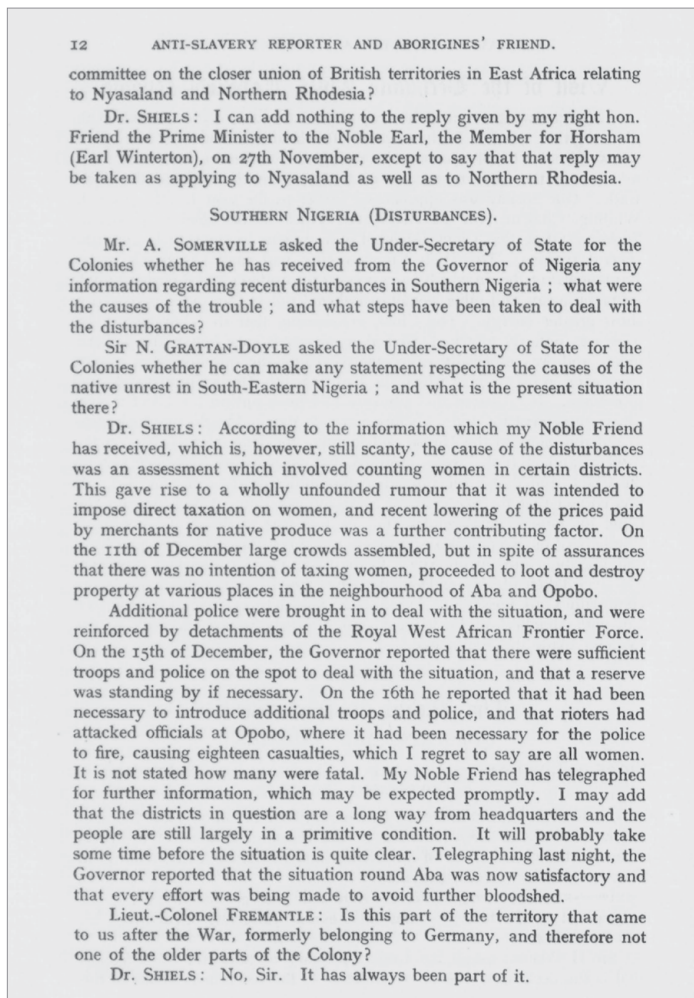
• GEARY, WILLIAM N. M., SIR. "NIGERIA UNDER BRITISH RULE." *The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend* 18, no. 2 (07, 1928): 93–95. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/nigeria-under-british-rule/docview/3036551/se-2?accountid=14667>

- This article predates the Nigerian women's war, but it does give an impression of what British audiences thought of Nigerian history and its present "happy" existence under British rule.

## Government and Organizational Records:

### Women and Social Movements, International

- Valien, Bonita H. *Leadership Training for Nigerian Women: Some Impressions With Recommendations*. Women's Africa Committee Records, 1958–1978 (Box 1, Folder 6, 11pp.), Sophia Smith Collection. Women's History Archive, December 1962. [https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic\\_entity%7Cbibliographic\\_details%7C1518190](https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C1518190)
- This document discusses Nigerian women's role in 'representing' Nigeria as ONE nation rather than tribes or groups. This is a stark sign of the role nationalism played in decolonization.



## ProQuest History Vault

- Biafra-Nigeria military operations: Truce, Ceasefire, Armistice (Sept. 1968– Dec. 1968) from ProQuest History Vault <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=101146-020-0615&accountid=14667>
  - These documents come from U.S. government memos and intelligence. They discuss the current civil war in Nigeria and the ways that the U.S. is advised to intercede. These include 'updates' on both sides of the Nigerian civil war, which might be useful for students interested in a timeline of events and the connections to the greater Cold War context.
- Biafra Government: Executive Branch (June 1967– Nov. 1969). <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=101146-001-0304&accountid=14667>
  - These documents discuss the ways that U.S. intelligence were and were not willing to engage with leaders like Ojukwu openly. If read against the grain this information shows what ways decolonization efforts were sabotaged through lack of response and resources.
  - The two folders identified above from History Vault are part of the collection in History Vault called **Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Biafra-Nigeria: Subject-Numeric Files, Political Affairs, 1967–1969**. This collection establishes the political background to the Nigerian Civil War and introduces the individuals and issues covered throughout the collection. In addition to extensive documentation on Gowon, Ojukwu, and other military and government officials on both sides of the conflict, the files detail the involvement of missionaries and mercenaries, European and African diplomats, non-governmental organizations and private citizens, and the oil industry, principally Shell-British Petroleum and the French state company Societe Anonyme Francaise des Recherches et d'Exploitation de Petrole (SAFRAP; now Elf Petroleum Nigeria Limited), both with critical interests in their Nigerian operations threatened by the war. This collection also provides day-by-day, month-by-month accounts of military actions, diplomatic maneuverings, and the international reach of the Nigerian Civil War. The United Kingdom and Soviet Union—an unlikely collaboration amidst global Cold War tensions—supplied arms to Gowon's FMG, Britain only a few years removed from colonial control over Nigeria, the Soviet Union attempting to gain influence on the African continent. Ojukwu relied on France and Portugal for military aid and succeeded in gaining diplomatic recognition from only five small countries—Tanzania, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Zambia, and Haiti. To view this full collection, use the following URL: <https://search.proquest.com/histvault?q=73157:101146&accountid=131239>

## Topic 2: The Congo

Congo was originally known as the Kongo Kingdom and was ruled by a king and a series of local chiefs. This region was greatly disrupted by the incursion of European slavery and the slave trade. Like many other colonial beginnings, Congo was originally 'opened' to European power through the creation of stations for markets and commerce along the Congo River. The Committee for Studies of the Upper Congo (later, Association internationale du Congo) was created to negotiate with local chiefs for these stations. By 1884, they had accumulated enough of these station contracts for King Leopold of Belgium to assert his right to govern the whole territory as one state. During the Berlin West Africa Conference 1884–85, European leaders negotiated the 'rules' that each must follow in the colonization of Africa. After that, from 1885–1908, this region was known as the Congo Free State and was overseen by King Leopold under the guise of a humanitarian mission to end slavery. Leopold's brutality and crimes against humanity are many. Congo is now well-known for its especially cruel imperial period. Congolese citizens and laborers were tortured and murdered indiscriminately for the sake of the economic gain of European countries. Leopold's private army, the Force Publique, was engineered and administered by Europeans. They were responsible for kidnappings and burning villages to the ground. This brutal occupation is now infamous among African historians and historians of empire.

Belgian rule was inflexible and gave no official or "indirect" forms of self-rule to the Congolese. This paternalistic system was based on the flawed belief that Africans were intellectually and culturally incapable of ruling themselves. This African exclusion from governance continued until 1957 when minor reforms were instituted. These reforms were largely limited to 'westernized' Africans and came about because of the neighboring French colonies' democratic reforms. In 1956, a manifesto from the Alliance des Bakongo (ABAKO) was circulated, which called for the immediate emancipation of Congo from Belgium. ABAKO was led by Joseph Kasavubu and became a major anti-colonial force in Congo. Like many other colonies, Congo experienced a wave of nationalist sentiment following the World Wars resulting in the creation of the nationalist party the Congolese National Movement (MNC). MNC is the party that allowed pan-Africanist Patrice Lumumba to rise to fame. After an incident in Leopoldville on January 4th, 1959, which resulted in the deaths of many Africans by security forces, Belgium was forced to reconsider their ultimate goals for the colony. On January 13th, Belgium officially stated that the ultimate goal was the removal of Belgian governance and Congolese independence. Six months later, Congo was able to officially take control of their own governance.

**INCOMING TELEGRAM**      *Department of State*      **ACTION COPY**

35-L MESSAGE CENTER      **UNCLASSIFIED**

Action      Classification      Control: 10213  
AP 1960 JUL 20 PM 1 38 (OFFICIAL TRANSLATION) Rec'd: July 15, 1960  
9:13 a.m.

Info FROM: ELISABETHVILLE

SS TO: Secretary of State  
G NO: UNNUMBERED, JULY 15  
SP PRIORITY  
EUR THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE  
IO UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
P WASHINGTON, D.C.  
IRC  
RMR THE PEOPLE OF KATANGA,

WHEREAS THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER SOLEMNLY PROCLAIMS THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES:

WHEREAS THE TRAGIC EVENTS THAT HAVE JUST ENVELOPED IN GLOOM THE BIRTH OF THE CONGOLESE REPUBLIC HAVE DEMONSTRATED THE INABILITY OF ITS LEADERS TO GUARANTEE RESPECT FOR PERSONS AND PROPERTY:

WHEREAS THE ACTIONS OF CERTAIN OF THESE LEADERS HAVE PLUNGED THE ENTIRE COUNTRY INTO CHAOS AND ANARCHY, JEOPARDIZING ITS DESTINY:

WHEREAS THEY CANNOT ENDORSE THE DECISION ADOPTED BY MR. LUMUMBA TO BREAK DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH BELGIUM TO WHICH THEY CONSIDER THEMSELVES INDEBTED FOR THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, THEIR WELL-BEING AND PROSPERITY,

ADDRESS, THROUGH THEIR DULY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES, A SOLEMN APPEAL TO ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE FREE WORLD TO RECOGNIZE THE INDEPENDENCE OF ITS TERRITORY WITHOUT DELAY.

THE PEOPLE OF KATANGA UNDERTAKE TO RESPECT ALL THE CLAUSES OF THE DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD.

TSHOMBE

NOTE: Foreign language text received July 15, 1960. Official translation given normal distribution July 20, 1960. DC/T.

ALB/8

**UNCLASSIFIED**

PERMANENT RECORD COPY • This copy must be filed in the original files with notation of action taken •

REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY IS PROHIBITED UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED"

Document must be returned to the RMC Control Unit

F 7-706.13/7-1560

CAA

The first months of Congolese independence were challenging. The MNC and the ABAKO were unable to form a Parliamentary coalition and the Prime Minister (Lumumba) and President (Kasavubu) were pitted against one another due to the constitutional impasse this created. Eventually Kasavubu relieved Lumumba of his duties sparking a situation where both groups claimed to be the legal central government. Simultaneously, the richest province, Katanga, declared itself independent of the rest of Congo with support from Belgium. Kasavubu and Lumumba were at odds on how to handle this situation. Kasavubu appealed to the UN to militarily reunite the country while Lumumba sought Soviet aid to quell the crisis. This "Congo Crisis" became entangled in the East-West divide of the Cold War.

After the country was cut into 4 regions, army Chief of Staff Joseph Mobutu (later, Mobutu Sese Seko) led a coup and took control of the country in 1960. In 1964, following the convening of parliament, a civilian government headed by Cyrille Adoul gained power in 1961. However, the Katanga succession continued until 1963, which undermined Adoul's credibility as a leader. Mobutu carried off a second coup in 1965 and renamed Congo Zaire in 1971. Mobutu and the MPR party continued to lead Zaire until his death in 1997. Currently, the country is known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo with Martin Fayulu serving as President after a contentious 2019 election.

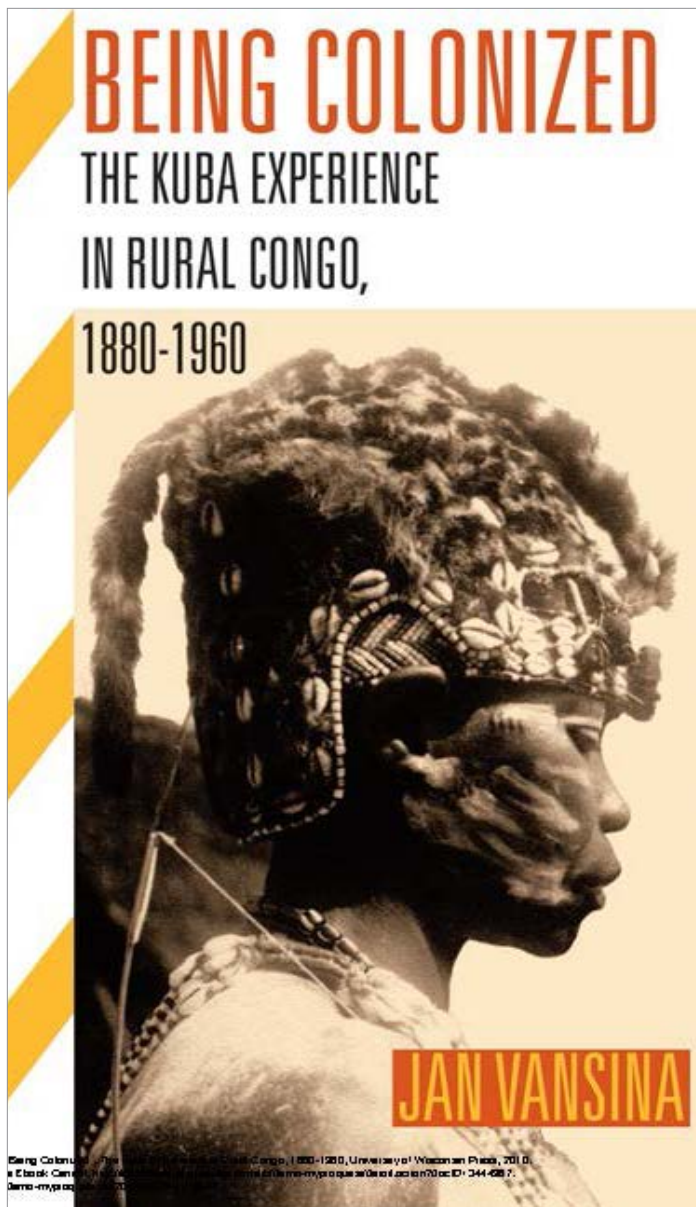


### Key Terms:

- “The Congo Question” for sources referring to Congo’s apparent economic disorder and the resulting economic crises (according to the British/European perspective)
- This region is often called The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Congo Free State, the Belgian Congo, Zaire, and the Kongo Kingdom in literature depending on the time period you’re researching.
- Joseph Mobutu can also be searched by using Mobutu Sese Seko.

### Books:

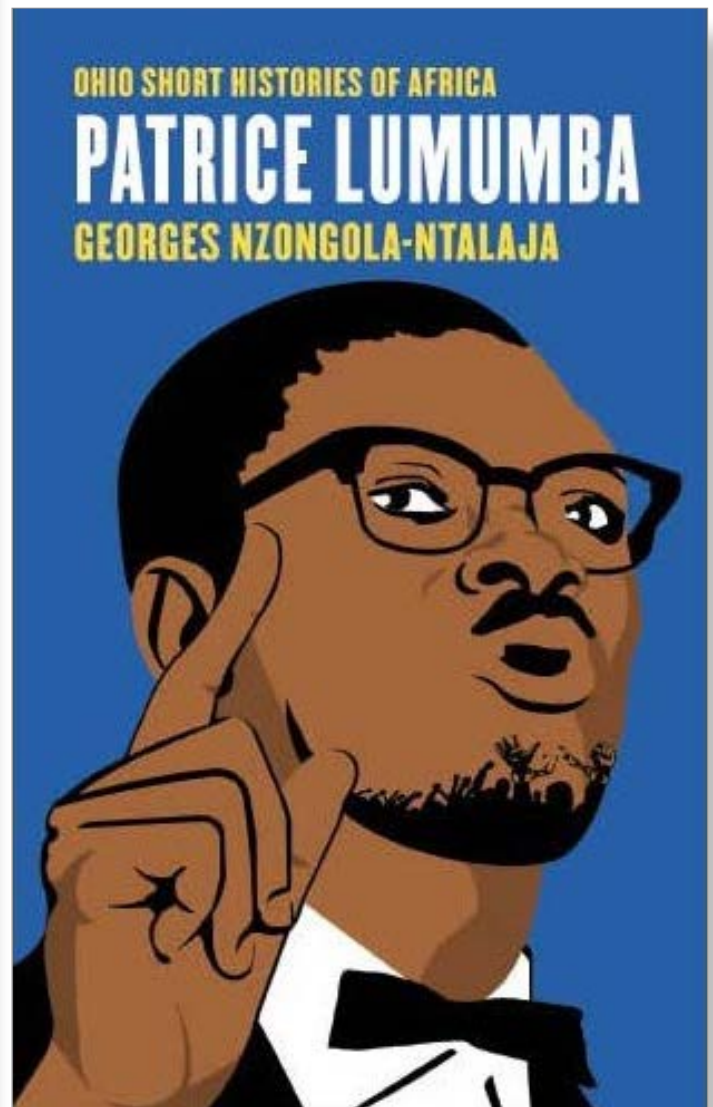
- Kent, John. *America, the UN and Decolonisation: Cold War Conflict in the Congo*. Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2010. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - Tells the story of Congo decolonization in the context of the Cold War and the geopolitical climate of the 60s.



- Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges. *Patrice Lumumba*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2014. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - Traces the life and decolonial activities of Patrice Lumumba.
- Vansina, Jan. *Being Colonized: The Kuba Experience in Rural Congo, 1880–1960*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - Focuses on the Kuba experiences of colonization using oral interviews and material culture to forefront the indigenous perspective.

### Newspaper and Magazine Articles:

- “THE DUTCH AND BELGIANS ON THE CONGO.” *The Review of Reviews* 3, no. 17 (05, 1891): 459. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/dutch-belgians-on-congo/docview/4056911/se-2?accountid=14667>
  - This is a very early article from the British perspective talking about the Congo as warlike and being distressed that new tariffs were put up despite constant shipping disruptions due to ‘free fighting.’





• “THE CONGO QUESTION AND THE ENTENTE CORDIALE.”

*The Review of Reviews* 40, no. 240 (12, 1909): 551.

<https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/congo-question-entente-cordiale/docview/4112575/se-2?accountid=14667>

- This document is about the Imperial rule of Congo and that ways that Britain is attempting to change the ways that Belgium rules the Congo, but Belgium is supported by France. This piece uses what is referred to now as “white man’s burden” rhetoric. A good piece for showing how these colonial holdings were tossed around between different nations and were often proxy sites for European squabbles.

**Government Records in ProQuest History Vault:**

- Republic of Congo Political Affairs (Sept. 1960).

Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Congo: Internal Affairs and Foreign Affairs, 1960–January 1963 <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=009249-005-0001&accountid=14667>

- These U.S. documents give a timeline of events during Kasavubu’s coup and the Congolese government response. These includes conversations about the Congo situation with other African Presidents (like President Nkrumah of Ghana). “President [Nkrumah] said word during the day disturbed him greatly because it looked like the cold war was coming to Africa. He had tried to restrain Lumumba, but Lumumba replied he could expect no direct help from Ghana because Ghana was totally committed to UN.” Through these communications, students can get an idea of how communities across Africa struggled together with their own decolonization efforts and the ways they interacted with other such efforts.

- Republic of Congo Political Affairs: Cabinets and Ministries (July 1960–May 1961). Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Congo: Internal Affairs and Foreign Affairs, 1960–January 1963 <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=009249-027-0569&accountid=14667>

- These documents can illuminate the growing and changing administrative structures within the Republic of Congo. They also include public statements from Brussels about Congo.
- The two folders described above form part of the collection in History Vault called Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Congo: Internal Affairs and Foreign Affairs, 1960–January 1963. This collection, as the folders described here indicate, chronicles in detail the period from 1960–1963 in the Congo, including reporting on the Congolese independence movement;

LEADING ARTICLES IN THE REVIEWS. 551

**HOW AN ITALIAN SAVED HIS COUNTRY.**  
Miss JANET ROSS gives in *Cornhill* several striking reminiscences of Sir James Lacaita, an Italian who supplied Mr. Gladstone with the substance of his pamphlet on the Neapolitan horrors, and who, fleeing from Naples, became a naturalised English subject. Hearing in 1865 that Lord John Russell was on the point of joining with France to blockade Garibaldi in Sicily, Sir James drove at once to Lord John Russell's house:—

“Not at home,” said the servant, who knew Lacaita well. By dint of persistent questioning Lacaita found out that M. de Perigny had been closeted with Lord John for some time, and that an Italian gentleman had just arrived (Marquis La Greca, who was charged with the negotiation). Orders were peremptory to admit no one.

“Is not Lady Russell in?” asked Sir James.

“Yes, but her ladyship is ill in bed.”

Taking out his card, Lacaita wrote, “By the love you bear to your father's memory I implore you to let me see you for an instant.”

The servant returned, his sense of propriety evidently outraged, and bade Sir James go upstairs. He lost no time in thanks or compliments, but plunged headlong into his subject.

“You remember, dear Lady John, what happened when your husband consented to let the English fleet combine with the French and blockade Sicily? You remember what your father, Lord Minto, said, and how he mourned over the consequences? At this moment your husband is about to repeat the same error, but the result will be far more disastrous. I implore you to send for him. Let me say a few words. I am sure I can convince him.”

Lady John Russell promptly sent down a scrap of paper pencilled “Come at once.” Her husband rushed upstairs, to find his Italian friend seated on the sofa in his wife's bedroom, shivering and coughing. Sir James at once strongly urged his case and won the day:—

Lord John afterwards told Lacaita that he was on the point of signing the agreement when he was called, and two Foreign Office clerks were waiting to witness the signature. Marquis La Greca happened to be a little late, or all would have been finished before Lady John's message reached him.

**TWO VIEWS OF AUSTRIA.**  
PESSIMIST.

THE *Fortnightly Review* publishes two articles on Austria. In the first Mr. Garvin takes a pessimist view of Austria's difficulties:—

In Austria proper the Slavs and Germans are more than ever in clenched antagonism. In Hungary even the Magyar coalition has collapsed. It was rent by differences which may be conciliated again but cannot be mended. The most important fact for our present purposes is that Russia, in spite of the acuteness of her party divisions—less intense, after all, than those dividing ourselves at this moment—enjoys Parliamentary stability, and is steadily recovering as much national unity as any country under representative institutions can hope to possess. In Austria-Hungary, on the other hand, the domestic situation is disorganised and may be convulsed.

OPTIMIST.

Captain Battine, who follows Mr. Garvin, takes exactly the opposite view:—

Except for the language difficulty, which is certainly more rampant in Austria than in any other country, there is on the whole as much national concord for external purposes as in any European State; nor will the succession of the

Archduke Francis Ferdinand weaken that concord, out on the contrary, the event will strengthen the hands of Austrian statesmen.

Austria, like every European State, has its domestic problems, its Socialists and social discontent, but for many reasons these problems are nowhere acute. Wealth is better distributed than in richer countries; extreme poverty is rarely found; there is plenty of room for the expansion of the population within the borders of a State which includes 240,000 square miles for 46 millions of inhabitants. Her social laws, finance and educational systems are no whit behind ours in progress and common sense. She is not troubled by religious controversy. Her army is overwhelmingly more powerful and also efficient than ours. The Imperial Cabinet which directs national affairs is unfettered by the control of party politicians. Her people are passionately loyal to the dynasty.

Perhaps the greatest element of strength in Austrian nationality is the kindness which is felt and expressed towards the poor, the unsuccessful, and the helpless. In no country is the provision made for the sick and wounded in life's battle so ample.

**THE CONGO QUESTION AND THE ENTENTE CORDIALE.**

THE first November number of the *Revue de Paris* publishes an article by M. Féliçien Challaye on the Congo and the Entente Cordiale.

Taking as his text Mr. Morel's enigmatic phrase, “The Congo Question will be the tomb of the Entente Cordiale,” which appeared in the official organ of the Congo Reform Association, M. Challaye says it is quite correct that, notwithstanding the *entente cordiale*, the French Government has not helped Great Britain to obtain from Belgium the reforms of the Congo *régime* according to the principles laid down by the Berlin Treaty of 1885. Why does the French Government go against Great Britain in this matter? In the first place, not to throw Belgium into the arms of Germany. On the other hand, the French Government feels obliged to unite itself with the Belgian Government to stifle, if possible, the scandal of the French Congo. The Belgian Government knows that the commercial policy and the native policy of the French Congo are in many points identical with or analogous to those of the Belgian Congo, and that France will devote all her efforts to avoid submitting the question of the French Congo to international arbitration.

In conclusion, the writer says that the French friends of the *entente cordiale*, those who see in it a pledge of peace for the world and of progress towards the liberty of nations, should concern themselves with the doubts which the morally enlightened people of Great Britain are beginning to entertain of the value of the *rapprochement* with the French Republic. To dispel these doubts they ought to demand that France shall associate herself with the work of justice and humanity, of Great Britain and the United States, in favour of the blacks of the Congo. They cannot ask for a reform of the *régime* applied to the Belgian Congo without demanding at the same time a total transformation of the native policy in the French Congo.

establishment of the Patrice Lumumba government and subsequent political anarchy; the secession of Katanga; and the role of the United Nations, first as a peacekeeping force and ultimately as the chosen instrument for bringing Katanga back into the fold of the central government.

- Congo Political Situation, including an Analytical Chronology of Congo Crisis, March 9, 1961. John F. Kennedy National Security Files, 1961–1963, Africa <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=003362-003-0635>
  - This chronology includes beyond those discussions of the U.S. President seeking an update on the situation—an indication that the “Congo situation” had caught the attention of the U.S. The purpose of this is “to permit a review of the Congo crisis from its inception, to see if there are any patterns that can be discerned and which could point the way to future policy decisions.” Students can use this to track what events the U.S. thought were important. They can also see areas where Tunisian and Ghanaian troops and governments attempted to intercede in the crisis.

# The Algerian War in French-Language Comics



*Postcolonial Memory, History, and Subjectivity*

Jennifer Howell

Howell, Jennifer. The Algerian War in French-Language Comics: Postcolonial Memory, History, and Subjectivity. Lexington Books, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/demo-myproquest/detail.action?docID=43989698>.

## Topic 3: Algeria

Algeria is a North African country that was colonized by the French from 1830–47. Algeria was largely ruled by military occupation with a military commander serving as governor. Arab Bureaus were staffed by officers with local knowledge and no financial interest in the colony. As a result, Algeria was an unusual example of European imperialism in Africa. The solidification of French governance didn't occur until 1870 with the Third Republic and Napoleon III. Napoleon hoped to cement French control of Algeria through settlement. However, control was difficult because of Algeria's multiculturalism and unequal access to certain rights. During the Franco-Prussian War, Algerians hoped to take independence while the French army was busy protecting France from Prussian aggression. This was referred to as the Kabylia uprising and this uprising ultimately failed. In general, Algerians suffered immensely from poverty and starvation during French occupation. During WWI, Algerians (and troops from other French African colonies) served in the French army and factories and many settled in France following the War. This was an important period of migration between France and Algeria.

This combination of migration and war service stoked nationalist sentiments in Algeria. Many Algerians hoped France would extend them more rights or greater liberty for their service.

Algeria contained many different ethnic and racial groups and not all enjoyed the same access to upward mobility and citizenship. Algerians could access French education and vocations. Because this group already had the greatest access to upward mobility, they tended to be less radical and more in favor of reforms. The second group were the Muslims. This group strongly favored Muslim Nationalism and founded the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama (AUMA). The third group was the most radical of all and was primarily comprised of laborers and other marginalized members.

Algeria gained independence in 1962 after a long, bloody war for independence. Following WWII, the French government had promised to extend greater access to self-rule in Algeria because of its services during the war. The Algerian War erupted after these promises went unfulfilled many years later. Algeria had long been home to a diversity of ethnic and religious groups and each had differing levels of access to French citizenship and rights. This caused a great deal of discord in the country— especially between Jews and Muslims. These disparities made political life very challenging in Algeria. France was desperate to hold on to Algeria and waged a brutal battle in Algiers (the Battle of Algiers) which the French ultimately won. The resistance was so great that Charles De Gaulle eventually declared that Algerians had the right to self-determination in 1959. Following this decree there was massive French resistance and terrorism that hoped to derail Algerian attempts at self-rule. Algeria gained independence in 1962.

### Key Terms:

- Algerian War or Algerian War of Independence
- Young Algerians

### Books:

- Adams, Geoffrey. *The Call of Conscience: French Protestant Responses to the Algerian War, 1954–1962*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1998. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - This book tells the story of the changing French response to Algerian decolonization and anti-colonial attempts. The French Army's poor treatment of Algerians swayed many French to disavow their support of keeping Algeria through force.
- Lyons, Amelia H. *The Civilizing Mission in the Metropole: Algerian Families and the French Welfare State During Decolonization*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2013. ProQuest Ebook Central.



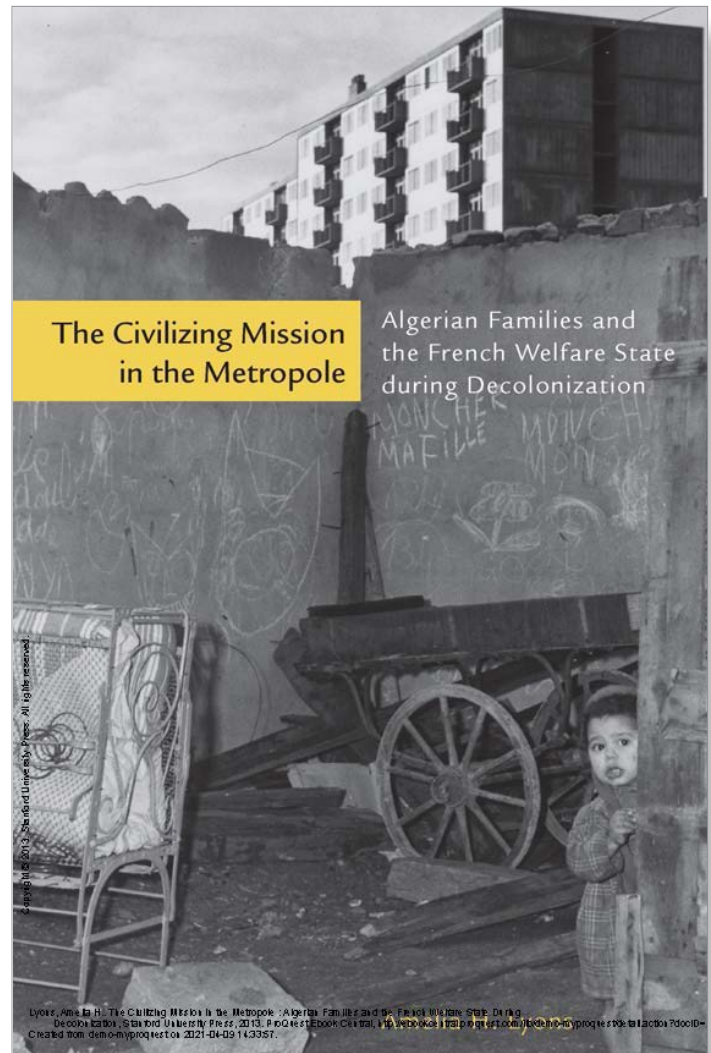
- Examines the exclusionary practices against Muslims in France and Algeria and explains the role of colonization in cementing inequality.
- Howell, Jennifer. *The Algerian War in French-Language Comics: Postcolonial Memory, History, and Subjectivity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - This book offers comics as a way to differently understand the experience of the Algerian War and independence.

### Newspaper and Magazine Articles:

- BRIDGES, T., EDWARD. "ALGERIAN COLONISATION." *The St. James's Magazine* ser.3. 1, (04, 1875): 255–264. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/algerian-colonisation/docview/6047175/se-2?accountid=14667>
  - This article is written from the British perspective and it outlines the ways that French and British colonization efforts are different. The article makes the case that British imperialism is superior. This is useful for students because they can better understand the roots of colonization and thus understand the politics around decolonization and why European countries often exacerbated tensions prior to decolonization, which made unification extremely difficult.
- DIMNET, ERNEST. "THE ALGERIANS." *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 119, no. 3113 (Jun 26, 1915): 649–650. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/algerians/docview/876924473/se-2?accountid=14667>
  - This article is written about the fact that France has allowed soldiers from Algeria to fight in the First World War. Many Europeans balked at this idea. They were uncomfortable with France giving soldiers of color permission to kill white men (even if they were Germans and an enemy to France at the time). This service to France was later cited by Algerian nationalists and assimilationists alike for reasons that Algeria has earned self-rule and self-determination. This is a crucial aspect of early anti-colonial sentiments and critical to understanding the racial underpinnings of colonization.

### Government and Organizational Records in ProQuest History Vault:

- Algerian Military Coup memos and President Mohammad Ahmed Ben Bella's relations with communist bloc. Lyndon B. Johnson National Security Files, 1963–1969, Africa <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=003364-003-0001&accountid=14667>
  - This is an excellent series to discuss decolonization because it discusses the aftermath of the 1962 independence and the factions that made that difficult.



### The Civilizing Mission in the Metropole

Algerian Families and the French Welfare State during Decolonization

- Speculations on Algerian Post-Independence Conditions. John F. Kennedy National Security Files, 1961–1963, Africa, First Supplement <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=009251-002-0124&accountid=14667>
  - This is a great way to show the overlap between processes of decolonization and Cold War era politics. Here, the U.S. is trying to decipher if Ben Bella means 'socialist' in a way that sides them with the USSR. There are also documents that mention the factions that are potentially causing strife in forming a wholly independent nation after colonialism.
- The French Student Movement and the Algerian Crisis. (Jan 1961–Dec 1961). Socialist Party of America Papers, <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=201902-038-0749&accountid=14667>
  - This series of papers discusses JFK's interest in Algeria and his assertion that it is "no longer just a French problem." This pamphlet is meant to show how Algerian civil liberties have been restricted and the impacts of the crisis on both Algeria and France. This would be very useful for students interested in the restrictions and crackdowns perpetrated by the French in Algeria.

PROGRAMS OF JAPAN IN JAVA

WITH BIOGRAPHIES

POLITICAL

IDEOLOGY

Commander-in-Chief Harada of the Japanese Djawa Expeditionary Forces declared the concrete policy last night through radio in regard to the creation of the Central Council and the political participation by the local inhabitants ... The Djawa Military Administration issued the following official statement: "The objective of the GEA War is in the liberation of the 1,000,000,000 people in the GEA from the yoke of our enemy America, Britain, and Netherland. ... There is neither room for personal home life nor individual salvation. This noble ideal for the assistance of the Imperial Rule must also be the foundation for the promotion of the military administration in Djawa. ... The 50,000,000 people of Djawa must follow with their fullest effort for the liberation of GEA. ... As it has been declared by the CIC, the local inhabitants will be given further extensive field of activities if they should fully satisfy the expectation of Japan by striving with their fullest effort for the eternal prosperity in the GEA as well as for the happiness and prosperity of the entire Djawa people and by further improving their cooperation, taking the opportunity of their newly granted new field of activity, thus expecting more responsibility and participation into activities from the people of Djawa." (Tok. Jap. 8/2/43)

Djakarta: The military administration in Java announced that all the organizations in Java are united now and work together to establish a GEA. ... The Indonesians must help and work together with Dai Nippon to destroy the enemies of Asia.

Medan: About 15 organizations from all over Indonesia attended the meeting at Kotaradja. Also Japanese and Indonesian high officials were at the meeting. In this meeting Mr. Amin spoke about the future of Asia and asked more cooperation from the people of Indonesia. And as being Indonesians, he declared that they must work together with Dai Nippon and aid the Japanese to help establish a GEA. (Makassar Buginese 9/16/43)

The ... of the Djawa defense army ... they have found that it is not the size of their body that counts, but the spirit, the unflinching indomitable to fight to crush the foe. ... For it is the spirit that made Japan victorious in the war with Russia in 1905, the spirit that

themselves. In 1942, the Japanese occupation began, and Dutch civil servants were interred. Initially, the Japanese were welcomed as liberators. Unfortunately, Japanese occupation was brutal in Indonesia. But after three years, on August 17, 1945, the Japanese surrendered, and Indonesian leaders Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed Indonesian independence. As British forces arrived to oversee Japanese departures, anti-colonial incidents broke out across Indonesia. British forces soon realized that, despite their own desires, Indonesian citizens were serious about their calls for independence. These incidents resulted in the Linggadjati Agreement signed March 25, 1947, which proclaimed the Dutch intent to transfer Indonesian sovereignty to a federal Indonesia. Federalism was not popular amongst Indonesians and opposition mounted. In response, the Dutch retaliated in what they termed a "police action" against the new republic. The UN stepped in and this led to the Renville Agreement in 1948. Despite this agreement, a few months later the Dutch participated in a second "police action." Growing domestic agitation worried American forces and resulted in them supporting Indonesian independence. This cemented the anti-colonial movement's legitimacy and allowed for a constitutional democracy to rule Indonesia until 1965. During this time there were a series of governmental successions and later a "guided democracy." Currently, Joko Widodo serves as President.

**Keywords:**

- Culture system
- Padri War
- Java War
- Budi Utomo
- Linggadjati Agreement
- Sarekat Islam

**Books:**

- Jones, Tod. *Culture, Power, and Authoritarianism in the Indonesian State: Cultural Policy Across the Twentieth Century to the Reform Era*. Leiden: BRILL, 2013. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - This book is a more general account of Indonesian history with a focus on Indonesian diversity and culture.
- Lindblad, J. Th. *Bridges to New Business: The Economic Decolonization of Indonesia*. Leiden: BRILL, 2008. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - This monograph focuses on the economic policies in Indonesia that were meant to aid in decolonization efforts. This book traces these policies from the late-colonial period through Japanese occupation and into independence.

## Topic 4: Indonesia

Indonesia originally caught the attention of Britain and Dutch imperialists and trading companies in the late 16th century. The Dutch East India Company received a charter in 1602 to control trade by indigenous traders in an effort to establish a commercial monopoly. Despite this, indigenous traders largely continued their traditional trading paths. There was a minor disruption in Dutch hegemony (among European groups) from 1799–1815. Beginning in 1815, the Dutch redoubled their efforts at making the colony self-supporting. To these ends, they created a culture system that required villages to set aside 1/5th of their land for the cultivation of export crops. This was fiscally successful for the Dutch, but burdensome for the Javanese. This economic success led to a greater desire for Dutch territorial expansion. This required greater migration of Dutch civil servants to the islands and with them, a greater degree of colonial oversight. Unlike some other settlers in the colonial period, the Dutch in Indonesia fully intended to make the land their home. This led to a great deal of Dutch opposition to Indonesian independence following WWII.

Dutch nationalist and prenationalist movements began at the beginning of the 20th century. Budi Utomo, headed by Wahidin Sudirohusodo, was one of the first. This group hoped to merge traditional culture with contemporary Java society. Following WWI, such groups proliferated in Java including the Indies Social Democratic Association and Sarekat Islam attempted to make a name for



- Steedly, Mary Margaret. *Rifle Reports: A Story of Indonesian Independence*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - This book features ethnographic interviews of Karo Batak villagers who experienced the violence and upheaval of the movement for Indonesian independence.

### Government and Organizational Records in ProQuest History Vault:

- Indonesian Independence and U.S. support. Papers of the NAACP, Part 14: Race Relations in the International Arena, 1940–1955 <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=001439-009-0816&accountid=14667>
  - This file of documents is really fascinating. It discusses the U.S. policy of backing Dutch colonialism after Japanese surrender and the groups advocating for Indonesian independence. The U.S. shifted to support Indonesia and this largely settled the issue. It illustrates the ways that decolonization was often ‘decided’ by the U.S./European powers in areas without anti-colonial violence.
- Indonesian Conferences and the Joint Action of Netherlands Women (Jan 1948–May 1949). Papers of the NAACP, Part 14: Race Relations in the International Arena, 1940–1955 <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=001439-009-0816&accountid=14667>
  - “The United States bears considerable responsibility for continue warfare in Indonesia.” This claim is based on the astounding amount of training and funding the U.S. gave to the Netherlands to help ‘put down’ the revolution. This series of documents details how and why the U.S. was swayed to support Indonesia and the consequences of that on the global level.
- US Foreign Assistance to Indonesia (May 1966–June 1967). Lyndon B. Johnson National Security Files, 1963–1969, Asia and the Pacific. <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=002785-009-0100&accountid=14667>
  - These documents follow the U.S./Indonesian relationship through Indonesia’s decolonization efforts. This collection is a mix of documents relating to various Asian and South Asian countries.
- Indonesian Social Matters: Dictionary of Common Indonesian Abbreviations (March 1960). Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Indonesia: Internal Affairs and Foreign Affairs, 1960–January 1963 <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=009217-017-0672&accountid=14667>
  - This is useful for decolonization studies in that it allows English-language students an opportunity to see some Indonesian abbreviations that they might come across in their research and be unable to decipher. It also

demonstrates the huge variety of kinds of sources and information that one can find about other nations in U.S. government documents from the 20th century.

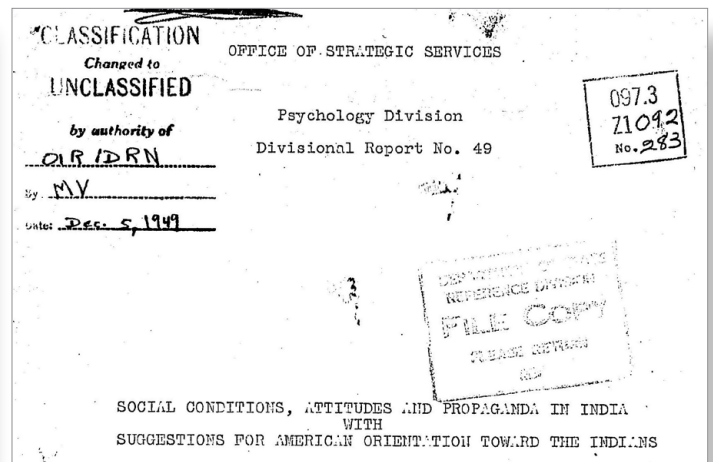
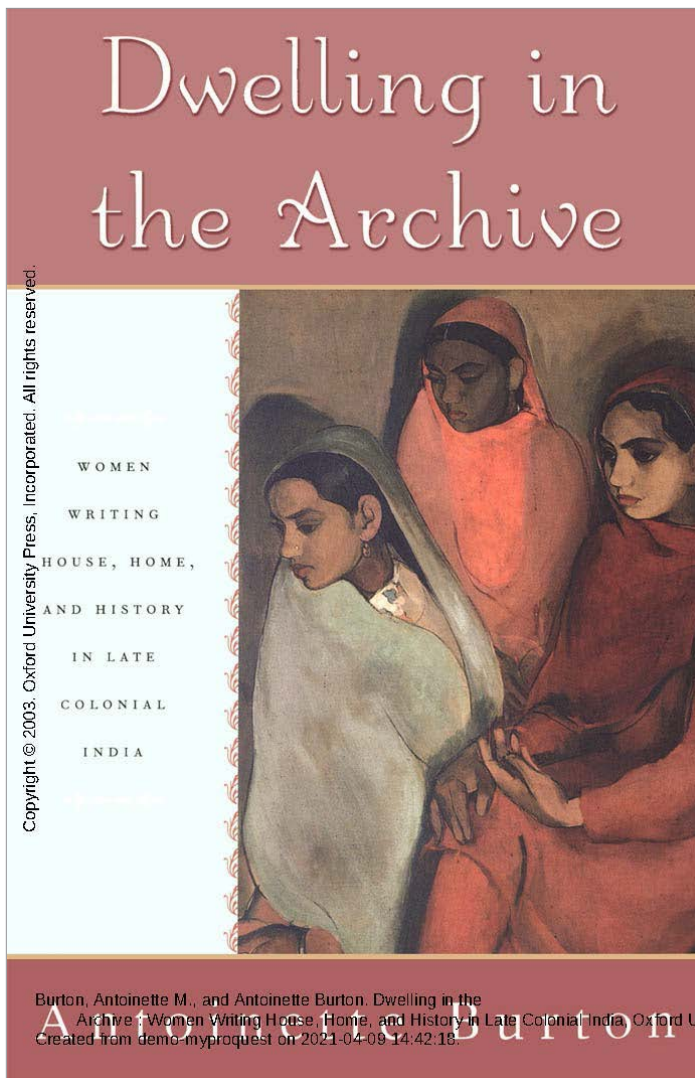
- Japan Programs in Java and Bali (Jan 1945–Dec. 1945). Office of Strategic Services (OSS)-State Department Intelligence and Research Reports, Part 01: Japan and Its Occupied Territories During World War II <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=002797-011-0009&accountid=14667>
  - This collection will help students understand Japanese occupation in Indonesia. This is a list of changes and programs that the Japanese ordered in Indonesia. It will aid students in understanding how Indonesian decolonization was influenced by the European and Asian occupiers it survived.

### Topic 5: India

The British Raj was a period of direct rule over the Indian subcontinent from 1858 to Pakistani and Indian independence in 1947. The Raj took over management of the subcontinent from the British East India Company after the Sepoy Mutiny. The Raj was meant to allow for a greater amount of Indian self-governance, but this ended up being a failed promise. The Raj was despotic and unpopular. This resulted in the creation of multiple nationalist groups and a strong nationalist movement in India. The Indian National Congress met for the first time in Bombay in 1885.

Psychology Division	
Divisional Report No. 49	
SOCIAL CONDITIONS, ATTITUDES AND PROPAGANDA IN INDIA WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR AMERICAN ORIENTATION TOWARD THE INDIANS <sup>1</sup>	
<u>TABLE OF CONTENTS</u>	
	<u>Page</u>
I. BACKGROUND FACTS AND ATTITUDES IN INDIA .....	2
A. Population .....	2
B. Government .....	2
C. Economic Conditions .....	2
D. Religious Groups .....	3
E. Political Groups and Some of Their Leaders .....	6
F. Attitudes of Indians Toward Foreign Nations .....	10
G. Languages and Literacy .....	14
H. Mass Communications .....	15
II. ANALYSIS OF PROPAGANDA TO, AND WITHIN, INDIA .....	17
A. Background of the Propaganda Campaigns .....	17
B. European Axis Broadcasts .....	18
C. Tokyo Radio's Propaganda Line .....	27
D. Recent Developments in the Axis Campaign .....	31
E. British Broadcasts to India .....	34
F. Chinese Broadcasts .....	36
G. The All-India Radio .....	36
III. SUGGESTIONS FOR PROPAGANDA TO INDIA .....	38
A. Channels of Propaganda .....	38
B. Timing of Broadcasts .....	38
C. Speakers .....	39
D. Suggested Emphases and Content of U.S. Propaganda .....	39
IV. REFERENCES .....	46

<sup>1/</sup> This report was originally prepared for the Foreign Information Service, but is now issued as a regular divisional report because of its possible usefulness to others.



Its logistic importance was based both on its access to resources and manufacturing as well as its central location in Asia. Axis powers attempted to exacerbate anti-British sentiment to improve their own chances of winning. This targeted propaganda scheme combined with Britain's resistance to home-rule and greater representation for India resulted in post-war demands for independence. In June 1945, a conference was held in Simla to discuss issues of governance. However, the Muslim League and the Congress failed to find mutual ground. Meanwhile, in Britain, the conservatives were voted out and the Labour party was voted in. Unlike the Conservatives, the Labour Party saw India as unstable and a burden to British growth and well-being. In 1947, British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act. This act made India and Pakistan independent as of midnight on August 15th, 1947. This meant that they had a month to demarcate the boundaries between Punjab and Bengal. Once these borders were drawn Muslims fled toward Pakistan and Hindus toward India for shelter. Ethnic tensions continued well after this initial migration, known as the Indo-Pakistani conflicts, and can be attributed to tensions created by the British Raj.

#### Key Terms:

- Indian National Congress
- Muslim League
- Bengal
- Sepoy Mutiny
- Amritsar "riot" or "Amritsar incident" or "Amritsar massacre"
- India-Pakistan War, Indo-Pakistan War

#### Books:

- Gupta, Swarupa. *Notions of Nationhood in Bengal: Perspectives on Samaj, C. 1867–1905*. Boston: BRILL, 2009. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - Focuses on the specific growth and changes to nationalist ideas and framing in Bengal.

This was an elite gathering of largely Brahmins meant to discuss political agitation for self-rule. These meetings continued and calls for national self-determination only increased as the 20th century dawned. During the first half of the twentieth century these calls became increasingly militant as British authorities refused to relent. These movements were complicated by Hindu-Muslim animosity which had been exacerbated by imperial policies. The Muslim League was founded in 1906 and was meant to serve as a Muslim alternative to the Indian National Congress. During the period following the First World War, Britain attempted to quell anti-colonial sentiment in the subcontinent through minimal periodic reforms. This was also when the Congress was following Gandhian ideals of peaceful protest and launched the noncooperation movement in 1920. However, these rarely went far enough to address systemic inequalities and calls for independence continued to mount.

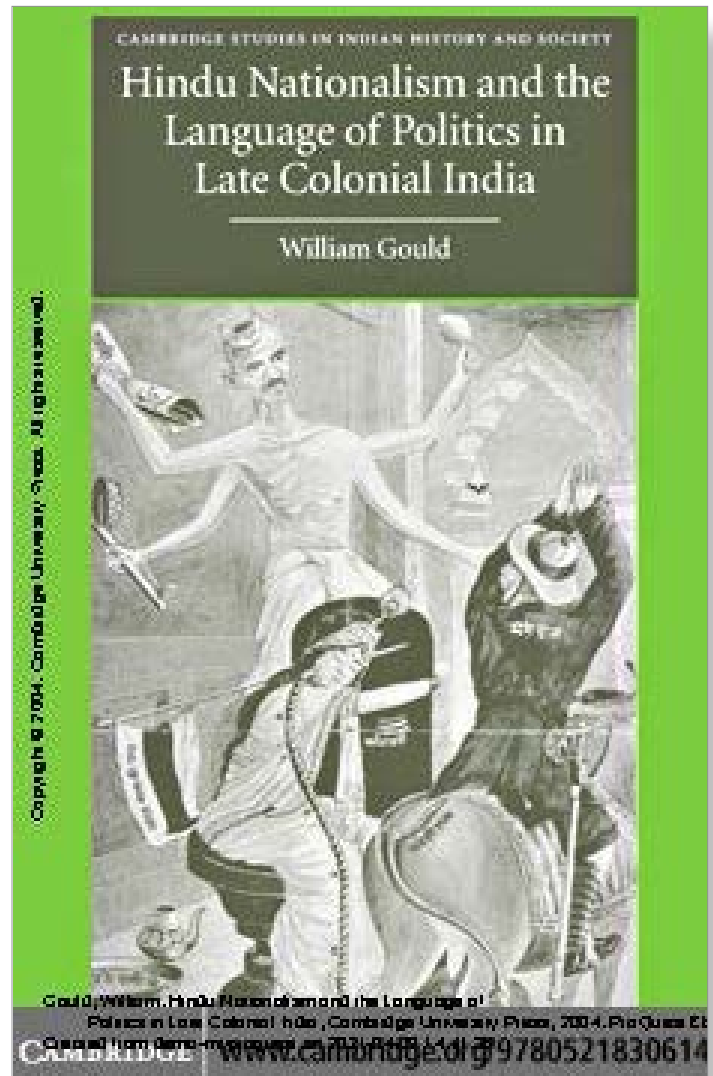
Complications following the Second World War resulted in the end of British occupation of the subcontinent. During the war, India was hugely important to the allied war effort.



- Gould, William. *Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - This book dives into an important discussion about the ways the Indian National Congress and their purportedly secularist approaches to nationalism impacted and was impacted by Muslims.
- Burton, Antoinette M. *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India*. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2003. ProQuest Ebook Central.
  - This book offers the reader some primary sources and focuses on women in late colonial India.

### Newspaper and Magazine Articles:

- Bradlaugh, Charles. "The Indian National Congress: What It Is and What It Demands." *The New Review* 2, no. 10 (03, 1890): 242–253. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/indian-national-congress-what-is-demands/docview/6950811/se-2?accountid=14667>
  - This article is from the British perspective. This article discusses the most recent meeting of the Congress and the "numerous expressions of loyalty to British rule." It is important to note that British colonizers were especially fervent about framing their colonial exploitation as favorable to the colonized individuals. This is valuable for students seeking to understand the relationship of British media to colonizing efforts and the ways that they downplayed decolonizing and anti-colonial efforts and sentiments.
- O'Dwyer, M.F. "Anarchy in India." *Fortnightly Review*, May 1865–June 1934 109, no. 650 (02, 1921): 177-191. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/anarchy-india/docview/2487724/se-2?accountid=14667>
  - This article discusses the passing of limited self-government for India and the general British "apathy" toward the subcontinent. This is a discussion of recent and historical events and a justification of brutal British occupation and colonization policies in India.
- "The Amritsar Tragedy: Through Associated Press." *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, Apr 12, 1919. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/amritsar-tragedy/docview/603230864/se-2?accountid=14667>
  - This article tells the tragic story of the massacre at Amritsar. The article indicates the level of anti-colonial sentiment that existed in the decades preceding decolonization in India. It also makes clear how anti-colonial violence was framed by western media.



- "Amritsar Quiet After Riot: Sixty Injured Police Precautionary Measures." *The Times of India (1861–Current)*, Jun 21, 1937. <https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/amritsar-quiet-after-riot/docview/250773740/se-2?accountid=14667>
  - This is useful for students who are trying to understand the role that British colonization played in stoking ethnic tensions in the Indian subcontinent, which is an issue that plagued decolonization efforts and government structuring.

### Government Records in ProQuest History Vault:

- India social conditions, attitudes, and propaganda with suggestions for American orientation toward the Indians. Office of Strategic Services (OSS)-State Department Intelligence and Research Reports, Part 03: China and India, 1941–1949 <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=002799-005-0007&accountid=14667>
  - This file contains U.S. foreign service reports on India during World War II and the impacts of axis propaganda on Indian desire to continue British rule. This is also a

demographic report that is meant to help guide U.S. policy going forward in India-policies that were pro-British and anti-Indian self-rule.

- Survey of Indian Population, Social Conditions, Politics, and economics with “Who’s Who” Biography (Nov. 1943). Office of Strategic Services (OSS)-State Department Intelligence and Research Reports, Part 03: China and India, 1941–1949 <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=002799-006-0004&accountid=14667>
  - These demographics collected for U.S. use can help students distinguish between regions in India. As a subcontinent, India is and was full of diverse language, ethnic, and religious identities. These documents also lay out the various political parties and governing bodies in India.
- Congressional Criticism of US Military Aid to Pakistan (April 1971–Nov. 1971). Richard M. Nixon National Security Files, 1969–1974, India-Pakistan War of 1971 <https://congressional.proquest.com/histvault?q=102679-004-0303&accountid=14667>
  - This document is a printed copy of the Congressional Record describing the ways that U.S. intervention on behalf of Pakistan was understood by U.S. governing bodies. This document helps students understand the ways that the successes or failures of decolonization efforts were often entangled with who did and did not receive global aid or recognition.

## Conclusion

This resource guide is meant to provide information for students interested in decolonization and anti-colonial movements across Africa and Asia. It is especially useful for English-language students hoping to learn more about the ways that the Cold War and geopolitical networks impacted decolonization efforts. It is important to center the voices of indigenous groups when discussing the ways that colonialism and decolonization impacted their lives. But it is possible to read sources “against the grain” to illuminate anti-colonial resistance and the ways that powerful (mostly) western nations interrupted decolonization efforts and why they did so. One of the goals of this resource guide is to give students a peek into the larger context of decolonization so they might begin their own, more specific, journey into the areas that most interest them. Colonization shaped our world in so many ways and cost the lives of countless people. Studying the history of decolonization and anti-colonial resistance allows students to bring new perspectives to the history of imperialism and to uncover the voices of historically marginalized people.

### DATABASES COVERED IN THIS GUIDE

- British Periodicals
- ProQuest Congressional
- ProQuest Ebook Central
- ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Times of India
- ProQuest History Vault
  - Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files on Africa and the Middle East, 1960–1969
  - NAACP Papers: Board of Directors, Annual Conferences, Major Speeches, and National Staff Files
  - Office of Strategic Services (OSS)-State Department Intelligence and Research Reports, 1941–1961
  - Socialist Party of America Papers
  - Vietnam War and American Foreign Policy, 1960–1975



[proquest.com](https://proquest.com)

To talk to the sales department, contact us at **1-800-779-0137** or [sales@proquest.com](mailto:sales@proquest.com).