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The Exploitation of Man by Man: (A Survey of Oppression in History With a Plea for an End to Man's Inhumanity to Man)

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THE EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN
(A Survey of Oppression in History with a plea for an end to man's inhumanity to man)

by

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Especially for Dr. William Andrews
with the Author's compliments.

Michael Dei-Anang
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PREFACE

This book deals with some of the crucial moments in world history when privileged groups have used either material power and/or intellectual advantage to suppress less privileged or far weaker concentrations of people—e.g., era of exploration, the Inquisition, the Crusades, Slavery, Colonialism, etc. The study concludes with a sustained and scholarly analysis of the conditions in our time which make it now imperative that all forms of oppression should be systematically controlled and ended. It is without doubt in the interests of world harmony and peace that this should be so.

With such a framework, the book should be of considerable value to the lay reader as well as to college students. For the first time, perhaps, my book assembles under one cover some of the most crucial moments in world history, and encompasses vital areas of historical information not readily accessible except to research students and serious scholars of history. There is also an excellent bibliography.

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INTRODUCTION

'The mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has upon man, and all parts of a civilised community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds it together.'

The Rights of Man  Thomas Paine (1737-1809)

When I told a friend of mine that I proposed producing this book, he said: 'Why try and tackle something like that? Why don't you write something more popular?'

I answered the second part of his question first. Because I don't think I'm a popular kind of writer - anyway who is to say what is popular? The most unexpected subjects sometimes appeal unpredictably to the reading public.

The second part of the question is, in fact, hardly to be considered; but, the first is a real issue. When a writer is beset with an idea he feels he must communicate it to others, regardless of their reactions.

I have long been disturbed by the tragedy of 'man's inhumanity to man', and feel that only by a study of events down the ages and by realising mistakes of the past, can we hope to fashion a better future, a better world. To quote further from Thomas Paine's Rights of Man:

'Insorance is of a peculiar nature: once dispelled, it is impossible to re-establish it. It is not originally a thing of itself,
but it is only the absence of knowledge; and though man may be kept ignorant, he cannot be made ignorant. The mind in discovering truths, acts in the same manner as it acts through the eye in discovering an object; when once the object has been seen, it is impossible to put the mind back to the same condition it was in before it saw it....

It has never yet been discovered how to make a man unknow his knowledge, or unthink his thoughts.

It is interesting to note that some 150 years later, George Orwell in his book Nineteen-Eighty-Four, used just such a method for subjugating the citizens. Instead of increasing the power of language he reduced its scope by narrowing its range; the number of words was continually reduced; to him a thing was either good or ungood. There was nothing in between, no shades of meaning or thought were allowed.

Despite the exploitation of man by man that persists today - sometimes in ways far more subtle and difficult to detect than violence or open suppression, there is, I think, a gradually increasing awareness that only by the constant exertions of every individual in society can mankind safeguard his rights of liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.

A new and growing form of exploitation seems to be facing mankind that must be dreaded far more than anything mankind has witnessed in history. That is the advance of technology with its machines and inventions which could turn man into the unthinking
victim of those very devices that were intended for his benefit.

Let us all unite in an endeavour to preserve free thought, powers of expression and all the arts—literature, music, painting, sculpture, architecture, drama and poetry—that have gone to the making of man’s civilisation.
PART I

Influence and Domination of Rome -

Early African Kingdoms, wealth and trade -

How Subjection of Conquered Peoples led to Slavery.
PART I

EXPLOITATION AND DOMINATION SEEN BY THE ROMANS

AS AN IMPERIAL NECESSITY - ORIGIN OF SLAVERY

AND COLONIAL RULE

Since primeval days mankind has lived in groups of tribes. This is probably because it afforded him greater protection against wild animals and also made hunting, the search for food and other necessities of existence easier. 'All animals are equal, but some are more equal than others' as George Orwell shrewdly observed in Animal Farm. As man became more intelligent, so also he tended to become more gregarious; inevitably, it was not long before some members of such communities stood out for their superior strength, courage, intellect - or even cunning - and gained positions of leadership because they were respected or feared by the rest. As they grew and prospered, tribes travelled in search of fresh territory and encountered other groups, sometimes friendly, at other times hostile. If hostile, the victors would make those they had conquered subservient, giving them all the menial tasks to perform; thus began the preliminaries of slavery.

The Romans considered their domination and supremacy over the then-known world as a kind of imperial charge, summed up under the terms: superbus debellare artesque imponere - 'to subdue the proud, and impose an order of peace and culture.' The subjected peoples were at first given the lowest tasks in agriculture and industry. Each war
added to the ever-increasing number of prisoners. It is recorded, for example, that after the capture of Agrigentum, Sicily, in 262 BC, 25,000 slaves were sold at once. One of the main reasons for the Roman petty wars in Liguria, in Spain, Gaul, North Africa and Asia Minor, was the greed of the generals to make money out of their captives. Gladiatorial contests were organised in which slaves were butchered to make a Roman holiday. Roman capitalists realised that slave cultivation was cheaper than the employment of free men. Slaves were plentiful and their labour was not liable to the interruption by military service, for which free men were required every year. Cato declared frankly and brutally that it was cheaper to use slaves up and buy new ones, than to try and keep the old ones alive by less unkind treatment. The slave barracks (ergastula), where the victims were often herded together in chains, became an established feature of Roman agriculture. For a time these methods of cultivation enabled the large landowners to undersell the yeomen farmers; in the end, however, it tended to exhaust the land of Italy and was probably part of the cause of the desolation of the Campagna and the Maremma.

During the conquest of Italy, the gaining of additional territory meant that there was a continual supply of new land for distribution. Now that Italy was reduced, no more colonies were sent out to acquire fresh regions and the problem of land-owning and landless citizens cropped up again. It was questioned whether it was
in the interest of the State for the public domains to be farmed by a few, while the number of citizens who had no land was steadily rising all the time. As Goldsmith was to write, many centuries later:

'Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

The effects of slavery were also harmful in that the leaders began to show indications of getting lax and weak both morally and physically — and even economically — as less was required of them. Indeed, the gravest effect of slave-holding upon the Roman gentry was the destruction of the moral fibre of the Roman people and debasement of their fine qualities in war and in peace. Spartacus, Thracian by birth, deserted from the Roman army, but was caught, sold as a slave and destined for the gladiatorial arena. He escaped from a training-school at Capua and eventually led a revolt of some 90,000 slaves, overrunning and holding for two years most of the open country in the south of Italy. The near overthrow of Rome was averted by Marcus Licinius Crassus, who with eight legions, defeated the slave forces, their leader Spartacus, being killed in a pitched battle.

It gradually became apparent, however, that better treatment and more humane dealings in the treatment of slaves resulted in improved work and production. The Romans were not really interested in the routine of business and began to get retail trade and other affairs run for them by slaves, who soon became more skilled than their masters. Slaves had always been allowed to have property of their
own, and in the early days of the Empire, it was often considerable. They could conduct business with free men and in many cases owned land, property, interest in business concerns, ships, and even slaves of their own; their rights were protected by law. The civil service begun by Augustus was staffed with slaves and freedmen who, although they had improved status, were owned by the State of the municipality. There were instances of cruelty, but the position of the slave was more often satisfactory - he had opportunity without responsibility, and some slaves preferred to remain as they were. If there is any justification for slavery, then it was assuredly more marked under the early Roman Empire than at any other time; for a man from a 'backward' race could be educated, trained in a craft or profession, and become a useful member of society.

**SLAVERY IN TRADITIONAL 'AKAN' SOCIETY**

In Akan society, in Ghana, slaves in traditional times often held such a privileged position; if they proved worthy of their charge they managed to secure higher responsibility in the community. Sometimes, they became more trustworthy than blood relations (SE AKOA HU NE WURA SOM A, ODAN ODEHYE) - 'The slave who serves his master faithfully, in time becomes a blood relation'.

This Akan experience, which is treated more fully later, has been referred to in dealing with slavery in Roman times, because of the
interesting parallel that appears to exist between the conditions of slavery in Roman times and Akan traditional thought on the matter. It is also interesting to observe that Roman slavery was practised in parts of Africa as a result of Rome's contacts with Carthage which led to the Punic Wars. Carthage, well situated geographically and strategically, on the north west of Africa, was Rome's chief rival for control of the Mediterranean. In the battle of Zama 202 BC, Rome razed Carthage to the ground, and although she made subsequent efforts to renew the struggle against Rome, these efforts to achieve control of the Mediterranean trade were crushed by Rome. The history of the world would have taken quite an interesting turn, if Carthage had subdued Rome in that long struggle.

For 56 years while Rome spread her empire, there was uneasy peace between Rome and Carthage. During this period enfeebled Carthage began to regain some of her former prosperity, reviving the hatred and suspicion of the Romans. In his speeches in the Senate, Cato kept thundering: Delenda est Carthago - 'Carthage must be destroyed.' Eventually after two wars, Roman forces under Scipio finally overcame the Carthaginians; this was largely achieved by completing the blockade with the closing of the outer harbour by a mole, a task which had been considered impossible. In 146 BC the city was finally pillaged and destroyed. For five centuries the Romans ruled Carthage's old territories and adapted the trade routes to their advantage. North Africans became Roman slaves and Roman
officials built themselves villas along the North African coast line. But the Romans hardly penetrated into the desert described by Horace as 'an arid nurse of lions', while the lands further south were referred to by Pliny as 'a bewildering wilderness of elephants'. Such wild and exaggerated descriptions of Africa, based on incomplete knowledge of the Continent were primarily the cause of Europe's presentation of the continent to the rest of the world as dark, backward and primitive.

The Islamic religion created in Arabia during the seventh century AD was gradually spread across North Africa by teachers who followed the Arabian conquerors. Next came the Arab merchants and the caravan routes began to creep across the country to Ghana in the west.

Ghana, situated north-west of the river Niger, relatively close to the edge of the Sahara, is reputed to have been founded in about the second century AD. The development of this Empire in the third century is said to have been due to the people of a small kingdom of Wagadu, the 'Sarakolle; it is claimed by an eleventh century Arab record that part of this people's success in controlling others was that they fought with iron weapons against those who only had ebony. The capital of the kingdom was Kumbi and its king was called Ghana, meaning War Chief, or Kaya Maghan, meaning 'King of the Gold,' for as al Yakubi recorded in about AD 891, '...the king of Ghana (is) a great king. In his territory are mines of gold, and under him a number of kingdoms...'.

The founders of ancient Ghana were authentic West Africans, but immigrant influences had their effect on established local stability. These ideas and pressures were those of the Iron Age combined with an increasing interest in trans-Saharan trade; Ghana flourished by taking advantage of the demand by other countries for West African gold and other products. By the ninth century, Ghana had gained dominion over the westerly part of Western Sudan through the control of the trade in salt from the desert fringes, and the export of gold towards the north; by the eleventh century a vast part of the Western Sudanese grassland came under the rule of a single system of imperial tax and tribute.

According to an account given by Abdullah Abu-Uhayd al Bekri of Ghana (about 1067) '....the king of Ghana can put two hundred thousand warriors in the field, more than forty thousand being armed with bow and arrow...'; his royal audiences were occasions of great splendour and ceremony: 'the king exacts the right of one dinar of gold on each donkey-load of salt that enters his country, and two dinars of gold on each load of salt that goes out....The best gold in the country comes from Ghiaru, a town situated eighteen days' journey from the capital (Kumbi) in a country that is densely populated by Negroes and covered with villages.'* The salt was supplied by merchants from North Africa.

*The African Past - Basil Davidson (Page 81.)
An interesting account* states that Sudanese traders would take salt and goods and place them on the bank of a river, and withdraw. Miners would then come out of their hiding and, after peering at the salt and goods, would place beside them as much gold as they thought made fair exchange, and then go back. If the merchants considered the gold sufficient, they gathered it up and left; if it was not enough they would again retire. The miners would once more creep out, add more gold and again hide away. This procedure would be repeated until both sides were satisfied with their bargain!

Eager to increase the power of their kingdom the Ghanaian rulers made welcome the Moslems with their caravans, camels laden with copper, salt, dried fruit and cowrie shells which became a type of currency in many parts of Africa;* all this merchandise and the fine Arab horses were, of course, assets but the religion was not always accepted. Two capitals were the outcome. One contained the Court of the non-Moslem king as well as a fortress and many huts, surrounded by a wall. The other, only a few miles distant, lay on a road lined with houses; this was the trading centre which contained a dozen mosques and was inhabited by some 30,000 Moslems.

*Africa Past and Present - Elizabeth Bartlett (Page 86).

*Cowries were much in evidence in my young days. My paternal grandparents owned abundant supply of these, which they informed me were the relics of a traditional system of currency. See note at p.51 also.
Ghana, like other parts of Africa, had its own forms of slavery during the period in which trade was being developed, although there was a difference between the African and European traditions. African slavery - usually called benign or household slavery - was a domestic institution throughout the continent, persisting up to recent colonial times. Domestic slaves were not highly considered for their economic value but rather more for the prestige they gave and as political followers. In all communities the problem arises of what manner to deal with war captives, persons who commit crimes or those who break the accepted rules of the society to which they belong; the African method was to make their war captives slaves. This meant placing them in a subject status - rejected or removed from kinsmen - to a position in which they were secure, but at the same time could be watched; they could be attached to domestic groups in a certain state of civility and would often hold high posts within the household - thus becoming a kind of kinsmen. Slaves had either to be captured or acquired from their own folk who were 'selling them into slavery'. This was mainly done by groups who 'broke the kinship' of criminals and then sold them.

The Akan peoples of Ghana, it has sometimes been claimed, were in fact destroyed by their own domestics. Slaves became established in the family by superseding in prosperity the progeny of their former masters; it did not take long for them to become outstanding in the community as distinguished craftsmen or successful farmers. The
rigours and privations of slavery, far from destroying their energies, 
inured them to hard conditions of existence and gave them powers of 
endurance which their masters had lost through easy living.

In Europe the form of slavery differed, being primarily economic -
even in the time of Aristotle slaves were being worked to death in the salt mines, and, alas, even in our supposedly civilised conditions 
today there are some parts of the world where a similar state of 
affairs exists. In medieval times a person could become a 'bond servant' to work until such time as a debt had been paid off, or for some other reason. In the first slave dealings the Africans saw nothing wrong in selling slaves and the Europeans nothing wrong in buying them. Negroes were, in fact, in the earliest importations treated as bond slaves, their contract being limited to a number of years; but as the cost of slaves became expensive, so the bondage became permanent. As a result, the New World slavery emerged.

African slaves in the New World survived terrible conditions in foreign lands. An attempt has been made to justify slavery on the grounds that some races were thus claimed to have been saved from extinction. But such specious arguments take no account of the denial to human beings of the fundamental conception of their inalienable right to personal freedom.

In the early centuries men wandered across Africa in search of better food, more water, improved shelter, indeed any conditions
where life was less hard. North African Nomads drew back into the
desert when Phoenician traders settled along the coasts. Some
savannah tribes retreated into the forests to escape from the increasing
power of Ghana and Mali. The enemy was not always from a foreign
clime; a strong neighbour would sometimes be so feared that a weaker
tribe would move away even to harsh conditions where few would
consider living. There was a steady interchange of ideas along the
trade routes, but a settled way of life proved hard in Africa where
poor soil and severe natural conditions often forced men to move on
from place to place. Rarely was there an occasion when a situation
prevailed to enable a rich and cultivated kingdom to develop. This
was the state of affairs when the European explorers began to arrive.

Interest in the African trade attracted them and there was
strong rivalry for control of the trade between the Christian adventurers
and the Moslem 'infidels' or unbelievers. Europe at that time was
divided into many small baronies, cities and kingdoms, unlike the
period under Roman Empire, when there was a large organisation under
one central rule. About the only unity between these groups was
their religion which finally resulted in the holy wars or crusades
between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.
PART II

The Crusades: How original cause and religious inspiration were lost in desire for self-aggrandisement and greed - Benefits gained by the West from contact with other lands - Era of adventure, piracy and plunder of weaker peoples. Transition from piracy to exploration on land and sea.
CAUSES OF THE CRUSADES

What were the reasons for the Crusades, which from 1096, carried on for some two hundred years? Why, in many cases did comparatively small groups of men travel thousands of miles to participate in conflict over differences in religion, which looked at historically, seem to have an equal merit; for the main object of the Western campaigners was to free the holy city of Jerusalem from the infidel Moslems, although there was a spirit of adventure in the later years the desire for commercial gain.

By the tenth century Turkish tribes had been converted to Islam, and were growing stronger while Arab power was declining. In the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks descended on Mesopotamia and made the Caliph the nominal ruler; next they conquered Armenia and attacked the remaining power in Asia Minor. In 1071 the Byzantine army was routed at the battle of Melasgird; the Turks swept on, captured the fortress of Nicaea, home of the Christian Nicene Creed, and prepared to attack Constantinople. Already harassed by Norman adventurers and Turks who were raiding over the Danube, the Byzantine emperor, Michael VII, appealed to the Pope for help. His request was followed by his successor, Alexius Comnenus, who besought the aid of Pope Urban II.

There had been for some time considerable discontent among the Greek churches over the supremacy of Rome. Urban II* realised that this appeal gave him an opportunity to assert his authority over the dissident.

* Alexius Comnenus (1057-1185)
Urban II (original name Udo of Lügery) 1042?-99 Pope from 1088-99. Supporter of the first Crusade.
Greeks. A religious war against the Turks would also enable him to bring under control the 'private wars' and fighting energies of the Low Germans, Franks and Normans. Urban II, therefore, preached a sermon advocating a truce to all warfare among Christians and a united attack against the Turkish captors of Jerusalem. This War of the Cross, or Crusade, was declared to have as its object the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre from the unbelievers.

THE "PEOPLES" CRUSADE

Tremendous impetus was given to this 'Peoples' crusade (1096) by Peter the Hermit. A small man clad in coarse garments, barefooted and riding on a donkey, he travelled through France and Germany, exhorting the common people to save the Holy Sepulchre and denouncing the cruelties practised upon Christians by the Turks. He undoubtedly possessed charismatic qualities of leadership which attracted many enthusiastic followers to the cause; he had not only great prestige with his own people, but was also highly respected by his adversaries. For the first time in history a widespread uprising of the common folk to a single idea occurred as the wave of religious fervour swept over the western world.

While Peter the Hermit was gathering the support of pilgrims accompanied by a large escort of soldiers, other similar groups were assembling in France and Germany. But on the way to Constantinople
these rough armies, lacking discipline, became involved in conflicts in Hungary, while in Germany, forces under the leadership of Emrich Leisingen, a notorious baron, massacred the Jews - the only 'infidels' they encountered.

Despite the difficulties of hardship and disease, after about four months, Peter's ill-equipped army reached Constantinople. He joined forces with troops of Walter Sans-Avoir, the Count of Tubingen and Walter of Teck. Alexius Comnenus received Peter the Hermit and advised him to wait for help from better-armed forces. While this assembly took place many of this rabble army grew impatient, and some burning and pillaging of villages round Constantinople took place. Against advice from experienced knights, this disorderly force crossed the Bosphorous in an attempt to recapture Nicaea but they were overwhelmed and massacred by the Seljuk Turks. So ended the first expedition of the Crusade. This disastrous start had contrary effects. The Crusaders realised the necessity for a better organised and more powerful army, while the Turks were misled, temporarily at any rate, into underestimating their opponents.

To many of us the Crusades conjure up the impression of courage and self-effacement in a religious cause. This was, unfortunately, far from the truth. The reality is admirably summed up by Sir Steven Runciman in *The Kingdom of Acre*:

*The Crusades by Henry Treece (Page vii).*
'The triumphs of the Crusades were the triumphs of faith. But faith without wisdom is a dangerous thing. By the inexorable laws of history the whole world pays for the crimes and follies of each of its citizens. The Crusades were a tragic and destructive episode. The historian, as he gazes across the centuries at their gallant story, must find his admiration overcast by sorrow at the witness that it bears to the limitations of human nature. There was so much courage and so little honour, so much devotion and so little understanding. High ideals were besmirched by cruelty and greed, enterprise and endurance by a blind and narrow self-righteousness.'

To understand the causes, it is desirable to try to get an idea of the conditions of life in the Middle Ages before the crusades. In the eleventh century life in the countries of Western Europe was hard for the bulk of the people. The textile industry was beginning to develop, particularly in France, Flanders and south Germany. Impoverished peasants were attracted to the towns. But they were soon disillusioned for they gained little benefit, being harshly exploited and in constant fear of losing their jobs and starvation if there was a slump in trade; they became a group more
helpless and depressed than the serfs who worked on the land*.

The wealthier classes were beginning to learn of the riches of the East and attracted by fabulous tales of the lands whence came gold, silks and spices. Nobles were the ruling class and the feudal system prevailed throughout Western Europe.

Feudalism was originally based on an agreement between the sovereign and his subject to whom he entrusted the control of certain lands; by the tenth century feudalism had come to be almost entirely hereditary. Might was right, and the feudal lord was often an oppressor although there were supposed to be certain rights concerning the duties paid to the overlords and the amount of time devoted to their service. The lord was supposed to protect the peasants, but in many cases he did so only for his own interests, otherwise conditions of the serfs were extremely hard. There was little attempt at revolt because of the fear of the terrible punishments for rebellion, and the risk of starvation outside peasant existence.

A kind of justice prevailed, but here again - might was right. A lord who was more powerful could put down and punish crimes of murder or other serious offences; those less strong knew that any attempt to gain retribution was unlikely to succeed and so usually made no effort to attack a lord of superior force. Law against the land-owners was difficult to apply, for once a man barricaded himself in his castle, there was little chance of forcing him out. A kind of legalised vendetta existed. It was considered rightful self-defence

*The Crusades – Zoe Oldenbourg (Page 7).
for a man to seek out and kill a personal enemy or an enemy of his family; although men who were rich enough kept concubines (despite disapproval of the Church) the husband had power of life and death over his adulterous wife and her lover.

Despite all this, a common religious belief was the main cause that influenced and held together those strangely assorted groups of men who became crusaders — the mighty and the less powerful landlords with their large or small armies of retainers. By the eleventh century the Church was regaining the prestige it had lost during the feudal wars; it was the only means of education and disseminating knowledge. The cultural class was composed of churchmen who acted as advisers, scribes and accountants; architects, physicians and lawyers were all clerics. In the West, the cult of saints and relics was far greater than in the East; there was a desire for physical manifestations of sanctity. Relic-worship led to a demand for martyred bones on every altar. By devious means, various items reputed to have belonged to saints were brought to Europe and placed in shrines that became centres of pilgrimage and worship. This desire to possess and draw near to the object of worship undoubtedly played a part in influencing the wish to liberate Jerusalem.

In spite of their own relic-worship, early European travellers and missionaries, described the shrine-worship in Africa as 'fetishism' and looked upon it as evidence of barbarism. Ruy de
Pina tells how Johann Affom da Aveiro first visited the kingdom of Beny (Benin) and afterwards the Portuguese sent 'holy and most catholic advisors with praiseworthy admonitions for the faith to administer a stern rebuke about the heresies and great idolatries and fetishes, which the Negroes practice in that land.' This ignorance led to Reginald Heber (1783-1826) the hymnist writing 'he Heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone.'

Amulets and charms so highly treasured by the Africans were at first thought by the Portuguese to be the equivalent of their own (fétiche (Fr); fetiche (Portug.) or images of the Virgin Mary and the saints, the name fetish therefore having no African origin. These objects were not representations at all, but believed by the Africans to be places in which a benevolent and powerful spirit could reside and do good to those who wore them. There were charms of all kinds - to avoid or cause accidents, make you invisible to elephants, aid you in love, protect you from hate, and so on.

Because of all this denigration of the natural proneness of man towards revering what is not obvious to him, very little has been done by so-called western experts to reach understanding of authentic African beliefs. Certainly African intellectuals, notable among them, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, First President of Nigeria, have claimed that certain phenomena in African beliefs are super-science in their nature and therefore beyond the pale of the white man's understanding. This fetishism was taken with them by the millions of Africans later transported to the New World where the need for fetish.

*J.E. Casely-Hayford, in his Gold Coast Native Institutions, devotes a whole chapter (11) to a scholarly exposition on fetishism which he practically identifies with Sunsum (Akan Twi for "Spirit" or "Soul"). He regrets the erroneous teaching of the missionary who attempts to persuade the African to give up his belief in the spirit world. A reprint of Casely-Hayford's excellent study has been issued by Frank Cass of London.
spirits was felt more than ever before. It is known, for example, that Voodoo in Haiti originated from Africa. Efik and Igbibo slaves recreated the Igbo the secret society of the Niger, in Cuba. Priestesses in Bahia, Brazil, still practice rites of the Nigerian Yorubas. By the Caribbean waysides it is still possible to find strange little objects made of cloth or bird feathers and animal skulls and bones.+

After this rather lengthy digression on fetishism let us return to the nature of feudalism, nobility, and the scale of oppression associated with its presence. It consisted of mainly men who were soldiers by profession and were so taken up with fighting that war really became their one aim. But the time of great invasions was over; struggles against the Moors in Spain and the Slavonic and Lithuanian pagans in the north of Germany had become limited to spasmodic local outbreaks. Europe was a collection of people under a Catholic religion and the feudal system. Feudal society was warlike and oppressive, and since in the West little scope remained for military aggression, attention was turned elsewhere for its destructive activities.

In the ninth century while Europe was still weltering in war and pillage, great empires flourished in Egypt and Mesopotamia. These were culturally ahead of Europe, where knowledge of both literature and science were in a state of attrition or sterile stagnation. As early as 970 AD the world's leading scholars were black and Semitic Arabs, a century before the first Crusade. From their learning came the numerals in use today, and by the twelfth century they had evolved the decimal system. They were the first to use the pendulum, to study physiology and, as chemists, their discoveries included silver nitrate,

potassium, nitric and sulphuric acids; as craftsmen they were experts in working silver, gold, steel, bronze and copper. Almost every art and science which has helped to improve culture and conditions of life, can be said to have been absorbed by Europe through Egypt and the Middle East. Commercially, gold coinage already prominent in Western and North-Eastern Africa as currency, was introduced. This gradually made the merchant-princes of Europe more powerful than the pugnacious feudalistic barons.

**CRUSADE OF THE BARONS**

The next attempt - the Crusade of the Barons - consisted mainly of four armies which were essentially Norman in leadership and spirit. They were now well-prepared and equipped and it was understood that they would first have to fight the Turks in Asia Minor and re-establish Greek power along the route to the Holy Places. First object of their attack was Nicaea the heavily-garrisoned capital city of the Seljuks, which was captured after a siege lasting about seven weeks. Then followed the battle of Dorylaeum; although outnumbered, the Crusaders by an encircling movement, managed to rout the Turks. It is recorded in the *Gesta Francorum*, written by an anonymous warrior who 'took the Cross.'*

'We pursued and slew them the whole day long,
and we got much spoil; gold and silver, horses

*The Crusades - Henry Treece (Page 118).
and asses, camels and sheep and oxen, and many
other things.'

This much needed victory gave a great fillip to the Christian cause, and made many believe that God was indeed on their side! It is impossible, indeed, to think that leaders of religions that developed in Europe whatever their motives, would believe that God himself would applaud and endorse their wanton destruction of lives and pillage of property.

Antioch, a splendid and wealthy city, the capture of which was obviously much to be desired, proved a tougher problem; it was well fortified and had outer walls over six miles in length. A difficult siege lasted for over seven months and then nearly ended in failure; the Crusaders were, in their turn, besieged by the Turks. Under the leadership of Bohemond of Taranto a mass sortie was made, leaving only a small garrison in the city. The Turks, surprised, were driven back and finally left their camp and all the riches it contained. Instead of pushing on immediately the Crusaders, exhausted by their struggles dallied for another six months while wrangling over the possession of Antioch began among the leaders. But while their overlords squabbled, the common soldiery, having no fresh places to plunder, grew restive at the delay, and rebellion broke out at Marra. The barons realised that action could no longer be put off, and in January 1099, the army left Antioch.

Under the influence of Godfrey de Bouillon, the various groups obtained for the first time some unity of purpose. In response to
papal appeals, some much-needed help of supplies and a number of technicians and fighting men joined the crusading forces.

It was the beginning of June before the Crusaders caught their first glimpse of the towers and domes of Jerusalem which roused the weary forces to fresh excitement and determination. The siege lasted a month and penetration of the city was followed by appalling massacre which the leaders apparently did little to prevent. Men, women and children were killed without mercy while the Jews were shut up in the synagogue which was set on fire. It is believed that some 40,000 people died in this horrific holocaust, while the knights and barons were reported to be 'shedding tears of joy and pity as they prostrated themselves in the Holy Sepulchre'. So, ironically, came to an end a campaign claimed to have been carried out with the approval of the Almighty!

The Kingdom of Jerusalem, to the barons and knights, must have seemed a hardly-believable realisation of the Promised Land. In contrast to the most austere living conditions of the West, everything was luxurious. Syrian houses often had painted ceilings and mosaic floors. There were open windows, carpets and brocade hangings, clean linen and carved and inlaid furniture. In Palestine many cities had water-storage tanks, while in Jerusalem the Roman sewage system still worked as efficiently as that of many of the large cities of the modern world. It did not take long for the average European to fall prey to

*The Crusades - Zoe Oldenbourg (Page 141).
this sumptuous way of life. As a result of this easy existence, a
disunity of purpose began to grow among the Christian leaders and the
new Latin kingdom might well not have lasted as long as it did (some
45 years) if there had not been a similar lack of co-ordination among
the Moslem war-lords.

During this period, Christian raiders carried on persistent
attacks on merchant caravans along the island borders. At last, these
unprovoked assaults so exasperated the Saracen Chief Zeoghi, that in
1144 he took his revenge by attacking and capturing the northern
outposts of the kingdom of Odessa which for years had been the last
bastion of the Western world, situated as it was the north-east of
Antioch on the borders of Armenia. News of this unexpected defeat
shook the rulers in Europe and made them decide that the time had come
to set out once again on a campaign; this was to subdue Islam once and
for all - but the intention was never achieved.

THE THIRD CRUSADE

A new religious fervour was inspired by the exhortations of
St. Bernard and four armies were assembled. These were ill-fated from
the start by lack of a single aim among the leaders; too many criminals
(pardoned by the Pope on condition they 'took the Cross') were a
hazard to the troops while the number of non-combatants - women,
hangers-on' and servants - who attached themselves to the campaigners
were a handicap which no enterprise needing to move swiftly could
afford. The split between the armies began when one large force of Germans turned aside to fight the pagan Wends in the east of the Elbe; then Flemish and English contingents, instead of continuing to the Holy Land, made their way to Portugal where they set up a Christian kingdom with its centre at Lisbon. The remaining German forces were soundly beaten at Dorylaeum and the French overcome at Antioch. The two battered armies were joined together, but it was clear that they were not strong enough to recapture Odessa. An attempt was made to drive a wedge through Moslem territory at Damascus, but this also failed, and the Western armies withdrew entirely. So, ignominiously, faded out the Second Crusade.

The stupidity of the Christians in twice breaking a truce made by Saladin, the leader of Egypt, caused him in 1187, to attack Tiberias and then get under his control Acre, Jaffa, Beirut, Ascalon and Gaza. These conquests finally led to the recapture of Jerusalem. The dramatic news of the second fall of Jerusalem once again shook Europe, and provoked the Third Crusade, often referred to as the Crusade of Kings. Pope Clement III made an exaggerated pronouncement declaring that the 'very existence' of Christianity was at stake. As a result, three reigning monarchs - Philip Augustus of France, Richard 'Lion-hearted' of England and Frederick Barbarossa, Emperor of Germany, 'took the cross' to lead the new campaign against Saladin. But this crusade was also doomed to failure. In an endeavour to be well-organised, Barbarossa was to travel overland the other two kings by sea.
Trouble began in Greece, when to impress the peasants with his importance the German Emperor pillaged and burned his way across the countryside. Eventually he crossed the Hellespont and recaptured Iconium, but he died suddenly in Asia Minor. Most of his army made their way back to Germany, while the remainder - stricken by plague - struggled on to Acre already under siege by the Christians. Lack of co-operation and desire for selfish gain prevailed among the Western powers. While the Crusaders were enforcing the siege, they themselves faced near starvation although Italian merchants from Pisa lay off-shore with ships laden with foodstuffs which they refused to unload until their fantastically inflated prices were agreed to.*

Quarelling over loot, Richard of England and Philip of France journeyed on and after spending a winter in half-Arabic Sicily, sailed towards the Levant. Eventually the English and French rulers reached Acre and were joined by the remnants of the German army under Leopold of Austria and after a battle of unrestrained fury the city was at last captured. King Philip, a sick man, soon returned to France. Richard, although undoubtedly a brave man and a good fighter, was also brutal; he was publicly reproached by the Preacher, Foulques de Neuilly, who said that 'he had three daughters - Pride, Avarice and Lechery.'* He was also completely untrustworthy, butchering some 2,700 Saracen prisoners when the agreed ransom money did not arrive within the forty days stipulated.

*The Crusades - Henry Treece (Page 164).
*The Crusades - Henry Treece (Page 165).
At last in 1192 a treaty was agreed with Saladin, who still retained control of Jerusalem, as a result of which the Christians were only allowed to visit the Holy Sepulchre unarmed and in small groups. The Kingdom of Jerusalem, consisting of a coastal strip some ten miles wide and about ninety miles in length, was to continue a hazardous existence for some hundred years. The great days of the Crusades were over.

THE FOURTH CRUSADE

The Fourth Crusade scarcely merited such a title, for from the start it was motivated by a desire for gain and profit, the participants, in fact, never reaching the Holy Land at all. True, at the start, religion seemed to be important. Innocent III, who became Pope in 1198, was a strong man; he purged the Church of immorality and humbled the nobility. To him the Church appeared to be in a state of decadence which must be corrected and part of the method of doing this was the recovery of Jerusalem. Innocent, claiming supremacy over all monarchs, urged them to organise a fresh campaign; his main object was to get the Greek Church to submit to Rome. But more compelling to the avaricious leaders than the Pope's fiery words, was the recognition that Constantinople was politically insecure. In 1202, the crusade began under the leadership of Boniface, Marquis de Montferrat and the ageing Henry Dandolo, Doge of Venice, who were determined to benefit themselves, while apparently going on a crusade.
The French nobles were dependent on Dandolo for sea transport and so agreed to his scheme to attack his commercial rivals in the port of Zara, Hungary. Constantinople was attacked in 1204 on the pretext that the Greeks would again come under papal rule, but in truth acquisition of the riches of the city were the real incentive. Looting which followed the surrender of the city was on a scale previously unknown; it is probable that the world, in this disastrous burning and pillaging, lost more artistic treasures than in any other period of history. *

Mercantile Venice gained control over much of the coast-line and islands of the Eastern Empire. The reigning Greek dynasty was deposed and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, appointed as 'Greek' emperor; thus it was hoped that Catholicism and a Latin Empire could be set up by Byzantium. The new feudal Latin rule proved weak and precarious. Some sixty years later Constantinople was recaptured by rebellious Greeks who re-established their dynasty and the old orthodox faith. During this period punitive crusades struggled on, but none were successful, mainly because greed and self-gain were the dominant factors. In 1209 a campaign organised under religious inspiration, was conducted against the Albigensian heretics of southern France. But the original cause was soon forgotten and the result was merely the annexation of Languedoc by the Capet line. +

*The Crusades - Henry Treece (Page 228).
+King Hugh (987-96) was the first of fourteen members of the House of Capet which ruled France until 1328. The Kings acted deliberately to
secure hereditary succession. Their dynasty resulted in territorial unity, the growth of monarchy and a powerful but just administration which laid the foundations of modern France.

Philip II (1180-1223) was probably the greatest Capet ruler. He was king at fourteen and at 25 while on a crusade in Palestine, had a severe illness which left him cautious and cynical with a nervous disposition. Nevertheless he was a skillful diplomat and reorganised his kingdom in such a way as to influence French monarchy for hundreds of years.

A veto by Pope Innocent III prevented Philip from carrying out an idea of invading England.

During the 12th century the Manichaean doctrines, known as Catharism, had spread throughout Languedoc. After the Lateran Council 1179, missionaries were sent, but little was achieved. The murder of the legate Peter of Castelnau in 1208 led to a crusade being preached by Pope Innocent III against the Languedoc heretics. In 1219 an insurrection in Languedoc caused King Philip II to send his son Prince Louis, with an army into the county of Toulouse. Three years later 200 knights and 10,000 serjeants were sent to the assistance of Amaury de Montfort against Count Raymond VII.

In 1226, Louis VIII (who had succeeded to the throne three years earlier) decided the cause of orthodoxy would be lost in Languedoc unless the crown went to its aid.

With the advice of a number of barons and their support, Louis invaded Languedoc with a large army; there was little real resistance. After the fall of Avignon in September, the crusade became a military
conquest and the King was able to set up his government in the defeated territory.

The Capetian Kings of France - Robert Fawtier (Pages 119-122).
Probably the most pathetic endeavours to reach Jerusalem were the Children's Crusade of 1212. Stephen of Cloyes, a twelve-year-old shepherd boy, claimed to have had a vision of Christ in which he was told that for all those who followed him, the sea would dry-up and they would walk dry-shod to the Holy City. The lad seems to have some almost hypnotic powers of persuasion and it is estimated that about 30,000 young people assembled at Vendome to set out on this amazing endeavour. Strangely given the support of Pope Innocent III and despite the protests of many parents, this gathering with a number of adult 'camp-followers' began their long journey lacking maps and even adequate supplies of food; many died before Marseilles was reached.

The sea did not, of course, dry-up. After several miserable days, two villainous merchants known as Hugh the Iron and William the Pig offered to take the horde of children to Palestine, free of charge, in seven ships. Two of these were wrecked in a storm off Sardinia with almost total loss of life. The remaining five sailed on, but not to the Holy Land. Instead they turned south to Bouie, a Saracen port, in Algeria, where all the children were sold into slavery.

THE TRAGIC CRUSADE OF YOUNG NICHOLAS OF GERMANY

In Germany a similar tragic mass of young people was excited by the exhortations of a lad called Nicholas, with the same belief of the sea drying-up. A ragged crowd of children and fortune-seekers, numbering
about 20,000, made their way over the Alps, but many died and others deserted before Genoa was reached. The Governor would not allow this sickly rabble inside the city walls. Disillusioned, the miserable youngsters tried to struggle back to their own country; only a few ever returned, most being refused food or shelter by the Italian peasants unless they took them in to profit by their slave labour.

**EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES**

What were the results of the Crusades? Were the bravery and brutality shown, or the suffering and material damage caused by these sometimes fanatical campaigners, really worth while? The crusades did, in fact, bring about a mingling of peoples and cultures which played an important part in the development of civilisation. It however, could be said that this strange and unfortunate encounter between the East and West produced problems of mutual hatred and dislike that created a deep-seated fund of animosity between the central and western peoples.

Nevertheless, in Europe the futile crusades were not without at least some beneficial results. Principal among these was the fact that countries began to form into single nations instead of groups of separately ruled units. The old concept of feudalism had lost its hold on the people. Men were recognised as individuals, each with his own capabilities and entitled to his own rights; the period of civic charters had begun.
Perhaps the most significant results occurred in the fields of agriculture and industry. Contact made between the West and the East during the 200 years covered by the crusades, introduced many new products of which cotton was probably the most important. Other items brought back by the merchants included sugar, cinnamon, clover, saffron, apricots, damsons, water-mellons and shallot-onions. Indigo and ivory gained prominence in the new flow of trade exchanges that followed the crusades, and life was made more luxurious with silks and velvets, carpets and embroidery, while the extensive use of cosmetics and mirrors gave a new pride in personal appearance.

SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE AND EXPLORATION - A BYE-PRODUCT OF THE CRUSADES

A notable bye-product of the crusades was the era of exploration and discovery that followed. The Franciscan friars opened up the way to the Far East. Among the first and most intriguing overland travellers were the Venetian merchants, the Polos. Nicolo and Maffeo Polo first reached China, after a long and arduous journey beginning in 1260 and they did not get back to Italy until nine years later. After about two years they set out again, this time taking with them Marco, the young son of Nicolo. The expedition began in Palestine and made its way through Mogul, Baghdad, across the desert of Khorassan, up the Oxus valley, over Pamir 'the roof of the world', to Kashgar and by way of Kotan and Lob Nor to the Hwango
valley and to Peking, where in 1275, they were received by the great Kublai Khan.

Marco was a remarkable young man and greatly impressed the Great Khan with his character and knowledge of languages. He was appointed ambassador to countries as far distant as Burma, and for three years was governor of the city of Hangchow. At last the Polos managed to return to Venice - 35 years after their first journey. Fortunately Marco recorded many details of his extraordinary experiences and travels, which later proved of immense value to an, at first, incredulous Europe.

A forerunner of the great maritime discoveries was Prince Henry of Portugal, whose aim was to extend trade by sea-routes rather than land-wars. His interest in sending explorers southwards along the West African coast was roused when, in 1415, he was appointed governor of Ceuta, one of the North African strongholds. On return to Portugal, Prince Henry set up a naval observatory at Sargres, near Cape St. Vincent, where mariners were trained in navigation and map-making. His vessels charted Madeira, the Azores and the Canary Islands. By the middle of the fifteenth century the Portuguese had rounded Cape Verde (Green Cape); they returned with exotic foods and other cargoes and also brought with them a number of Africans as proof of how far they had travelled. The reports of the life and conditions they found in Africa at this time were most glowing and helped to excite new interest in the possibility of trade with, and adventure in, Africa. This, unfortunately, caused some of the less scrupulous merchants to see new angles of trade and gain through slave labour.
In 1486 Bartolomew Diaz reached the southernmost point of Africa, rounding Storm Cape as he called it because of the severe weather encountered; later it was named Cape of Good Hope because beyond it was the expectation of further discoveries. After many unsuccessful attempts to get support for his plans, the Genoese mariner, Columbus, signed a contract with the King and Queen of Spain. At the beginning of August, 1492, he set sail from Palos with three small ships. Columbus is believed to have touched the port of Elmina in the Gold Coast for staging purposes during the journey. The Fort of Elmina, then occupied by the Portuguese, is now one of the ancient relics of Western adventure in Ghana. After a voyage of over two months he reached a land he believed to be India, and in March 1493 returned to Spain with gold, cotton and two wild-eyed painted native Indians.' It was many years before men came to know that it was not India, but the new continent of America that Columbus had discovered.

During this period, records began to be kept by the voyagers of their experiences traversing new sea-routes and encounters in unknown lands. Four years after the end of Columbus's adventure, Vasco da Gama, sailed round Africa to India. His Roteiro vividly describes reactions of the Portuguese to an African civilisation of unexpected splendour. Of his first contact with Quilimane (a city in present-day Mozambique) he tells how:

'When we had been two or three days at this place two gentlemen (senhores) of the country came to see us. They were very haughty, and valued
nothing which we gave them. One of them wore a
touca, (a local apparel worn in the form of the
Roman toga) with a fringe embroidered in silk, and the
other a cap of green satin. A young man in their
company - so we understood from their signs -
had come from a distant country, and had already
seen big ships like ours. These tokens (signaes)
gladdened our hearts, for it appeared as if we
were really approaching the bourne of our desires."

The final achievement in this period of exploration came in 1519
when a fleet of five ships under the Portuguese navigator Ferdinand
de Magellan sailed westward from Seville. They crossed the Atlantic
between Africa and Brazil and sailed south. On reaching a narrow channel
between the southernmost point of Patagonia, severe storms swept the
narrow straits; at last, the storms abated, the channel widened out, and
Magellan’s ships entered a new ocean. He called it the Peaceful Sea,
or Mare Pacifico. At last, after three years hazardous voyaging and
finding new lands, only one remaining ship, the Vittoria, came safely
back to Spain, being the first vessel to circumnavigate the world.
Magellan himself had been killed during a conflict with the inhabitants
of the Philippine Islands.

While Portugal was concentrating on exploration and adventure at
sea, she became left out of events in the Iberian peninsular. The

*The African Past - Basil Davidson (Page 129).*
other two large kingdoms, Castile and Aragon grew into separate inland powers. Castile ran from the Biscay coast of the Basques south to Islamic Granada, through territory won from the Moors; years of fighting left a population of free men who had been granted privileges for their services and lived mainly under their own democratic laws. Many nobles, having acquired land and wealth, built themselves castles, which was indeed how the kingdom attained its name. Aragon, united with Catalonia, had control over all the Mediterranean ports facing east and was a maritime power, conquering the Balearic Islands, Sardinia and Sicily.

In 1469 the young king of Sicily and heir to the throne of Aragon, married Isabella, sister of Henry IV, King of Castile; this union of Aragon and Castile led to the creation of Spain. The nobles had begun to get too powerful for the liking of Isabella and she established a kind of police force, the Hermandad, based on the Santa Hermandad or Holy Brotherhood, which originally maintained order in the cities. By degrees the influence of the nobles was reduced, Isabella gaining more power for herself, which was ultimately to be abused by terrible cruelty. There were many Jews in Spain who were the most artistic, literary and scientific people of the era; they had also achieved wealth through lending of money for which they were detested almost as much as for their religious beliefs both of which brought about their persecution.*

Under the dictates of Tomas de Torquemada, Isabella's confessor, the Jews were sentenced by the Inquisition. People were arrested on hearsay, the accusers and witnesses being kept anonymous; counsel was

* An interesting reminiscence of William Shakespeare's Shylock in Merchant of Venice.
allowed, but could not confer with his client. If evidence varied, it
would be brought up as an additional charge. Proceedings were held
in secret, there was no appeal, and torture was frequently employed.
The final penalty was auto de fe - death by burning. During the eigh­
ten years that Torquemada was Inquisitor-General, more than ten thousand
people are estimated to have met their fate by this method of execution.**

*The Conquistadors - Hammond Innes (Pages 18-20).*
PART III

The incidence of Slavery in Africa -
Horrors of the Slave Trade - The
Real Image of Africa's Past - The
Abolitionists.
THE RENAISSANCE A FLOWERING OF KNOWLEDGE IN EUROPE

When a pebble is cast into a pool the effect is greatest at the centre of impact, but ripples gradually spread further and further outwards; the whole pool may be affected, depending on the skill of the thrower and the condition of the water. So, when an individual or group of persons introduces some intellectual, artistic, social or scientific idea, its reception, for good or evil, by the majority of the community, will depend largely upon the character of the originator, the conditions of existence at that time and the readiness of society to accept the new thought.

In the 13th century Europe became engulfed in disasters of famine, plague and wars, while religious, financial and industrial powers declined. This period - up to 1600 - was one of the most vital in Western civilisation perhaps because people were dissatisfied with life and were seeking (even if subconsciously) for something better and were thus eager to grasp new concepts. The many famous names of persons who contributed to this resurgence of ideas cannot all be recalled here, but a few examples may be given - some perhaps whose influence was felt, although without their being quite so universally known.

EXAMPLES OF GREAT MINDS OF EUROPE

One of the most distinctive brains was Roger Bacon* (circa 1210-1293), a Franciscan Friar of Oxford, the father of experimental science, who astonishingly predicted:

'Machines for navigating are possible without rowers, so that great ships suited to river or ocean, guided by one man, may be borne with greater speed than if they were full of men. Likewise cars may be made so that without a draught animal they may be moved cum impetu inestimabile, as we deem the scythed chariots to have been from which antiquity fought. And flying machines are possible, so that a man may sit in the middle turning some device by which artificial wings may beat the air in the manner of a flying bird.'

Marsiglio of Padua* (circa 1275-1342) treated government as a human institution directed to the realisation of human goals. He maintained that the first object of a political community was to meet man's needs and protect their goods; political power depended on the consent, and represented the will of, the community and not primarily to serve God or fulfill some supernatural end. Roger Bacon protested against the bad translations of Aristotle, and during the Renaissance a restoration of the knowledge of the Greek language took place, enabling the great teachers, especially Plato, to be appreciated from their original work.

In this period Italian art and sculpture reached its zenith. One of the most outstanding painters of all time was Giotto (circa 1266-1337) who evolved an original style. More than any artist before him, he made his figures stand out by foreshortening and composition that gave the impression of depth and mass. Giotto's artistic accomplishments were first brought to my notice many years ago, when as a College student

*The Renaissance and the Reformation - edited by Donald Weinstein (Page 7).
in Achimota, I listened attentively to a description of his artistic excellence by the late Rev. A. G. Frazer. At a morning worship in the College chapel he illustrated the force of genius by reference to Giotto's rare ability to produce a perfect circle by a mere wave of his arm and without the aid of any instruments. That impression was never lost upon my mind. If I did not have the opportunity to imitate Giotto's genius, at least its perfection has not been effaced from my memory. His qualities are probably best seen in the decoration of the Arena Chapel, Padua. A contemporary of Giotto's, and almost certainly known to him, was Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) who may be reckoned the first philosopher poet; he had vision, humanity and a control over abstract ideas. In his treatise on 'World Government' (De Monarchia)* he sets out man's need for unity and peace. He begins with the idea that the 'knowledge of a single temporal government over mankind is most important and least explored' and goes on to show that 'this goal is proved to be the realisation of man's ability to grow in intelligence.' A lesson the world could do well to reconsider today.

Two personalities, who in a quiet way, influenced the intellectual revival, were Gianozzo Manetti (1396-1459)+ with his book entitled On the Dignity and Excellence of Man, and Federigo Montefeltro, First Duke of Urbino (1410-1482). The Duke was a book-lover and a man of integrity and high intelligence; his court at Urbino, was one of the most

+Civilisation - Kenneth Clark (Pages 94 and 108-111).
cultured spots of western civilisation in the latter part of the 15th
century. Federigo was essentially human, and young men from many
parts went to his court to finish their education - learn the
classics, walk gracefully, speak well, have good manners and generally
to behave like gentlemen.

One of the first men to take full advantage of the printing
press was Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) who used it
to disseminate his views; indeed he might well be remembered as the
first journalist. He wrote in Latin (then universally read),
mingled his criticisms with humour and had a gift of expressing
matters so that they could be differently interpreted. He wanted to
expose the problems of his time without causing a serious schism in
social conditions. Erasmus was opposed to violence as a means of
change for, as he said, 'The outcome of even a just war is unpredictable.
Better to arbitrate.' It is strange that after years of bitterness
in international relations the nations of the world have yet to
learn the need to accept the warning and wisdom of Erasmus.

At the beginning of the 16th century the prestige of the
Papacy was on the decline. Many who sought for some kind of reform
in the Church began to look for leadership beyond Rome; in Germany
a number of churches and sects repudiated papal authority. Martin
Luther (1483-1546) expounded his views on Christian piety in his

*Erasmus of Christendom - Professor R. H. Bainton (Page 118).
thesis of 1517. His movement gained influence through the backing of temporal rulers. He also translated the Bible into German, so that people could read it for themselves. Regrettably, as often happens when a reform is introduced, ardent rebels misunderstood Luther's concept of social and spiritual equality; the movement got beyond the control of the originator. Luther deplored the uprising known as the Peasants' Revolt which led to a catastrophic destruction of images and works of art. His contention was that the common man should try to achieve his aims through constitutional channels and not resort to force. Only when violence was used did Luther appeal to the Princes to exert their power to subdue it. When that was attained, he sought for clemency towards the offenders. It is ironic and a sad commentary on orthodox religion that Luther's piety and zest for reform should have led to his excommunication by Pope Leo X in 1520. Injustice and oppression have not always rested with the wicked. Little did even Pope Leo appreciate what is a well-known Akan saying "Nea Oko Asu Na Obo Ahina" (The person who fetches water in a clay pot is the one most likely to break it some day).

A writer and thinker whose effect on society might have been even greater than it was, but for his withdrawal from participation in worldly affairs, was Michael Equem de Montaigne (1553-1592). He was a determined seeker after truth, to find which he looked on every question from all possible points of view, an art which still remains one of the surest means of attaining understanding. Montaigne
wanted to study man as an intellectual being and decided to examine himself as the only person he could really know.* To express his speculations he wrote in a new form - the essay. This style was emulated by Francis Bacon and many others, continuing down the years. The intellectual revival gave rise to a great surge of interest in adventure and discovery. The first explorers were generally men of high ideals who nourished hopes of finding fresh sea-routes and unknown territories. Some were encouraged by monarchs who hoped to gain riches for their coffers. Unhappily, the newly-found routes came under attacks from pirates whose sole aim was to enrich themselves quickly from the endeavours of others. This state of affairs also resulted in the expansion of the slave trade under the most appalling conditions which were to continue until its cruelty became gradually realised and this, together with increasing industrialism in Europe and America, brought it to an end.

LEARNING, ADVENTURE AND DISCOVERY LEAD TO PRACTICE OF SLAVERY ON A MASS SCALE

Slavery, as has been shown earlier, existed in Africa long before the arrival of Europeans. Mainly it was of the benign or domestic kind, but there was also some horrifying traffic in humans carried on. E. W. Bovill in his Caravans of the Old Sahara (1933) tells of caravans of many thousands of camels, but he also maintains

*cf Plato: 'the unexamined life is not worth living'
that the trade route to Fezzan in the Libyan desert from Kano in the Hausa country of Nigeria was largely used for traffic in slaves. He wrote: 'There had long been a big demand for Negro slaves on the North African littoral, partly for local use, but more particularly for export to Egypt and Turkey ... Hausa slaves were more highly valued than any other, the men for their skill and intelligence, the women for their good looks, cheerfulness and neatness. .... In their own interest the slave merchants saw that their slaves were in good condition before they set out to cross the desert. The men, who were mostly youths, were coupled with leg-irons and chained by the neck, but the women and girls were usually allowed to go free. Only the strongest survived the desert march, and these were little better than living skeletons by the time they reached Fezzan. There they were rested and fattened for the Tripoli and Benghazi markets, where prime slaves could be sold at a profit of five hundred per cent.'*

Such treatment is horrible, but may be regarded as nothing when compared with the appalling conditions under which slaves were later transported to the New World. 'Man's inhumanity to Man' can seldom have been worse than as revealed in this monstrous traffic in human lives.

**HORRORS OF THE SLAVE TRADE**

A vivid description was also given by James Barbot (circa 1701) of how ships' surgeons were unable 'to administer proper remedies' to

*Black Africa - Russell Warren Howe (Page 77).*
moribund negroes in the hold. 'This' he remarks, 'they cannot do leisurely between decks, because of the great heat that is there continually, which is sometimes so excessive that the surgeons would faint away, and the candles would not burn.'

John Newton entered the slave trade in 1746 on one of the largest of the Plantain Islands of the territory now known as Sierra Leone, where he spent nine years. In his *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* he gives the following account of the interior of a slave ship; the five-foot headroom below decks was divided by ledges for the slaves chained two and two together and laid 'in two rows one above the other, on each side of the ship, close to each other, like books upon a shelf. I have known them so close that the shelf would not easily contain one more. And I have known a white man sent down among the men to lay these rows to the greatest advantage, so that as little space as possible could be lost.... And every morning perhaps more instances than one are found of the living and the dead, like the captives of Mezentius, fastened together.'

*Sins of the Fathers - James Pope-Hennessy (Page 3).*

(a) *Sins of the Fathers - James Pope-Hennessy (Page 3).*

(b) Michael Del-Anang in *Ghana Resurgent (1964)* writes as follows (Page 25): "Hundreds of thousands of slaves were taken from their homes and shipped to the West and the Americas. One slave in every eight died at sea, two more died within a few months of their arrival in the plantations. It is estimated that of the hundreds of thousands of slaves taken from the coast (i.e. West Coast of Africa), more than half died before they could begin life as slaves."
Newton originally had no compunction about his absolute power over his ship's crew and slaves which he combined with an extraordinary religious fervour - he was the author of the hymn *How sweet the name of Jesus sounds* - while subjecting them to the utmost brutality. Later, however, he did a volte-face, and became an abolitionist, declaring the slave trade to be a 'business which makes my heart now shudder.' His first-hand experience indeed proved an asset to those who eventually brought about its cessation.

Most of the traders had no qualms about their degrading dealings, although some had pangs of conscience. In a journal of the slaving voyages he made from Rio Basso on the Windward Coast to Pensacola Bay in Florida (October, 1812) Richard Drake, reckoning his expected profits with his captain, confesses: 'Leclerc and I had a chat about this African business. He says he's repugnant to it, and I confess it's not a thing I like. But, as my uncle argues, slaves must be bought and sold; somebody must do the trading; and why not make hay while the sun shines?'

The Portuguese in developing trade stations along the western and eastern coasts of Africa gained themselves an early monopoly. At first they rightly respected the rich and powerful African rulers they encountered and adapted themselves to their customs. There were plenty of accounts to impress them of the splendour, learning and civilised conditions that existed in the early African empire.

*Sins of the Fathers - James Pope Hennessy (Page 3).*
THE JUSTIFICATION OF SLAVERY WAS INCORRECT WITH THE HIGH STATE OF LEARNING AND CIVILIZATION PREVALENT IN AFRICA IN EARLY TIMES.

In 1324 the renowned emperor of Mali, Mansa Musa, left his kingdom for a pilgrimage to Mecca. The monarch, mounted on an Arab steed, was preceded by five hundred slaves, each bearing a staff weighing five hundred mitqals of gold, a mitqal being then about one-eighth of an ounce. The kingdom of Mali was one of the largest and richest, and comprised the lands of Gana, Zagoa, Kabora, Baraguri and Gao-gao. Ibn Fadl al Omari in his description (based on earlier records) tells how, on his way, the Mali emperor passed through Egypt: 'This man spread upon Cairo the flood of his generosity; there was no person, officer of the court, (Cairo) or holder of any office of the (Cairo) sultanate who did not receive a sum in gold from him. The people of Cairo earned incalculable sums from him, whether by buying and selling or by gifts. So much gold was current in Cairo that it ruined the value of money.'

The residence of the King of Mali was in the town of Niane, near Siguiri on the right bank of the Upper Niger, on the frontier of the Modern Guinea and Mali republics; a small village still exists there. al Omari describes the grandeur of a court reception:

'The sultan of this kingdom presides in his palace on a great

balcony called bembe where he has a great seat of ebony that is like a throne fit for a large and tall person; on either side it is flanked by elephant tusks turned towards each other. His arms stand near him, being all of gold, sabre, lance, quiver, bow and arrows. He wears wide trousers made of about twenty pieces (of stuff) of a kind which he alone may wear.* Behind him there stood about a score of Turkish or other pages which are bought for him in Cairo: one of them, at his left, holds a silk umbrella surmounted by a dome and a bird of gold: the bird has the figure of a falcon. His officers are seated in a circle about him, in two rows, one to the right and one to the left; beyond them sit the chief commanders of his cavalry. In front of him there is a person who never leaves him and who is his executioner; also another who serves as intermediary (that is, official spokesman) between the sovereign and his subjects, and who is named the herald. In front of them again there are drummers. Others dance before their sovereign, who enjoys this, and make him laugh. Two banners spread behind him. Before him they keep two saddled and bridled horses in case he should wish to ride.'**

The pomp and circumstance of the Mali emperor's audiences was also recorded by Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Battuta, one of the

*In fairly recent times certain types of Kente design were only worn by the Ashantehene and not by any of his subjects.

+Similar in design and execution to the traditional State Umbrellas of our days.


+In the hierarchy of the Akan court of today this official exists; known as Okyeame he is loosely referred to as the "linguist"
most travelled of all the Muslim writers of the Middle Ages. He also took good account of the qualities of the people and noted:

1. The small number of acts of injustice that one finds there; for the Negroes are of all peoples those who most abhor injustice; the sultan pardons no one who is guilty of it.

2. The complete and general safety one enjoys throughout the land. The traveller has no more reason than the man who stays at home to fear brigands, thieves or ravishers.

3. The blacks do not confiscate the goods of white men (that is, of North Africans) who die in their country, not even when these consist of big treasures. They deposit them, on the contrary, with a man of confidence among the whites until those who have a right to the goods present themselves and take possession.

4. They make their prayers punctually; they assiduously attend their meetings of the faithful, and punish their children if these should fail in this. On Fridays, anyone who is late at the mosque will find nowhere to pray, the crowd is so great. ...."

Other accounts of courtly magnificence are told of the Empire of Benin; its early beginnings are legendary, but the first Oba to have contact with Europeans was Ewuare, when Ruy de Sigueira visited the Benin area in 1472. A Portuguese explorer, John Affonso d'Aveiro came to Benin city some thirteen years later. The Oba, a theocratic ruler (believed to have descended from a god) held

*The African Past - Basil Davidson (Pages 90-91).
receptions in a spacious palace. He was so heavily sheathed in gold that when he rose to his feet he had to be supported by two slaves, who also had to operate his arms if he wished to gesticulate."

Leo Africanus, was a young Moor born in Grenada. In 1510 when less than 20, he was part of a mission sent by the Sharif of Fez to Songhai; his History and Description of Africa and the Notable Things Therein Contained, appeared in 1526. He travelled in the wake of Askia's victorious armies; he noted the presence of water conduits at Timbuktu in the flood season and was impressed by the abundance of corn, cattle, milk and butter. He found the inhabitants of the city 'people of a gentle, very cheerful disposition.' In a description of the Askia's court, Leo Africanus wrote:

'The rich King of Timbuktu hath many plates and sceptres of gold, some whereof weigh thirteen hundred pounds; and he keeps a magnificent and well ordered court. When he traveleth any whither he rideth upon a camel which is led by some of his noblemen; and so he doth likewise when he goes to warfare, and all his soldiers ride on horses. Whosoever will speak unto the King must first fall down before his feet, and then taking up earth, must sprinkle it upon his own head and shoulders; which custom is ordinarily observed by them that never saluted the King before or come as ambassadors from other princes.'

'He hath always three thousand horsemen, and a great number of footmen that shoot poisoned arrows attending him...'

'Here are a great store of doctors, judges, priests and other learned men, that are bountifully maintained at the King's cost and charges. And hither are brought diverse manuscripts or written books out of Barbary, which are sold for more money than any merchandise. The coin of Timbuktu is of gold without any stamp or superscription: but in matters of small value they use certain shells* brought hither out of the kingdom of Persia.'

In his journeying Leo Africanus went on to the territory of the Hausa people in northern Nigeria, another recent Askia conquest. Here he admired the remarkable work of the weavers, metal-workers and shoesmiths of Gobir. He continued on to the Kanem-Bornu empire where 'gold was so plentiful that even the hunting dogs wore collars of gold'.**

An early writer on Central Africa was Joao dos Santos,† a Dominican priest who came to the East Coast in 1586, and served at Sofala for four years. In 1590 he travelled up the Zambesi to the trading post of Sena and Tete; after one year he came back to Mozambique Island. He left Africa in 1595, but after eleven years in Portugal returned and went up the Zambesi a second time. His *Ethiopia Oriental* was published at Evora in 1609 and shortly after was translated into English. His records are of considerable sociological interest.

*These shells could be cowries which were used extensively in West, and other parts of, Africa as currency until the early part of the 20th century.

** Black Africa - Russell Warren Howe (Pages 53-55).

†The African Past - Basil Davidson (Pages 158-159).
He wrote:

'The Fortresse of Sofala stands in 20.30 Southerne degrees, situated on the Coast of Eastern Ethiopia, neere the Sea, and just be a River a league in the mouth, little more or lesse, which riseth higher above one hundred leagues, arising in the Countrey called Mocarangua, and passing by the Citie Zimbaeo where the Quitave resides, who is King of those parts, and of all the River of Sofala. Up that River the Portugals trade to Manica, a land of much gold, seated within the land above sixtie leagues. Within the Fort of Sofala is a Church, to which belong six hundred Communicants. The Inhabitants usually are Merchants, some to Manica for gold, which they barter for Stifles and Beades, both to the Captayne and themselves; others to the River of Sabia, and the Iles das Bocicas, and other neere Rivers, for Ivorie, Gergelimspece, Pulse, Amber and many Slaves.'

Visiting the Kingdom of Quiteve (inland Mozambique and frontier with Southern Rhodesia) dos Santos was struck by the awe with which the King was regarded:

'The King of these parts is of curled haire, a Gentile, which worships nothing, nor hath any knowledge of God; yea, rather hee carries himselfe as God of his Countries, and so is holden to and
reverenced of his Vassals. He is called Quiteve, a title royall and no proper name, which they exchange for this so soone as they become Kings.... If the Cafars have a suit, and seeke to speake with the King, they creepe to the place where hee is, having prostrated themselves at the entrance, and looke not on him all the while they speake but lying on one side clap their hands all the time (a rite of obsequiousness in those parts) and then having finished, they creepe out of the doores as they came in. For no Cafar may enter on foot to speake to the King, nor eye him in speaking, except the familiars and particular friends of the King. The Portugais enter on their feet, but unshod, and being neere the King, prostrate themselves lying on one side almost sitting and without looking on him speake to him, at every fourth word clapping their hands according to the custome. Both Cafres and Portugais are entertained by him with wine of Mays, or their wheate, called Pombe, which they must drinke, although against stomache, not to contemne the King's bountie; whence the Portugais have had some trouble, and are forced to stay in Towne without leave to returne home, with great expence of time and charges ....'*

*It is striking that the details of obeisance to the King applied to whites as well as blacks. The Emperor of China in the 19th century also expected, and received, a recognised form of respect known as 'kow-tow.' Because the British representatives considered it beneath their dignity to comply with this, negotiations at the time of the Opium War were seriously impaired. (See Part IV).
A high regard for justice has always been exemplified in the ceremonial and customs of African leaders. In the Commonwealth Institute, London, there is a model of a Ghana Chief, seated beneath his State Umbrella, and seated at his feet is a small boy representing his 'soul'. The umbrella is a symbol of office; on top of the umbrella is an ornament, the heredity emblem of Ghanaian Chiefs. The ornament usually symbolises a proverb or represents certain historical incidents or qualities. In the particular case of the umbrella in London there is the model of a hand holding an egg, which serves as a reminder of the care with which a chief must handle his powers. The similarity between this modern Ghanaian court and that of ancient Ghana is too close to deserve further comment.

As has been shown, the Portuguese were the first to explore and trade along the coasts and then to penetrate into the interior of Africa. They were fairly soon followed by the English and French, and not long after by the Dutch. Trading was beneficial to both Europeans and Africans and - at first, at any rate - was not concerned with slaving.

The original trading posts opened by the Portuguese were solely for merchandise; but they became involved in the purchase of slaves, particularly as they encountered the African kingdoms that lay round the estuary of the Congo and southward in Western Angola. By 1448 when Senegal and Gambia had been reached, nearly 1,000 slaves had been imported to Portugal.

* This claim is disputed by the French: See: Michael Dei-Anang; GHANA RESURGENT (Waterville Publishing House, Accra, 1964) Pages 18-21 where the sequence of arrivals is discussed particularly in regard to Ghana.
THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD LED TO THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE DEMAND FOR SLAVE LABOUR

When the value of ivory and gold as merchandise became fully appreciated, the slave trade dwindled. This was, however, only a temporary lapse, for the discovery of the New World led to a fresh demand for slave labour.* It may be noted here that by the Treaty of Assiento, signed between the British and Spain in 1713, England was granted the monopoly of the slave trade in colonial Spain for 30 years during which she agreed to supply the Spanish colonies with at least 144,000 slaves - an average of nearly 5,000 slaves annually from the African continent. But this was only the beginning. By 1790 there was a total of some 697,897 African slaves in the United States alone. Commenting on this situation, W. E. B. du Bois points out that the slave trade persisted because of the cupidity of the Americans. 'It was the plain duty of the colonies to crush the trade and the system in its infancy; they preferred to enrich themselves on its profits.'**

EARLY AFRICAN PROTESTS AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE

In the meantime, evils of the trade were early realised by King Affonso (Mbemba Nzinga) of the Congo, who expressed his fears in

*The British Anti-Slavery Movement - Sir Reginald Coupland (Page 16).
in a number of letters (fortunately preserved) addressed to the King of Portugal. In 1526 he wrote:

'(1526) Sir, Your Highness (of Portugal) should know how our Kingdom is being lost in so many ways that it is convenient to provide for the necessary remedy, since this is caused by the excessive freedom given by your factors and officials to the men and merchants who are allowed to come to this Kingdom to set up shops with goods and many things which have been prohibited by us, and which they spread throughout our Kingdoms and Domains in such abundance that many of our vassals, whom we had in obedience, do not comply because they have the things in greater abundance than we ourselves; and it was with these things that we had them content and subjected under our vassalage and jurisdiction, so it is doing a great harm not only to the service of God, but to the security and peace of our Kingdoms and State as well.

And we cannot reckon how great the damage is, since the mentioned merchants are taking every day our natives, sons of the land and the sons of our noblemen and vassals and our relatives, because the thieves and men of bad conscience grab them wishing to have the things and wares of this Kingdom which they are ambitious of; they grab them and get them to be sold; and so great, Sir, is the corruption and licentiousness that our country is being completely depopulated, and
and Your Highness should not agree with this nor accept it as in your service. And to avoid it we need from those (your Kingdoms) no more than some priests and a few people to teach in schools, and no other goods except wine and flour for the holy sacrament. That is why we beg of Your Highness to help and assist us in this matter, commanding your factors that they should not send here either merchants or wares, because it is our will that in these Kingdoms there should not be any trade of slaves nor outlet for them.* Concerning what is referred above, again we beg of Your Highness to agree with it, since otherwise we cannot remedy such an obvious damage. Pray Our Lord in His mercy to have Your Highness under His guard and let you do for ever the things of His Service. I kiss your hands many times. At our town of Congo, written on the sixth day of July. Joao Teixeira did it in 1526.*

It is of interest to note that in those times, one did not speak or think of the inferiority or backwardness of the blackman. He was accepted on equal terms by foreign rulers. There is the parallel case of a Nigerian King who as recently as the nineteenth century became a friend of Queen Victoria and was invited to London as her guest in Buckingham Palace. The African's alleged inferiority is only

* Italics indicated emphasis in the original.

+ The African Past - Basil Davidson (Pages 194-195). Probably a Congolese secretary educated by the Portuguese missionaries at Mbanza Congo. The King, Dom Affonso. The inscription on the back of this letter is as follows: 'To the most powerful and excellent prince, Dom Joao, King our Brother').
a bye-product of slavery and imperial domination.*

In the first half of the sixteenth century the Portuguese began the colonisation of Brazil, while the Spaniards conquered and partly occupied territory stretching from Mexico, through Peru to Uruguay, including the larger West Indian islands. The new possessions contained vast potentials of wealth in gold and silver mines, tobacco, indigo and sugar; but to exploit these required a large labour force. Most of the natives had been killed in the conquest, and others fled to the mountains and forests. Extreme toil was needed and the heat was unbearable for Europeans. A solution was found in the supply, from Africa, of negroes who had great powers of endurance and would or could be made to work hard.

England, later played a dominant role in increasing the slave trade. In 1663 a monopoly was granted to The Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading with Africa: some thirty years later when the monopoly was abolished, about 5,000 slaves a year were being carried in English ships. By 1770 nearly half the traffic was conducted by British vessels, though the figure began to drop after the loss of the American colonies in 1787. The French were second, and the Portuguese third.


* A recent issue of West Africa, the weekly journal on West African affairs published in London (12th November 1971) comments on this point thus:

'It is not often recalled that, in the pre-colonial period the kings of Bonny were treated on terms of great respect and equality by the British, and King William Dappa Pepple one of the best known who ruled in the mid-19th century, was received in London by Queen Victoria'.

Dr. Felix N. Okoye has indicated that many factors were responsible for popularizing the myth of African inferiority, chief among which was resentment against the efforts made by the abolitionists to secure emancipation of the slaves. It was the opponents of the slave trade who created the image of the African as a 'nigger', a 'savage', a 'semi-gorilla'.

The Sugar plantation was probably where slavery was seen at its worst. This product made a great strain on the physique of individuals, and also necessitated the type of gang-slavery more severe than the system mainly used on small farms.

A pitiable aspect of the slave system, far too often deliberately overlooked by its defenders, was the degrading effect on members of their own race. Some of the white men in the West Indies could not stand the conditions; they became bigoted, irresponsible, heavy drinkers, gamblers, co-habited with slave-women and were usually short-lived. The worst of them became 'poor whites' with a moral and social status lower than the Negroes.

One of the earliest publications to draw attention to the slave trade was Oronoko or the Royal Slave, published by Mrs. Aphra Benn in 1680, in which the nobility of the slave hero was contrasted with the brutality of the slave-trader and slave-owner. From then on the system was decried by preachers, philosophers, poets and writers. Locke's first Treatise on Civil Government, published in 1698, began: 'Slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that it is hardly to be conceived that an 'Englishman', much less a 'gentleman', should plead for it?' Defoe attacked the slave trade in his Reformation of Manners, and attention was drawn to the misery of enslavement by Thomson, Pope, Savage and Sheastone in their poems.
All this was, however, a question of words and individually-expressed opinions. The first action was taken by the Quakers. In 1671, their founder, George Fox, urged the 'Friends' to treat their slaves well and free them after 'certain years of servitude'. As years passed, Quakers in England or in the colonies who owned slaves, or were connected with the Trade, were induced to give them up. In 1774 any 'Friend' who continued dealing with the Trade, was expelled from the society, and two years later, manumission was enforced on any 'Friend' who still owned slaves.

GRANVILLE SHARP - THE ORIGINAL ABOLITIONIST

The man with the most claim to be the original 'abolitionist' is Granville Sharp. Born in 1735, he was the twelfth of fourteen children of an archdeacon of Northumberland. He was a man of sagacity with a keen sense of humour; very impulsive, he was liable to take on the most unexpected tasks - and succeed in them. His concern over slavery began in 1765 when he saw a Negro in an 'extremely distressful condition' leaving his brother's surgery, and he took up his case.

In his determination to abolish slavery in England, Granville Sharp, over the years, carried on a series of struggles with the law until he finally won a case in 1772 which resulted in the recognition of slaves in England as being free men, whether or not they chose to remain in their master's service. Two years later, John Wesley published
his Thoughts Upon Slavery, appealing to slave-owners to realise the injustice of the system.

Dr. Johnson, as was to be expected, was strongly 'against slavery in every form'. He was deeply interested in the case of a Jamaican, Joseph Knight, in Edinburgh in 1778, when he declared: 'no man is by nature the property of another'. About three years earlier, Thomas Paine had published in Philadelphia a tract on African Slavery in America, in which he asked Americans 'to consider to what consistency or decency they complain so loudly of attempts to enslave them while they hold so many hundred thousands in slavery.'

The whole problem was affected by the American revolution. The peace treaty of 1783 and the recognition of thirteen insurgent colonies meant that a large section of the slave-system had been removed from British control. Quakers in America had followed the rulings of their brethren in England. An active denouncer of slavery was Anthony Benezet, an exiled Huguenot, who had joined the Friends in Philadelphia. In 1783 he wrote to 'Charlotte, Queen of Great Britain' imploring her compassion for 'the miseries under which so large a part of mankind are suffering the most unjust and grievous oppression'.

One of the most outstanding figures in the fight against slavery was Thomas Clarkson, son of the headmaster of Wisbech Grammar School. Although he was only a poor man, he gave up his career as a clergyman to devote his whole time to the Abolitionist cause. In 1787 he set out on the first of his many journeys of investigation to expose the brutalities of the slave trade. Clarkson visited Bristol, Liverpool,

* The British Anti-Slavery Movement - Sir Reginald Coupland
and Lancaster; he boarded slave-ships and measured the quarters provided for the slaves; obtained specimens of the shackles, thumb-screws and mouthopeners used. He spent nights, until 2 in the morning, in seamen's hostels and pothouses trying to find interviews and get evidence. Once in Liverpool, he nearly lost his life when, traders fearing the results of his revelations, molested him and tried to force a quarrel, nearly forcing him off the pier-head into a high sea. The accumulation of all his data proved damning evidence for the case against slavery.

'That such a system should so long have been suffered to exist in any part of the British Empire will appear to our posterity almost incredible,' so wrote William Wilberforce, another prominent Abolitionist, who exerted all his not inconsiderable influence on the politicians to get parliamentary reform of the Slave Trade. Born at Hull in 1759, he was educated at Cambridge and then drifted into what, at first, was a life of pleasure. Unlike Clarkson, who was difficult to get on with, Wilberforce was a man of great charm; he had brilliant deep-set eyes and a slight, stooping figure. A good conversationalist, witty without malice, he also showed an unforced interest in everything, which gained him many friends. Among these, his most intimate was William Pitt (the Younger) who on becoming Prime Minister in 1783, could always rely on his support.

A man who played a considerable part in making Wilberforce change his way of life was Henry Thornton (1760-1815), banker and MP who inherited the wealth which his grandfather had made in trade with Russia. For five years from 1792-97, Henry followed his father's trait of munificence, giving away a large part of his fortune. Wilberforce lived in Thornton's house at Clapham, then a quiet country village. The big oval library in Clapham, designed by Chatham, became a regular meeting place for the Abolitionists. One neighbour was Granville Sharp, 'father of the movement; another of the older members was Charles Grant.
THE CLAPHAM SECT
The 'Clapham Sect', as it became known, was thoroughly religious and met every Sunday at the parish church to hear sermons preached by John Venn who became the first chairman of the Church Missionary Society, the foundation of which had been discussed in Wilberforce's room. In 1791 Wilberforce moved for 'leave to bring in a Bill to prevent the further importation of slaves into the British islands in the West Indies;' he was supported by Pitt, Fox and Burke, but the motion was defeated. The opponents won the day on a misinterpretation that the property of the West Indians was at stake.

The Quakers would not accept this rebuff and decided to launch their first action in organising public opinion. Pamphlets on the horrors of the Trade and reprints of Parliamentary debates were widely circulated; a poem, The Negro's Complaint by Cowper had been set to music and thousands of copies were distributed. Joseph Wedgewood, the famous master potter, gave the committee a porcelain plaque modelled on their seal, showing a suppliant negro on his knees in chains, with the inscription: 'Am I not a man and brother?' These were despatched all over the country in parcels of five hundred; sympathisers used them for setting in snuff-boxes or bracelets and had them mounted on gold-pins to stick in their hair.

Machinery was set up to organise petitions against the Trade; these poured in from England and Scotland and were delivered to the House in time for Wilberforce to open the great debate on 2nd April 1792, on the
issue of the Slave Trade. Fox, Grey and Wyndham described Wilberforce's speech as 'one of the most extraordinary displays of eloquence they had ever heard'. In spite of this, the motion was amended to 'The Slave Trade ought to be gradually abolished', and was thus carried.

Further delays and set back for the Abolitionists were caused by the House of Lords which adopted the destructive device of hearing the evidence all over again. Outbreak of war with France also strengthened the case against abolition. The hopes of the Quakers began to fade and meetings of the Abolitionist Committee grew fewer, eventually stopping all together in 1796, until eight years later. Wilberforce was one of the few who carried on the struggle for the cause, despite ridicule and calumnies on his private life. Pitt alone remained loyal to Wilberforce, until his resignation over the Irish question in 1801.

An unexpected aid to Abolition arose from competition of newly acquired sugar plantations in the Caribbean with the older West Indian islands which realised that one way to stop this was to halt the supply of African labour to their rivals.

In 1804 the Abolitionist Committee again assembled to renew their campaign. On the 30th of May, Wilberforce re-introduced his old motion, which eventually passed its three readings, but once again got delayed by the House of Lords. The Bill was brought up again in the following year, but was defeated on the second reading. A minor success was, however, achieved by an Order-in-Council which prohibited the stocking of annexed colonies with new slaves. Pitt's health had at length been undermined, and he died in 1806.
Fox, although his health was also failing, regained office. On 10th June 1806 he moved the resolution of Abolition of the Slave Trade. 'If', he declared, 'during the forty years that I have now had the honour of a seat in Parliament, I had been so fortunate as to accomplish that and that only, I should think I had done enough and could retire from public life with comfort and the conscious satisfaction that I had done my duty.'*

The motion was carried in both Houses and a bill rushed through before the end of the session to prevent employment in the Trade of any ships not previously concerned therein.

THE 1807 ABOLITION BILL

On 2nd January 1807 the Abolition Bill was finally introduced. The first clause declared that after 1st January, the following year, 'all manner of dealing and trading' in slaves in Africa or their transport from Africa to any other place was to be 'utterly abolished, prohibited and declared to be unlawful.'

When the Act became operative the majority of the British 'slavers' were soon driven from the seas by British cruisers. A few Traders remained daring enough to risk the consequences for the profits they might make, and slave-ships were fitted-out on the continent, and even a few in Liverpool and London. This was stopped by an Act in 1811

making Slave Trading a felony punishable by transportation, while
finally, thirteen years later, a further Act made the Trade piracy and
a capital crime.

As has been shown, the first settlements overseas were not for
colonisation, but were established as trading posts by discoverers and
explorers to exploit the potential riches of the territories. At the
beginning of the 19th century despite the loss of the American colonies,
Britain continued to expand her territories overseas, making her the
leading colonial power. The years 1783-1825 saw British developments
in four directions: the first white settlement; the acquisition of
Canada; supremacy in India; and developments in Africa.

Before colonial times, Africa was a country whose people were
constantly on the move because of social, political and, sometimes,
religious reasons. Administrations by the Europeans meant a need for
boundaries - keeping the citizens in fixed local communities; for each
of these it was necessary to have their own land together with rights
in it against intruders. This unfortunately led to much misunder­
standing, as the succeeding paragraphs indicate.

**COLONIALISM TAKES OVER FROM SLAVERY**

*(THE GENESIS OF ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION IN AFRICA)*

Various types of African groups had previously existed held
together by Kingship, or Kinship; these had lived together in more or
less defined territories, but they were 'adjoining areas' rather than actual
L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan in the first volume of *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960* wrote:

'Most fundamental aspect of European impact was the loss of sovereignty which it introduced in practically every African people. Europeans exploited their technological superiority to establish their political dominance throughout the continent. They often crushed, suppressed or amalgamated states at will. In some cases, they set up direct European rule with a conscious effort to order the day-to-day lives of the African peoples. In others, varying degrees of local autonomy were permitted to continue .... Perhaps the most significant exercise of the sovereignty was the extent to which the act of partition was effected. The territories into which Africa was divided marked entirely new departures in African living.' It is impossible to imagine the extent of hardships which the arbitrary imposition of imperial boundaries, set down and agreed upon without due consultation with Africans most directly affected by them caused to many ethnic groups through the continent. In some areas, boundary lines literally divided villages with frontier posts into national foreign countries, thus artificially separating one group of inhabitants from the other, alienating them from their own kith and kin. Brothers cannot visit their relations on the other side of the barrier without having to satisfy abstruse customs and immigration procedures that make no sense to them. For example, Ewe in Keta on the eastern outposts of Ghana who are ethnically related to the Ewe-speaking citizens of Togo (Ghana's neighbour), who

own farms on both sides of the international boundary between the two states must carry identification documents and satisfy customs regulations when crossing from their area to the other. These restrictions were imposed by the imperial powers who administered these territories before independence. The real problem, however, is that owing to the fact that the colonial barriers have not been removed with the demise of colonial rule, the restrictions are still in force and free intercourse between people of the same ethnic stock remains impossible.

But, we have jumped the gun, so to speak, in history; so let us go back to the events in Africa following the abolition of slavery. When the nefarious Slave Trade was abolished, colonisation and Christianity became the basis of relationships between Africans and Europeans. For reasons of prestige, the colonial powers established their presence through a systematic destruction of the African image. The effect of the Christian influence resulted in an unfortunate denigration of African cultural values; these were represented as so rudimentary that the European powers asserted that colonialism and Christianity were needed to establish the foundations of what was commonly referred to as civilisation. By this was meant the transference of western modes of life and thought into Africa through colonialism, Christianity and commerce. This association of Christianity and colonialism turned out to be more than a marriage of convenience, but it did great damage to Christianity by identifying it with the white man's political power in Africa. Christ himself
repudiated the Crown* as the symbol of His authority, but colonialism in Africa made the Cross and the Crown strange bedfellows.

In his book *Consciencism*, Kwame Nkrumah expressed the view that:

'Even if we were no longer, on the evidence of the shape of our skulls, regarded as the missing link, unblessed with the arts of good government, material and spiritual progress, we were still regarded as representing the infancy of mankind. Our highly sophisticated culture was said to be simple and paralysed by inertia, and we had to be encumbered with tutelage. And this tutelage, it was thought, could only be implemented if we were first subjugated politically.

The history of a nation is, unfortunately, too easily written as the history of its dominant class. But if the history of a nation, or people, cannot be found in the history of a class, how much less can the history of a continent be found in what is not even a part of it - Europe. ... If African history is interpreted in terms of the interests of European merchandise and capital, missionaries and administrators, it is no wonder that African nationalism is in the forms it takes regarded as a perversion and neo-colonialism as a virtue.'**

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* (a) John 18 v. 36: My kingdom is not of this world.
(b) Matthew Chap. 22 vv. 19, 20, 21 "Shew me the tribute money... whose is this image and superscription? ... Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and to God the things that are Gods."

** Consciencism - Kwame Nkrumah (Pages 62-63).
Emancipation of the slave became the next cause of a long struggle, not only in the British colonies, but also against the system in territories controlled by the French, Spanish and Portuguese, the southern part of the United States and the Republics of South America. Loss of the slave trade was compensated for by raw materials such as palm-oil, ivory, shea-butter and ultimately coffee, cocoa, tea and hemp. For this most of the credit must go to the explorers and missionaries who penetrated deep into hitherto unknown territories.

In the latter part of the 18th century, Mungo Park set out to solve the problem of the Niger, and another Scottish explorer, James Bruce, had investigated the upper reaches of the Nile, the source of which was later discovered by Speke.

Early in the 19th century the English on the Gold Coast became interested in Ashanti and Thomas Bowdich was sent on an official mission to Kumasi. He described the splendour of his reception as follows:

(1817) 'We entered Kumasi at two o' clock ... Upwards of five thousand people, the greater part warriors, met us with awful bursts of martial music ... The smoke which encircled us from the incessant discharges of musquetry confined our glimpses to the foreground; and we were halted, while the captains performed their pyrrhic dance, in the centre of a circle formed by their warriors; where a confusion of flags, English, Dutch and Danish, were waved and flourished in all directions. ...
The dress of the captains was a war cap, with gilded rams' horns projecting in front, the sides extended beyond all proportions by immense plumes of eagles' feathers ... Their vest was of red cloth, covered with fetishes .......... in gold and silver ... They wore loose cotton trousers, with immense boots of dull red leather, coming half way up the thigh.

Our observations en passant had taught us to conceive a spectacle far exceeding our original expectations; but they had not prepared us for the extent and display of the scene which here burst upon us; an area of nearly a mile in circumference was crowded with magnificent novelty. The king, his tributaries, and captains, were resplendent in the distance, surrounded by attendants of every description ... More than a hundred bands burst (out) at once on our arrival, with the peculiar airs of their several chiefs; the horns flourished their defiances, with beating of innumerable drums and metal instruments, and then yielded for a while to the soft breathings of their long flutes ...

At least a hundred large umbrellas, or canopies, which could shelter thirty persons were sprung up and down by the bearers with brilliant effect, being made of scarlet, yellow, and the most showy cloths and silks, and crowned on top with crescents, pelicans, elephants, barrels, and arms and swords of gold ...'

'The caboceers, as did the superior captains and attendants, wore Ashanti cloths, of extravagant price from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them in all varieties of colour,
as well as pattern; (these cloths)† were of an incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulder exactly like a Roman toga; a small silk fillet encircles their temples, and massy gold necklaces, intricately wrought...

An explorer who never seems to have received quite the recognition he deserves is the German, Heinrich Barth, who was born in Hamburg in 1821. He travelled in North Africa and the Near East between 1845-1847, and went to the western Sudan as a member of a British expedition in 1849. He returned in 1855 with the first comprehensive and scholarly report of this vast region to be obtained by any European. In his fascinating account of Timbuktu (1853), Barth, referring to the industry and trade, writes:

* Caboceers were the overseers in command of slaves assembled for handing over to their purchasers, and were called by the English 'Captains of the Slaves.' While waiting to be collected, the slaves were kept in houses called Trunks, often in terrible conditions, under the supervision of the 'Captain of Trunks.' If any slaves were lost in passage to the ships, or ran away from the Trunk, the caboccer in charge had to replace them. Another type of caboccer was the 'Captain of Sand.' His task was to take charge of trade goods as they were brought ashore by canoe and to see that cases left all night on the sand (because of shortage of porters) were not rifled.

The African Past - Basil Davidson (Pages 232-324).

† The cloths mentioned are the rich KENTE patterns whose traditional home was BONWIRE in Ashanti.
The great feature which distinguishes the market of Timbuktu from that of Kano is the fact that Timbuktu is not at all a manufacturing town, while the emporium of Hausa fully deserves to be classed as such. Almost the whole life of the city is based upon foreign commerce, which owing to the great northerly bend of the Niger, finds here the most favoured spot for intercourse, while at the same time that splendid river enables the inhabitants to supply all their wants from without; for native corn is not raised here in sufficient quantities to feed even a very small proportion of the population, and almost all the victuals are imported by water carriage from Sansandi and the neighbourhood. The only manufactures carried on in (Timbuktu) are as far as fell under my observation, confined to the art of the blacksmith and to a little leatherwork. Some of these articles, such as provision or luggage bags, cushions, small leather pouches for tobacco, and gun-clothes, especially the leather bags, are very neat, but even these are mostly manufactured by Tawarek, and especially females, so that the industry of the city is hardly of any account. It was formerly supposed that Timbuktu was distinguished on account of its weaving, and that the export of dyed shirt from hence was considerable; but I have already had an opportunity of showing that this was entirely a mistake, almost the whole of the clothing of the natives themselves, especially that of the wealthier classes, being imported either from Kano or from Sansandi, besides the calico imported from England .... these shirts are generally distinguished by their rich ornament of coloured silk, and look very
pretty; and I am sorry that I was obliged to give away, as a present, a specimen which I intended to bring home with me ... 

In all this commerce, gold forms the chief staple. ... The gold is brought either from Bambuk or from Bure, but from the former place in larger quantity. The gold from the country of the Wangarawa does not reach this market, but, as it seems, at present is directly exported to * that part of the southern coast which on this account is called the Gold Coast. The species of gold from Bambuk is of a more yellow colour; that from Bure is rather whitish; and that from Wangarawa has a greenish hue. ...

The next article that forms one of the chief staples in Timbuktu, and in some respects even more so than gold, is salt, which together with gold, formed articles of exchange all along the Niger from the most ancient times.***

Emancipation of the slaves became the next cause for a long struggle, not only from the British Colonies, but also against the system in the territories controlled by the French, Spanish, Portuguese the southern part of the United States and the Republic of South America.


*To say that gold was carried to that part of the country called the Gold Coast "on this account" is like carrying coals to New Castle. The correct position is, of course, that the Gold Coast was the country from which the precious metal was obtained in large quantities. The internal evidence of this fact exists to this day.
David Livingstone (1813-1873), as a young man had the desire to become a medical missionary. After studying at Glasgow University, at the age of 25 in 1838, he was accepted by the London Missionary Society; two years later he gained his medical degree, was ordained and left for Africa. For fifteen years between 1841 and 1856 Livingstone travelled back and forth across the continent, mapping out new routes and carrying on his missionary work. He voiced the opinion that the interior of the country showed much more opportunity for the philanthropist than did the west coast.

In 1858, Livingstone set out once more to open a route from the eastern seaboard and made his final expedition in 1886 journeying up the Ruvuma river to Lake Nyasa and thence to the upper waters of the Congo.

Between his voyages, when he was received with great acclaim in England and Scotland, speaking on one occasion at Cambridge, he seems to have foreseen his own death; he said:

'I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country which is now open; do not let it be shut again. I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry on the work which I have begun? I leave it to you.' * 'Commerce and Christianity!'

Many risks were also taken by Henry Stanley during his travels, but he is reputed to have been rather an unpleasant character, and, in spite of his experiences, according to Basil Davidson, well-known

*The British Anti-Slavery Movement - Sir Reginald Coupland (Page 209).*
authority on Africa, he 'travelled much, but thought little'. His ambitions for commercial enterprise were in reality only a form of imperial conquest and concupiscence.

With the realisation that its raw materials afforded an even more lucrative source of trade than slavery, Europe plunged into a fierce exploitation of Africa. The main products at first were ivory, shea-butter, palm-oil, and rubber. The introduction of new tools and materials to the continent made a gradual decline of 'traditional' activities inevitable, but there was also a change in ideas and customs. Colonial rule meant the introduction of many new restrictions. But, often, a wise administrative officer would seek the advice of missionaries some of whom had some understanding of the Africans through their religious contacts with them.

In the early part of the 19th century, the main European countries to claim stakes in Africa were the French, British, Portuguese and Germans.

But it was Belgium with her need for expansion who tried to increase her sphere of influence. King Leopold II expended a considerable part of his personal fortune on expansion in Africa. In his attempts for further development, he founded in 1876, the African International Association, hoping to get the various other European powers to join it, but the scheme met with little support.

In 1884-45, Kaiser Wilhelm I aided and abetted by Bismarck called a conference in Berlin which laid down that if a country was going to make a claim to territory, then that territory must actually be occupied.
Thus began the 'scramble' for Africa and the development of imperial rule exercised from other lands. The 'opening up' of Africa desired by Livingstone, indeed, turned out to be in some ways its closure.

Although many of the European traders and administrators had good intentions, these were at times overcome by those on whom they were dependent for financial support. King Leopold II was set to get all he could grasp; in a letter to Baron Solvyna (1877) he wrote of 'winning a share in this magnificent African cake'.* He did, in fact, very well for himself. Under a series of treaties, Africa was partitioned up between the European nations; Leopold gained an agreement to the establishment of the Congo Free State, and he personally received all the financial gain from it.

Rule of the British territories began, and continued for some time, in the hands of various trading companies before the government eventually took over control by the issue of a new charter converting the territories along the Coast of the Gold Coast, for example, into the British Crown Colony, in July 1874.

Beneath the growth and change brought about by political and social conditions - or, in some parts, the conquest by force - African ideas (unseen and unappreciated) were gradually shaping towards thoughts of liberty and equality.

James Montgomery, as early as 1841, had visions of a future united Africa when he wrote:

'Down through the night of these tempestuous years
  A Sabbath dawn o'er Africa appears;
  Then shall her neck from Europe's yoke be freed,'*

*The African Past - Basil Davidson (Pages 49 and 51).
And healing arts to hideous arms succeed;
At home fraternal bonds her tribes shall bind,
Commerce abroad espouse them with mankind...."*
PART IV
PART IV - EXAMPLES OF OPPRESSION, EXPLOITATION AND EXTERMINATION OF BLACKS IN AFRICA, ASIA AND THE NEW WORLD

We have seen how the cruelties inflicted by the Slave Trade had a vital and irreparable effect on African life. The transportation of vast numbers of unfortunate victims to other lands, accelerated the subjugation and depopulation of vast areas of Africa.

Oliveira Cadornega wrote of the Congo (1680):

'And the fabulous amount of people inhabiting these can be estimated if we say that the conquest of these kingdoms began about a hundred years ago, and since every second year had been dispatched from this port about eight to ten thousand units of slaves, which sum up to almost a million of souls.'*

James Penny, a Liverpool man, made eleven voyages to West Africa. In a report to the Committee of the Privy Council, 1789, Penny stated that:

'...fourteen thousand slaves were annually exported from the region of Bonny and Calabar in the Niger delta, eleven thousand of those being purchased by the English.'* His estimate for Congo-Angola annual exports of slaves at this time was thirteen to fourteen thousand, while as many as twenty-five thousand, he thought, were taken every year from the Windward Coast (central and western) seaboard.

THE FATE OF THE HEREROS OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA UNDER THE GERMANS

The scramble for Africa, as has been seen, was strangely enough completed without war between the Europeans, but the partitioning of the

* The African Past - Basil Davidson (Page 205, 228).
territory was followed in many cases, particularly South West Africa, by appalling onslaught of the natives.

Treatment of the Hereros under German administration meant that the native tribes had to surrender their grazing-land to the whites.

Following the death of Maherero, builder of the Herero nation, in 1890, the Germans cunningly agreed that his successor should be Samuel Maherero, who was known to be willing to accept any 'agreements' when under the influence of rum and brandy. Samuel Maherero was coaxed or bullied into accepting new conditions which led to confiscation of cattle and loss of territory.

Heavy loss of cattle nearly roused the Herero to a pitch of war in 1896, and the following year their stocks were further depleted by an epidemic of rinder-pest. These conditions forced submission to German administration until some of the chiefs of the Eastern Herero were refused the return of some of their lands. A rebellion occurred, and its overthrow was used by the Germans as a salutary lesson. The execution of the Chiefs Nikodemus Kavikunua and Kahimemua, were described by Captain Schwabe as follows:

'We had to travel through the entire village. There was no male Herero to be seen, but women were rolling on the ground, and covering their heads with sand and earth. From every house, every hut, every garden, the long-drawn blood-curdling lamentations accompanied the distinguished Chiefs on their last journey. In silence, and drawn-up in the great square, the guns unlimbered at the sides, the troops
received us. Then we went on through the deep sand of the river bed to the place of execution. Halt! The condemned men were lifted from the cart.

Proudly with head erect Kahimenua walked to the tree to which he was bound; Nikodemus, half-dead with fear, had to be carried. The eyes of the two men were then covered, and the firing sections marched into their places short commands; Present - Fire!

The volleys rolled like thunder through the neighbouring mountains and two traitors had ceased to live.* Traitors to an authority imposed by force and baseless destruction of their lives in their own God-given land!

Moved perhaps by this terrible incident, Samuel Maherero abandoned his drinking and returned in an attempt to lead and unite his people.

War against the Germans began at Okhandja on 12th January, 1904. By the following month, all the Herero Chiefs were in the field, but their forces were ordered not to lay hands on any Englishmen, Boers, Berg-Damara, Nama, or missionaries.

The Herero went to war with about 7,000 fighting men. Of these only about one-third were armed, and then only with antiquated rifles and a small supply of ammunition; their movements were hampered by women, children and cattle.

German reinforcements were sent for, and by August, these with the aid of the quick-firing Krupp gun, had broken the back of the rebellion. A decisive battle was fought at Hamakari, when the Herero

*South West Africa - Ruth First (Page 77).
withdrew to the Waterberg mountains. The whole people took to flight - northwards into Ovamboland, through the Omaheke and the waterless sandveld. Samuel Maherero's forces sped east into the exile of Bechuanaland (now Botswana).

Peter Moor in his novel *Journey to South West Africa*, gives the following dramatic account of the scene as attributed to a German scout:

',...... tracks of innumerable children's feet, and among them those of full-grown feet. Great troops of children led by their mothers, had passed over the road to the north-west .... I stood up and going to a low tree by the road climbed a few yards in my heavy boots. Thence I could see a broad moonlit slope, rising not a hundred yards distant, and on it hundreds of rough huts constructed out of branches, from the low entrances of which the firelight shone out, and heard the children's crying and the yelping of a dog. Thousands of women and children were lying under the roof of leaves and round the dying first ........ Still the thought went through my head: There lies a people with all its children and all its possessions, hard pressed on all sides of the horrible deadly lead and condemned to death, and it sent a cold shudder down my back ....

Through the quiet night we heard in the distance the lowing of enormous herds of cattle and a dull confused sound like the movement of a whole people. To the east there was a gigantic glow of fire. The enemy had fled to the east with their whole enormous mass - women, children
children and herds. The next morning we ventured to pursue the enemy. The ground was trodden down into a floor for a width of about a hundred yards, for in such a broad thick horde had the enemy and their herds of cattle stormed along. In the path of their flight lay blankets, skips, ostrich feathers, household utensils, women's ornaments, cattle and men, dead and dying, staring blankly. How deeply the wild, proud, sorrowful people had humbled themselves in the terror of death."

If this account seems too fanciful, official British records exist which tell of orders for killing every Herero man, woman and child. Horrifying descriptions and photographs reveal the killing of wounded and unwounded prisoners and of how men, women, girls and boys who had surrendered, met their death or in labour camps suffered under the lash from treatment of soldiers and overseers.

A hopeless struggle continued for four years after the end of the war; at the end of that time, under German rule, the tribe was subdued and the 80,000 natives had been reduced to a wandering 15,000.

Dr. Gunter Wagner, who studies life for the South West African Native Affairs Department, observed that the Herero have 'an undiminished ability to recover from setbacks. The tribe has now recovered to a figure of approximately 40,000. Two-thirds of this number went into exile in Botswana (then Bechuanaland), descendants of those who fled there at the end of the war with Germany. A request

*South West Africa - Ruth First (Page 79).*
by the British Government in 1947, for these people to be returned to the land of their ancestors, was refused by South Africa.

The Germans were more cautious in handling the well-armed Ovambo tribes; in 1906 it was forbidden to visit Ovamboland except by special sanction of the Governor. The first entry was made by the South African Army in 1915. Although, in a sense, not conquered, the Ovambo were forced to provide labour for railways, mines and other industries under deplorable conditions.

SOUTH AFRICA OPPOSES U.N. REQUESTS FOR NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE

South West Africa is a vast strip of territory, larger than Great Britain and France put together, and occupied by just over half-a-million people. This former German colony was mandated by the League of Nations to South Africa after the 1914-18 war. The basis of the mandate system was intended to be that 'the well-being and development of primitive peoples form a trust of civilisation.' But that has been betrayed by South Africa.

In 1960 under the heading of 'Theft of a Mandate' the following editorial appeared in the London Times:

'It was a German possession fiendishly abused. It was placed under the mandate system of the League of Nations in order that its wretched tribesmen might be given a new deal in the light of decent world opinion. Instead of fulfilling this obligation of honour, the South African Government, quibbling barefacedly about the succession
from the League of Nations, has swallowed South West Africa into its vile schemes of apartheid and has, adding insult to injury, taken advantage of its misdoings to strengthen its parliamentary majority. The Nationalist Party has helped itself to extra seats out of South West African voters. There is only one verdict possible on this sorry business. A mandate has been stolen and the thieves are vainly protesting their innocence."

Few of the wheels of industry would turn in South West Africa without Ovambo labour, but their conditions are still appalling. No Ovambo may leave the northern areas, even for a stipulated period, without a work certificate. Their womenfolk are rarely seen outside Ovamboland; a very few have been allowed to visit their husbands in labour centres, where the men live for stretches of twelve to eighteen months in closed compounds.

At the beginning of 1972, strikes against the tied-labour system were organised by Ovambo labourers. Officials in South West Africa were reported to have admitted that the conditions were 'indefensible, rotten and cruel' and drastic improvements were promised.

Three months after the strike the labour situation was still unsettled and a State of Emergency was called in Ovamboland where most of the trouble originated.

New measures 'designed to provide a sound foundation for orderly labour relations in South West Africa' were issued by the South African Department of Bantu Administration.

A study published by the South African Institute of Race Relations stated that the Ovambo strike was more than a labour dispute, the real issue was the policy of apartheid. The proposed concessions were inadequate and could only be a temporary measure. The study anticipated that the Government would impose stronger anti-strike measures and some of the labour organisations would be banned.* The whole situation in Namibia, oppression and extermination of their people, South African resistance to UN proposals for restoring the independence to the legitimate owners of the territory is a terrible blight to civilisation and humanity. The situation cries to high heaven for a just redress.

THE KU KLUX KLAN AND OPPRESSION OF BLACKS IN THE NEW WORLD

The story of the Ku Klux Klan, must surely be one of the most infamous examples of unjustified cruelty and terrorism inflicted by one section of the community on others.

* Dr. Kurt Waldhein United Nations Secretary-General, flew to South West Africa in January, 1972. He visited the territory now called Namibia. A meeting was arranged with Chief Clemens Kapuua, leader of the Herero, second largest tribal group in the territory, who presented a petition calling for the independence of South West Africa. Dr. Waldheim admitted that matters in the Katatura Black African compound at Windhoek were 'unsatisfactory.'
Origins of the Klan were simple enough and its founders would probably have been alarmed had they been able to see the devastating and long-lasting effects of their project.

Before the Civil War in America, the Whites - especially in the South - accepted unquestioningly that coloured peoples were inferior. This belief was fostered because the blacks had for so long been deprived of the advantages available to the whites, that they could not attain the same standards in education, achievement and social status. From this state of affairs it was all too easy for the whites to assume their superiority and believe that the alleged immaturity of the blacks was the result of inherent incapacity.

With the ending of the conflict the defeated South, wearied by the struggle, still maintained its credulity in the pre-eminence of the white peoples; fear and distrust of the coloured races was only exacerbated by the full freedom and liberty granted to the Negroes.

On returning to their home districts, men of the Confederate Army, their morale lowered, found that they were not welcomed as heroes, but instead they were jobless in a weakened society with a devalued currency.

In a market town such as Pulaski, southern Tennessee, the younger men, with nothing to do, gathered together in groups and formed themselves into clubs, to help pass the tedious days. It was natural for men of similar ideas or origins to join together, and the original six members of the clan - Lester, Kennedy, Crowe, Reed, Jones and McCord - were all of Scottish descent.
John Kennedy, who retained a few vague remnants of Greek from College days in Kentucky, recalled that Kuklos meant a band or circle. James Crowe, to make it sound more original, suggested splitting the word in two, and changing the ending of the second part to 'ux' thus to form KU KLUX, and it was John Lester who proposed clan be added because of their Scotch ancestry, but be spelt with a 'K' for consistency.

Masquerading was popular in those days and after their second meeting, Crowe had the sudden idea of dressing-up in white sheets and pillow-cases of their hosts. Some horses were borrowed from a nearby livery stable, and these were also draped with sheets. The six original Klansmen then rode slowly through the streets of Pulaski, with grotesque gestures, to the general amusement of the whites.

An unexpected and, alas, fatal result was that the Negroes, reduced to a state of fear and superstition by their lack of education, were easily alarmed by these strange figures. Indeed, many of them naively believed that the Klansmen were the ghosts of dead Confederate Soldiers.

What had begun as a lark, was seized upon as a means of intimidating the unfortunate freed slaves, with various devices of false 'heads' and 'skeleton' arms, easily manipulated from under the sheet clothing. From these simple beginnings grew atrocities and torture for those who opposed the will of the KKK which rapidly changed from a social organisation into an active terrorist group operating freely within sight of the law.
One of the most serious aspects of the Klan was the ruthless treatment meted out to anyone who opposed them.

The cruelties inflicted were tolerated by a majority of the Southerners who genuinely felt that the aims of the Klan, however achieved, were for the benefit of the country, while the minority who disapproved were too scared to let their views be known. Those who were distressed by acts of violence tried to make out that they were committed by 'bogus' Klans but, as long as the Klansmen kept their identity secret who could prove whether the offenders were genuine or not?

In 1867 Congress passed the Reconstruction Act dividing most of the South into five military districts and giving the commanding generals authority even over the judiciary. Counter-measures were promptly taken by the KKK who maintained that the South was upholding the Constitution and it was by the North it had been violated.

Transfer of any control to the black race was not to be considered, as America was founded by the white race and no white man could admit Negro equality 'without humiliation and shame.' As a result of a meeting in Nashville to promote better controlled organisation of the Klan, the principle was declared that:

'Our Main and Fundamental Objective Is the MAINTENANCE OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE WHITE RACE in the Republic.'

Although the main object of the Klan terrorism was to perpetuate subordination of the Negroes, some of its worst acts of violence were taken against individuals who had the courage openly to defy it.

* Ku Klux Klan - Professor William Peirce Randel (Page 17).
Warnings to their intended victims were fairly often sent by the Klan; one to a teacher in 1868 read as follows:

'1st quarter, 8th Bloody Moon - Ere the next quarter be gone! unholy teacher of the blacks, be gone ere it is too late! Punishment awaits you and such horrors as no man ever underwent and lived. The cusped moon is full of wrath, and as its horns fill, the deadly mixture will fall on your unhallowed head. Beware! When the Black Cat sleeps we that are dead and yet live are watching you. Fool! Adulterer and cursed Hypocrite! The far-piercing eye of the Grand Cyclops is upon you! Fly the wrath to come.'*

To a generation ensconced in their homes, without any remote possibility of receiving any such threats, the tone and language of such notes seems melodramatic. But the recipients then knew that they were no idle words, and many took heed and left the district in the time stipulated.

In 1869, leaders of the original KKK realised that the increasing and, in many cases, senseless cruelties, had gone beyond their control and a general order for disbanding the Klan was issued.

One of the earliest and probably one of the best examples of the films as a means of arousing the emotions and prejudices of people was *The Birth of a Nation*, first shown in 1915. This dramatic film was an incentive to intolerance. It glamourised secret societies devoted to race distinction and supplied some kind of reason for hatred

*Ku Klux Klan - Professor William Peirce Randel (Page 88).*
and an outlet for persons who wanted some escape from their frustrations.

The Ku Klux Klan was revived in 1915 and the organisation was incorporated to gain legal recognition in Fulton County (Atlanta), well-known as a centre of Klan activity.

Two years later, the Klan had about 2,000 members mostly in Georgia and Alabama, but America's entry into the European war hindered further growth. According to the revitalised organisation real Americans were white, Protestant and of native origin. This enabled the 20th century Klan to broaden its scope of attack so as to include not only Negroes, but also Jews, Roman Catholics and immigrants. In 1921 a series of articles in the New York World, intended to expose the crimes of the Klan, actually resulted in giving it unwarranted publicity, leading to increased membership. Four years later, it was estimated that six million Americans had joined.

After varying vicissitudes the modern Klan was disbanded in 1944 as the only alternative to paying a bill for back taxes. This did not mean the end of the Klan, but simply drove it underground. In May, 1954 the Supreme Court school desegregation decision started off fresh anti-Negro demonstrations, and in that year a number of Klan-like groups, but with differing titles, were organised.

In the near future thousands of battle-weary, disillusioned and drug-taking troops are likely to find their way back to America in circumstances similar to those encountered by the defeated Confederate forces after their surrender in 1865. Finding of jobs and other problems might well turn these campaigners of an unwanted war into the
germ of a fresh Ku Klux Klan even if not so directly named. It is
the hope of all men of good will that the development of such seeds
of destruction can be averted.

EXTERMINATION OF RED INDIANS IN THE NEW WORLD

The exploitation of Africa was re-echoed in the new world
by the dispossession of the so-called Red Indians of their territories
and the reduction of their numbers by the consistent encroachment
of western immigrants upon their lands. This event points to yet
another gruelling picture of how man used his superior power to
dominate or oppress his opponents.

Peace between the United States and Mexico in 1848 drastically
changed the way of life of the athabascan-speaking Apaches and Navajos.
During the Mexican control, which had been weak, herding and raiding
had become an accepted method of existence, and the border had been
largely disregarded for nearly seventy years.

The Americans had not fought the Indians, and the Apaches and
Navajos could not at first understand why it was decided to stop
their raids against their old enemies the Mexicans. But first
parleys with American expeditionary leaders clearly showed their point
of view, and the Indians were left in no doubt that they had made a
fresh enemy instead of gaining an ally.

Some fighting between American troops and Indians occurred
before 1860, but, on the whole, there was not much change until after
the Civil War.
In 1864 the Americans gathered together a group of Navajo leaders and made a treaty at Bear Springs and also treated with the Gila Apaches near the Santa Rita mines in New Mexico, but it soon became apparent that little could be achieved without a general authority among the tribes.

The building of Fort Defiance and some other posts in the heart of the Navajo range in north-eastern Arizona caused some small banding together of the warlike and peaceful groups; but no real unity was obtained. Separate sections of the tribe were soon fighting for survival in different parts of their territory. An attempted peace move, led by a Navajo named Manuelito, met with no success.

Under the leadership of Kit Carson, the Americans carried out a 'scorched earth' policy. Herds of sheep on which the Navajos depended, were slaughtered and bands of the natives were ruthlessly chased into their furthest hideouts. At last, forced by lack of food, groups of Navajos began to surrender; by the end of 1865 only a few hundred escaped by remaining in hiding.

Gradually the Americans carried out a scheme for turning the Navajos into farmers. They were forced to leave territory near the Mexican border, and moved to Fort Sumner, about 250 miles eastward; this wholesale exodus became known as the 'Long Walk.' The Navajos were kept under strict control of American Army officers and compelled
to live in adobe houses, to farm and follow a peaceful existence.

In practice this scheme was found to be unsatisfactory and in 1868 the USA made a new treaty with the Navajos. Under its terms the Indians were returned to their old hunting grounds, with guarantees that the Americans would not trespass; the Navajos for their part were to prohibit any future raiding over the border. A free issue of sheep was made and children were to attend schools.

The Apache tribes were less fortunate; their land was desirable to the Americans for cattle and mining. The Jicarillas were soon dominated and isolated on a small reserve in New Mexico. Settlers began to move into the Arizona area to open up the gold and silver mines. The Chiricahue, San Carlos, White Mountain, Tonto and Gila Apaches had many frontiers and conflict between them and the Army resulted in bitter fighting and many massacres.

A bitter struggle continued until 1887 when the Apaches were confined to five reservations - three in Arizona and two in New Mexico - and complete submission to the Army rule was enforced three years later.

There were some 125,000 Indians in California before the American invasion, but a terrible destruction of Indian life took place in the 19th century and the population was reduced to 25,000. There were many small tribes composed mostly of hunters and fishermen who seemed to have no interest in organising themselves together either before or after the coming of the Europeans.
The Americans had little trouble in the destruction and dispossession of the Californian Indians; they murdered or ousted families and communities from their lands. Some attempt to establish reservations was made in 1850, but it was not until twenty years later that Congress ratified treaties forming local authorities to set up some fourteen reservations. By that time the Indian population had dwindled to 50,000 and continued to decline; throughout the 19th century the breakdown of culture and gradual extinction continued.

In 1960 it was estimated that approximately 200,000 of the 5 - 600,000 Indians in the United States were living outside federal reserves. Most of these were grouped in four areas: the Atlantic coast; the Great Lakes; Oklahoma and California.

Civilisation is strange indeed! The Navajos survived the Spaniards and Colonel Kit Carson. Now (1972) after many years of trying to destroy their customs and cultures, the Americans have voted some £20,000 towards getting the Red Indian medicine men with their healing ceremonies, to join the conventional White doctors in tending the sick and helping the tribe to survive the smog sweeping over their reservation from the modern factories in New Mexico.*

THE NEFARIOUS OPIUM WARS AGAINST THE CHINESE

In the course of history every nation has its moments of power, periods of mediocrity and shameful episodes. One of Britain's

*BBC 2, Television, Horizon (10th January, 1972).
discreditable interludes were the wars with China between 1840 and 1900. Today when increasing drug-addiction is a cause of major concern throughout the world, British attempts at self-aggrandisement and increased trade through merchandising opium seem inexcusable.

To see the situation clearly, it is necessary to look back to 1757. In that year the Imperial Government of China issued an edict which restricted foreign vessels to trading only in Canton; in addition, Europeans were confined to the suburbs of the city and neither women nor arms were allowed to their trading depots. Another cause of irritation to Britain was that foreigners were liable to be tried by Chinese laws and no proper diplomatic relations existed. Various attempts to establish ambassadors failed and negotiations had to be carried on with local officials. This was partly due to the arrogance of the British plenipotentiaries who declined to give the customary 'kow-tow' of recognition to the Emperor!

Trading conditions worsened in 1763 by the ending of the monopoly of the East India Company, whose agents had carried on their trade with considerable tact. In 1836 Lin Tse-hsu was appointed by the Imperial Government as Commissioner in Canton, with the task of stopping the opium trade which had for a long time been the cause of trouble between Britain and China.

There was a big demand for opium and, apart from 'official channels,' bribery was rife; even members of the Chinese anti-smuggling fleet could be persuaded to 'overlook' its entry at times for a
'personal consideration.'

Exchanges of goods had at first been rhubarb, tea and silk from China for longcloth, Bombay cotton and silver from Britain. But opium was another matter; it was easy to import, taking up little cargo space and could command a high price. Vast sums were made by the British and Indian governments.

Commissioner Lin was determined on both humanitarian and economic grounds to stamp out the traffic of opium. In 1839 he demanded the handing-over of 20,000 chests of British-owned opium. To enforce this, the warehouses and quarters of foreign merchants were surrounded and their Chinese servants forced to leave; the opium was surrendered and destroyed. An unfortunate incident at Kowloon in which a Chinese was killed during a scuffle with British and American sailors, sparked off further trouble.

Captain Elliot, then Britain's Chief Superintendent of Trade in China, declined the Commissioner's demand to hand over the guilty seaman to the Chinese courts. Incensed by this, Lin moved troops into Portuguese controlled Macao. To safeguard British subjects under his charge, Captain Elliot moved them in a number of small vessels to Hong Kong anchorage.

Anger of British traders was now thoroughly aroused. Their opium had been confiscated with no compensation; they had been forced to leave their factories at Canton and their main base in Macao, while ordinary trade had practically dwindled away. One of the chief merchants, William Jardine, went to London to appeal for help from Lord Palmerston, the then Foreign Secretary.
Palmerston sent a demand to the Imperial Government for the return of the confiscated goods or payment in lieu. 'In making these demands,' he said, 'I do not dispute China's right to prohibit opium imports.' He continued 'The Queen of England wished her subjects in foreign countries to obey the laws of those countries, but Her Majesty could not allow them to be treated with violence; when wrong was done to them, she would see they obtained redress.'*

Even before the Foreign Secretary's intervention, isolated skirmishes had taken place between British gunboats and Chinese. Captain Elliot made vain efforts at negotiation. Then came war, with the campaign commanded by General Gough. The fleet blockaded Canton, Amoy, Ningpo and the mouth of the Yangtze. The Imperial Government was disturbed by the advance of the British forces to Taku, in the Province of Chihli.

Commissioner Lin Tse-hsu was considered too stubborn and he was dismissed for his policy. He was replaced by Kishen, Governor-General of Chihli, who managed to arrange further discussions, but Britain's demands proved unacceptable and negotiations again broke down. Following this, the British seized the forts of Chuenpi and Tycock, guarding the narrow waterway up to Canton. Facing a hopeless situation, Kishen in 1841, concluded the Chuenpi Convention which ceded Hong Kong to the British in exchange for Tinghai, re-opened trade at Canton and offered an indemnity of six million dollars. Both sides

*The Paper Dragon - John Selby (Page 18).*
subsequently repudiated these terms and petty scrapping began again.

Britain decided that matters could not go on indefinitely and a full-scale attack was deemed the only way to bring things to a conclusion. In May, 1841, the attack on Canton started. After the fall of the city, combined operations were carried out along the coastal ports and up the Yangtze, until Nanking itself was threatened.

On August 29, 1842, the Treaty of Nanking was signed. It was agreed that a British representative would be recognised in China; Hong Kong was ceded to Britain; the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai would be opened to British trade and an indemnity of 21 million dollars paid. In July the following year, under the Treaty of Bogue, British offenders in China were allowed to be tried in British courts or on British ships. Under the 'most favoured nation' principle it was agreed that Britain should gain any further concessions allowed to other nations.

Peace, with somewhat strained relations, existed for a number of years. Failure to keep the terms of various treaties led to the second 'war' - considered by the Europeans as a form of punitive campaign (1856-59). Matters were brought to a head by two incidents: the execution of a French missionary and the arrest and trial of a Chinese crew from the British schooner Arrow.

Canton was again attacked and captured. In 1859 the British on their way to Peking to exchange fresh treaties were told that they must
make their journey via Peh-Tang, instead of Taku which was strongly guarded. This was ignored and an attack was made on the port. The Chinese, under General Sankolinsin, retaliated and defeated Admiral Hope, in spite of the aid of 'neutral' American forces. The war caused considerable controversy in the English parliament.

Disraeli believed that Palmerston's Chinese policy 'if pursued will end in ruin;' Gladstone objected on principle, he said: 'War taken at the best is a frightful scourge to the human race; but because it is so, the wisdom of the ages has surrounded it with strict laws and usages.' In his view the Government had dispensed with these and 'turned a consul into a diplomat, and that metamorphosed consul is forsooth to be at liberty to direct the whole might of England against the lives of a defenceless people.'*

In spite of this, Britain with the concurrence of France, decided the rebuff could not be overlooked and a decision to send forces in some strength to punish the Chinese for their 'insulting behaviour' originated the Third Opium War.

Before hostilities of the Third War actually began, Lord John Russell, Foreign Secretary, informed the Emperor that to ensure keeping the terms of the Tienstsin Treaty, 1858, (in which extraterritorial rights, freedom of travel, etc. were claimed), it might be necessary to occupy some part of China or to confiscate some part of the Customs duties for gradual repayment of the indemnity.

* See Page 104
The campaign opened with a landing from the sea and then along a navigable river towards Peking. The British, at any rate at first, were suspicious of the French and did not welcome them as allies. During the advance a number of appeals were received from the Chinese to hold off the attack, but Lord Elgin refused to consider any convention before the allies reached Tung-Chow, about twelve miles from Peking. On the 22nd September, 1860, under a flag of truce, Prince Kung offered to call off hostilities if the allies agreed to restore the Taku Forts and deave the country. The British refused even to consider terms until all prisoners were returned and affirmed their determination to continue the attack on Peking unless the release was immediate.

About this time French forces, out of touch with the British, were moving northwards. In the advance they passed near to the Summer Palace a few miles outside Peking, and turned aside to plunder it. French troops helped themselves to jade, jewels, silks and furs; later, it was agreed that the British should have a share; their allotment was sold by auction and every private received about £4.

During a lull for negotiations in October, 1860, Charles George Gordon visited the Summer Palace. In the spacious grounds as well as the main building there were more than 200 summer houses and kiosks. Gordon wrote:

'You would scarcely conceive the magnificence of this residence or the tremendous devastation the French have committed. The Throne room was lined with ebony carved in a marvellous way. There were huge
mirrors of all kinds, clocks, watches, musical boxes with puppets on them, magnificent china of every description, heaps and heaps of silk of all colours, embroidery and as much splendour and civilisation as you would see at Windsor. Carved ivory screens, coral ditto, large amount of treasure, etc.; and the French have smashed everything in the most wanton way ....'*

Demands for the surrender of Peking were at first refused. Heavy guns were then brought into position opposite the Anting Gate for the purpose of its destruction and a final assault on the 40 ft. battlements. Shortly before the time stipulated for this attack, the gate was opened and the city occupied.

Meanwhile, the Summer Palace looted by the French, had been burned to the ground by the British. This ruthless act, which caused horror throughout the world, was excused by Loch and Wolseley on the pretext that it 'hastened the final settlement of affairs and strengthened our ambassador's position,' and 'was felt acutely by the Chinese authorities as a punishment directed specially against the Emperor and themselves;' but Gordon, voicing the opinion of many, declared it to be 'a wicked shame.'

On the 24th October, 1860, Lord Elgin, with an imposing escort, attended the Hall of Ceremonies. All British demands were agreed to, and the agreements made at Tientsin, two years earlier, and alleged to have been ignored, were ratified under the Treaty of Peking; Kowloon was ceded to the British and Tientsin added to the list of open ports. A treaty with the French was signed two days later.

*The Paper Dragon - John Selby (Page 85).*
There are at least three, not two sides to every question - your side, his side, and 'to hell with it.' This is unfortunately true to a large extent over South Africa's colour problem. Many people without troubling to think adopt the latter attitude - a convenient way of avoiding the issue; others with strong feelings, hold and express violent views either for or against apartheid, in many cases not fully understanding its causes and the mixture of racial, religious and economic issues involved.

Colonisation encouraged the white man to settle in South Africa in the midst of a large aboriginal black majority. What might be taken as symbolic of the whole colour predicament was the hedge of wild almonds planted in 1659, in the days of Jan van Riebeck, to mark the boundary between the Dutch and the Hottentots. The name Hottentot became applied to the local aborigines because the settlers could not understand what appeared to them to be the queer, stammering nature of their language which they called 'Hotnot,' or 'Hottentot;' the aboriginal communities soon also earned for themselves the epithet 'Lazy Hottentots' because they showed disinclination to work for the Europeans. This labour problem was partly solved by the importation of black slaves from Angola. Ever since those early days of its history, South African agriculture and many industries, have been dependent on black workers, who have always been regarded as inferior.

The earliest recorded white settlement was by adventurers from the Netherlands who were joined by Huguenot refugees and later by German immigrants. These became the forebears of the Afrikaner people, who now comprise about 60 per cent of the white population. During the early part of the 18th century the settlers gradually spread out from the south-
western tip and reached the central plateau of the Karoo, many of them becoming trekkers (sheep and cattle ranchers). When they came over the mountains they encountered hostile African communities of Bantu stock whom they named "Bushman". These they fought with superior arms and consequently defeated them.

In 1795 the British first seized the Cape from the Dutch in the Napoleonic wars, but it was not until 1806 that they began permanent occupation of the Cape area of South Africa. It was now the turn of the Akrikers to resist British penetration, but they were no match for British arms and skill. By the 1830s the Dutch settlers began what became known as 'The Great Trek' north-eastward into African territory. In this migration they came up against the well-organized Bantu communities, hardy fighters, whose resistance lasted until the end of the 19th century, when the republics of Orange Free State and Transvaal were established. Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877, but a limited independence was restored four years later.

As they moved further and further away from the settled areas of Cape Town, many of the trekkers relied on the old Dutch Bible as their only book. These hardy pioneers started a national development and were the first to speak Afrikaans; this new language was originally written in 1861, but it was not officially recognised until some sixty-five years later.

The Boer war, 1899-1902, (boer being the Afrikaans word for farmer) it is now generally admitted, was a move to gain British control of the Transvaal gold mines. It proved a costly three years campaign for Britain, and left a strong antipathy against the English which largely persists among the Afrikaners even today.

Over the years, British administration had taken the line that the Africans were not always wrong and, at times, opposed condemnation of the
Xhosa (African) cattle-lifters. But, with greater control over large areas of territory, little was done to improve the state of the non-white population.

The South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-05, appointed by Milner advised separation in the field of Land and Parliamentary representation; these became included in the Natives Land Act of 1913, and later under the Hertzog legislation of 1936. Here indeed was the genesis of the abominable policy of Apartheid ('separation').

Afrikaners had been given political equality with the English-speaking community under the Act of Union, 1910, but most business and technical posts were given to English-speaking people or European ex-patriates; the farmers and their still-evolving language, were deliberately excluded, making them feel inferior and giving them a sense of grievance. The Act also laid down some territories as 'Native Reserves' in which the Whites could not own land; it is noticeable that no natural resources were included in these areas.

These are, in fact, the districts which the present South African Government refers to as 'traditional tribal lands' and 'Bantu homelands.'

The term 'Apartheid' was first used in 1943. Shortly after the end of the war, when ideas of discrimination and domination began to lose popularity, the word was used untranslated, in political reports and documents. 'Segregation' would have been equally good, but 'apartheid' sounded obnoxious — and has since deserved — a more ominous meaning.

The Afrikaner Nationalists, now the National Party, came into power in 1948, and has kept a rigid control over their African, Coloured and Indian compatriots to whom they have steadfastly denied basic equality to ensure the superiority of the Whites. Every South African is sorted out, under the Population Registration Act, by Race Classification Boards and given an identity document which practically decides the course of his life, according
to the category under which he is classified. Where and how he may live is laid down under the Group Areas Act.

If he be judged White, he has little cause for concern. If designated Coloured, he will be restricted to living in residential areas, outside the towns, set aside for his particular group; he will have to limit his commercial activities to these areas, although he is allowed to seek employment in the towns. He may find, as Indian shopkeepers did in the Transvaal, that he is removed from premises in which he and his family have long lived, and banished to the bare veld, many miles from his white customers.

Should it be decided that the individual is African, he will find himself assigned to a particular ethnic group. This latter classification will determine, subject to the agreement of the local chief, in which tribal reserve he will have residential rights.

With the exception of domestic servants, who are allowed to 'live in,' all Africans in an urban area have to reside in segregated municipal townships, usually separated from the town proper by a strip of open country. These townships are under white supervision, but no White may enter them without a permit. Children over eighteen have to have a permit to live with their parents. The larger townships are segregated on tribal lines, and a wife of a different tribe may be refused permission to live with her husband.

Every urban area has a curfew - from 11 p.m. in the large, and from 9:30 p.m. in the smaller towns; after these times no African may be on the streets without a special pass signed by a White citizen. The Job Reservation Act practically bars Africans from all skilled and semi-skilled work. In addition, African workers may not belong to a registered trade union and it is illegal for them to strike.*

* DON'T PLAY WITH APARTHEID - Peter Hain (pp. 24-26).
For Africans, education is controlled by the Department of Bantu Education. This was originated by Dr. Verwoerd, who declared: 'When I have control of Native (African) Education, I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them....'

The end of the rule of law in South Africa can be said to have begun in 1950 with the introduction of the Suppression of Communism Act, which enabled the Minister of Justice to restrict the liberty of individuals, without trial or charge. Anyone engaged in 'furthering the achievement of the object of communism' in the Minister's opinion can be subject to banning orders; no reasons need be given and the victim has no right of appeal or recourse to the courts.

In 1962, the General Laws Amendment Act, known as the Sabotage Act, was introduced; the terms were so wide that a strike - say of railwaymen - could be called 'sabotage.' The Act, together with the later Terrorism Act, was retrospective so that people could be charged for actions which were not illegal when committed.

The end of fair justice under South African law really came with the setting up of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) under the General Laws Amendment Act of 1969. BOSS (which proved to be a peculiarly apt contraction!) enables Cabinet Ministers to issue certificates which prevent the presentation in court of written or oral evidence. It also makes it an offence to be in possession of any information relating to security of the Republic or any matter connected with BOSS, so that an offence can be committed without knowing it. BOSS works secretly and is answerable only to the Prime Minister.

Racial discrimination has reached such proportions that no African may live as a right in the land of his birth. In a speech in 1963,
Dr. Verwoerd declared: 'Reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing else than this' We want to keep South Africa White ...... Keeping it White can only mean one thing, namely white domination, not "leadership," not "guidance," but "control," "supremacy."

Is there a solution to this problem? Can the rest of the world, with a clear conscience, stand by and ignore it, or (as some might try to maintain) has it any right to intervene in a nation's 'domestic' affairs?

It might be possible to establish complete partition with an agreed boundary line under international control; if so, how would the Coloured and Indian groups be affected? The small White State thus formed would inevitably be weakened economically and militarily, and would depend on some international force for its protection. Would other nations be prepared to pay for and maintain such a force for what would seem to be an interminable period?

A vexatious aspect of apartheid is the religious attitude. The Christian view can only be against racial discrimination and this has led to a good deal of condemnation of the Church for not exerting moral leadership to end this policy. It is recognized that a number of individual leaders of differing denominations in South Africa have bravely spoken out against the State, and duly suffered for their opinions.

One of the difficulties of the spiritual crisis is that a majority of the White Christians belong to the Dutch Reformed Church which has found 'no cogent reason in Holy Scriptures for opposing the opinion of separate development of the races.' Yet there are some dissentients although dominees (ministers) have been warned not to preach on the subject of loving their fellow-men, for this entered the sphere of race-relations and might make the speaker 'suspected of being a liberal.' The Prime Minister, Mr.
Vorster, has warned churchmen that their cloth will not protect them from the wrath of the State. Mr. Muller, Minister of Police, described the Government as 'God's agent,' a revealing expression of the way in which the temporal arm sees itself justified in encroaching on, and even seeking to usurp, spiritual authority.* Recently the World Council of Churches has made some effort in a number of public statements to denounce Apartheid, but the evil of Apartheid will not succumb to mere denunciation. Apartheid now deserves the vigorous attention of Africa and the world.

Algeria had a long and bitter struggle for independence.

The French conquest began in 1830. During the first twenty years of colonisation the Arab middle-class was broken up and did not re-appear until the beginning of the 20th century.

A new group of intellectuals, Arab-leaders, and army officers - all French appointed or French influenced - then began to appear. Some of them, like Ferhat Abbas, at first saw the destiny of Algeria in assimilation within the French body politic. But there were significant exceptions.

Outstanding among these was Ben Badis who issued the first clear call to nationalist Algeria in these rousing words:

> We have searched in history and in the present, and we have undeniably established that the Algerian Muslim Nation (italics mine) is formed and exists, as all the other nations of the world. This nation has its history demonstrated by facts, it has religious and linguistic unity; it has its culture, traditions and characteristics, good or bad, as is the case for any nation on earth. Further, we say that this Algerian nation is not France, cannot be France, and does not wish to be France. (Italics mine) It has its fixed territory which is Algeria with its present boundaries.

Ben Badis was not making any pretentious claims for Algeria, for non-Algerian settlers of French origin in the country numbered only 10 percent of the entire population. Neither assimilation nor 'integration' could hide the fact that external dominance was unnatural and therefore


† Quoted by Julien, p. 115 from Ach Chihab, April 1936
unhealthy for the future of Algeria nationhood. The white and non-white elements lived an entirely separate existence.

Unhappily, this search for national identity, this legitimate desire to strive for independent statehood set the Algerian nationalists on a collision course with the French authorities.

After nearly a century of French immigration and investment a strain of nationalist feeling started to stir in the Arab population. In the 1920s political movements were set going with a small Algerian Communist Party - the 'Parti Communist Algerien.' This was formed as an adjunct to the French Communist Party, but a split between the two arose which lasted for several years.

In 1947 the Muslims first gained equal citizenship and four years later the FLN, the Front de Liberation Nationale (National Liberation Front) was founded. In 1954 the war of independence began.

The outcome of any war is unpredictable, and the Algerian uprising, which became serious with the revolt of the French officers in 1958, was no exception. Eight years of conflict followed.

A desperate struggle faced the Arab nationalists from the start. They were up against a French army that was familiar with anti-insurgent techniques, and they were also handicapped by internal disagreements. An army had to be formed, arms and supplies obtained by an underground movement, which also had to try and maintain morale in spite of heavy casualties and some desertions that naturally caused some faint-heartedness.

The scheme proposed by the Communists was to begin with guerilla attacks, continued on an increasing scale, while a 'conventional' army was being trained and armed. But, the FLN was unable to carry out such a
project and in 1959 they had to revert to guerilla tactics.

On the French side, the early years of the war were marked by lack of stable government and unwise handling of the Algerian problem. There were pressures from Europeans in Algeria and other factions, such as the French Communists, while adverse world opinion had to be faced. The French army became involved in politics and so handicapped their own efforts.

The French settlers were hostile to any ideas of moderation towards the Algerians and it soon became obvious that nothing but violence could break the rigid master and slave relationship between French and Arab. The French colonists in Algeria on whom the administration relied to keep the Algerian Muslim in his place had a peculiar mentality. They feared the Muslims, they were intensely racialist and extremely ignorant. For them nothing but cruel repression was the best means of warding off the tide of Algerian nationalism.

As America, following the Second World War and her own experience of colonial rule under George III of England, began to question French repression in Algeria, the colonists delighted to explain that they might have exterminated the Muslims in their own country and ended the vexatious problem of establishing a modus vivendi with Algerians. They pointed out that the Americans had to do the same with the Red Indians in America. This position showed the ignorance of the colonos and their lack of understanding of contemporary issues. In fact, there were bitter struggles between the white settlers in America and the Red Indians. The motive was not extermination, but deprivation of territory. Although the latter course was no less reprehensible in terms of national ethics, everyone appreciates that
an awkward and indefensible 19th century reaction could in no way be held up as a model solution for a 20th century problem.

In February of 1943 leading Algerian nationalists issued their MANIFESTO OF THE ALGERIAN PEOPLE. General Georges Catroux was appointed by the Vichy regime which at this time held authority in truncated France on 3rd June 1943. Among his first acts as Governor-General was suppression of the Algerian Manifesto and holding under house arrest two of the dozen leaders connected with its preparation. The leaders were Ferhat Abbas and Saydah Abdelkader.

It is a sad commentary on the repressive force of colonisation that the harmless Manifesto of the Nationalists could cause such a hostile reaction. No wonder the Algerians kicked to the last until they could overthrow that system. The terms of the Manifesto show how innocuous their Algerian stand was. It asked for federal autonomy within the French Constitution. It also suggested equality of rights privileges and duties as between Arabs and the French in Algeria; all the leaders wanted was complete liberty and equality of opportunity without discrimination in terms of race or religion; recognition of Arabic (as well as French) as the official language; liberty of the press and compulsory education for all children. These were all standards of national behaviour that Europeans long acknowledged as a fundamental right of all free citizens. Colonialism is indeed a monstrous fraud to itself and a painful tragedy to its victims. All the blood bath in Algeria was perpetrated to serve the interests of a sheer minority of 10 percent white settlers!

A similar situation, although far less tragic in that there was no
shedding of African blood, developed in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in the late nineteenth Century. For the crime of promulgating a National Constitution on the 16th of October 1871 for welding the Fanti Communities into a stable State, the then British Administrator threw the Kings and elders of the nation into gaol!

It is fortunate that the case of Algeria arrested the attention of a realist and humanist, Charles de Gaulle whose political skill broke the Gordian knot which brought a bitter struggle to an end. A cease-fire was agreed with the Algerian nationalists at Evian in 1962. So ended one of the most destructive encounters in colonial history.

In 1962 the end of the war resulted in an almost total withdrawal of the French population, many of whom had been there for generations and owned more than 80 percent of the economic wealth. The Socialist government took over most of the property left by their former masters. Disagreements soon began to arise. The FLN which had fought the war, resented the leaders who had spent the period of conflict in exile.

By a referendum in 1963, Ben Bella was elected President. Two years later he was overthrown by Colonel Houari Boumedienne who now rules through a Council of Revolution formed from a military junta.
'There do exist pure and sensitive souls. There does exist a tender but imperious and irresistible passion, which is at once the torment and delight of magnanimous minds - a profound horror of tyranny, a compassionate zeal for the oppressed, a sacred love of one's country, and a love of humanity which is still more holy and sublime, and without which a great revolution is no more than the destruction of a lesser crime by the greater.'

- ROBESPIERRE

CHANGE or revolution is often inevitable owing to the altering conditions of human existence. The causes may be natural such as famine; physical due to outbreak of disease; or economic sometimes brought about by the other two. But, the main reason is probably due to the suppression of one section of the community by another - in fact, the exploitation of man by man.

The French revolution! What an enthralling period of history; often, it is difficult to understand fully, due to conflicting accounts. Contemporary records were mainly destroyed as it was dangerous to be found with anything that might be considered anti-revolutionary. Nearly all parties were confused with ideals and corruption, and there were rivalries between the leading figures.

Europe during the 18th century was the scene of social changes and developing democratic ideas in government. As the result of a series of weak kings and ministers lacking authority, Louis XVI was the unfortunate inheritor of a resurgent middle class, dissatisfied with their position under the three rival powers of aristocracy, judiciary and the Church.

Alliance with the Americans during the war of independence brought the French into contact with democratic and republican thought. Many of the
nobles who took part returned to their country influenced by a new outlook. The young Comte de Segur wrote; 'I was far from being the only one whose heart palpitated at the sound of the growing awakening of liberty, seeking to shake off the yoke of arbitrary power.'*

The revolution was not the result of working out a formula, but developed by adaptation of circumstances. It was not an uprising against Louis XVI but against despotic principle of government. As Thomas Paine wrote in The Rights of Man:

'...These principles had not their origin in him, but in the order of the establishment, many centuries before; and they were become too deeply rooted to be removed, and the Augean stable of parasites and plunderers too abominably filthy to be cleared, by anything short of complete and universal revolution.'

Long wars combined with reckless private and public spending had reduced France to economic chaos. Necker, a Genevan banker, was in control of finance for five years from 1776, and again later for short periods. He was brilliant at raising loans temporarily while feathering his own nest, but this in the end only made the final disaster worse.

Two controllers-general followed; then in 1783 the post was given to Calonne. He regained some confidence by paying interest on the royal debts. After three years he also found that he could borrow no more and proposed a general land tax— including the aristocracy.

This was doomed to failure and Calonne was succeeded by Lomenie de Brienne and the title of principal ministre was revived for him. de Brienne made proposals similar to those of Calonne and submitted them to the parlements, the ancient body of magistrates whose duty was not only to register edicts, but also had the right to protest against laws in Paris.

* A HISTORY OF MODERN FRANCE (Vol. I, 1715-1799; Page 122)
and some provincial towns.

Parlements turned down de Brienne's scheme and demanded a meeting of the States-General, for the first time in one hundred and seventy-five years. This was approved by the aristocracy, for the States-General comprised three bodies - the aristocracy, the church and the 'people.' Voting was by the three separate units. As the clergy were dependent for office on the aristocracy these two estates could be sure to combine to overcome the third.

The Third Estate suddenly became aware that the parlements when referring to 'the nation' were only thinking of the privileged elite. The unprivileged members of the community began to organise themselves against those who were their rulers by accident of birth. During 1788 a campaign of speeches and writing urged the populace to revolt. One of the most popular of pamphlets was by Abbe Sieyes Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat? in which he declared 'It is everything. What has it been in the political order until now? Nothing. What does it want? To become something.'

On the 3rd May, 1789, the States-General met at Versailles. After a prolonged session, the Third Estate was disillusioned. On a crucial issue the King gave way to the nobles and clergy and the Third Estate remained a powerless minority. A policy of non-co-operation was adopted.

It was soon clear that only the King could bring an end to this condition of stalemate and it was decided to hold a joint session. The hall generally used by the Third Estate was closed to prepare for the event. Members were not informed and on arrival found troops occupying
the building; this, not surprisingly, looked to them like a deliberate attempt to close down the 'National Assembly.' The gathering was not to be put off and arranged to meet in a nearby indoor tennis-court.

The president of the Assembly, Jean-Sylvain Bailly described it:

'There, then, was the National Assembly of France in a tennis court, in a place which had been witness to games and sport, and which now was to witness the destinies of the empire;.....'*

This claim, indeed, proved correct, for decisions made at the meeting were really the start of the revolution, although the resolutions passed were directed against despotism, and not against the monarchy. When half the clergy and about twenty percent of the nobles had voluntarily joined the National Assembly, the King instructed the recalcitrant remainder to join the Third Estate; this they did in bitter silence on 30th June, 1789.

One of the first signs of change was the activities of journalists and pamphleteers. Tracts against the authority poured from presses in all parts of the country.

An unconfirmed report that brigands were to attack Paris led to troops being summoned from the provinces and to the dismissal of Necker, whom the people held in high regard and had hopes he would do something about food prices. In 1789 a 4-lb. loaf of bread cost 14½ sous, while the daily wage of a builder's labourer was only 18 sous.

Tension increased and mobs began to assemble everywhere. A raid for arms was made on the Hotel des Invalides, but powder and ammunition were still lacking. Rumours that there were stocks of powder in the Bastille, caused mobs to advance on this most-hated of prisons. Britain's special ambassador in France, gave the following account:

* PARIS IN THE REVOLUTION (Page 21)
'A large detachment with two pieces of cannon went to the Bastille to demand the ammunition that was there, the Gardes Bourgeois (citizens' militia) not being then sufficiently provided: a flag of truce was sent on before and was answered from within, notwithstanding which the governor (the Marquis de Launay), contrary to all precedent, fired upon the people and killed several. This proceeding so enraged the populace that they rushed to the very gates with a determination to force their way through if possible. Upon this the governor agreed to let in a certain number of them on condition that they should not commit violence. These terms being acceded to, a detachment of about forty in number advanced and were admitted, but the drawbridge was immediately drawn up again and the whole party instantly massacred. This breach of honour aggravated by so glaring an act of inhumanity excited a spirit of revenge and tumult such as might naturally be expected. The two pieces of cannon were immediately placed against the gate and very soon made a breach which, with the disaffection that is supposed prevailed within, produced a sudden surrender of that fortress.\(\ast\)

Lord Dorset's report was not correct in all respects, but it was believed at the time and the fall of the Bastille became symbolic and a rallying cry, leading to increased momentum of the revolution. Shortage of bread became desperate and only a week after the fall of the Bastille a mob besieged the Town Hall; Bertier de Sauvigny, Intendant of Paris, and his father-in-law, Foullon, who were responsible for food supplies, were seized and killed.

With the revolt of Paris and collapse of the royal administration, the Third Estate was faced with the task of trying to restore law and order. The citizen guard, which had sprung up everywhere, was given official recognition and became the National Guard. General de la Fayette, who was looked on as a hero from the American War of Independence, became commander, making him one of the most powerful men in France as the royal army disintegrated.

\(\ast\) PARIS IN THE REVOLUTION (Page 25)
Poverty and near-starvation caused a great crowd of women to gather at the Town Hall demanding bread. Getting no satisfaction a cry arose to appeal to the King at Versailles. So, on a wet October day in 1789, several thousands, gathering numbers as they went, set out on their march. A feeling of alarm spread, and de la Fayette was sent with a force of National Guard to bring the King back to Paris. The crowd of women assembled at the Palace, and a deputation, seen by the King, was promised a supply of bread for Paris.

Provoked and taunted by the crowd, one of the bodyguard fired on the people. Enraged, the people burst into the palace. Demonstrators killed two of the guard and almost penetrated to the queen's apartments.

de la Fayette arrived and pointed out to the King that with an armed rabble of nearly 20,000 outside, nothing could be done but to yield and return to the capital. A strange procession set out led by citizens carrying the heads of the two guards stuck on pikes (a customary procedure before the revolution). de la Fayette rode beside the carriage bearing the royal family, surrounded by armed National Guards and the unarmed bodyguard; wagons laden with corn and flour lumbering along and a straggling host of weary market men, women and demonstrators.

For the next five years, the capital of France was to be the centre from which the progress of the revolution was to be controlled. The Third Estate, although distrusting the monarch and his ministers, had no practical substitute for government. A National Assembly was formed, but two years of debate were to pass before the Constitution was completed. Meanwhile, on 26 August, 1789, the Assembly accepted a Declaration of Rights.
The first assertion was that men are free and equal in rights. The object was to abolish distinctions based on privilege; talent would admit equally to all careers in future. The right of property was recognized as natural and inviolable. Political rights included freedom of opinion and religious beliefs; freedom from arbitrary arrest and imprisonment; freedom from taxation without consent. Law was the expression of general will, as set out by a representative assembly.

One decree changed the royal title from Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to Louis, by the grace of God and the constitutional law of the state, King of the French. The 'divine-right' of monarchy was no longer accepted, as the Declaration stated: 'The source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation.'

An attempt was made to do away with privilege of nobles and to dispossess them, also cities and corporations, of their land. This was led by the vicomte de Noailles, who for lack of property of his own, was nicknamed Jeans sans-terre, and was therefore probably all the more ready to give away the possessions of others!

A better harvest in 1789 resulted in improved conditions and the following year was comparatively calm. A struggle between the church and state began with an attempt to make the clergy, in effect, a branch of the civil service. This was denounced by the Vatican in 1791. France was slipping into a state of anarchy. Insubordination in the army, and civil riots stirred up by revolutionary clubs resulted in conditions which the Assembly could not control. Mirabeau was almost alone in realising the need for a parliamentary regime. His support of the revolutionary
movement was really a cover-up of an attempt to retain royal authority, and Marie-Antoinette did not mind paying him, but never trusted him.

Mirabeau had advised the King to leave Paris, but it was only after his death that Louis XVI decided to settle in a provincial capital. On 20th June, 1791 the royal party set out for Metz where troops were still disciplined and the frontier was not too far distant. But, the King and his carriage were recognised and, at Varennes, the family were held by a band of peasants until the next day when, under an escort of National Guard, they were escorted back to Paris to become, virtually, prisoners in the Tuileries. Louis made matters worse for himself by writing a declaration explaining his conduct, but in such terms that he only aggravated still further the attitude of the people towards him. The time had not yet come when it was feasible to dispense with the monarchy; an attempt was made to explain the King's flight by an implausible story that he had been kidnapped.

Popular agitation was voiced in journals and in the streets. The newspaper *Revolutions de Paris* expressed the rising demand for a republic:

'It is time, it is more than time, to strike a great blow. Let the head of Louis fall... let the throne and all the high and mighty baubles of royalty be consigned to the flames. Let the National Assembly of monarchical days make way for a senate of the republic; let this address a manifesto to all tyrants of Europe; let it invite all people to liberty; let it be the first campaign of immense legions of our new republicans to go and exterminate all despots, ..... We will be free then, we will anticipate the war that others are anxious to carry into our territory, and France will have the glory - unknown until that day - of having conquered, not Europe for France, but the universe for liberty, purging it of kings, emperors, and tyrants of all description.'*

*PARIS IN THE REVOLUTION* (Page 45)
Assembly was dissolved and Louis XVI swore 'to be faithful to the nation and the law; to employ all the power which is delegated to me to maintaining the constitution decreed by the National Constituent Assembly.'

Alarm caused by the revolutionary principles was expressed by Leopold, Emperor of Austria in August, 1791. In a declaration he implied that the situation in France was a menace to the other sovereigns in Europe. This was interpreted by the French as an indication that the other powers were going to attack them.

Signs of dissension were spreading throughout the country. 'The Constitution,' wrote Dumont, 'was a veritable monster; there was too much republic for a monarchy, and too much monarchy for a republic.' As has so often been shown in history, war seemed to be the best way of uniting the nation. Robespierre was about the only man to oppose this view, and tried to avoid a conflict in a number of long speeches. Louis, hoping for the defeat of the French forces, as this might enable him to regain some of his former authority, declared war on Austria on 20th April, 1792.

Meanwhile the situation worsened rapidly. The war was not going well and brought increased economic problems. Grain riots once more occurred; many foodstuffs, including sugar, were in short supply and caused much unrest throughout the provinces. Marat, in the Ami du peuple, and Hebert in the Père Duchesne, denounced the royalist and moderate parties. In July, Robespierre, now a leader in revolutionary politics, called for the election of a National Convention based on universal suffrage.

Matters were brought to a head on the 9th August, 1792, when at a meeting of the Section of the faubourg St. Antoine, it was decided to set up
a revolutionary Commune. After an all-night session of mounting anger, which could be heard by the mob outside, a march on the Tuileries was begun. The king was warned that his life and those of the royal family were in grave peril and he was persuaded to leave for the protection of the Legislative Assembly.

Some of the crowd entered the forecourt of the chateau. Suddenly, firing broke out, but which side started it, seems uncertain. The king sent orders for the Swiss to cease fire and withdraw, but in the skirmish about 373 of the attackers and 800 nobles and Swiss guard were killed.

According to a saying attributed to Karl Marx 'Every event in history is repeated twice; first as a tragedy and secondly as a farce.' The attack on the Tuileries certainly resembled the assault on the Bastille, but it was far from being a farce. Its consequence was the loss of authority of the Legislative Assembly and overthrow of the monarchical constitution. A National Convention was summoned to draft a new constitution.

Could the massacre have been avoided if the king had remained at the Tuileries? It seems highly improbable, but to the populace, his departure seemed like desertion.

The war was going badly. de la Fayette had failed to bring his forces back to Paris and fled to the Austrians. More men were urgently needed for the army, when an attack on Verdun was reported in Paris on 2nd September, 1792, the Commune in a panic issued a proclamation 'To arms! The enemy is at the gates!'

Paris was struck with terror. The call to arms was suspected as a plot to release aristocrats, priests and others from prison to attack the
few citizens left behind after the majority had been forced to leave in defence of la patrie. Ruthless riots began; the Royal family were confined in the Temple.

A series of attacks on the prisons was made by uncontrolled mobs. Most violent onslaughts were on the Abbaye and Carmes prisons, and the women's prison at Salpetriere. Of the estimated 2,600 prisoners in Paris, nearly half were massacred between the 2nd and 6th September.

Most of this appalling slaughter was carried out by a comparatively small number of people. The rest of Paris, whether approving it or not, stayed in fear behind bolted doors and closed shutters.

Similar outbreaks occurred in the province, and such an alarming state of affairs could no longer be ignored. Fear of a general rule of anarchy led the Commune of Paris, on 6th September, to demand an end of the massacres and deny any responsibility for them, especially as elections were being held at the time. There were, in fact, few voters. Some were excluded by law or force; others kept away from indifference or fear; the rural population seemed unconcerned with political affairs. The Convention, therefore, represented an effective vote of only about 7.5 per cent of the electorate, and some of these were not always freely cast.

Confidence of the public began to be restored with a victory of the Revolutionary army under Dumouriez at Valmy on 20th September. Invasion of the Netherlands and French success at Jamappes in November was followed by the entry into Brussels. Encouraged by these triumphs, the Convention issued two decrees. On 19th November, 1792, help was offered to all people who wanted to recover their liberty. An announcement followed on 15th
December, abolishing feudal dues, tithes and all corporations in occupied territories and the setting up of popularly elected governments.

While this was accepted as a sign of revolutionary democracy and in direct opposition to other European powers, the days of Louis XVI were beginning to be numbered. The Convention abolished the monarchy and from then on dated all further pronouncements from the year One of the Republic.

The King's fate was precipitated by the discovery in the Tuileries of the notorious [word obscured], a metal casket containing the monarch's correspondence with Austria, which was an enemy. No alternative remained but to bring Louis XVI to trial for treason against the nation. There could be no doubt about the verdict - but what was the penalty to be?

An extraordinary trial lasting 72 hours was described by Louis-Sebastien Mercier, French author and dramatist:

'You picture to yourself, no doubt, an atmosphere of thoughtfulness, silence, a sort of religious awe. Not at all. The far end of the room was transformed into a grandstand, where ladies in the most charmingly loose attire ate ices and oranges and drank liqueurs. . . . . The public galleries during the days preceding this famous judgment were never less than crammed with foreigners, and people of every class; they drank wine and brandy as if they were in a tavern. The betting was open in every neighbouring café. Boredom, impatience, weariness were imprinted on almost every face. Each deputy went in turn to the rostrum and everyone kept saying: "Is it nearly my turn?"

There passed the rostrum faces made more sombre by the pale gleam of the lights; in slow and sepulchral tones they uttered the one word "death." Picture all those countenances succeeding one another; all those voices; those different intonations; Orleans hooting, hissing, when he pronounced sentence of death on his kinsman; others calculating whether they would have time to dine before the verdict, while women pricked cards with pins to compare the totals; deputies who fell asleep and had to be wakened up to vote!'
The final decision, by a single vote, was death. On 21st January, 1793, Louis XVI went to the scaffold. Within a few weeks France was at war with the rest of Europe.

There were military set-backs, costs of the war brought inflation. Riots occurred in Paris over the price of food — and violent resistance was made in the Vendee region of south-west France against an attempt to enforce conscription.

At this time, 1793, France was controlled by three main groups in the Convention. The Girondins, with strong support from the Provinces, had most control; the Jacobins, mainly representing Paris, became known as the 'Mountain,' because of their seats high up in the Chamber; the uncommitted deputies, referred to as 'The Plain,' because they occupied the floor of the House.

In April of this year, following severe defeats and treacherous negotiations, Dumouriez defected to Austria. Increasing fear and unrest resulted in the setting up of local watch committees; more severe measures against counter-revolutionaries were passed; a revolutionary Tribune to judge traitors was established. On the 21st March, a Committee of Public Safety was formed.

The Convention was proving inadequate. Change to an authority with more power to cope with the situation was essential. A fresh outburst of violent demands arose from the populace, which, it is sometimes believed, was instigated by the 'Mountain.' At the end of May, an insurrectionary committee representing the Sections was set up and a revolutionary commune constituted.

On the 2nd June, 1793, a large mob demonstrated at the Convention,
demanding the resignation or arrest of the Girondins leaders. During the next few days many of the suspended deputies fled from Paris. The Jacobins gained supremacy in the Convention.

The Committee of Public Safety, re-elected, was to hold power from July 1793-44, the most critical period of the revolution.

Marat's murder by Charlotte Corday on the 13th July, 1793, turned out to be the beginning of an era of bloodshed in which many of the revolution's leaders were themselves to become victims. It was a fatal blow to any hope of moderation. Imprisonment of all suspects was decreed; revolutionary committees in the Communes of France could decide death sentence without question. Opposition was repressed by a levée en masse of all unmarried men between 18 and 25. There were a few instances when sentences were reduced; but, far more were similar to Carrier at Nantes, where there was massacre and bloodthirsty sadism. In Paris the activities of the Revolutionary Tribunal were quickened to send both counter-revolutionaries and revolutionaries to the guillotine.

French successes against her foreign enemies meant that the war could not be upheld as a cause for food shortages and economic problems. The blame had to be laid elsewhere; any further attempts at organised opposition were countered by intensification of the Terror.

Danton, who had many friends involved in speculation and financial deals, began a campaign to relax the reign of Terror, in an attempt to save them; Robespierre at first approved, but then withdrew his support. On the charge of his financial activities being 'foreign conspiracy,' Danton went to the Gallows on 5th April, 1794.
An attempt to assassinate Collet d'Herbois, a former actor, influential mob-leader and orator, combined with a rumoured attack on the life of Robespierre, brought about the introduction of the law of 22 prairial (10 June, 1794). This meant that under the Revolutionary Tribunal there could be no semblance of judicial trial; from that date to 27th July, 1,376 victims were executed. The whole nation was gripped with fear. Even members of the Convention were alarmed for their own necks and any friend or relation of a suspect lived in terror of his fate.

The Convention was in a state of unease. Robespierre was opposed to most members of the Committee of Public Safety and was resented by many members of the Convention for his political wisdom, patriotism and the support he had in the Paris Commune. For a month after the passing of the law of 22 prairial Robespierre stayed away from meetings of the Commune and the Committee of Public Safety. On the 8th Thermidor (26th July) he returned to the Convention and in a masterly speech menaced death to anyone who opposed him. Conspirators who had been seeking to depose him now realised that it was either them or him to survive. The next day they launched a vicious attack, and in the tumult that followed, the Convention voted for the arrest of Robespierre and his group of followers.

Released by members of the Commune, Robespierre and his party went to the Hotel de Ville, only to be outlawed and re-arrested by a hastily gathered force of some 6,000 men from the moderate Sections. In the struggle, Robespierre was shot through the jaw – possibly in an attempt at suicide. On 10 Thermidor, Robespierre with his brother Augustin and nineteen others went to the guillotine. The following day, the worst of the Revolution, 71 members of his faction were executed.
The Revolution was over.

The Thermidoreans (as the victors of 9 Thermidor were called) seized on a rising feeling against the Terror. All the blame was attributed to the incorruptible lawyer from Arras, Robespierre. A new Constitution had to be formed; Legislative powers were entrusted to a directory of five, quite separate from the executive. But Parisians were still starving and the city was a hotbed of conspiracy. A rising took place on 13 Vendemlaire (5th October, 1795). The Convention gave supreme power for its defence to Barras. All orders were given in his name, but he appointed young General Bonaparte as his second-in-command.

In 1792, Robespierre had warned France: 'Put yourselves on guard against the glory of your generals ..... Watch, lest there arise in France a citizen so redoubtable that one day he becomes the master.'* Prophetic words indeed.

During the five years that followed the end of Robespierre, Napoleon Bonaparte schemed for his own advancement to power. He was a man of ruthless energy, but limited understanding. Within twelve years, the 'Little Corporal' from Corsica, had made himself Emperor. But, the glory of his campaigns was fleeting, and in another ten years his defeat and downfall led to national ruin and humiliation.

The forces released by the French revolution seemed in some respects to have been wasted. But, they had begun an era when ordinary people had a right to demand a say in their government and destiny. Although the terrors and violence of the revolution were disastrous, that era in French history overthrew the divine right of kings and opened new doors of opportunity and service to the masses; the liberty of the individual was

* PARIS IN THE REVOLUTION (Page 23)
assured and the seeds of self-determination sowed. Sovereignty was being dislodged from kings, or from a coterie of individuals, to the people. This was a powerful idea that was to trail down the corridors of time until it became established in the hearts of men everywhere in the world.
FEW REVOLUTIONS have been more unexpected or the result more surprising than the Americans' breakaway from British control.

Britain in 1763 seemed to be secure in the height of her power. France had been defeated and forced to sign the humiliating Treaty of Paris. Many parts of the world were dominated by the British, with territories in India, Africa, the West Indies, Sumatra, the Mediterranean, Newfoundland and Canada, and the prosperous Thirteen Colonies of North America.

Although they were an assortment of men with different temperaments, ideas and aims, and were geographically separated, most of the North American Colonists were originally loyal to Britain. Under the influence of writers in the Old World, the possibility of unity was beginning to evolve. John Locke, the English philosopher, in his Treatise of Government (1690), declared that only political power used 'for the public good' can be justified. Among French writers, Rousseau believed that sovereignty was the birthright of the people. Diderot in his Encyclopédie (1751) emphasised that the main concern of a government must be the good of the people. Voltaire and the Marquis de Condorcet shared these views.

Britain failed to realise how greatly these ideas appealed to the leaders of the American colonies. First-hand reports took a long time to reach London, and when they did, were often biased or ignored. Ignorance and arrogance led to legal and administrative actions which precipitated the historic war between England and her 13 Colonies in North America.

In 1778, years too late, Lord North, when English Prime Minister, sent three envoys to hold discussions with the Americans. One of these, William Eden, in a letter to his brother, claimed that the British through
their stupidity had lost a great Empire, and wrote: 'It is impossible to see even what I have seen of this magnificent country and not to go nearly mad at the long train of misconducts and mischances by which we have lost it.'*

Ridding North America of the French and protecting the Colonists was a long and exorbitantly costly affair. The newly conquered territories were considered too large to support and the English Parliament proclaimed the Appalachian mountains as the limit to American expansion. The Colonists felt cheated, but Britain decided - not surprisingly - that they could either raise their own troops to defend the boundary, or help to pay for it; the Colonists did not want either.

A large force of British troops was garrisoned in North America and, to pay for it, in the Spring of 1765, a stamp tax was imposed on newspapers, legal documents, commercial agreements, pamphlets - even play-cards and dice. Most Colonists refused to buy the stamps. Troops bearing the stamps were attacked and Revenue agents were tarred and feathered by mobs who attacked their homes. One year later the Stamp Act was repealed.

In 1770, General Gage, military commander in North America, had been appointed Governor of Massachusetts. Although he later came to be regarded as one of the villains of the American revolution, he was, in fact, a sagacious soldier and married a Bostonian. When ordered to quarter troops in private billets and set up tents in their grounds, Gage protested: 'It is a great folly, which I fear the people will resist to the death, and soon.'+ Five years later his words were to prove true.

* THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION - Roger Parkinson (Page 20)
Many major turning points in history have been sparked-off by what, at the time, seemed a minor event or even an accident. Such a one was the so-called Boston 'massacre', although only six civilians were killed. There are conflicting versions of what really happened when, on 5th March, 1770, a mob gathered round the Customs House in Boston. An account generally accepted at the time, states that a single sentry on guard was barracked by the crowd who began to throw stones and slivers of ice at him.

'He shouted for help, and more soldiers came running and lined up in formation to guard him and the Custom House. At some point the crowd grew scared, or bold, and one redcoat was clubbed and kicked to the ground. As he tried to get up, he slipped on the ice and his musket went off. So far that is what we should call the Establishment story. It is not disputed that some of the soldiers panicked and fired.'*

It is a matter of historical interest to recall that first to be killed in this Boston massacre was Crispus Attucks, a forty-seven year old black sailor. He had led the Boston crowd to confront the British sentry at the King Street Custom House.

Co-ordination of the Colonists into a fighting force was to a large extent organised by Samuel Adams, a kind-hearted but wily character, who would make himself look tougher than he was to show he sided with the common people. He was the first to call a Continental Congress of all the rebel colonies.

After the Colonists refused to take heed of the stamp tax, the British parliament decided funds must be raised by other means and imposed an external tax on goods coming in to Boston. Sam Adams called a meeting of protest. A crowd of volunteers painted themselves with red ochre,

* BLACK AMERICAN (Vol I) - Ebony Pictorial History, Page 72
adorned themselves with feathers to resemble Red Indians, and went down to the harbour; there they boarded vessels and jettisoned tea-shipments valued at some 9,000 on which a tax of threepence-a-pound was being demanded.

'Tea-parties' followed in other ports, where full cargoes were sent back or the tea was left to rot on the wharves.

In March 1774, the port of Boston was closed down by an English Act of Parliament until 'peace and obedience to the laws,' was restored; the Colonists retaliated by stopping all trade with Britain. The Virginian House of Burgesses had been dissolved, but its members gathered at the Raleigh Tavern, Williamsburg, on 3rd September to organise a meeting in defence of American freedom. Two days later, in Philadelphia, the first Continental Congress of America met and adopted the Declaration of Rights, intended to be included in the English Constitution. By November, King George III declared: 'The New England governments are in a state of rebellion; blows must decide.' Edmund Burke's attempt at conciliation was defeated.

Conflict seemed inevitable; both sides were stubborn, and determined not to give way. Legislation enforced by Britain was clumsy and inefficient. The Colonists - quite rightly - claimed the right to be consulted, but this was ignored. Real trouble began when a raiding-party was sent to Concord, Massachusetts, to capture suspected hidden stores and arms. A skirmish took place at North Bridge, and on their return march a number of British troops were killed by ambushes and snipers.

War had begun.

Conflict was to take place in three main regions - north, south and west - each having particular problems, varying in violence, the worst
being operations by and against Indians supported by the British in the Ohio Valley. How did an undisciplined, rabble force come to defeat experienced British troops? One important factor would seem to be the equipment of the Colonists with the Pennsylvania flintlock, developed by German settlers. The Colonists were accustomed to shooting at distant and moving objects; the new weapon with a longer and grooved barrel was far more deadly over a greater range, than the musket of the British.

Although George Washington eventually emerged as victor and hero of the war, his defeats outnumbered his successes. But, at a most vital period, he held together a bedraggled force, close to defeat. He became, and has remained, an example of loyalty, courage and determination.

In 1774, Thomas Paine, an Englishman, who had settled in Pennsylvania, issued his pamphlet Common Sense, in which he voiced the unexpressed feelings of many Americans. He appealed: 'O! Ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe ..... O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.'

The Declaration of Independence, 4th July, two years later has come to be a kind of 'Sacred Law' of the United States and regarded by many parts of the world as a universal statement of human rights. Perhaps the most significant clauses were: first, 'All men are created equal and have a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' second: 'To secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.' This was the key point, for it meant

* THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (Pages 14 and 15)
that the ordinary citizen had a right to get rid of any unfair ruler, or to change a system of government that failed to respect the wishes of the majority of those governed.

This historic document was first reprinted in England in the London Morning Post on 17 August, 1776, forty-four days after the event. Whether its importance was not fully appreciated or whether it was deliberately played down, it is hard to tell, but it appeared on the back page, below a new prologue to a play performed at Richmond, Surrey, with no comment!

The most lasting and impressive effect of the revolution was the concept that it involved freedom of all mankind. Alas! As we realise only too well today, the five originators in speaking of 'all men' as being created equal, were thinking only of their own white races. The struggle to bend this fundamental principle, this inalienable right, to the interests of all the races in North America involved a Civil War and over 100 years of protest and agitation. It is one of the ironies of history that the U.S. government which threw its diplomatic and political weight at the U.N. in support of the decolonisation process in Africa, should have allowed in their own country, the kind of discrimination that led to Mrs. Rosa Park's refusal to surrender her seat on a Montgomery bus to a white passenger on 1 December, 1955.
'Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realise it......'

KARL MARX

Towards the middle of the 19th century unrest among the working-populace was causing growing concern to the governing classes of many European countries. By publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848, Karl Marx provided a common theoretical basis for the working-class militants.

History was regarded by Marx as a series of class struggles leading up to an ultimate victory for the workers. In Capital, he explained how the capitalist form of exploitation originated and developed. The doctrine of Surplus Value is really a rather prolonged explanation of the theory that the poor man gets less than he deserves while the governors grow rich by exploitation of the workers. His second main theme is that 'the State is an executive committee for managing the affairs of the governing class as a whole.' By this he tried to imply that the State and the Law were beyond the interests of the people they controlled - or in other words there is 'one law for the rich and another for the poor.'

These concepts had obviously been previously realised by some members of both upper and lower sections of the community, but made a fresh impact at a time when workers were beginning to consider their rights.

Equality for Marx was idealised in a proletariat class which
'has a universal character because its sufferings are universal.' Any movement intended to better world conditions must be inspired by the prospects of a future which can be expected to afford a satisfactory reward for its struggles. *Capital* is not an exposure of supression of individuals, but rather the exploitation of one class by another. Marx maintained that 'The method of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness.' With the growth of civilisation, man had to work at some kind of a job to earn his living. Natural resources and their location, determine to a large extent what form this will take, but mechanical production has probably been the greatest influence in causing labourers to work in towns and factories. Provision of employment was begun with capital, but the 'powers of production' lie in the hands of the worker whose subsistence has to be kept at a low level to prevent inflation. The theory of Marxism is that there is no need for man to be poor. Working conditions can be improved by continuous, if gradual, revolution or change - not necessarily violent.

* *Early Works of Karl Marx: ed. Bottomore (1965)*
THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

Russian Emancipation from Monarchical Tyranny

Will mankind ever learn that wars benefit nobody? Victor or vanquished, nations are left with political, social and economic problems. This was the case with Russia. The conflict with Napoleon united the people in their fear of foreign intruders so, that for the time being, they forgot the despotism of their own rulers. After his victory over the French, Alexander I, in spite of increasing liberal ideas among the educated, only added to the suppression of the populace. This combined with an increasing awareness of the prospects afforded by Communism, led to events which proved to be the seedlings of revolution.

Before his death in 1825, Tsar Alexander I had accepted the renunciation by his brother Constantine of any right to the throne; but he had not told his next brother Nicholas. In St. Petersburg, Nicholas declared Constantine emperor, while simultaneously in Warsaw, Constantine (then Viceroy of Poland) proclaimed Nicholas the emperor. This confusion gave a chance for a revolutionary group known as the 'Decembrists' to attempt a revolt with two thousand guards shouting for 'Constantine and the Constitution.' The rising was easily subdued, but the victims came to be regarded as martyrs.

Nicholas I became notorious for the harshness of his regime. Censorship and a police state which had been in existence before, became even more severe under his rule. Gradual emancipation of the serfs began in the reign of his son, Alexander II.

A brief but disastrous period occurred under Alexander III (1881-1894). Rigorous censorship was imposed on the press; education was restricted so
that the lower classes could not benefit from it; Jewish students were exempted from gaining higher education and not only non-Christians, but Christian sects opposed to the Orthodox Church were persecuted.

The most important political organisation was the Land and Freedom Group, more generally known as the Populists, which led to the formation of other movements prior to the revolution. These were activated by impoverishment of the peasants and also by the famine of 1891-92, which was followed by a cholera epidemic, but inhuman police control prevented any major attempts at protests by violence.

Marxist influence first began to be effective in Russia under Plekhanov (1856-1918) who was its first fully committed exponent. Addressing the International Socialists Congress in Paris in July, 1889, Plekhanov declared:

'The task of our revolutionary intellectuals ... amounts, in the opinion of the Russian Social Democrats, to the following: they must master the views of modern scientific socialism, spread them among the workers and, with the help of the workers, take by assault the citadel of autocracy. The revolutionary movement in Russia can triumph only as the revolutionary movement of the workers. There is not, and cannot be, any other way for us....'

Fresh impetus was given to the Marxist movement when Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, later known as Lenin, and Julius Martov started a new organisation called the Union of Struggle for Liberation of the Working Class. In the autumn of 1895, the Union agitated workers to strike at a number of factories in St. Petersburg. An attempt to organise a workers' paper failed and the

* A SHORT HISTORY OF MODERN RUSSIA, Richard Freeborn (Pages 135-36)
Union collapsed when Lenin and his supporters were arrested and exiled. He did not return until 1900, but during this period he wrote his economic study *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Lenin's outstanding characteristics caused him to dominate the revolutionary struggle in the years ahead. He was a compulsive writer and speaker, a good organiser, single-minded in his aims and did not allow himself to be deterred by temporary failure or success.

For some time there were a number of Marxist groups whose views differed about the means of combatting capitalism, but a step towards unity was the formation of the All-Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party which held its first congress at Minsk in March, 1898. The Party's schedule was to overthrow democracy, organise a democratic republic, an eight-hour day for the workers and restitution of land to the peasants. Disputes over the programme caused rifts in the party. A second congress met in Brussels in July, 1903.

Lenin had ensured that a majority of the fifty-seven delegates who attended were his supporters, but even so his insistence that Party membership should be conditional on 'personal participation' in one of the Party organisations was narrowly defeated.

By skillfully manoeuvring a split among his opponents, Lenin managed to secure himself a lead in future debates; he called his supporters Bolsheviks (the Majority) and his rivals Mensheviks (the Minority). This division in the Party carried on until the 1917 revolution, when the Bolsheviks finally triumphed.
It was the war with Japan for the control of Manchuria during the reign of the last Tsar, Nicholas II, that brought about the 1905 revolt, destined to be a prelude to the real revolution twelve years later. After the defeat and signing of the peace conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on the initiative of America, Russia was left disturbed by a rising tide of unrest and the assassination of some of the conservative government leaders.

The surrender of Port Arthur in the Far East in December, 1904, stirred public anger and probably encouraged the workers' strike in January, 1905. A vast gathering, carrying icons and singing hymns, led by a labour leader, the priest Gapon, marched towards Palace square, St. Petersburg, to present a petition to the Tsar. Forewarned of the demonstration, as the workers approached the Winter Palace, troops opened fire, killing and injuring many thousands. The unnecessary use of force against a crowd of unarmed protesters roused the workers into thinking that only by retaliating with violence would they now be able to gain any change from their suppression.

There were talks of a Constituent Assembly, but unrest increased. Strikes occurred unabated; particularly serious were those in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Lodz in Poland, which had to be suppressed by armed force.

Insubordination and mutiny grew in the army and the situation became more critical with the revolt of the battleship Potemkin, which later became renowned as the result of a film by the Soviet director Eisenstein. Political tension heightened, and a procedure for election to the first State Duma, or consultative assembly, was drawn up. On the 26th October, 1905, the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies had its first meeting, and
four days later, the first issue of its official organ, Isvestia, was published.

On that same day, the Tsar, in a manifesto declared Russia to be a constitutional monarchy. Prime Minister Sergei Witte promised greater civil liberties and more power to the State Duma. Trotsky summed up the situation by declaring:

'Witte has come, but Trepov remains .... The proletariat knows what it does and what it does not want. It wants neither the police thug Trepov, not the liberal financial shark Witte, neither the wolf's snout, nor the fox's tail. It rejects the police whip wrapped in the parchment of the constitution.'

The first Duma, opened in April, 1906, was short lived. To the government it seemed to be a revolutionary tribunal, and when Goremykin, President of the Council of Ministers rejected all its demands, deadlock ensued. Seeing no hope of conciliation, the Tsar on 9th July, issued a manifesto dissolving the Duma. Stolypin was appointed successor to Goremykin. When an attempt was made to urge the people to resist payment of taxes and recruitment for military service Stolypin set up military courts that could order the death sentence for peasant rioters.

In six months 950 executions were ordered, but in this same year 1,500 terrorists 'executions' were ordered by the Socialist Revolutionaries. An unsuccessful attempt on Stolypin's life was made in August, 1906.

The zemstva local government assemblies, brought into being in 1864, were composed of three types of electors. Two comprised landowners,
industrial undertakings or urban dwellers, the right to vote being determined by qualifications of income or property. The third category were peasantry whose delegates were chosen by regional assemblies; this was the first semblance of democratic government in Russian life. Fresh legislation in November, 1906, allowed peasants to leave the communes. Arable land allotted to a peasant in a commune with repartitional tenure could now become the peasant's individual property.

March, 1907 saw the opening of the second Duma with even more left-wing inclination; land laws for the peasants were not considered sufficient for approval, and no support was given to the government. As a result of rumours of an armed rising in May, Stolypin accused the Social-Democratic deputies of an attempt to overthrow the state; on 3rd June, fifty-five of them were arrested and the Duma dissolved. By a new law the number of Duma deputies who could be elected by land-owning nobility and bourgeoisie was increased to just under 50 percent, while those who could be elected by peasants and workers were reduced to 25 percent, thus ensuring that the next Duma would be more amenable to the government.

Starting fairly calmly in November, 1907, the third Duma was to see some vital events.

The economic position improved and agricultural production increased, despite the fact that a vast majority of the peasant farmers remained ignorant and inefficient. Anti-Semitism again flared up with renewed educational restrictions, followed by mass deportations.

A sensation occurred on 1st September, 1911, when Stolypin was assassinated by an agent of the security police while attending a gala
performance in the Kiev operahouse in the presence of the Tsar and Tsarina. He was succeeded by Kokovtsov, formerly Minister of Finances. During this time, the monk Rasputin, by claiming to be able to cure the hemophiliac young Tsarevich, gained such a hold over the Tsarina that he became a power behind the throne; many senior ministerial appointments in the early stages of the war were made on his recommendation.

Shooting of 270 strikers in the Lena gold-field in April, 1912 started a series of strikes throughout Russia and in the same month the first Bolshevik newspaper Pravda began publication in St. Petersburg. The third Duma was dissolved and elections for the fourth were held in the autumn of 1912. By March 1916, immense losses of manpower in an apparently futile war were causing discontent and fear, which were aggravated by food shortages, and in the autumn strikes and demonstrations were frequent. In all spheres there were attacks voiced against the Tsar; his slight authority was waning and there were protests against the 'dark forces' behind the throne. In December, Rasputin was murdered, and by the end of the year it was evident that the Tsar must go.

The February revolution, 1917, was really touched off on the 23rd, when bread riots broke out among the Petrograd workers. Disorders had been anticipated and the garrison of the city had been increased, but mainly with raw recruits. Workers continued their protests and a general strike was called in the capital. General Khabalov, on orders from the Tsar directed that force should be used to suppress the revolt. On Sunday, 26th February, police fired on crowds which had broken through the cordons into the Nevsky Prospekt. It seemed as if order had been restored, but troops sent to quell the rising, instead joined the insur-
rection and two days later Petrograd was under complete control of the revolutionaries.

Government at this time was in the hands of two groups. One was a temporary committee of the Duma, representing all parties of the fourth Duma, except the extreme right wing and the Bolsheviks; the other was a temporary executive committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies. The Duma committee demanded the abdication of the Tsar, and on 2nd March, Nicholas II gave up the throne. A suggestion was put forward that his son, the Tsarevich, should succeed with the Grand Duke Michael as Regent. This was refused. Trotsky, summing up the situation declared: 'The country had so radically vomited up the monarchy that it could never crawl down the people's throat again.'*

An offer to carry on the monarchy was refused by Grand Duke Michael. The imperial family were kept under house-arrest at Tsarskoye Selo until the summer of 1917. The following year they were moved to Yekaterinburg, where on 16th July, they were murdered.

A Provisional Government was formed, but the only member of the executive committee of the Petrograd Soviet, was Kerensky. Soviets, or 'councils' representing workers and the armed forces were increasing in number throughout Russia. Order No. 1, issued by the Petrograd Soviet, gave control of all arms to elected committees of soldiers and sailors. The Provisional Government became practically ineffectual, as any decisions could only be enforced with the support of the Soviets.

*A SHORT HISTORY OF RUSSIA - Richard Freeborn (Page 171)*
Lenin, who from his exile, had been watching events, was quick to realise his opportunity and arrived in Petrograd on 3rd April. He raised the slogan 'Long live the socialist revolution,' and issued his April theses, in which he declared that the Provisional Government was not really a revolutionary socialist rule; a change must be made to a government of the proletariat and peasants. 'All power to the Soviets,' was his dramatic theme and he rejected continuation of the war. Main proposals were: confiscation of all landowners' estates; nationalisation of the land; creation of new model farms under control of peasant Soviets; establishment of a single national bank; doing away with the army, the police, and officials.

In May, problems of foreign policy resulted in changes in the Provisional Government.

Kerensky with his legal experience and oratorical gifts became increasingly influential. The following month he prepared an offensive in Galicia which was a calamitous failure; there were violent demonstrations in Petrograd demanding that the Petrograd Soviet should become the new government. But, the Bolsheviks were apparently not yet ready to seize power and the revolt was suppressed. To try and discredit the significance of this widely supported uprising, documents were published, with authority of the Minister of Justice, purporting to claim that Lenin was a German agent. It is true that he travelled to Russia with the assistance of the German government and may have received financial aid; there is certainly no evidence that he was ever coerced by German orders.

* A SHORT HISTORY OF RUSSIA - Richard Freeborn (Page 174)
The documents did, however, rouse considerable antipathy to the Bolsheviks. *Pravda* was raided and closed down in July and warrants were issued for the party leaders. Trotsky was arrested and Lenin escaped to Finland. Kerensky became Prime Minister and, for a short time, during July/August, 1917, the Bolshevik influences seemed to be subdued. On 24th August, reports of a Bolshevik rising in Petrograd, caused General Kornilov to send a cavalry corps to the capital. Such action by a general known to be an advocate of 'iron rule,' and with monarchist sympathies, stirred the Petrograd Soviet to action and it began to form armed workers into Red Guards. Kerensky, in alarm, dismissed Kornilov, and made himself commander-in-chief, with dictatorial powers.

This revolt once more raised support for the Bolsheviks, bringing them majorities in the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets.

Lenin felt that the time had now come to prepare for action by force, but despite his letters the Bolshevik Central Committee remained unable to make up its mind. Composition of the Provisional Government was once more changed to make it more socialist. In September, a Democratic Conference was held, from which emerged a consultative body called the Council of the Republic. Trotsky, now free from prison, denounced the Council and the Bolsheviks walked out. On 23rd September, Trotsky was elected chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, and as organiser of the new Military Revolutionary Committee, he was destined to head the armed insurrection. Lenin returned to Petrograd on 10th October to attend a meeting of the Bolshevik Central Committee. A vigorous discussion on an
armed rising gained a majority support for Lenin's proposals, and Trotsky immediately began to prepare for action.

All units of the Red Guards were brought under control of the Military Revolutionary Committee, arms were obtained and commissars appointed, who eleven days later had taken charge of the Petrograd garrison. Government attempts to arrest the Bolshevik leaders and suppress their newspaper, failed. The cruiser Aurora, anchored in the Neva, opposite the Winter Palace, was ordered out to sea, but instead offered her services to the insurgents. On the night of 24th October, Red Guards took possession of the State Bank, the post office, telephone exchange and controlled railway stations, bridges and other key points. The next morning, Kerensky, having failed to get any support, left in a car commandeered from the American embassy.

Helpless and hopeless, the Provisional Government remained in the Winter Palace; their only protection was a mixed collection of cossacks, cadets and a few members of a women's battalion. A blank shell fired by the Aurora caused most of the defenders to desert. In the early hours of 26th October, a brief exchange of fire took place between the Peter and Paul fortress and the Aurora. Bolshevik forces then attacked and entered the Winter Palace to capture and arrest members of the Provisional Government.

Accomplishment of the revolution was to be followed by many years of struggle and change. But, it was to form the foundation on which the USSR was built, to become the second most important nation of the world in technology, industry and military power.
Perhaps one of the most significant features of the revolution was that it was the first example of revolt by the masses of the people against the privileged classes. In spite of this, Russia was still really ruled by leaders none of whom had been elected by popular mandate or through a process of democratic election. Lenin only ruled through the Bolshevik party which he had created.

The new political concepts of Marx and Engels influenced the schemes of Lenin and his colleagues. It is interesting to note that the pursuit of the struggle against a privileged social order has, so far, not borne out Karl Marx's expectation of an open conflict between the classes. It is perhaps too early yet to say that Marx has been proved wrong.

It can be said, however, apparently he did not foresee the tendency of a rise in the standard of living of the proletariat, giving them a vested interest in the maintenance of their enhanced conditions of living. It is obviously clear that when privilege is shared equally, it ceases to exist as such; revolt against it thus becomes pointless.

Evidence for condemning capitalism is all too easy to find. In recent years the press and other media have exposed cases of British firms in Asia and Africa making vast profits while paying their native workers wages that fall far below subsistence levels. On the other hand, it can be argued that they are aiding the economy of the countries concerned and it is better to have some work than none at all.

What can be done for the under-developed territories without capital? The poorer nations need equipment for improving their agriculture and to stave off famine; irrigation and dams to avoid drought; railways, bridges
and roads to facilitate communications as an aid to business and trade. If these could be achieved, increasing prosperity would follow. But, they have no money to pay for them. To get it would probably incur commitment to such high financial loans that repayment might prove so crippling as to offset many of the advantages gained.

There is a tendency for countries that have recently gained their independence to be inclined towards communist systems for development of their potential resources. Freedom from colonisation has produced some cases with unfortunate results which may be due to 'growing-pains' and, it is to be hoped, will be overcome.

Africa wants to develop her territories in peace; she has no vested interest in capitalism or communism as political expressions of her aspirations. Development of her newly-formed freedom must be used to better the standard of living for a growing population.

Fundamentally, Africa is a theistic and communalistic society and Africans believe in the immanence of spiritual forces and the brotherhood of man. With such ideologies and desire to improve their welfare Africans cannot afford and have no desire to take sides in the power-conflicts of the world. Partly due to her colonial past and partly to present limited industrial, commercial and technical resources, Africa has failed to build up within her own economic system, the financial backing for national growth on the basis of competition and individualism. Prior to independence most of Africa's primary resources were absorbed by the colonists and there was no encouragement to develop any new or experimental skills.

To wait for all the favourable conditions necessary for the growth
of a capitalist economy to evolve under present conditions, would relegate Africa to a veritable limbo. In contrast, to try and speed up the growth by relying entirely on capital of foreign business interests would be to sell Africa's patrimony and establish a form of economic colonialism. The sensible course is to try and promote expansion by using the foundations of the African people's own way of life. In most of the African states colonisation left a legacy of state ownership for the means of production and control of essential utilities. It would be foolish to hinder progress by destroying this foundation because of any particular philosophy or political ideology.

To the hungry man bread is just bread; he cannot wait to have it branded as Capitalist or Communist. The African, whether he be Muslim, Christian or Pagan, has by temperament a strong theocratic disposition and a deep-seated tradition of liberalism; he is, therefore, unlikely to be attracted by any agnostic ideas about man's existence and destruction of human lives in the manner of certain Communist states.

During the writing of part of this book, I had a mind-disturbing experience. One night on television I watched a film of George Orwell's '1984', which despite some mistakes in production, proved a grim and frightening affair. A few days later, there was a documentary, the Red Carpet, showing the visit of a British orchestra to China. Everywhere they went there were huge posters of Mao gazing down from buildings; indoors, the same face glared in rooms large or small; thousands of people everywhere, dressed alike, expressionless demeanour, seldom ever a smile, no individual thoughts or opinions. The only art allowed - ballet, music, literature - controlled by and must extoll the State. Suddenly, I
realised, the appalling truth, here was '1984' in reality - 'Big Brother' and all.

Such a way of life is not for the African. The only reason he is likely to be converted to Communism, is because of extreme poverty and unrelieved deprivation. Anyone who can put forward convincing and practicable ideas and schemes to change his economic situation from poverty to abundance, will find the African an eager listener and keen to adapt himself to fresh conditions.
EXPLOITATION - PART VI

Witchcraft

EXPLOITATION can be carried out by so many varied and devious methods, that it is impossible to cover them all in a single small volume. It is usually bad, although the results may sometimes be beneficial. The rich nobleman in the Middle Ages who gave his patronage to the arts undoubtedly helped the writer, artist, musician or sculptor, and gave to the world some masterpieces that might otherwise never have been known; but, regrettably, the original cause of 'exploiting' the genius of others was probably to gain eminence and privilege for himself.

Similarly in our own time, big industries and manufacturers 'sponsor' anything from sports to concerts for the sake of the publicity they can gain from it; costs are compensated for by the advertising, and the price of the product probably increased. No one will dispute that the community is better off for such exploitation.

Fear has been used throughout history, by many cults and religions, as a means of ensuring conformity and obedience to the aims and rules of any particular sect or society. The Communion Service in the Book of Common Prayer, is an example of compelling compliance to the Almighty, so as not to incur his wrath.

One strange cult that has persisted down the ages is Witchcraft. It is a curious fact that the influence of witchcraft recurs in regular cycles. There is certainly at present renewed interest in its rites and powers. Maybe people disillusioned by the chaotic state of the world are seeking some new form of wizardry to satisfy them.
Charles Lamb in his *Essays of Elia* (first series) observed: "We are too hasty when we set down our ancestors in the gross for fools for the monstrous inconsistencies (as they seem to us) involved in their creed of witchcraft. In the relations of this visible world we find them to have been as rational and shrewd to detect an historic anomaly, as ourselves. But when the invisible world was supposed to be opened and the lawless agency of bad spirits assured, what measures of probability, of decency, of fitness or proportion - of that which distinguishes the likely from the palpable absurd - could they have to guide them in the rejection or admission of any particular testimony?"

A form of persecution which persists to this day in various parts of the world is witch-hunting. The evil is so widespread that the phrase 'to witch-hunt' has become a normal mode of expression in the English language as a variant for 'to harass, persecute' someone, or to 'smell out' a person by prying in an embarrassing or unwarranted manner into his personal affairs.

In theology, where surprisingly the cult of witchcraft received the inordinate attention of churchmen over many centuries, it is defined as the act of 'selling one's soul to Satan in return for supernatural powers'. *Marlowe's Dr. Faust* provides a classical example of this strange quest in literature. It was generally considered that being able to negotiate such a deal with the devil invested one with extraordinary skills which could be effectively employed for bringing all manner of evil upon others. By this means one could cause constant?

* WESTERN CIVILISATIONS - Edward McNall Burns (Vol. II page 462)
ill-fate to befall one's enemy, bring death upon his household, or involve him in every kind of disaster - fire, floods, poor harvest and indebtedness. Women - and old and toothless women at that - were believed to be the best practitioners of witchcraft; in most parts of Europe, however, 'fair and wicked young women' were also known to have been adept at the practice.

The earliest recorded cases of persecution for witchcraft were those of the Papal Inquisition in the 13th century. Persons guilty of heresy were regarded as agents of Satan and therefore deserving of destruction. Under Pope Innocent VIII two hundred years later the inquisitions were empowered to use all manner of torture to secure convictions. The peak of persecution was reached during the Protestant Revolution when even distinguished theologians like Martin Luther proposed that witches should be put to death with far less mercy than was possible for common criminals. The wave of victimisation spread throughout Europe. In 1545 Calvin ordered the burning of some 34 women in Geneva.

Attempts to get rid of witches went ahead almost indiscriminately with women and children of both sexes tortured beyond description. Although persecution had begun to decrease on the Continent by the end of the 16th century, it lingered on for much longer in England. In the 18th century, so devout a prelate as John Wesley is known to have stated that giving up the belief in witchcraft was like disowning the Bible.

* WESTERN CIVILISATIONS-Edward McNall Burns (Vol. II Page 462, 463)
† THE AGE OF REFORMATION - Preserved Smith Page 656)
The real core of the problem was the so-called confessions of those accused of practicing the craft. Witches were thus incriminated solely on the basis of their own evidence, without the possibility of corroboration. It was thus not until the establishment of the legal rights of the individual and recognition of psychiatry and psychology as positive sciences that the falsity of witchcraft and sorcery were exposed. In the attacks made upon the persecutors, a leading part was taken by such eminent scientists as William Harvey and Pierre Gassendi. The French writer, Michel de Montaigne, was also largely responsible for heaping disgrace and ridicule upon the heads of the punishers for their inhumanity and cruelty.*

In various parts of Africa a basic belief that death is the result of magic, sorcery and witchcraft is responsible for the extent of witch-hunting that persists among many African societies. It also shows that men, white or coloured, have always been easily obsessed by superstitions. The fact that death is generally recognised as a natural phenomenon makes ascription of its incidence to sorcery quite strange and unrealistic.

The Twi saying: owu de EyE Kontonkuronwi - Eda amansan kon mu (Death is like a rainbow, it encircles mankind) is often quoted to emphasise the ephemeral nature of human existence. Thus the Ghanaian artist, Kofi Antubam, writing in his book Ghana's Heritage of Culture states.

* WESTERN CIVILISATION - Edward McNall Burns (Vol. II, page 463)
The Ghanaian does not ignore the fact of death. He believes that death is a necessary impermanent phase in the perpetual cycle of existence, that every man is predestined by God to live a certain time in accordance with a prescribed pattern of activity, and that sooner or later man would have to die only to return again to lead a new life in new circumstances.' (Page 62).

Nevertheless, because death, as in other parts of the world, is a disturbing subject in Africa, and it is generally greatly feared; when it strikes, the acuteness of feeling which it generates sets people looking round frantically for scapegoats. Village priests and medicine men find ready targets in old women or in relations known to have been on unfriendly terms with the deceased. In this way, often innocent individuals are exposed to humiliation, shame and cruelty from their own people. In extreme cases, persons accused of witchcraft could be expelled from their own community or even killed. Man's inhumanity to man can touch such depths of hate and destruction, through lack of understanding and tolerance.

Until the end of the 19th century, indeed, the 'trials' by various means of persons accused of witchcraft either in Europe or Africa, gave little hope of salvation. David Livingstone in his memoirs (1857) tells of the common African ordeal of causing a suspected witch to eat an emetic substance. Those who vomited were considered innocent, but those purged, were thought guilty and sometimes killed. 'I happened to mention' he wrote, 'to my own men the water-test for witches formerly used in Scotland: the supposed witch, being bound hand and foot, was thrown into a pond; if she floated, she was considered guilty, taken out, and burned; but if she sank and was drowned, she was pronounced innocent. The
wisdom of my ancestors excited as much wonder in their minds, as their
custom did in mine.'

Any discussions between nations that can lead to better understanding
and reduce the build-up of armament which could result in a catastrophic
conflict, deserve recognition and encouragement. The Special Armament
Limitation Talks (SALT) between the world's two major powers - America and
Russia - seemed to augur some hope for the future; their breakdown in March, 1974, was to be deplored and their resumption desired. On reflection,
however, this may not be as serious as at first it seems.

Since the 1972 agreement between the USA and the USSR, the problem
of weapons has become increasingly complex. Missile launchers can despatch
separate warheads capable of a range of some 5,000 miles with appalling
accuracy. It has been estimated that improvements to the accuracy of a
missile can be calculated as being worth six times the proportional
increase in explosive power. The ballistic-firing submarine is a crucial
form of attack because no means has yet been found of locating it over
a long range.

These super modern devices are alarming enough, but even if they
can be limited there remains the danger of war with commonplace arms.
As Bernard Shaw observed in Man and Superman, 'Man measures his strength
by his destructiveness.' Until there is a total international agreement
to forbid the sale of armaments, there seems little prospect of improvement.

* THE AFRICANS - AN ENTRY TO CULTURAL HISTORY - Basil Davidson (Page 129).

This, unfortunately, seems impossible. Arms production provides employment and is a profitable business. G.B.S. once again drove home the point in *Major Barbara*.

When the millionaire armament manufacturer, Undershaft, is showing people round his works, he is handed a batch of telegrams; he glances at them and says: 'I've just received good news from Manchuria.' Stephen asks: 'Another Japanese victory?' Undershaft: 'Oh, I don't know. Which side wins doesn't concern us here. No; the good news is that the aerial battleship is a tremendous success. At the first trial it has wiped out a fort with three hundred soldiers in it.'

How can our way of life be improved in this constantly changing world? William Morris in *How We Live and How We Might Live* (1888) tried to lay the blame for the bad conditions of the workers on the capitalist system. After dealing with the ruthless national rivalry in commerce, he attacks the competition between the 'organisers of labour'—great firms and joint-stock companies. He argues that if there is a market for a certain kind of goods, there are many manufacturers who produce it and would, if they could, keep the market to themselves—each struggles to gain as much as he can. Overproduction is a result and the market is glutted. Quantity probably cheapens the goods, but wages tend to sink in proportion.

As a craftsman, Morris deplored the effects of mass-production. 'No country is safe from its ravages, the traditions of a thousand years fall before it in a month; it overruns a weak or semi-barbarous country, and whatever romance or pleasure or art existed there, is trodden down into a mire of sordidness and ugliness; the Indian or Javanese craftsman
may no longer ply his craft leisurely, working a few hours a day, in producing a maze of strange beauty on a piece of cloth; a steam-engine is set going at Manchester.

'That victory over nature and a thousand stubborn difficulties is used for the basic work of producing a sort of plaster of china-clay and shoddy, and the Asiatic worker, if he is not starved to death outright, as 'plentifully happens, is driven himself into a factory to lower the wages of his Manchester brother worker ......' *

To be fair, the modern aspect needs consideration. The capitalist risks, and sometimes loses, vast sums to develop poor areas, design or improve machinery and provide employment for thousands. Without firms prepared to pour out millions, while still not certain of what their gains will be, there would be no North Sea oil projects which will bring immense prosperity to Britain in and after the 1980s and the benefits to the community at large are incalculable.

All countries of the world are at present striving to tackle political, social and economic problems of unprecedented difficulty. Inflation is critical and unsolved in Britain, Western Europe, Japan and Latin America. The developing countries are exerting every effort to gain better economic conditions and even the two major communist nations are realising that to bring better living conditions to their people they must have greater participation in the field of international commerce.

The United States of America, which probably survived the Second World War better than any other nation, has made good use of this advantage.

* WILLIAM MORRIS - Selected writings and designs; Edited by Professor Asa Briggs (Page 163)
Despite her own difficulties at home, she has not hesitated to bring her power and resources to the aid of other countries. In becoming a major world power, the rising generations of Americans have developed a more demanding outlook and shown some distrust instead of confidence in their rulers, politicians and institutions.

But John Connally summing up the current global situation, declared his faith in his country: 'What more exciting times could we possibly perceive? Our opportunities are so immense - our agenda is so important - that our temporary frustrations must not subvert our efforts to find the right balance, to make the right judgments, to recognise the legitimate interests involved.' ...'International co-operation can never be an effective substitute for serious national policies well-designed and carried through with consistency and strength. But the whole civilisation of which we are a part will be endangered if we do not learn to think and act like brothers - abroad as well as at home.' ...

'I am convinced that a strong and purposeful America is necessary for the world's stability and prosperity ...'*

Trotsky foresaw some of the upheavals we are now experiencing in our way of life when, at the beginning of the Russian revolution, he observed: 'Anyone deserving a quiet life has done badly to be born in the 20th century.' The last few decades have seen an enormous expansion in international trade; big business has become more and more involved with politics. Private enterprise and government have to some extent,

* Address to the annual conference of the Institute of Directors, London, November, 1973
always shared the aim of maintaining full employment, encouraging international investment and the promotion of freer trade. This approach has been considerably advanced by the European Common Market, resulting in improved agriculture, industry and trade. To try and limit earnings is foolish and impracticable; a man must have incentive and deserves what he can get.

Although most people appreciate that successful business, in general, means a better standard of living, it cannot solve all problems. There is a tendency for public opinion to be suspicious of big business and regard it as the evil genius behind inflation and suppression of the individual - particularly if it is foreign business. These tensions are apt to be more acutely felt in the underdeveloped countries where past experience of controls has made us resentful of international corporations, despite the benefits they may bring.
POLLUTION and preservation of the environment are matters on which decisions and action must be taken swiftly if a global catastrophe is to be avoided. The problem is world-wide. Switzerland's lakes are turning murky with effluent from lakeside towns and industries; Norway's fields are becoming caked with solid waste; the Rhine has become known as 'Europe's sewer,' and the river is so toxic that even the eels can hardly survive. In Tokyo, Japan, the sun is seldom seen through the smog; every year in the U.S.A. more and more roadways are constructed, destroying some millions of acres of oxygen-producing trees.

Industrial and technological development have resulted in new products that damage the environment - plastics have replaced wood and glass; soap has been superseded by detergents; modern pesticides and chemicals have destroyed animal life, poisoned the soil and contaminated our food products.

New packaging materials - often of dubious advantage - are an increasing menace. Non-returnable containers in many cases are hard to dispose of, being virtually indestructible by natural processes and are reaching appalling numbers. To take only two examples: It is estimated that in Britain alone, in the next few years, the quantity of plastic milk bottles could reach 32 million a day, and cans for soft drinks could reach the 700 million mark. These items could run into astronomical figures in the United States. It is clearly essential that more attention must be given to packaging and manufacturers required to produce a biodegradable plastic - that is, one that can be broken down by bacteria and natural elements.
Nuclear power is another matter for grave concern. Dangerous waste is generated that is odourless and tasteless. In the magazine *Your Environment*, Walter C. Patterson, M.Sc., points out:

'If we want the undoubted benefits of nuclear power, radio-therapy and the many other applications of man-made radioactivity that are becoming part of our everyday life, we must recognise what we are buying, and what we are paying for it. Unfortunately, some of the bills may not arrive until it's no longer possible to return the undesired goods.'*

What hopes are there in the future for a better wide-world understanding between men? If individual countries are themselves wrought by various schisms, is it really practicable to achieve understanding and cooperation between nations of different languages, economic, religious and cultural outlooks – each having to compete for its existence and, naturally, determined to preserve its independence?

Prospects of large-scale war become increasingly appalling and horrific – but have we progressed to its outlawry as an instrument of forcing international policy?

After the 1914-18 war, mankind was desperately sick of useless aggression and anxious at almost any price to prevent its recurrence. President Wilson of the United States was the first man to try and organise international relations for a permanent peace and bring the proposal of a League of Nations into practical politics, but there was not a single government in the Old World willing to reduce any of its

*THE NEW BATTLE OF BRITAIN – A Conservation Handbook and Directory: H.F. Wallis (Pages 64 & 65).*
sovereignty towards this end. The idea aroused a tremendous response all over the world.

'Unfortunately President Wilson had to deal with governments and not with peoples; he was a man capable of tremendous flashes of vision and yet when put to the test egotistical and limited, and the great wave of enthusiasm he evoked passed away and was wasted .... The League proved an elaborate and unpractical constitution ... Yet the worldwide blaze of enthusiasm that first welcomed the project, that readiness of men everywhere round and about the earth, of men, that is, as distinguished from governments, for a world control of war, is a thing to be recorded with emphasis in our history. Behind the short-sighted governments that divide and mismanage human affairs, a real force for world unity and world order exists and grows.'*

Today we have the United Nations Organisation, which despite its somewhat cumbersome procedural problems, has helped to prevent some flare-ups between smaller countries spreading into an international conflagration. UNO provides for all countries a much-needed forum for discussion and has been valuable in gaining fair recognition for the African territories, most of which attained independence in the 1960s. Each African State as it acquired its own control was given international status and accepted as a member of the United Nations having equal voting rights with other nations; they were thus enabled to let their views be known to the world and take part in meetings on important issues.

On its inception, the Organisation of African Unity affirmed its intention to strengthen and support UNO. African governments were

*A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WORLD - H.S. Wells (Pages 300-301)*
invited to instruct their representatives, without prejudice to their membership in, and collaboration with, the African-Asian group, to constitute a more effective African party to bring about closer co-operation and better co-ordination in matters of common concern. The presence of African countries is playing, and will continue to play, an increasingly important role in the affairs of the United Nations, if the tremendously difficult task of getting so many diverse peoples to speak as a single unit, can be achieved.

The peoples and territories of the Third World must be given opportunity to develop and improve their way of life. 'My country groans,' wrote Nnambi Azikiwe, pioneer of Nigerian independence, 'under a system which makes it impossible for us to develop our personalities to the full.' Change cannot be escaped, there can be no standing still, as I tried to point out in one of my poems written a few years ago:

Backward? to days of drum
And festal dances in the shade
Of sun-kist palms.
Or forward?
Forward!
Toward?
The Slums where man is dumped upon man?!

A more reasonable aspect of African tradition, culture and way of life, is taken today than some years ago. 'We have thought,' observed Placide Tempel in his work La Philosophie Bantou (Paris, 1948) 'that we were educating children, "grown-up children," and that seemed easy enough. Now, we suddenly realise that we are concerned with an adult humanity which is conscious of its own wisdom, moulded by its universalist philosophy.'
The universalist ideas of African philosophy are now recognised as a basis for common cultures to unite peoples with otherwise differing viewpoints. African concepts have been expressed by some Ugandan intellectuals in an interpretation of Ntu-ism from ntu, the generic Bantu root for mankind.

'To us what is important is not the way the imperialists have classified us, rather is it our common attitude towards life, culture and heritage. In choosing the name Ntu, we have taken it to represent a philosophy that runs throughout Africa .... Most of the ideas which reflect the African way of life are embodied in the philosophy of Ntu .... We would like to divorce ourselves from the European method of demographic classification of Africans into Negores, Bantu, Hamites, Nilotes, etc. As far as we are concerned, these divisions are of little significance, because they are not based on any deep and thorough analysis of African philosophy .... (But) we do not intend to revive the past as it was .... We want to integrate into modern life only what seems valuable from the past. Our goal is neither the traditional African nor the black European, but the modern African.'

Undoubtedly these views have a wide appeal and are generally accepted - but like many ideological creeds are hard to put into practice. Could a solution be found in the old civis Romanus sum - or the idea of 'one man one vote'? Difficulties of representation caused by the variety of populations are immense. In his book Democracy on Trial - Reflections on Arab and African Politics, Mohamed Ahmed Mahgoub points out how lack

* WHICH WAY AFRICA? - Basil Davidson (Pages 81-82)
of a unifying language emphasises the difference in social and historic background of each country, while cultural, economic and educational inequality in different states make matters more complicated. He maintains, however, that the remedy for a faulty democracy lies in more liberties, not their suppression.

In many parts of Africa the charismatic character of a leader is more highly valued than his political or sociological attainment, and this again presents problems; the desire for a personal, non-elected leader may give rise to the hazard of a military or dictatorial control.

The need for a 'single unit' of African States persists, for as the old Ashanti proverb says: 'When many mice dig a hole, it does not become deep.' A basis for unity is the concept of the 'Extended Family.' Writing in 1962, Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, explained: 'The true African socialist does not look on one class of man as his brethren and another as his enemies .... He regards all men as his brethren - as members of an ever-extending family .... The first article of the creed of the Tanganyika African Union (TANU) could be translated "I believe in Human Brotherhood and the Unity of Africa."

The idea of co-operation has been put to the test in Tanzania through the doctrine of Ujamaa. Mervyn Jones, the journalist, translates this roughly by the word 'togetherness,' applied to the idea of communal effort and ownership. After a visit to Tanzania he wrote: 'Ujamaa is voluntary, the degree of "togetherness" decided by the people involved. In some places only the marketing of crops is collective. In others, the villagers work part of the week on a communal enterprise - say a cotton
planted - while also carrying on their own farms. Tanzanian ujamaa promotes self-reliance, which is seen as a virtue on a local as well as a national scale. The government says in effect: "Don't ask us for money - we haven't enough to go round; ask us for ideas or methods, or develop your own; and do the job yourselves." They were building a school at Ngamu. It was of mud blocks, like the houses; there was no architect, no paid labour, no planning from outside. But, without a sense of community, no school would have been built."

Man is a gregarious creature, he likes to live in groups. This was probably first forced upon him in early days of existence when it was realised that it was easier for a number of men together to obtain food and protect themselves against wild animals, than for the individual. Today, faced with the necessity of earning a living, man is compelled, to a large extent, to dwell in towns or areas where employment is to be found.

In any community there must be certain laws of behaviour with which every individual must comply for the welfare of the whole. To this extent it might (perhaps slightly cynically) be conceded that religion is only a sociological concept for co-existence; even those peoples now regarded as heathens, with their gods and graven images, were constrained in their actions by the thought of displeasing the unknown powers. When Moses produced the Ten Commandments, they were, in reality, only a code of conduct laid down for the benefit and discipline of the people. Similarly, religion has played its part in African history.

* NEW STATESMAN, London, 12th April, 1974
Many centuries ago, the Kings of Karanga in Zimbabwe (now Rhodesia) set up a shrine to hungwe the fish eagle, made soapstone images of Shirichena (the Bird of Bright Plumage) or Shiri ya Mwari, the Bird of God. A priest would interpret the cries of hungwe, and on these important matters were decided; the value of such messages must have depended on the sagacity of the priest. But, the skillful religious leader was, through this procedure, enabled to make acceptable to his people, regulations designed to maintain and improve the welfare of the society.

Raw materials, their sources and supply, are a global responsibility, with special effect on the Third World. A special session of the United Nations General Assembly was called in April, 1974, by President Boumediene of Algeria, when a fresh alignment of economic power was exposed.

An American expert, Fred Bergsten, considers that for the first time in some 50 years, shortages of supply are altering the power position of suppliers and consumers. Nigel Wade, reviewing the situation, wrote:

'The Special assembly has been debating a list of 25 principles for the establishment of "a new international economic order," accompanied by an 80-point "action programme." The Third World plan is quite as political as economic, asserting the right of every country to sovereignty over its natural resources; contending that compensation for nationalised property should be determined solely by the nationalising country; encouraging the formation of cartels involving commodities other than oil; and calling for a link between the price of Third World raw material exports and manufactured imports to replace the current free trade system and improve the poorer countries terms of trade. .......One of President
Boumedienne's proposals was that the developing countries should follow the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and through cartels fix the price of their raw materials to finance their developments. The idea has been much discussed, but most economists believe that the oil cartel is a special case and doubt whether OPEC could be followed by successful cocoa, copper, tin or bauxite oligopolies.

It is interesting to note that China is anticipating becoming one of the big petroleum-producing countries, with an estimated output of 80 to 90 million tons of crude oil this year, an increase of more than 25 percent over 1973.

While there must always be room for improvement and a desire to better conditions of life in both the developed and under-developed countries, why cannot we all try to bring about such changes by agreement and discussion, rather than by force? The situation has been posed in the following lines:

WHY DO WE STRIVE? **

Why do we strive for Peace?
It's here.
Don't stretch for it or grasp - just let it be.
War is what needs effort as murder needs a corpse.

Why do we strive for Truth?
It's here.
Don't seize or strangle it - just let it grow.
Lying needs the effort as subterfuge a mask.

* DAILY TELEGRAPH, London, 29th April, 1974

† DAILY TELEGRAPH, London, Claire Hollingworth, 20th July, 1974

Why do we strive for love?
It's here.
Don't grip the gentle petals -
lest they bruise.
Hating needs an effort
as crucifying needs a cross.
The Freedom we strive to gain
Is here.
Don't hedge it in the words -
or it will fade.
Bondage needs an effort
as prisoners their chains.

The progress of civilisation depends on the continuous search for truth
and knowledge by philosophers and scientists; if their discoveries are
sometimes ignored or mis-applied, they cannot be blamed.

Future prospects must now and then look grim and formidable, but
mankind has somehow acquired an unquenchable hopefulness. Hope is, indeed,
the spark of life; it inspires us to carry on when faith is failing, and
gives us the desire and strength to overcome our difficulties.

The Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh recalls this touching little
example of the value of hope:

'During the German occupation, while I was engaged in Resistance
work in Paris, I worked for my living as a teacher at a Russian private
school. Our salary was below hunger; one could not survive on what we
got. Most of us had an additional job of work, somehow to be able to
live while we were teaching and doing what we felt was our duty.

One of the teachers was a man who had been my scout-master: stern,
determined, the kind of man whom one admired perhaps but found great
difficulty in loving. He was teaching then at the same school. Some-
thing happened one day that puzzled the children greatly. He was walking
along the road that led to the school and the boys and girls saw him stop
in front of a beggar; they exchanged a few words and then the beggar embraced the teacher. They shook hands and they parted. You may well imagine that when the teacher arrived at school, his form was alive with curiosity, and he was not allowed to start his lesson before he had explained what he had done. "Why did you stop in front of the beggar? Why did you take your hat off when you spoke to him? What happened next?"

They cornered this man who was shy and did not blow his own trumpet, and he explained to the children that what happened, was he felt, a duty. He explained that he was walking to the school because he had no money to pay his fare on the bus, and when he saw this man standing there he felt deeply ashamed and distressed at not being able to give him any kind of help and succour. What would the man think? One more human being was passing him by, indifferent to his destiny. One more person would by doing so destroy perhaps his last hope and his last spark of faith in human solidarity and human charity. So he stopped, and to make the man feel that he approached him with reverence, as an equal, not as a beggar, he took his hat off and explained that he could give nothing because he had nothing to give. The beggar was so profoundly moved that he seized him in his arms, kissed him and shook hands.

That day I spoke to the beggar, passing him by and giving him a little which we had collected in the farm for him. He said, "This man has given me more than I have ever received from a man alive." Hope had come back to him that there was such a thing as human solidarity, that human dignity could be vindicated."

There is a long way to go on the road to full recognition of the

rights of all African peoples, but the end is in sight and will assuredly be reached, even if the going is slow and hard.

The objectives laid down in the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity - freedom, equality and justice - must be adopted and pursued with energy and determination by all countries of the world. The whole of civilisation will be imperilled if we cannot learn to think and act like brothers, not only at home but also in our international dealing.

Let us hope that fear, jealousy and distrust may eventually be replaced by courage, understanding and co-operation so that the peoples of the world may truly become one peace-abiding 'Extended Family.'
POSTSCRIPT

PROBABLY a number of people will think that trying to cover such a vast subject as the EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN, in a single volume, is rather like Don Quixote tilting at windmills. The problem was not what to put in, so much as what could fairly reasonably be left out.

There will inevitably have been some regrettable omissions and some (but it is hoped, not too many) errors. A large part of the intention of the book will be satisfied if it proves to be of sufficient interest for readers or students to make further investigations for themselves. The Bibliography may serve as a 'guide-line' for more extensive study.

I would like to express my thanks and appreciation to the staffs of the National Book League, the Folio Society, the Commonwealth Institute, the British Museum and other Libraries in London, who unsparingly gave of their time and help, also encouragement when it was most needed.

M. Dei-Anang
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Robert Shepherd's Historical Atlas also provides a mine of interesting information for the scholar, although perhaps the best in the field of atlases is Westermann's Atlas zur Weltgeschichte which is, regretfully, still only available in German.

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