

people call themselves "Europeans" for all practical purpose but when they want to "colonise" African political organisation they adopt the appellation 'African' for political convenience—these ladies and gentlemen want to have the best of both worlds. *When African nationalism assumes its territorial character, that is, when the whole of Africa becomes a nation state they would be eligible to become Africans through normal process of naturalisation. Therefore the term African will have a territorial significance in the post-struggle era. Now we give it the popular meaning.*

#### THE "EUROPEAN" OR WHITE SETTLER GROUP

This is a foreign minority group, whose forefathers by dint of the superiority of the gun over the spear conquered the indigenous group, dispossessed them of their land, seized political power and exploited natural resources to their exclusive benefit. This is an oppressor group who man the machinery of white domination over the indigenous group.

*It is admitted that certain individuals of this group are not satisfied with the wisdom of this policy. On the intellectual plane they see the futility of maintaining such a rigid system of oppression which must crumble down with alarming loss of life and limb.* These individuals who do not accept white supremacy in its entirety we discover on the material plane benefiting from the fruits of this system, so that they too are subsidised by the oppressed Africa. So from this point of view they also become oppressors, and in any case because of material determinism of our lives, these unfortunate victims of circumstances cannot actively interest themselves in the liquidation of the only system that ensures their economic survival.

#### THE INDIAN GROUP

This is another foreign minority group that came to the country as indentured labourers. This group suffers political disability. This political disability is balanced by their economic enfranchisement which has been recently threatened by the Group Areas Act. By virtue of its position this group should have joined ranks with the African. But this group is also tainted with cultural and national arrogance. They look upon the African as a social and an economic inferior. They derive their leadership from the rich merchant class. They show a tendency to lean more to the side of the oppressor. Individuals too in this group are found who reject the groups majority's attitude.

It will be seen therefore that the Africanists exclude these groups (all above mentioned) from membership of their organisation not because they have peculiar biological features, but because they don't qualify as African nationalist.

Members of the group which is erroneously called Coloured are regarded by the Africanists as African by virtue of the fact that they are indigenous, so that their historical and environmental bonds are common with those of the indigenous group all over the continent.

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# The Best is Yet to Be

What Malawi's Symposium Taught

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## PETER MACKAY

*On 15 August 1961 the Malawi Congress Party came to power in Nyasaland with an overwhelming majority at the polls. The ensuing year has been one of great achievement for the Malawi Government and it was brought to a fitting climax when the territory was host to some of the world's leading economists at an International Symposium held in July 1962. Though Malawi can look back on the past year with pride it is more concerned with the challenges of the future. The Symposium was therefore a launching point as well as a climax. It underlined the spirit expressed by its organiser, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Finance, Mr. Dunduzu Chisiza—"the best is yet to come."*

SYMBOLIC OF THE IMAGINATION, energy and efficiency with which the Malawi Government is conducting Nyasaland's affairs was the Economic Symposium held in the territory last month.

A score or so of economic experts assembled from many parts of the world: Britain, India, America, Scandinavia, Israel; observers from others: Sierra Leone, Kenya, Ireland. They distilled their ideas in public, before audiences of businessmen and farmers, estate owners and smallholders, Ministers and civil servants, clerics and clerks.

What they said varied with subject and personality, and so did audience reaction. A veteran of Malawi politics, hero of the emergency days, was seen with smouldering cigarette between bewhiskered lips, while a drawling somnabulistic Yankee monotone opined on the coefficient of bi-lateral monopolistic tendencies, or somesuch. (A timely tea break saved the whiskers). But more often audiences were alert to the electric interchange of brilliant minds probing the permutations of development processes in under-developed countries. As, for instance, when Professor Rao of Delhi University, entranced a packed hall with a dispassionate, if mercurial, analysis of the differences between communism and capitalism (giving, to sighs of relief from parts of the audience, equal marks to both).

The Nyasaland Information Department proposes to

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publish a summary of the lectures and discussions in book form and more's the pity that Professor Rao's more vehement observations were delivered at what the harassed officials estimated to be 340 words a minute, and are thus beyond transcription.

Professor Rao's impact came from his down-to-earth approach, from the thematic similarity between his country and Africa, and above all, from his humanity. Economics to him seemed to be not just a matter of equations, but of humans. His ability to see economic problems in human terms was shared by the moiety of the experts. Dr. Nicholas Kaldor, Hungarian-born Englishman, Reader in Economics at Cambridge and a Fellow of Kings, belied a ponderous demeanour with a light wit and a deeply penetrating perception of the human problems associated with economic development. His only gaffe was a hastily corrected reference to 'under-developed experts'. Dr. E. F. Jackson, from Oxford, (epitome of the image evoked by Milner's kindergarten) was equally human and sensible in his observations, even when suggesting that the problems of economic progress in Africa should be approached in a manner 'pragmatic, didactic and eclectic.' And so, of course, they should. George Thomson, front bench Labour M.P. and the only politician present as a main speaker, spoke sensitively and feelingly on the role of socialism in Africa; Dr. Kiano, Mr. Kenyatta's Parliamentary Secretary, provided some pertinent observations on the experiences of his own country, particularly on matters of taxation and the financing of education.

The subjects they talked about covered a wide range: the taxable capacity of an under-developed country; the lessons of economic development in Sweden in the century 1850 to 1950; how African entrepreneurs could be encouraged; national budgets; the type of statistics needed for national planning; the role of commerce.

The discussions were not purely abstract, but applicable to the country in which they were held. They are recorded for contemplation and guidance in the future. The Symposium had the additional advantage of putting Nyasaland on the economic map, at least academically. No one who participated, as expert or observer, can forget the experience, and henceforward it is a safe bet that the problems of the country will be part of their thinking. They now have a proprietary interest in Mala-

wi, and their own thinking will be all the better for the glimpse they caught at first hand of the economic problems of a typically under-developed country. The Symposium, in short, was a two-way process.

IT HAD A THIRD DIMENSION in the interchange of ideas among the economists themselves. And a fourth: not just the status Nyasaland derived from its central, Geneva-like position, but the clear indication that the country had moved from nationalism to internationalism. The Salisbury-imposed criteria were discarded and something better emerged. People mattered more than race. This really was the keynote of the conference—the oneness of man in facing human problems.

It was well put by Dunduzu Chisiza, who conceived and conducted the Symposium. 'The advancement of man uncompromisingly demands a ceaseless synthesis of ideas, a blending of ways of living, a come and go of beliefs and, above all, a willingness to believe that the best is yet to come.'

Mr. Chisiza, who is now Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance, cut short his studies at Fircroft College in Britain in 1958 when he was asked to become Secretary General of the Nyasaland African National Congress after Dr. Banda's return to the territory. He resumed them in prison in 1959 when, together with some twelve hundred of Nyasaland's leading figures he was arrested under the state of emergency. He was incarcerated with his brother, Yatuta, and with Mr. Chipembere and Dr. Banda at Gwelo Prison in Southern Rhodesia, emerging 18 months and seventy text books later, well-equipped for the task allotted him after the Malawi Congress Party victory at the polls last year—the prison graduate par excellence.

The Symposium was indeed a fitting period to Malawi's first year of office. It had been a year of great achievement by any standards, with far reaching reforms in agriculture and agricultural marketing, in education, local government and the administration of justice. And, as Dr. Banda pointed out in a message to the country, it was also a year in which the sorely disrupted race relationships of the past had been restored to such a degree that "Europeans, Africans and Asians mingle freely as neighbours, friends and fellow citizens."

And this alone would be something to be proud of.



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