

# FIGHTEING

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OCTOBER, 1959



# TALK



An election meeting of the BASUTOLAND CONGRESS PARTY.

## Basutoland ON THE EVE OF ELECTIONS

**Independence for Africa**

by Julius Nyerere

NEHRU, INDIA & CHINA

**The Re-Discovery of Africa**

by Basil Davidson

ATTACKS ON THE PRESS



# FIGHTING TALK

A monthly journal for Democrats

Vol. 13. No. 8.  
OCTOBER, 1959

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WINNER OF THE 'FIGHTING TALK' COMPETITION.  
Our congratulations to Mr. Blam of 29 Pine Avenue, Fordsburg, Johannesburg, who won the competition sponsored by 'Fighting Talk'.

## A Letter from London

# A GLIMPSE OF DU BOIS

Walking up the stairs of that house in north-west London it seemed you were going right into the attic but the flat of the bearded African painter from Nigeria was spacious enough, and serves as the headquarters of the Committee of African Organisations associated with the French journal "Culture Africaine."

Through the cigarette smoke I could see the powerful figure of Basil Davidson, also Doris Lessing and Sylvester Stein, about the only Whites present. The rest were Africans and Indians standing about in small groups. But to see the real "bride-groom" you had to push your way right through the room, and there, perched on a sofa, sat Dr. Du Bois, Negro scholar, historian and political figure who fathered the first Pan-African conference at the opening of our century. Next to him was his writer wife, Shirley Graham, both of them just back from their visit to China.

Now and then one or two members of the assembled group would squeeze himself on to the sofa next to Dr. Du Bois and say a word or two. I too was taken up to be introduced.

Suddenly the bearded African artist banged on the table and drew all attention to himself. The ceremony had started — the farewell to the Du Bois' who were returning to America. A middle-aged Indian colleague of Dr. Du Bois then took over and elevated Dr. Du Bois to the ranks of the world's "greats" with inspired oratory, recalling the 52 years of the doctor's scholarship as represented by a whole new era.

Next Shirley Graham tried to convey the tremendous impression made by their recent trip to China and Africa. She talked of the plane flight over Cairo towards sunset, "the Nile winding down from the sea like a golden stream seeming to point the way to Cairo"; of a visit to the tomb of the Mardi, the Sudanese national hero "and the people showed me where the British threw him into the Nile to feed the crocodiles"; and then of the Accra conference "where those young men sat and planned the future."

Well, well, if old ladies are so inspired, so much more were we. A young girl placed a bouquet in Shirley Graham's arms as she sat down.

Dr. Du Bois spoke from his seat, his head almost resting on his chest, the goat beard there on his chin as all his

pictures show him.

He spoke of the change that had come over him since his visit to China. He had always had convictions on the way the future would be — now he knew exactly which was the right way. People in China were accomplishing what he never thought man could accomplish. "The Africans will have to work hard. We all work hard in our day to day work, but the Africans will have to work harder."

Then came question time and a hint of the esteem in which Dr. Du Bois is held by these Non-White intellectuals.

Detailed advice was sought on the various problems of the West Indies and their future. A young lady asked Dr. Du Bois to map out the path for the newly formed Federation of the Caribbean. She seemed very proud of what had already been achieved. "Your main trouble there is that industry controls the government. Unless it is the other way about there's bound to be a crisis time," said Dr. Du Bois.

British Guiana wanted to invite the Doctor and Paul Robeson to settle the differences between the Indians and Negroes.

Someone wanted to know if Marcus Garvey could not be regarded too as a great Africanist. This was a touchy point because Mrs. Marcus Garvey was present. Dr. Du Bois did say that he did not want to make any criticism since when he did so in the case of Booker T. Washington's education schemes, he was charged by some with jealousy. But Garvey's mistake, he said, was that he tried to fight organised capital on its own terms.

Mrs. Marcus Garvey stood later in the evening to say that Garvey's "Back to Africa" call was right to the extent that he believed that the Negro would be respected only if his African past was respected.

Time marched on until Dr. Du Bois said he would answer one more question. A young woman from Sierra Leone asked if Moral Re-armament had the same motives in Africa as the Church.

The old Doctor became very worked up. "I lose all logic when it comes to Moral Re-armament. It is the agent of big industry. You young Africans must have nothing to do with it."

By now it was nearly midnight and an evening in the presence of a humble but great Old Man came to an end.

TENNYSON MAKIWANE.



# BANTU AUTHORITIES AND THE TRANSKEI

by F. THEMBELIHLE

Since the innovation of the Bantu Authorities Act and its implementation in the Transkei, important changes have taken place there which are unknown to the great bulk of the people.

## The Tribes of the Transkei

The system of Bantu Authorities has brought with it recognition of only those people who bow down to the chiefs and headmen who are themselves the stooges of the Government. Numerous individuals have been appointed "Chiefs" by the Government and the country has been zoned on the basis of ethnic grouping. Each tribal group has to have one recognised Chief. There are certain groups that are not distinct tribes as such but clans. For example the ama-Behele have been given a tribal authority and a Chief has been recently appointed by the Government. If you follow closely the history of the tribes, you find there is none known as the ama-Behele. The ama-Behele belong to the Fingo tribe and, if there were not something special up its sleeves, the government would not split it like this from the main group of which it is a part.

The main aim of the Government is to weaken the powers of the Paramount Chiefs. So petty Chiefs are singled out to be given powers over certain groups so they will in turn defy the Paramount Chiefs and claim independence or autonomy over their areas. This is the shape of the divide and rule policy. Tribalism is revived. Similar schemes have been devised for the amaNdungwane of the Tembus, the amaJumba, the ama-Hleke of the Xhosas.

## Tribal, District & Regional Authorities

Once the Government has re-arranged tribal groupings to suit its plans, a number of locations are amalgamated to form one Authority and people are summoned to the "Great Place" where the chief nominates from among his men those who will be in the Authority as councillors. The Native Commissioner, too, has his nominees. The people are allocated some representatives but all these Councillors must receive the final

approval of the Minister, and the official nominees outnumber those elected by the people. From the members of the tribal authorities — there can be two or more tribal authorities in each district — a district authority is elected.

Two or more districts form a Regional Authority. The senior chief in that Region becomes the head of the region and, in terms of proclamation No. 180 of 1956, such a regional chief can be made paramount over those Districts. For example Chief Victor Poto of the Western Pondos was made paramount chief of his area though in actual truth he is of the right-hand House of the Pondo tribe and junior in rank to the hereditary Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau. A similar thing has happened in Tembuland. Sabata is the hereditary Paramount Chief of all the Tembus but in terms of the proclamation, Chief Matanzima can claim and in fact is already doing so, paramountcy and complete independence of the real Paramount Chief. Chief Poto can decide with the Western Pondos what to do without consultation with Chief Botha and Chief Kayser Matanzima can do likewise with the Emigrant Tembus. These two examples show clearly how the solidarity, cohesion and oneness of big tribes has been broken down and is being split up further by these Tribal Authorities.

From the regional authority we get to the territorial authority which is formed by members of the regional authorities from all over the Transkei. These authorities then are the "People" of the Transkei with whom the Government speaks of consultation.

There are of course districts which never had hereditary Chiefs and in such districts the Government has created Paramount Chiefs to suit their purpose. Umzimkulu District for example has a regional authority on its own although there one finds a mixture of people from various tribes in one district.

## Tribal Courts

The Transkei as a whole has been divided into 9 Regions, headed by 9 Regional Chiefs. All these, irrespective

of their educational qualifications have been granted civil and criminal jurisdiction over the people in their areas. The petty Chiefs who are heads of Tribal Authorities have been given the power to try civil and criminal cases. The Regional Chiefs have jurisdiction over the smaller authorities in their areas.

Yet the court of appeal from both the tribal and regional authorities is the Native Commissioner. This is an important anomaly purposely provided so that any petty chief who is not in favour of paying allegiance to the Regional Chief can order his people to appeal to the Native Commissioner's Court. Before the advent of the Europeans, the Paramount Chief's Court was the final court of appeal from the smaller courts.

## Nine Telegrams

When this Act was still a bill being piloted through Parliament by the Minister of Native Administration and Development, senior officials of this department toured the entire Transkei to hold meetings at the Great Places of the nine regional chiefs. Their main aim was to bluff the chiefs and the regional authorities into accepting the bill. Top officials of Minister De Wet Nel's Department spoke at length in praise of the Development of Self-Government Bill.

The usual procedure was that he would then advise his listeners to send a telegram approving the Bill to the Minister. So nine telegrams were sent from the Transkei, which, by their way of thinking the Government felt had achieved a thorough consultation with the people of the Transkei.

## The New Territorial Head

As soon as the Transkei had passed the transition stage, that is from the old Bunga system to the present Bantu Authorities system, there was need, in terms of the proclamation, to replace the Chief Native Commissioner who was always the Territorial Head, with a Black man. There was a meeting of the nine regional chiefs in April to elect this

(Continued at foot of page 4)



# THE SLEEPING SICKNESS

The deportation of Mr. Henry Barzilay has taught South Africa a valuable lesson: that the Press in this country is not ready yet to defend its freedom.

Every single newspaper should have taken its stand uncompromisingly in support of Mr. Barzilay; instead, with few exceptions, they satisfied themselves with the mild rebuke that this-was-a-silly-thing-to-do.

Mr. Barzilay's misfortune was that he was a free-lance correspondent, sending his television films to an assortment of overseas companies, but not enjoying official accreditation to any one in particular.

That was why he was chosen as the first victim. As the "Rand Daily Mail" pointed out, he was vulnerable. He had no influential employer at hand to protest on his behalf.

## The Danger Signs

Any newspaper that treasured its freedom, would have spotted the danger signs immediately. Instead of being lulled into the belief that it-cannot-happen-to-me, it would have realised that the Government was working its way from the fringes inwards, and that at the centre of the target lay the mass-circulation English-language Press in South Africa.

This was elementary reasoning, but even after 11 years' of the most ferocious attacks on Press liberties, the English-language newspapers were still so smug and cosy that they could not, or would not, recognise the danger signs. Snobbishly, they decided that Mr. Barzilay was expendable.

The Foreign Correspondents' Association, too, to its eternal disgrace, abandoned Mr. Barzilay without a murmur of protest, on the grounds that he was

## THE FREE PRESS AND MR. BARZILAY

by GEORGE IRWIN

not one of their members (the principle of Press freedom, apparently, was of no concern to those trained observers of international politics); and it was left to the South African Society of Journalists and to its President to sound the note of warning.

As an example of Press apathy, it was pathetic. The whole affair has 'blown over' now and, tut-tutting over their whiskies-and-sodas, the Editors have returned to their grooves.

## Next Victims

How many more victims will the Government claim before the English-language Press decides, at last, that the attack is in earnest and that its liberty is in jeopardy?

Mr. George Clay, Africa correspondent of the London "Observer," has been refused an official identity card. A Stockholm journalist has been refused a visa. These two cases occurred at the same time as Mr. Barzilay's deportation. Mr. Clay's colleagues in the Foreign Correspondents' Association are sending a deputation to the Minister of the Interior, but if the deputation behaves in the spirit of the last Foreign

Correspondents' Association meeting, then Mr. Clay can expect little comfort from this quarter. As for the Stockholm journalist, his case has already been buried.

There is little doubt that the new anti-Press campaign is the outcome of a Cabinet decision. The Press has hinted as much. The deportations, therefore, will not stop with Mr. Barzilay.

Unless every foreign correspondent and "stringer" (part-time correspondent) has been successfully intimidated (which is unlikely), there will be more deportations. The Government will move on to bigger game. Having decided on such a drastic cure as deportation, there is no purpose in drawing the line at any particular correspondent.

Unless the foreign correspondents and "stringers" are completely naive and without backbone, they will now be regrouping their forces in preparation for the next assault, which assuredly must come.

And what about the local newspapers and their employees? They have reported the ravings of Nationalist politicians against the "Engelse pers" for more than a decade. They can have no illusions about what is in store for them. They give no indication, however, that they are worried, or that they are determined to fight for their remaining liberties.

## Lost Liberties

It must be remembered that the English-language Press in South Africa has already lost many of its liberties. Legislation is partly to blame, but auto-censorship is also a major factor. The tendency to "play safe", and to avoid "crusades" and vigorous campaigns, such as characterise newspapers which are aware of their freedom and are determined to exercise it, has made the Nationalists' job so much easier.

Unless the English-language Press in South Africa wakes up to the new threat to its freedom, and organises itself in defence of this freedom, it, too, will go the way of Mr. Barzilay — not into deportation, but into decline as one of the main bulwarks against Nationalist aggression.

For all its shortcomings, the English-language Press in South Africa has played a valuable role in the fight against Nationalist tyranny. If it organises itself, and seriously defends its freedom, it is strong enough to achieve victory. But there is no time to lose!

## NEW TRIBALISM . . . .

Continued from page 3.

Territorial Head. Prior to the election there was much manoeuvring by the N.A.D. officials for the elections of the "right man". Officials are suspicious that the Chiefs may not all toe the Government's line properly. There were four possible candidates: the two Pondo Chiefs and the two Tembu Chiefs. One of each made way and the two candidates were finally Chief Botha Sigcau and Chief Victor Poto of West Pondoland. Interestingly this was a Transkei version of a Nationalist—United Party contest because Chief Poto is

a great friend of U.P. Senator Campbell and the U.P. therefore plumped for him, while Chief Sigcau is following the bidding of the Government. In the election Chief Botha Sigcau got five votes against the four cast for Chief Victor Poto. He will hold office for one year but will be eligible for re-election as the nine rotate the office of Territorial Head among themselves. Officialdom was at ease because their man had won the rubber and they start the first official year of the new Transkei Bantu Authority with a firm hand guiding the steering wheel of the car at the head of this official convoy.

BASUTOLAND . . .

# ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS

by RUTH FIRST

With Basutoland's first elections just three months away, the only mass popular party of the territory, the Basutoland Congress Party, chief instrument and yet chief critic of Basutoland's advance to self-government is blazing away at electioneering in remote constituencies of this mountainous, inaccessible country. Simultaneously it carries on strong battle against electoral and local government machinery which not only rocks the already weighted

scales against the Congress Party, but also violates the spirit of the London talks which paved the way to this first phase of self-government.

These days critics are swift to rush in to pronounce Africans and newly independent African states "unfit" and "inexperienced" to handle "democracy." What flaws there will be in this first stage of self government in the heart of southern Africa will not be of the making of the Basuto.



NTSU MOKHEHLE  
Basutoland Congress Party.

## The Parties in the Campaign.

Best known and most important of the contending parties in the field are the Basutoland Congress Party and the Basutoland National Party, though in all six distinct groupings have emerged, some of them with seemingly little prospect of surviving for very long.

The Basutoland Progressive Association, led by Dr. Maema, is devoid of direction, yet regards itself as the intellectual elite and is hopeful of the support of Basutoland's traders.

The Marema-Tlou Party has Seepepe Matete as its leader and he is predicted to be the only candidate likely to be returned for his party since he is the chief in his constituency.

There has been talk of a Basutoland Labour Party, but little evidence of it yet in a country where there is no industry, unless those who hope to found such a party are hopeful of receiving financial backing from the British Labour Party.

Lekhotla La Bafo, the old Basutoland peasant organisation is still led by Josiel Lefela, grand old patriot who has consistently fought for the independence of his country and people. Unfortunately Lefela's leadership and activity are now almost confined to the one district of Teyateyaneng and there is little party life distinct from Lefela's campaigning. Lekhotla la Bafo has always been the champion of the rights of the commoners.

The Basutoland National Party is the child of the chieftainship (though the chieftainship is divided and many support the BCP) and the powerful Catholic Church without whose backing it would make little impact in the election campaign. Leader of the party is Chief Leabua Jonathan of whose role CONTACT (Liberal paper edited by Patrick Duncan) has written "that the Chieftainship has come out of the present constitutional discussions with so much is perhaps due to him as much as anyone." Catholic groups in Basutoland

had previously started a Christian-Democratic Party but this was abandoned and props shifted to the B.N.P. Catholic priests are reported to be openly campaigning against the Congress Party, warning congregations and school children of the dire threat to life and order Congress will bring, and using fear and superstition to build up resistance to the message of Congress speakers.

The Basutoland Congress Party (transformed into a political party from the Basutoland National Congress once the road to self rule lay open) is outpacing all comers with vigorous campaigning in the field and none of the other parties have been willing or able to challenge its policy at any of its meetings. B.C.P. leader Ntsu Mokhehle's participation in the Accra Conference and election to the council of the Pan-African movement have done much to strengthen Basutoland's ties with freedom movements in other parts of the continent and to broaden the range of BCP policy at home.

Congress has more to offer Basutoland than all the other parties put together, above all a perspective for advance from the present embryonic stages of self rule to direct elections for the Basutoland legislature on the strength of an alliance between commoners and the more advanced and democratic chiefs.



CHIEF LEABUA JONATHAN  
Basutoland National Party.



# The New Constitution

Basutoland's new constitution has now been formally approved by the British government and the country's first legislative council, to be known as the Basutoland National Council, will meet next February. Of the 80 members of the Council, 40 only are elected by indirect vote, the other half being made up of four (White) official members, 22 principal and ward chiefs and 14 chiefs nominated by the Paramount Chief.

Basutoland has been divided into 162 constituencies, forming nine administrative districts, and the successful constituency candidates will meet on nine district councils, probably in mid-January, to form the electoral colleges which will elect their 40 members of the National Council.

All tax payers over the age of 21, even Whites provided they are British subjects, who have been resident in Basutoland for at least six months will be entitled to vote in the area where they pay taxes. The voters' rolls are now being compiled by individual registration on the roll, and the summoning of mass "pitsos" where the tax register books are available for checking on those eligible to vote.

## Proxy Voting

The voters' roll is expected to total something like 195,000, of whom a large number will be Basutos working in the Union, for between one-half and one-third of the territory's adult male population is away from it at any one time.

For these Basutoland taxpayers out of their country but entitled to vote a system of proxy voting has been devised, which has proved to be one of the important pre-election bones of contention with the British administration.

Ballot papers will not bear the names of candidates to be marked with a X. Instead voters will have to drop a ballot paper into the ballot box bearing the name and identifying colour of the candidates. The many thousands of voters in the Union will have to send their voting papers to electors at home in Basutoland with a request to them to drop the voting papers in the box of the candidate they nominate, as their choice.

This system, excused by the administration as a method of avoiding the complicated procedures of a full scale postal voting organisation has come under heavy fire. It is wide open to abuse and there is no check that the wish of the voter will be carried out. It is a haphazard and hit-and-miss affair. A

proper system of postal voting might need topline organisation but it would be better to have such a system some-

# Local Government Crisis

Overshadowing the forthcoming elections, however, has been an even more important crisis which brought the two main party adversaries in the field, the BCP and the BNP, together to sign a joint memorandum to the High Commissioner. Significantly, too, four of the five members of the Basuto delegation that took part in the London negotiations for the new constitution signed this document.

The representations centred around the draft electoral laws for the country, the extension of diamond mining rights to Union prospectors, the approval of a riotous assemblies proclamation rejected by the Basutoland Council and promulgated despite its opposition; and the demand for the sacking of the Resident Commissioner, Mr. Chaplin, a South Africa.

The Draft Local Government Proclamation violates in every one of its 804 paragraphs the spirit of the London talks and the British White Paper issued as a result of them.

The laws establishing local government are a matter for the Basutoland National Council, when it meets in a few months' time, the Congress Party insists. The Cowen report envisaged the District Councils being not only electoral colleges for the National Council but also the organs of local government under the control of the National Council's Executive.

It provided for the nominated member of the Executive Council in charge of chieftainship being in charge also of local government, and provided for a Local Government Commissioner to be a liaison advisory officer to the National and District Councils; but the Commissioner of Local Government to be appointed in the draft proclamation is responsible not to the National Council or its Executive, but to the High Commissioner. The Commissioner's powers are extensive: the making of regulations to control local government finance, the approval of district council resolutions, control of the methods of election of council chairman, and a host of others. Vesting the Commissioner with such excessive powers makes him a state within a state, insists the BCP adding: There can never be two bulls in one kraal."

what imperfect than a procedure which could miscarry so grossly in the wrong hands. B.C.P. representations against this proxy voting method appear to have been rejected out of hand by the Administration.

A Commissioner with such extensive local government powers can use them to thwart the proper growth of local government in Basutoland and make nonsense of self-rule.

Pulling no punches, these objectors to the form of local government devised in the proclamation made also the demand that diamond contracts made without the consent of the people be regarded as waived, and the Resident Commissioner be removed from his post. Basutoland weighed in again with election preparations, but with an uneasy ear cocked to hear the result of the objections.

The constitutional documents would be revised, it was agreed, but barely had the detailed representations been made to the High Commissioner when it was announced that agreement had been reached "between Britain and the Basuto about draft constitutional instruments." "The Basuto" have by no means agreed, the issue is far from settled and Basutoland is still waiting for the next move from the High Commissioner.

With 40 of the 80 seats in the National Council filled by chiefs and officials before even the first election contest result the Congress Party, even if it swept the board could not form a Congress movement ruling in the heart of southern Africa. Yet already it is clear that the Congress Party will decide the pace at which Basutoland advances to fuller self-government. It is alert and on its toes to see that the spirit of the London talks is not mocked in the enactments that must give this phase of self rule reality, and in this the B.C.P. will lead not only its own members, but all patriots. And even as this constitutional advance was negotiated in the only southern African territory where the absence of white landowning rights made advance more rapid and painless than, say, in its fellow Protectorates of Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the Basutoland Congress Party was already focussing on the next step ahead. No date has yet been suggested for Basutoland's full responsible self-government but MOHLABANI editor Mr. B. M. Khaketla has already flown a kite. Why not 1968, the centenary of Basutoland's association with the British Crown, he has asked?



The Pan African Freedom Movement of East African Countries (PAFMECA) held a conference at Moshi in Tanganyika during September. We print extracts here of the opening address delivered by JULIUS NYERERE, leader of the Tanganyika African National Union.

# Independence, Only Independence

When we met at the Zanzibar Conference in April this year, a resolution was passed which was to the effect that it is the policy of PAFMECA that all the PAFMECA countries should achieve responsible government before the end of 1960. In some quarters we have heard the word 'extremism' attached to that resolution. What is all this business of extremism? Africa's impatience to govern itself is an impatience based on a principle — that nobody has a right to govern the continent of Africa, or any section of Africa, even for one minute. This is a principle. It is not a principle because we happen to be black, or we happen to live on this hot continent of Africa. It is a human principle anywhere in the world. I would be surprised if the British invited some people — invited, say, the Russians — to govern them for five minutes! I would be surprised about the British. I would say "What has happened to the British people?" Because the British are lovers of freedom. I would be surprised at any country of sane human beings either inviting another people to go and govern them, or, having conquered them or ruled them for many years, asking them to remain in their country for another five or ten more years. Now I am saying, our fight for Independence is a fight based on a principle that nobody has the slightest 'right' to govern us.

So that the natural thing, the most moderate thing, to expect from an African group is to say "Independence Now." There is no tampering with a principle. You can't tamper with a principle and say "Slavery is bad", and then say "except for the next ten years". That is perfectly absurd. So if colonialism is bad in principle, it is bad in principle.

How does it happen that we who believe this sit down and pass a resolution that we want the achievement of responsible government for our PAFMECA countries before the end of 1960? Firstly, we have in mind certain practical difficulties, and because of those difficulties we say let us achieve at least the right to govern ourselves before Independence; and we say '1960'. We would expect, in the Africa of 1959 — not the Africa of the Berlin Conference — we would expect people to appreciate that this resolution itself is moderation; that this re-

## PAFMECA Resolution on the Boycott of South African Goods

This Conference of PAFMECA held in Moshi on 9th September, 1959 in accordance with the resolution passed by the First All African Peoples' Conference at Accra in December, 1958 calling for economic sanctions against the Union of South Africa, and being aware of the steps already taken by the African National Congress in boycotting certain products and goods produced in South Africa;

DO HEREBY RESOLVE:

To call for a general boycott of all goods produced in South Africa.

To address a letter to heads of States throughout the world drawing their attention to the gross abuses to human rights currently prevalent in South Africa and calling on them to help institute a worldwide campaign of economic sanctions against South Africa.

To call on the Independent African States especially to:

- (i) Enforce economic sanctions against South Africa.
- (ii) Help African Organisations in their efforts to implement the boycott.
- (iii) Appeal through the United Nations to all nations to join in the campaign against South Africa.

To call on the Labour movements in East and Central Africa to prepare and submit a detailed plan for a boycott by all the transport unions of all goods to and from South Africa.

To call on all importers' and manufacturers' agents to support the boycott campaign by ceasing any activities that may help to market goods from South Africa in any part of East and Central Africa.

solution itself is a sign that we of this Conference here, and of the Zanzibar Conference, want to give a chance to some Doubting Thomases to see that our impatience to achieve Independence

— the right to govern ourselves — has nothing to do with driving out the Asians from Tanganyika and Kenya and Uganda; has nothing to do with driving out the Europeans from Tanganyika and Kenya or Uganda or Zanzibar, or any other PAFMECA country; that we want to prove this — if the Doubting Thomases are still doubting — while the Union Jack is still flying on our own countries. We want to show this while the staff of the Colonial Office is still there. And we want to prove it. The thing I cannot understand is for responsible people to go out and accuse us of extremism when in actual fact what we are trying to do is to convert the extremists who think we should not govern ourselves. Convert them because we believe conversion is better than coercion.

We of the older PAFMECA countries are dealing with one Colonial office. That same Colonial Office is granting responsible government to Somaliland next year. Quite frankly, that Colonial Office should tell us a fairly strong reason why they should not grant us responsible government next year; for it is the same Colonial Office. What is this big discrimination between Somaliland and the PAFMECA countries — that is Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar and all these countries here?

As to the new PAFMECA countries (that is, Ruanda-Urundi and the Belgian Congo), I think Ruanda-Urundi, as a Trust Territory, should go ahead as rapidly as any other; and the Belgian Congo — one of the richest countries in Africa — certainly cannot be accused of poverty. There is a sense in which I think we can say that the Belgian Congo is feeding Belgium; that Belgium is much more dependent on the Belgian Congo than the other way round. We cannot really say that the Belgian Congo is so economically poor that without Belgium it would collapse completely; that would be carrying an argument to absurd extremes.

Africa wanting to govern itself has nothing to do with enmity with anybody. Africans have a great sense of humour. They fight this battle knowing they are going to win. They are absolutely certain of their success. They fight it laughing and smiling, while the other chaps are getting ulcers. It doesn't

(Continued on page 16)



# THE REDISCOVERY OF AFRICA

## A FACTUAL APPRAISAL OF OUR PAST

Is the Negro a man without a past? Not many years have passed since the world outside took an affirmative answer more or less for granted: to what point, indeed, will be easily remembered by those many Africanists who watched the stubborn efforts of Melville Herskovits — and notably in his book, *The Myth of the Negro Past* — arguing that the answer should be no.

But now of recent years, in the wake of the colonial hurricane, there emerges a new approach to the whole question. It is increasingly realised that the cultural contributions of African peoples to the general history and progress of mankind were not limited to interesting works of art, whether in wood or ivory or in bronze or gold, but comprehended a wide range of political and social achievements that were none the less important or remarkable because they were ignored or little known. It is seen, indeed, that these works of art that so many Asians and Americans and Europeans have now admired were not the more or less mysterious products of a social vacuum, but, on the contrary, the ornament and attribute of early African civilisations.

This reassessment of the African past occurs when many African peoples achieve new positions of independence in the world, and when their voice begins to be heard at the United Nations headquarters and other places where governments and nations meet.

These middle years of the 20th century may be remembered for many troubles and upheavals, and for risks and dangers greater than any that humanity had ever run before; on the side of good they will also be remembered as the central years of African emancipation. And they mean, of course, much more than a purely political emancipation — much more than that some 80 million Africans, within a few years from now, will be governing themselves; they mean, as well, an intellectual and moral emancipation, a breaking down of obstacles that have stood between Africans and a sense of full equality with the rest of the world, and of barriers that have helped to isolate these African peoples from the general family of man.

### Pre-European History

Enquiry into the course of pre-European African history is an important aspect of this reassessment. It is the work of many scholars and specialists in many lands. International scholarship,

these past ten or twenty years, has joined together in a common effort to make good, as well as may be, much of the mutilation that was done to African repute through four centuries of slaving and another century of imperialist rule. And what is happening now is that the fruits of all this patient work and painstaking research are now being gathered in.

Let me offer one small but typical example. For the last twenty years the standard British work on East African history was that of Sir Reginald Coupland, who devoted some forty pages to the pre-European past. Last year one of Britain's leading university presses decided to commission a multi-volume history of British East Africa; and this will devote a whole volume to the pre-European past.

There is almost no African territory, however outwardly, silent and remote, that has failed to produce some contribution, however small, to the vivid and compelling picture of African history that is now beginning to emerge.

Some colonial governments — in British territories, notably those of Tan-

And now African scholars, working in African universities, have themselves begun to take a hand. Nothing more clearly shows the progress that is being made, and may increasingly be made, than the way in which the history of the medieval Nigerian kingdom of Benin is now being sought and written. Three years ago the British and Nigerian governments joined with the Carnegie Foundation to award a sum of £42,000 for team research into the story of medieval Benin; and the leader of this distinguished team is an African, Dr. K. Onwuka Diké of Ibadan University College.

'Homo sapiens' may first have seen the light in central or east Africa. For some thirty years now, Africa has yielded discovery after discovery revolutionising earlier concepts of the remote origins of humanity; and the work of men like Dart, Breuil and Leakey has a much more than purely African significance. What now becomes possible is to sketch the outline of the comparatively recent pre-history and history of large regions of Africa: the record, that is, of the pre-medieval and medieval centuries that came immediately before European contact and penetration.

It is this that is really new — this assertion that Africans went through successive, distinctive, and knowable phases of growth and development in the fifteen or twenty centuries before the European records of Africa become frequent and various. Reassessment of the African past, in the sense that I have spoken of, is essentially the unravelling and writing of the history of the African Metal Age in the lands that lie to the south of the Sahara desert.

### With a mastery of metals

#### came victory over Nature

Let us try and summarise the core and heart of this great matter. Late Stone Age peoples on the lower reaches of the Nile, and in nearby regions that were much more fertile then, thrust their way into history in about 3,000 B.C., when the "first dynasty" of the Pharaohs took power in the delta of the Nile. This great forward step in northernmost Africa, interwoven with the comparable achievements of peoples in the Near East and the Mediterranean, acted and reacted as the centuries went by on lands to the South and West. Its influence spread southward up the Nile and there, reacting on the peoples that it found, stimulated and helped to create the civilisation of Kush — of that renowned kingdom of Napata and Meroe

ganyika and Southern Rhodesia — have passed ordinances for the safeguarding and maintenance of ancient monuments. They have at last begun to give money, little but precious, for the subsidising of museums and research. They have begun to appoint salaried specialists in the fields of history and archaeology. In French territories the pioneering labours of M. Monod and his colleagues of the Institut Français de l'Afrique, at Dakar in Senegal, have laid bold and solid foundations in this new soil of interest and enquiry. The Emperor of Ethiopia, in a land so often barred to archaeology in the past, has shown himself magnanimous and enlightened. The Government of the Republic of the Sudan, increasingly aware of its rich inheritance from ancient Kush, has embarked on the building of what promises to be one of the greatest museums of all Africa. The government of Ghana has endowed a chair of archaeology at Accra. Such examples could easily be multiplied.

by

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REDISCOVERED"

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whose kings and queens would rule in more or less continuous succession for a thousand years after about 800 B.C.

Its influence also spread westward along the southern shores of the Mediterranean; Phoenician Carthage, founded in the ninth century B.C., helped to stimulate and create the Libyco-Berber civilisations of northern Africa. And, thirdly, these ancient civilisations of the Near East and of Egypt produced in the southernmost tip of Arabia — that Arabia of the Queen of Sheba whom Solomon knew and loved — another region of high civilisation; and from southern Arabia this civilisation of antiquity despatched its settlers and traders and warriors across the Red Sea into the Horn of Africa, and its mariners and colonists down the long east coast of what is now Somaliland, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Mozambique.

These pioneers and their mastery of metal-working and of other material techniques did not move into a void. They moved into a land that was peopled then, if thinly, by several branches of the human family to which anthropologists have awarded the names of Bushman, Negrillo, Hottentot, Negro and Hamite. Now the origins of these people of continental Africa are obscure and confused. They too, apparently, had moved southward across the continent, coming perhaps from outside it, in centuries beyond calculation.

Probably the Bushmen and the Negrillos — the pygmies — were the first of all the surviving peoples of Africa to inhabit the land. Some of them survive today in a more or less Stone Age simplicity: there are groups of pygmies in the central forests of the Congo, and Bushmen in the wastes of the Kalahari, who live only by hunting and fishing and collecting food.

Perhaps the Hottentots whom the earliest Dutch settlers would find at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 — were the next to arrive. At some time after about 5,000 B.C. — but nothing of this is clearly known — the people who we know as Negro and Hamite began to emerge, multiply, and follow the earlier migrants in a generally southward direction. As they wandered across the continent these later peoples, often mingling with earlier peoples whom they found, worked out new ways of living. They invented tropical agriculture. They began to settle and raise new crops.

At a time that was shortly before or after the beginning of the Christian era these peoples of the southern continent began to mine and smelt iron, and to make more efficient tools and weapons; and with this they acquired a new and, as it would prove, revolutionary control over the material environment in which they lived.

## The Last 2,000 Years

It is from about this time — from about 2,000 years ago — that the peoples of the continental heart of Africa begin to multiply and form their present major groupings.

It is from then that the the largest of all of Africa's existing human groups begins to spread into and populate the empty or near-empty forests and savannahs. This group is called the Bantu; but the term has little or no racial significance, being a linguistic term for all these many peoples who speak a closely related language. Racially the Bantu are the product of intermingling over long periods of time between Negro and Hamite and Bushman and Hottentot. Physically, therefore, they vary greatly among themselves; but all their languages go back, more or less obviously, to a common root. We do not know the origins of this root.

Thus it is the last 2,000 years that emerge as the formative period of most of the peoples of continental Africa. This is the period of their Iron Age. Some authorities prefer to call this their Metal or Palaeometallic Age, because, although knowledge of ferrous metallurgy was the decisive influence, African peoples also knew the working of several other minerals, including gold and copper and tin. In time, too, some of them worked extensively in brass and bronze; but they never knew, as ancient Asia and Europe had known, a Bronze Age that made a long distinctive period of development before their Iron Age.

Now it is in studying this Metal Age — or, more narrowly, the fifteen or sixteen centuries before European contact along the coast — the present research is principally and dramatically engaged. Advancing along three different but related lines, history and archaeology and anthropology now begin to bring their findings together and to offer a coherent picture that was invisible only a handful of years ago.

Anthropology in its wide sense — comprehending the study of language and institutions — has embarked on a systematic recording of the oral history of a significant number of African peoples. Archaeology has at last turned its attention to some of the major site-regions of the continent. And history, working against the background of this growing knowledge has renewed its study of written sources, which, for the medieval period, are mainly in Arabic, Portuguese, English and Chinese.

New translations — edited with the new and fuller knowledge of the past twenty years — are now being published or prepared of several classic works, such as the first century A.D. *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (in Britain) and the 16th century writings on the Western Sudan of Leo Africanus (in France).

The Central African Archives is collaborating with Arquivo Historico de Mozambique in the editing and publication of some 15,000 hitherto unpublished documents from the libraries of Goa, Lisbon, and the Vatican; and these, when they finally appear, should throw much new light on early European contacts. Joseph Needham, in his monumental study of the history of science in China, has meanwhile devoted part of his sixth volume — due for publication in the not distant future — to Chinese maritime technology, and in so doing, has shown how great was the Chinese contribution to that Indian Ocean trade which had its western terminals on the East African coast.

African archaeology has had important successes in the past few years. Mauny and Thomassey have gone far towards completing the excavation of the ancient city of Kumbi Saleh, probable site of the capital of medieval Ghana. Lebeuf and Masson-Detourbet have uncovered the remarkable bronze-using civilisation of the Sao people of early medieval Chad. Vercoutter, in the Sudan, has completed a preliminary list of sites of the imposing civilisation of Kush. Other French specialists have continued the investigation of early Ethiopia.

In East Africa, Mathew and Freeman-Grenville have listed ancient and medieval sites on the coast of Kenya and Tanganyika, while Kirkman has excavated the late medieval ruins of Gedi, near the Kenyan port of Malindi. Further to the north, in Italian Somaliland, Cerulli and Grottanelli have thrown important light on early settlements and migrations on the coast and coastal islands. Throughout this large region there is good hope of progress, if funds are forthcoming, not only of writing the history of the coastal cities and trading stations which flourished in pre-European times, but also of discovering much more about the nature of their suppliers and markets in the hinterland.

## Findings of History and Archaeology

Coins and durable imports such as china offer hopeful means of dating these many stone ruins of the coast and interior. "I have never in my life," remarked Sir Mortimer Wheeler after a fortnight's visit to Tanganyika in 1955, "seen so much broken china as I have seen in the past fortnight along the coast here and the Kilwa Islands: literally, fragments of Chinese porcelain by the shovelful . . . In fact, I think it is fair to say that as far as the Middle Ages are concerned, from the tenth century onwards, the buried history of Tanganyika is written in Chinese porcelain."

To the southward there is fresh effort at uncovering the story of another great complex of stone ruins — forts and huts and vast hillside terrace systems — that stretch over several thousands of square miles in Southern Rhodesia and neighbouring lands. Summers has lately completed an initial survey of the stone ruins of Inyanga on the Rhodesian-Mozambique border; and now, with Ro-

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*Eighteen months ago, we published in these columns an impassioned attack by France's greatest living writer, Jean Paul Sartre, on the systematic torture of Algerian patriots. "In 1943" wrote Sartre, "in the Rue Lauriston (Paris headquarters of the Gestapo), Frenchmen were screaming in agony and pain; all France could hear them. In those days, one thing seemed impossible in any circumstances: that one day men should be made to scream by men acting in OUR name.*

*"There is no such word as impossible" wrote Sartre. "In 1958, in Algiers, people are tortured systematically and regularly. Everyone knows this is so, but almost no one talks of it. At most a few thin voices trickle through the silence. France is almost as mute as during the Occupation, but then she had the excuse of being gagged."*

## There is no excuse — for torture!

Eighteen months. And in that time, despite the thin trickle of French voices raised in protest, the torture has spread from the jails of Algeria to the jails of France. There is no such word as impossible.

There is a group of Algerian students awaiting trial in a French prison. Their testimony of the tortures used against them has been published in a book called *Gangrene*. The book has been seized and banned by the French Government, but still it circulates under the counter. In it they charge that they were tortured in Paris police headquarters, under the orders of and in the presence of Director of Police Wybot. They charge the same foul sadism that Henri Alleg charged against his jailers in Algeria — electrodes fixed to their genitals, heads immersed in water mixed with urine, merciless beatings — against which Sartre cried out so forcefully. One hundred metres from the jail lives President de Gaulle, who speaks of the 'peace of the brave' and remains silent in the face of torture. His trusty Minister Debré dismisses *Gangrene* as "a dishonest fairy tale without the slightest vestige of truth." And Police Chief Wybot has

managed for the fourth time, to postpone the trial of the students who were arrested in December of 1958. He knows that in court the accused will become the accusers.

Nothing is impossible, — not in a dirty war. On May 22nd, Lawyer Ould Aouida, Algerian, member of Parliament and one of the lawyers for the students of *Gangrene*, was shot and killed as he left his office. Aouida was no stranger to political torture. Almost a year before, he had defended a worker who complained of beatings and torture by electricity and water in the Paris suburb of Argenteuil while held by the police for "questioning." Afterwards he had written to Minister Malraux: 'Since you propose that Francois Mauriac and Albert Camus go to Algeria to inquire about torture, may I suggest that they simply go to . . . the police commissariat at Argenteuil?' The morning after Aouida's murder, seven other lawyers due to appear with him in defence of the *Gangrene* students received identical letters saying 'YOU TOO'; the letters were numbered from two to eight. There was no number one. There have been no arrests.

"During the war" wrote Sartre, "when the English radio and the clandestine press spoke of the massacre at Oradour, we watched the German soldiers walking inoffensively down the street, and would say to ourselves: 'They look like us. How can they act as they do?' And we were proud of ourselves for not understanding.

"Today we know there was nothing to understand. The decline has been gradual and imperceptible. But now when we raise our heads and look into the mirror we see an unfamiliar and hideous reflection: ourselves."

That was eighteen months ago. The decline has been gradual and imperceptible, the war in Algiers is producing the new Gestapo, with the rubber truncheons, the whips, racks and finger-nail pincers, with torture and murder as its weapons of terror. The thin voices of protest and outrage cannot halt the decline. It is time for the world to save France from its shame and Algeria from its hell by demanding more strongly than ever that the 'dirty war' be stopped, that France negotiate with the Algerian government.

L.B.

### REDISCOVERY . . . .

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binson, is working on the foundations of the great walls at Zimbabwe in the hope of finding out whether those tall ruins were built on the site of a previous and more humble culture, or whether the first settlers were also those who built so well in stone. A full list of all the sites that archaeologists have looked at in the past twenty years or so, and are looking at now, would fill many pages.

Africans will play an increasingly big part in discovering the truth of their own past. Yet this great task will remain an international endeavour. Occasional conferences on African pre-history and history have proved, over the past few years, how much can be gained from the pooling of knowledge and the wide discussion of problems. They have stimulated public interest, and helped to create an atmosphere that is favourable to more intensive research.

Even so, we are only at the beginning of this search for the history of pre-medieval and medieval Africa. Beyond the barriers of ignorance we may glimpse an historical landscape that is thick with cities or strong stone settlements and loud with the din of ports and ocean-going shipping, that glitters with old armies and the pomp of states and empires and is restless with the rise and fall of dynasties and powers.



A Reply To Some Critics

# NEHRU: The Prisoner In His Own House

by A. M. KATHRADA

There always have been, and probably always will be, people who will seize on any stick with which to beat the Congress movement. Latest attempt by the weekly "Indian Opinion", claiming to be acting as Indian patriots, as carriers of the Indian national tradition, and supporters of Pandit Nehru, is to use the border dispute between India and China as their stick. Why, they ask, does the Natal Indian Congress, not speak out in anger against the Chinese actions in Bhutan and Sikkim? They suggest that the Natal Indian Congress is setting out in opposition to the Nehru policy and thus to the main stream of Indian opinion.

These people distort the policy and position of Nehru. They view affairs not with Nehru's eyes, nor with the eyes of the mass of Indian people here or in India, but with the eyes of the extreme right-wing faction in the Indian National Congress. No one can ignore the fact that such a faction exists.

It draws its strength from amongst the wealthy classes of India, from those sections who hate and resent the development of state enterprises in the economic life of the country, from those who resist and oppose every attempt at land and agricultural reform, from those who would like India to develop internally as another of the great states of private enterprise such as we have seen in the hey-days of capitalism in the west.

Nehru and his supporters have made their aims clear. They see for India a type of socialist future. They work for the development, side by side with private enterprise, of a vast state or "public" sector of industry; they seek the reform of landed privileges and some measure of redistribution of the land; they aim at the upliftment of the masses from their poverty and ignorance and oppression; in a word — the 'welfare state.'

In the end, these views are irreconcilable; one or other must prevail. But for the time being these two views of India's future are contained within a single Congress Party, headed by Nehru but powerfully influenced by the right wing. Those who refer so glibly to the Nehru Government's policy would do well to remember this division, which shows itself in every critical decision of

the Government and of the Congress Party. It has revealed itself, for example, in the startling contrast between the government's agricultural reform programme on paper, and its achievements in reality. The good intentions have been stultified by right-wing opposition and obstructionism. On paper, India should be well on the way to prosperity; in practice vast parts of the country are on the edge of starvation, endemic famine and food rioting.

## Kerala

The same division revealed itself yet more clearly in the events leading to the suspension of the properly elected and constituted government of the State of Kerala. The Kerala agitation and violence against the Communist administration started with the right-wing of Kerala itself — with the Catholic hierarchy of the state whose grip on the educational system was threatened by reform measures. It rapidly extended into an all-out assault on the administration's agricultural reform measures and its measures to end communalism. At a press conference on June 10th, Pandit Nehru stated that he was entirely opposed to school picketing in Kerala or elsewhere, that he was disturbed at the communal feeling being whipped up by the anti-government agitation, that he opposed any unconstitutional action to overthrow a constitutionally elected Ministry. This, if anything, represents the "Nehru line." But not all the Congress party toe that line. Inspired by the right wing, Congress elements in Kerala joined in the violent campaign to overthrow the Government; pressed by the right wing, Nehru acquiesced in their actions; finally, dragooned by the right wing, Nehru called upon the President to sign the Proclamation destroying the Ministry in Kerala, and thus undermining the whole democratic and constitutional basis of the Indian state. Six weeks before, he had declared:

"So far as I am concerned I do not propose nor intend nor look forward to nor expect Governments falling down except through normal democratic processes."

But in this, as in many other things, Nehru is not a completely free agent; he is also the agent of his party, and sometimes, the prisoner of its extreme right wing.

## Western Bloc

The divisions of right from left in the Congress Party show themselves even more clearly in the field of foreign relations. The Nehru Government has

founded its foreign policy on the basis of peaceful and friendly relations with other countries, on the Panchsheel "five principles" of peaceful co-existence — on agreement with Peoples' China. It has doggedly refused to be drawn into any military blocs, or into any military adventures. But such a policy does not suit the book of the Congress right wing. The right wing has powerful ties abroad. It has financial and economic ties with foreign imperialism, especially American. It looks to American financial aid for the development of the "private sector" of Indian economy, and also as an alternative to the aid from neutral or socialist countries with which Nehru seeks to develop the "public sector."

Those who accept — or wish to accept — American economic aid must accept also the policies and commitments which — in American eyes — makes them fit for aid. Willingly or unwillingly, the Indian right wing has been prepared to accept it; it has been prepared — in the teeth of popular opposition — to accept American bases on Indian territory. It has been prepared, despite popular opposition, to lend itself to the adventurists of the "cold war" against the socialist countries and especially against China. For its purposes, Tibet and the border dispute with China have come as grist to the mill.

## Sharp Contrast

No one who takes the trouble to follow what really happened over these two issues can fail to be struck by the stark contrast between Nehru's generally sober and statesmanlike approach to both, and the hysterical, violent and warlike tones of the right wing and its press, such as the "Times of India." One does not have to share Nehru's views of the Tibetan issue nor his view of the Kerala troubles, nor of the border dispute with China and with much of what he had to say one can differ. But his approach to both Tibet and Bhutan was that of the statesman following out his own proclaimed policy of settling by negotiation disputes between nations. On the other hand, his critics of the right wing have approached both issues as a means to stirring up discord and a warlike situation between India and China, and furthering the cold war encirclement of China by hostile states.

This article does not here debate the  
(Continued on next page)



**NEHRU . . . .**

(Continued from previous page)

whole of either of these issues, but the truth about Nehru's policy on these matters must be rescued from the distortions and half truths that have been put about by the right wing. In a debate in the Indian Parliament, Nehru lashed critics who called for a show of force on the matter of Tibet. He defended the 1954 agreement, whereby India recognised that Tibet forms part of China.

"I have no doubt in my mind" he said, "that the agreement we made with China with regard to Tibet was a right agreement, and we shall stand by it . . . There is no question of that agreement having been broken. It lasts; it functions", and later in the same debate: "The question arises whether we should adopt that (cold war) technique or not . . . I think that neither that policy nor that way of expression which may be called the cold war expression is right for our country. I cannot judge of what is happening in Tibet. I do not have the facts, neither does anybody in this House, except broadly some odd fact here and there . . . It is a matter of considerable consequence that China and India should be friends, should be co-operative. It does not mean that they should go the same path, but they should not cross in each others way; they should not be hostile to each other; it is neither good for India nor China." He attacked vigorously those in his own party, for example, who suggested calling an international conference to take steps against China, and to restore the old order in Tibet.

**Unwilling Ally**

This is one side of the picture. But there is of course another; that is the side in which Nehru is dragged, no doubt unwillingly, into the intrigues and anti-Chinese, anti-peace manoeuvres of the right wing. It is of this other side that the Chinese 'People's Daily' remarked:

"Nehru on the one hand obviously has major contradictions with many disreputable characters in that alliance (of the U.S. State Department, Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai Chek and India's reactionary Praja socialists and Jan Sangh parties.) and understands their plots and tricks detrimental to India, and to Sino-Indian friendship and to Nehru himself; on the other hand he has involuntarily been pushed by that alliance into an important role in their so-called sympathy-with-Tibet movement, enabling them to look on with glee like someone watching tigers fight from a hill-top."

In regard to the border dispute with China over Bhutan and Sikkim, looked at objectively from this distance, there seems to be little in this dispute to merit the ferocious and warlike headlines, the threats of war and armed conflict which have characterised the Indian — and equally the South African — press

handling of the matter. One can accept that there are people of both Chinese and Indian origin in the area in question, that both the Indian and the Chinese governments have strong claims to those areas, that the McMahon Line demarcates the frontier in such a way that the disputed areas fall within India's borders.

Yet the dispute should be capable of easy and peaceful solution, provided there is willingness to negotiate on both sides. On China's side, let it be remembered that the McMahon Line was imposed as a result of British armed force; it was never accepted by the Chinese government; at no time did the people of the area itself state their opinion, which, in the long run should be the thing that must decide the matter.

The world press, taking its "news" from reporters many miles away from the area screamed hysterically of "aggression." Far less publicity has been given to less spectacular, less "newsworthy" topics. Little attention has been paid to Chou-En-Lai's proposal that the status quo remain in the whole area — that is Indian suzerainty — until such time as the whole frontier can be formally delimited by agreement after proper survey.

Subject to pressure from the vocal right-wing and its international colleagues, Nehru temporised at first. "Rashly Nehru used the word 'aggression' to describe Chinese movements on the North-east frontier" writes the New Statesman. "He quickly substituted the words 'incursion' and 'intrusion into Indian territory' and added that he could not say what lay behind these moves, but could not imagine that they were precursors to anything more serious! Naturally, the world press seized on the word that implies a deliberate act of war, and did not notice the subsequent correction."

Once again, Mr. Nehru's statesmanship contrasts sharply with the hysterical war-mongering and chauvinism of his right-wing party colleagues. It has been this calm refusal to depart from the policy of the Panchsheel that has managed, despite all the right wing provocation, sabre-rattling and calls for military action to reduce the dispute to its real proportions — a minor disagreement on which agreement can and will be reached by negotiation.

**Prison Without Bars**

This article is not written to apportion blame to either the Indian Government or the Chinese but to make the point that everyone who wants to understand Indian affairs must realise Nehru

is not a free agent. He is to some extent a prisoner in his own house, locked in unholy matrimony with an extremely reactionary right-wing faction, who seek at every turn to drag him and his Government into all the reactionary military manoeuvres and intrigues of the cold war. Nehru still controls the allegiance of the majority of the Congress Party. But, looking back on his Kerala action, on his facing-both-ways policy over Tibet, and even on the martial undertones of Indian government action on the border dispute, there can be little doubt that the right wing succeeds to some extent.

The tragedy of Mr. Nehru's position at the moment is that he is a prisoner in his own house. It may well be that that prison is of his own making; he has chosen to rule in alliance with the right wing, with Indian reaction, because the only alternative is rule in alliance with the great rising force of Indian Communism which he dislikes and distrusts even more. Let that be as it may. The people of India will find their own way to solve these problems in the future.

But the mischievous editorial writers in this country who seek to tie the Indian Congress to the aims and actions of the right wing in India are trying to make of the Congress movement a prisoner of the right-wing, as it tries to make Nehru a prisoner in his country. When the Indian right wing sets out on a campaign of anti-Chinese provocation and of cold war intrigue, they want the South African Indian Congress to follow, just as they want Nehru to follow. When the right wing in India sets out on a campaign of constitutional disruption under the slogans of anti-Communism, they want the South African Indian Congress, as they want Nehru, to follow.

The critics of the Natal Indian Congress, though they claim the mantle of Nehru, speak on behalf of those who seek to capture and imprison him. Through the bitterest years of anti-Indian persecution in this country, Congress has survived in strength as an alliance between all groups and ideologies; it has survived because it has firmly refused to become, at any stage, the creature and the weapon of any single faction to be used to undermine and oust the other.

It should not depart from that road now, and be misled into joining in the factional cold-war actions of right wing groups. Congress can go forward on the principles it has always held — the principles of peaceful settlement of international disputes, the principles of unity of the Indian people for their common liberation, no hysteria, no cold war adventurism.



## The Shape of the New Africa

We may reasonably expect a writer on African nationalism to show an awareness not only of its origin and growth, but also, and more especially, of its prospects and aspirations. For African nationalism is an accomplished fact. It has already become the dominant political force in most of the continent. Where Black people rule, they have to find answers to pressing questions: how to raise living standards, abolish illiteracy and ill health, weld tribal groups into nations, develop human and natural resources.

### Conventional Themes

Mr. Sithole does not answer these questions; he hardly comes to the point of asking them. Being a Rhodesian, his thinking is clouded over by the tensions and conflicts between White and Black people that typify the societies of Eastern and Southern Africa. He is mainly concerned with the issues that are familiar to us in the country of apartheid: is African nationalism racialistic, communistic, satanic; are Africans fit to govern themselves; will they respect the claims of White minorities; can they be trusted to rule democratically?

These are the questions that White

people ask. Mr. Sithole's book has been written to reassure them, as well as to state the case for African freedom and independence. He tries to comfort them by explaining that tribal governments were essentially democratic, that African nationalism 'is strongly undergirded by Christian principles', that 'Africa needs the friendship of the West', and that Providence sent colonial powers to Africa to inoculate the people with such antidotes as now render them 'immune against the communist virus that is threatening freedom with extinction'.

This is conventional but not clear thinking. Mr. Sithole would have been more convincing if he had given his mind to the kind of society that he hopes to emerge after Africans have taken over the controls. It is certain that neither tribal tradition nor Christian ethics will provide a solution to the social and economic problems that every African government must face.

### Key Problem

The main problem is one of stimulating economic growth in an underdeveloped territory, and the choice lies between capitalist and socialist methods, or some variation of the two systems. Africans

will have to decide whether to undergo the hardship and disruption of an industrial revolution such as Europe experienced during the 19th century, or to find a quicker and less painful form of progress under a socialised economy. Much evidence has been accumulated to support the conclusion arrived at by the Indian economist K. S. Gill after a first-hand study of China:

'In an underdeveloped country, genuine socialist transformation of the economy thus emerges even more as an instrument of accelerated economic growth than of social equality. It appears to be about the only way in which the full weight of surplus manpower can be thrown into capital formation and other spheres of national construction'.

It is necessary to add that the adoption of a socialist solution would not, as Mr. Sithole fears, oblige Africa 'to trade the present European imperialism for Russian communism'. An African nationalist ought to have enough confidence in his people to believe that they are capable of evolving their own kind of socialism.

Dr. H. J. SIMONS.

**AFRICAN NATIONALISM**, by Ndaningi Sithole. Published by Oxford University Press. Price: 13s.6d.

## World without War

Our world is dominated by two great problems: the scourge of war and the grinding poverty of the great majority of people.

The contrasts are there for all to see. The achievements of science could transform the world out of all recognition, or make possible the destruction of our civilisation and life itself. Every rocket which burns itself out in the cosmos could build homes for 500 needy families. While jets soar above us and satellites encircle the earth the great bulk of the population of the world's cities travel in dreary overcrowded transport to their monotonous jobs. The average United States citizen has an income 10 times that of the average citizen of the world and 100 times that of the average Indian. While nuclear power and electronic automation usher in a new technical and scientific revolution in the highly industrialised countries, countries in Africa and Asia newly emerged to independence, struggle to raise the economic standard of villagers living at bare subsistence level.

### Two Problems: One Solution

Many books have been published on these two themes. Some deal with the risk of atomic war and with the domination of Cold War politics by the hydrogen bomb and arms blocs; others with the gross economic disparity between countries and the evidence that the gap is widening and not narrowing.

J. D. Bernal, eminent scientist, British physicist renowned for his research in crystallography and the origin of life, fellow of the Royal Society, and at the same time a socialist who has never been able to separate his responsibilities as a scientist from those as a citizen, sees these two problems with a single solution.

The 90,000 million dollars spent each year on the Cold War is more than is needed for the most rapid practicable advance of all underdeveloped countries. Malnutrition could be eradicated on a world scale within three years at a cost of one-third of the present annual United States arms bill or half again the amount now being paid to American farmers not to grow crops so as to stave off the capitalist problem of over-production. (New Statesman, April 4, 1959.)

By the year 2000 the population of the world will be over 10,000 million. Stopping the waste of the world's resources and manpower could mean that this abundance of people need not starve but be able to live abundantly.

### Second Industrial Revolution

For the major part of Bernal's book is devoted to scientific and technical achievements that open the way to transforming the world. Within little more than a generation all mankind could advance to the highest standard of living yet reached.

The second Industrial Revolution embarked upon by science carries with it far greater hope for humanity than the first industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. It is now possible to raise the standard of living of the most backward areas of the world without any diminution in the standards in the economically most advanced areas. The advance of science, industry and agriculture hold the key to this new economic revolution, and the chapters on these aspects are among the most enthralling in the book.

### One World

Bernal writes as a socialist, not mincing words on the causes of war and poverty and colonialism.

But we live in a world, he says, where two different economic systems, socialism and capitalism, will have to get along for a longer or shorter time.

Any attempt for one system to conquer the other by military means could be successful only with a destruction that would make the conquest entirely meaningless.

The two systems must stand to be judged by their merits: by what they can give the peoples of the world, and already Soviet and Chinese experience illuminate the speed with which large backward countries can be transformed.

### Economic Advance in the Colonies

Indeed, perhaps the most impressive chapters in the book for the people of Africa are those devoted to the economic problems of countries just emerging from colonialism. Their rate of economic growth will depend on how soon they can set up industrial bases. These bases imply the ability to produce all the basic raw materials — the coal, the steel, the aluminium, the power — and to process an engineering industry capable of producing machines, machine tools, vehicles, and heavy contracting plant largely from local raw materials. In addition there is needed a heavy chemical industry, fibres and plastics; a light chemical industry and an electronics industry. In the world today there are only ten such centres — in the United States, in Britain, France, Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union. There is room in the world at the moment for 35 such major centres and some are already on the way to being formed, as in China and India; others like those in the Congo and Rhodesia are still in the state of complete colonial exploitation and will only develop fully when this is removed.

The capital needed for the transformation of the world exists. The old in-

(Continued on page 14)



# The Immorality Act: A Biologist's View

by DR. EDWARD ROUX

It is not certain whether the recent spate of prosecutions under the Immorality Act (Why should "immorality", apply only to sex, and why should certain acts be immoral only when committed between members of different races?) is due to more active snooping by the police or to an actual increase in the number of offences, or to both. In any case it is clear that sexual relations between Europeans and Non-Europeans continue to occur on quite a large scale. However vigilant the police may be, they would, from the nature of things, be unable to discover the majority of cases where sexual contact occurs across the colour line. We must conclude that the Act has not been the deterrent it was intended to be.

The biologist regards all men as belonging to a clearly-defined zoological Linnaean species. A species in this sense is a group of animals more or less similar in character, clearly marked off from other related species and capable of producing fertile offspring. There is no doubt about the interfertility of all the nations of men. When an interbreeding group can be divided, on the basis of physical characters, into subgroups, these latter are known as races. Races are thought of by Darwinians as being in fact potential species. They have arisen as a result of isolation, and if this isolation continues they will eventually cease to be interfertile. But this would take a very long time, probably hundreds of thousands or even millions of years. Modern man probably only began to differentiate into different races in comparatively recent times, probably during the last fifty thousand years or so. Furthermore isolation was only temporary. The horse, the boat and, later, power-driven vehicles on land, sea and air, have brought men together again. Even in prehistoric times there is evidence of continued movement and mixtures of peoples. In the modern world these movements have affected all the continents.

Effective interbreeding between closely related animal species may be prevented by intersterility. If mating occurs, fertilisation does not always follow. However in some cases there is evidence that there are instinctive barriers to mating, the male of one species not being sexually stimulated by the female of a different species, and vice versa. This is probably the case with

lions and tigers (both species of the genus *Felis*). Under natural conditions the two species seldom meet and if they meet mating would not occur. However when they are confined in cages copulation may occur with resulting fertile offspring.

In man there are no inhibitions based on instinct which would prevent the mating of members of the different races. Differences of colour, language, culture or social class provide no obstacles to the driving urge of sex. The reason why sexual impulses are so urgent is of course quite clear. Every individual (with the exception of some doubtful cases found in mythology and scripture) has been conceived as a result of a sexual process. Individuals who lack sexual potency, particularly males, beget no offspring. Thus natural selection ensures that sexual desires shall be strong and as characteristic of human beings as of other animals.

So much is obvious. How do these facts bear on the Immorality Act? This is legislation aimed at preventing sexual relations between two groups of people occupying the same country and closely associated in industry, in agriculture and in the home. On the face of it, the prohibition would be difficult to enforce. There are, however, certain special features in the South African situation which make intercourse between European men and Non-European women practically inevitable.

It is well known that every society provides, either overtly or implicitly, some sort of outlet, in addition to marriage, for the sexual drives of its males. Prostitution, though publicly frowned on, is in fact considered essential in all the countries of the West. In countries like England, where the sexes are not rigidly segregated, prostitution is under legal restriction and brothels are illegal. In Portugal, where you cannot take a girl to a cinema or a dance unless you are engaged to her and a chaperone goes with you, prostitutes are publicly licensed.

In South Africa, prior to the passing of the immorality acts, the majority of prostitutes were Non-Europeans. This was because the great majority of such women always come from the poorer sections of the community. In most cases it is economic pressure which forces a girl on to the streets. When the Tielman Roos Act of 1927 made ex-

tra-marital relations illegal between Africans and Europeans, it left the Coloured and White prostitutes in possession of the legal field. The new laws now in force exclude the Coloured also. The monopoly thus conferred on the White prostitute (this logical extension of the principle of the colour bar in industry) may have increased the demand for her services. But quite clearly, under conditions of economic expansion and the virtual disappearance of poor-whiteism, there can be no supply of White girls to equal the demand. Inevitably illicit sex relations between White men and Non-White women must continue, whatever the penalties may be.

It is sometimes asked: "Why should African women prove so attractive to so many South African Whites, if not as wives then as concubines?" We are told that it is only the "lowest type" of White man who is interested in African women. One notes that wealthy farmers, ministers of religion, schoolmasters and members of the civil service (some of them quite high up) are among those who have been charged in the courts. Of course in every case there will be special features, but it has been said by those who are connoisseurs in such matters that African women have something that their European sisters often lack. If this is so we shall discover an additional reason why the Act is proving so ineffective in spite of the severe penalties and the social opprobrium suffered by those who are found out.

## WORLD WITHOUT WAR . . . .

(Continued from page 13)

ustrialised and new underdeveloped countries need one another for their economies could be complementary. The surplus capital of the industrialised world could set going the economic revolution in the rest of the world and Bernal argues that it would pay capitalist countries as a whole, though not individual firms, to invest in the future of the underdeveloped countries, for once the standard of living in the latter begins to rise and industrialisation pays off, they would provide an enormous market, not only for further production goods but also for consumer goods which could be afforded by all instead of only a wealthy elite as now.

OPERATION PLENTY is on our doorstep, says Bernal. It is the great sequel to a world without war.

WORLD WITHOUT WAR, by J. D. Bernal. Published by Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. Price: 25s.



# Hitting the Moon

by DR. R. E. PRESS

It is all very well being moonstruck by the newest triumph of science, but what is there in it for you and me? How will it help mankind as a whole to go flying off into space?

Man has been looking into the world around him for quite some time and as the years have passed has found out more and more about himself and the things about him. Over the centuries we have found out more and more about the real world. We have dived into the oceans, climbed mountains, and generally taken control of things.

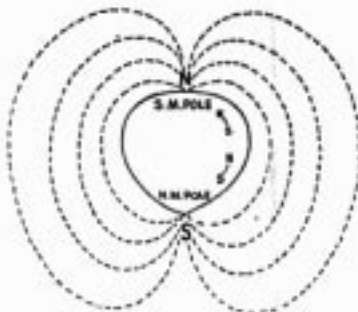
## Can A Fish See Everest?

But there has been one severe limitation on all our investigations. We have been limited to less than 5 miles down and about 60 miles up. We have been able by means of instruments to probe the depths of space and the interior of atoms. We have been able to control the processes of nature and put them to use, but in all these things our instruments and indeed we ourselves have had to be firmly bounded by 5 miles down and 60 miles up. Well that is not so bad, you say. But how nice it would be to get a bird's eye view of ourselves.

It is true that we have done quite well in finding out about things about us but it is when it became so important to find out about the world we live on that it became more important to be able to have a look at it from the outside. A fish who cannot leave the water will never know the snows of Everest.

## Unlocking the Secrets

When you are lost and you want to know the way north you take a look at your compass. The little needle hanging from its middle has a persistent desire to point in one direction — something like Congress which always points to freedom. The needle is a magnet. The earth on which it rests is also a magnet. So just as all good men seek out a woman, so the north pole of the



needle seeks out the south pole of the Earth's magnet. Do not be confused that the Earth's north pole is really a south magnetic pole. It is all a question of names.

So you can see that it becomes important for the traveller to be sure that the Earth as a magnet will behave itself and that its magnetic poles will not go wandering about and leading his compass astray. Unfortunately the earth's magnetic poles do wander about. At some places the deviations are very strong, owing to large masses of certain minerals, such as mountains of iron ore, and at other places owing to oil, underground lakes, or unknown causes. These local or general deviations are of supreme importance since it turns out that they can be a nuisance to travellers but of great assistance to those explorers for minerals and oil, the geologists.

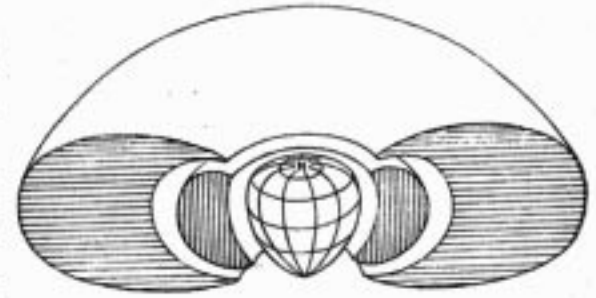
There are also sudden and unexplained changes. These we shall talk about later.

Of course if the Earth's magnet is so important, it becomes very necessary to try to find out what makes it into a magnet. There are many theories. Some say that the secret is locked in the interior of the earth. Others say that the magnetism comes from electric currents which revolve about the Earth, or that the currents referred to are caused by the magnetism.

Anyway, you can see that if we could measure the electric currents we would be in a position to go into the matter further. If we could measure the earth's magnetism at greater distances from its surface we could map the effects of the magnetic field and find out more about it. That task has been successfully undertaken by the various research rockets both from Russia and other countries. The Russians have perhaps given one great fact to the scientists of the world, that the moon has apparently no magnetic field. Very significant?

## Doughnuts Round the Earth

The various currents have been measured. These have been found to be complex phenomena and it seems that the earth has two giant doughnuts circling it. Much as a child who takes an inflated inner tube with it into the swimming bath. Only there are two, one inside the other. The Earth's north and south poles stick out at either end.



These belts of electric current are much affected by streams of charged particles which are thrown out by the Sun from time to time. The result is sudden, and now explainable, fluctuations in these currents. Does this account for the changes talked about previously?

You can see that already we are learning something from these experiments which affect the everyday lives of the people. But let us go into these electric currents a bit further. After all that has been said about dangerous radiation from X-rays, atomic explosions, cosmic rays, and so on it is important to know what is happening to us now here on earth. Are we liable to suffer from deformities caused by what the biologists call mutations?

## Rays Streaming Down

From outer space minute particles, which can only be investigated by their effects, come pouring down on to the earth. Compare an elephant and the hunter's bullet which hits it. Well if we take the bullet to be hunted by another particle, then this new particle is something like what they call a micro-meteorite. It travels at great speed and is very small. It can just be seen in our powerful microscopes. Well if we imagine this particle being hunted yet again by another particle with even greater speed then we are getting near to the size and speed of these particles called cosmic rays.

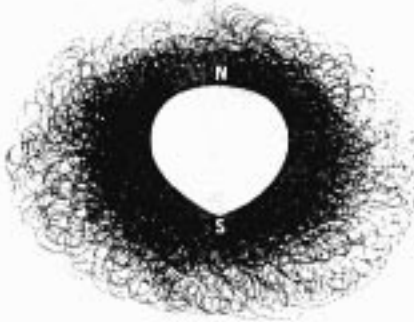
Of course this is very rough but imagine streams of these pouring down on the Earth and being captured by the molecules of the air which surround us. They strike with such speed that the air becomes charged. Strike a rock with a flint and sparks fly. These secondary charged particles get captured by the magnetic field of the Earth and like a straw in a whirlwind go spinning around and around.

There you have your two doughnuts



which we spoke about. The charged particles which we mentioned in the last paragraph are supposed to be the outer doughnut. The inner ~~zone~~ has not yet been investigated enough to know where it originates. But already it is thought that this inner belt is one of the causes of the so-called northern and southern lights. The presence of these belts also casts some light on the capture of those harmful rays which the physicists are warning us about, and the reason why we need not worry so much about radiation from outer space. The Earth's magnetism and the atmosphere captures most of the harmful radiation from outer space. If however we are so foolish as to release harmful radiation right next to the earth, if we go on exploding atomic bombs right under our protective blanket, then we must expect trouble.

So you can see that the few experiments which we have conducted in outer space have already told us a great deal about our home. They have given indications such as those discussed above and others. The shape of the Earth is not apparently a sphere with flattened north and south poles but is shaped more like a pear with the stalk at the south pole. The air surrounding the pear is not so much like a blanket but more like a morning mist which gradually thins out but never seems to disappear. This and more — we have discovered by sending our instruments just outside our narrow confines, but what will happen when man himself gets outside together with his instruments? Then indeed we will be able to get a real bird's eye view



of the home of mankind. Dogs and rats have had a look from above — why not us?

Who knows, one day we will be calling the Earth the cradle and not the home of mankind.

## INDEPENDENCE . . . .

(Continued from page 7)

bother them because they know they are going to succeed. The African knows he is going to win. He wants his independence; he doesn't want enmity with anybody at all; and we hope the older countries — if they are not senile and merely old — we hope the older countries will not do anything which will make it difficult for Independent Africa to have friendly relations with all the countries in the world which want friendly relations with her, because that is Africa's intention. We hope these older countries in Europe, in Asia, in any other part of the world, will recognise just this single fact — that Africa must govern itself — that nobody now can stop Africa from governing itself — that the alternative, the only alternative which these countries have now, is ei-

ther to get up now and hand over completely, or, the other alternative which we of the PAFMECA countries are offering them — "Do not get out now; give us the policy-making power; let us sit down and in the period before Independence we will build our countries together, and plant the seed of the friendship that we want with your countries — even the countries which have been governing us". This is the alternative which we are offering those countries. This alternative is important. That is one thing we want to emphasise to the British; and let me say it to the French, and let me say it to the Belgians. We, here, are now saying to the British: "There are only two alternatives — there is no question of stopping Africa from governing itself; one is either pack up and go . . ." and we are saying to the British ". . . You might leave with bitterness; we don't want that at all. And then we are offering you the alternative: Give us the policy decisions now. You have experience, you have technical know-how, you have many things which we think can be useful. Let us sit down then in these countries — between the achievement of Responsible Government and actual Independence — and build up that friendship which we want to establish between the Independent Africa and the rest of the world; and let us establish it between the British and the PAFMECA countries."

Unless otherwise stated the Editor is responsible for all political matter in this issue.

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